THE LIBERATOR:
PUBLISHED EVERY FRIDAY,
AT THE ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, No. 25 CORNHILL.

Oliver Johnson, General Agent:

☞ To whom all remittances are to be made, and all letters addressed, relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper.
☞ TERMS.—$2 50 per annum, payable in advance; or $3 00 at the expiration of six months.
☞ Letters and communications must be POST PAID
☞ ADVERTISEMENTS making less than a square will be inserted three times for 75 cts.; one square for $1 00.

☞ NOTE.—Mr. ISAAC KNAPP, the late publisher, having transferred his interest in the subscription-list to Mr. GARRISON, for two years from the first of January, 1840, the pecuniary concerns of the LIBERATOR are now under the direction and supervision of a committee, consisting of the following gentlemen: FRANCIS JACKSON, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, ELLIS GRAY LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, WILLIAM BASSETT.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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OLIVER JOHNSON, Printer.

VOL. X.---NO. 26. BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 26, 1840. WHOLE NO. 495.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

Daniel Webster 'Bowing the Knee' in behalf of the Whigs of the North!

At a political meeting, held at Alexandria, D. C., the 11th inst. DANIEL WEBSTER made a speech, in the course of which he shamelessly avowed his own subserviency, and that of his party at the North, to the SLAVE POWER, which now rules the government of this nation with a rod of iron. We copy below those parts of his speech which contain the avowal alluded to, together with the responses of Mr. Crittenden of Kentucky, Preston of South Carolina, and Phelps of Vermont. Read it, whig abolitionists of the North, and then say whether you will sustain a man or a party who will thus meanly cringe before the bloody moloch of slavery.

MR. WEBSTER said, he had never before the happiness of addressing any considerable number of his fellow-citizens south of the Potomac river, and he would not deny that he embraced the occasion with the greatest pleasure. * * *

He then repeated the expression of his high satisfaction at being enabled to address, directly, a Southern audience, on topics in which the North and South have a common interest. He knew he was listened to by Virginians—full of the feelings of Southern men—and pledged as deeply to the fortunes of the South, as deeply as men can be on this side of the grave—and here, before such an auditory, he desired to declare his determination to do all in his power to prevent the success of those measures which would divide the Whigs of the South from the North. On those questions you (exclaimed Mr. Webster) are Whigs, and I am a Whig.

[Immense cheering, in the midst of which, a stout old yeoman cried out, 'Boys, do you hear that?' which produced still more applause.]

You (continued Mr. W.) are Virginians. I belong to the Old Bay State! But our enemies shall not separate the Whigs of the Old Bay State from the Whigs of the Old Dominion!

Here he was again interrupted by three loud cheers. Those three cheers (said he, rising in enthusiasm commensurate with that of the audience) shall be heard of at Bunker Hill, on the anniversary of the memorable battle there, and the hills of Massachusetts shall reverberate with the cheers of her people, answering back the cheers of Virginia.

What is it (he asked,) our enemies rely upon to separate us? That we of the North meditate injury against you! [A voice in the crowd, 'we will never believe it.'] No; gentlemen, do not believe it. I stand here, and in the name of my fellow citizens of the North, I repel it as a foul and unfounded calumny. We of New England are bound to you by our sacred compact, the Constitution of the United States. That instrument secures all your rights, and all property to be governed and disposed of as you see fit;—and I tell you, for one, that not one jot or tittle of that compact shall ever be violated with my consent. What, fellow citizens, have you to fear from the people of Massachusetts? What have you to apprehend, on this vital subject, from that son of your soil, descended from your best Virginia stock, your own *William Henry Harrison*,—that child of Virginia, with the blood of the Revolution and of independence coursing in his veins? Can you believe that when he is called from his farm and his plough, to administer the Government, that he will lay ruthless hands on the institutions among which he was born and educated?

'No! no!' was responded by his auditory, as with one voice.

'I say No, too.' We of the North and South will join in fellowship and friendly communion in this matter. I stand in the presence of distinguished men from the Southern States; and I now summon them into Court;—and ask them as witnesses to declare to you whether I and my political friends of the North, entertain any feelings different from their own in regard to your entire and individual control over this subject, and your other State concerns? Let them say, whether we may not all come to that condition which existed when Virginia and Massachusetts took counsel together—in the days of the Revolution—when Washington and Hancock joined their thoughts, their feelings, their hopes, and acted together in a glorious cause—when Massachusetts and Virginia men stood together, braving danger and death. How many bones of Northern men lie at York Town! How many sons of Massachusetts were present, when the British laid down their arms at the foot of Virginia!

MR. CRITTENDEN answered most cordially to the call Mr. Webster had made upon him as a witness; and testified that the Northern Whigs, with Mr. Webster at their head, were as strongly and sincerely opposed to the Abolitionists as he and his Southern and Western friends are. I am a Kentuckian (said Mr. Crittenden) and a slaveholder—and I will tell you my experience. I never knew but *one abolitionist* in the Senate, and he was a *Van Buren* man!

[Name! Name!' was cried by some one in the crowd. MORRIS,' was the reply given by some one. 'TAPPAN' was cried by others. 'Both,' exclaimed another voice.]

MR. PRESTON followed Mr. Crittenden, in compliance with a general call from all parts of the ground. His speech was a master-piece of popular eloquence; and listened to with the most absorbing interest, and manifest delight. He too responded to the appeal of Mr. Webster: and if ever there was a competent witness, surely William C. Preston is one on this question. A Virginian by birth, a South Carolinian by adoption, a slaveholder, he bore his unequivocal testimony to the honest and devoted opinions of the Massachusetts Senator and his friends on this question of vital interest to the South.

MR. PRESTON ridiculed, with surpassing effect, the wretched pretence that the party with which he and the friends around him were associated was leagued with abolitionists! Who dare assert it? None but the infamous calumniators of those who would at any time drain their dearest veins in defence of the established institutions of the country! And then the idea of resorting to 'a *Northern* man with Southern principles' to save the country from the danger of 'a *Southern* man with Southern principles.' To whom do they fly from Harrison, a son of a signer of the Declaration of Independence? They go beyond the Hudson—they get a friend of Rufus King—a Missouri Restrictionist—a friend and advocate of Free Negro Suffrage!

MR. PHELPS, Senator from Vermont, corroborated the testimony which had been given respecting the sound constitutional opinions and conservative sentiments of the Northern people in regard to the question of abolition.

The Anti-Slavery Society,

Which figures in New York, during the May anniversary week, were refused, this year, the occupancy of the 'Tabernacle,' in which they had formerly held their meetings, and were finally obliged to celebrate their anniversary in a much less conspicuous place and smaller house than they had designed. From the report of their proceedings which has reached us, it is abundantly manifest that they are a disjointed and crumbling body—bitterly contending among themselves—greatly in debt—and without any resources to meet the demands against them, and with a constantly decreasing number, who are at all disposed to show them the least countenance or favor. With them the grand climacteric is passed, and they are fast sinking into 'the sear and yellow leaf,' with the reflection that the summer of their day has been spent in labor worse than useless, and without even the miserable satisfaction which partial success gives to those who adopt unhallowed means for the accomplishment of unhallowed ends.

REMARKS.

We copy the above from the Charleston, South Carolina Observer, for the purpose of correcting the views of the WORTHY EDITOR! in regard to the the state and prospects of the Anti-Slavery Cause.

* * *

He refers to the divisions of the abolitionists. They are, he says, 'a disjointed body—bitterly contending among themselves.' The facts are these. A new Society has been started in Boston, called the 'New-England Non-Resistance Society,' the main principle of which is, that 'all human authority is usurpation.' A parent has no right to restrain his child by force—civil rulers are all tyrants—all human punishments are mere acts of savage revenge—violent resistance to robbers or the ravishers of innocence is highly sinful—slavery is only one form of the universal tyranny, with which man seeks to oppress his fellow man, or rather the exercise of human authority is in all cases slaveholding—the woman is by the laws and usages of society every where the slave of the man. According to these principles, the doing of military duty, the recovery of debts by suits at law, the recording of a deed of land, voting for rulers, the civil contract of marriage, or any act by which the right of force is recognized, is regarded as sinful by this Society. Mr. Garrison is its Coryphæus. He stands at the head of the Non-Resistants, in whose success he is most intensely interested; and devotes to it the commanding influence, which he has acquired over a portion of the abolitionists in Massachusetts—*the least religious*—the most radical portion of them. *These he leads into the Anti-Slavery Societies, for the purpose of forcing them to take action, such as the appointment of women on business Committees, by which his dogmas will be countenanced.* And because the clergy, as in duty bound, form the strongest barrier against his views, *it is the plan of his party, to destroy their influence, by representing them as the enemies of freedom*, at the same time passing resolutions, well fitted to raise an opposition against himself, which he does not fail to represent to be the fruit of 'Negro hatred.'

It will be readily seen from this statement of facts, that the more enlightened opposition to slavery extends in the community, *not subject to Mr. Garrison's dictation*, the sharper the contest between the parties will become. This has finally issued in a formal withdrawal of *the sober friends of emancipation, from this faction of Non-Resistants; and the act is, as it should be, universally applauded by good men in the free States.*

We suppose the refusal of the Tabernacle, to the Anti-Slavery Societies, was owing to the disgust, which the community naturally felt at the measures of the Non-Resistants. (!!) The separation having taken place, we refer our brother Editor to the doings of another year for more light.

* * *

In conclusion, we would respectfully ask OUR GOOD BROTHER, whether it would comport with the interests of HIS USEFUL PAPER, to lay this statement of facts, before his readers, *most of whom must*, AS CHRISTIANS, (!!) be anxious to know the truth on this, as on every other subject of duty. *Conn. Observer.*

From the Washington Globe.

The Spirit of Abolition.

We lately happened to take up the Emancipator of the 22d of May, which contains the proceedings that resulted in the organization of a new society, under the auspices of Arthur Tappan, the various resolutions proposed, rejected, or adopted, and the address of Mr. BIRNEY, accepting the nomination of a portion of the Abolitionists, as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. A set of more disorganizing principles was never put forth in the face of the world. They strike at the root of moral, social, and religious organization; at the laws of the land, the Constitution, and the Union; they prostrate all patriotism, all the domestic relations; and if ever permitted to attain the ascendency in the United States, will establish a despotism over morals, politics, and religion, more stern, unrelenting, and bigoted, than any ever before attempted by hypocrisy and fanaticism combined.

It is our design to offer a brief analysis of these principles, thus openly avowed, and scattered through the world, through the medium of a thousand presses, with a furious, unrelenting perseverance, which stops at nothing and cares for nothing. In its wild, undisciplined career, it would prostrate our political institutions, ride over the laws and the Constitution, sever the confederation of the States, and force the ligiers itself to become the handmaid to its wild, malignant purposes. The task we have undertaken, is one which a *sense of duty* to the State, *and the church* (!!) could alone have induced us to undertake. When such principles are openly avowed and propagated with all the zeal of missionaries, and all the madness of fanaticism; when the party avowing them begins to aspire to the Government of the Union, by nominating a candidate for its highest office, let no one pretend to say that *the church* and the State are not both in most imminent peril. The following resolutions were adopted at their late annual meeting in New York:

'THE CHURCH.

'The following resolutions were reported by the Business Committee, and carried:

Resolved, That we cannot recognise or sustain any one as a true minister of the gospel who is a slaveholder or a defender of slavery, or who refuses to testify against it.

Wherens, The American Church has given its undisguised sanction and support to the system of American slavery in the following, among other ways, viz:

1. By a profound silence on the sin of slaveholding.

2. By tolerating slave breeding, slave trading, and slaveholding in its ministers and members.

3. By receiving the avails of the traffic in 'slaves and the souls of men,' into the treasuries of its different benevolent institutions; and,

4. By its indifference and opposition to the anti-slavery enterprise; therefore,

Resolved, That that Church ought not to be regarded and treated as the Church of Christ, but as the foe of freedom, humanity and pure religion, so long as it occupies a position so false.

Here is a denunciation of *every church and every minister of the gospel*, who shall not convert the pulpit to the purposes of abolition. The church of the United States must lend itself, to a deep-laid project for an entire dissolution of the social system, and an amalgamation of all the doctrines of Christianity into one tremendous dogma, hatched by hair-brained fanaticism, or it will not be 'regarded and treated as the Church of Christ;' it will be denounced 'as giving its undisguised sanction and support to the system of American slavery.' Its sanctity will be denied, unless every minister of the gospel, of every sect, sacrifices every benign and merciful and forgiving and rational principle and precept of the Scriptures to the exacting and remorseless spirit of Abolition, which has, as it were, created a new God, divested of every attribute but that of furious fanaticism, and now demands that every follower of the meek and lowly JESUS shall fall down and worship it, under penalty of being 'regarded and treated' as an alien and an infidel.

Instead of inculcating moral and social duties, the love of our neighbor, (!) and a devotion to our country; instead of preaching forgiveness of sins, and setting the example; instead of following out the precepts of Him who was all kindness, all charity, all benevolence, the universal church, and all its ministers, are called upon to throw aside the thrice blessed character of peace makers, and, standing in the sacred pulpit, to denounce millions of their countrymen as men stealers and robbers; to make inexorable war upon their rights and their reputation, their lives and their fortunes; to pollute the sanctuary of religion with the gall and bitterness of unqualified denunciation, and scatter the seeds of never dying animosities among kindred, countrymen and brothers. If they refuse to do this, they are denounced by the Abolitionists as 'giving their undisguised sanction to slavery,' and their church 'will not be regarded or treated as the Church of Christ.'

They must disturb the peaceful Sabbath, the day of rest and holiness, the day sacred to piety, repose and forgiveness, with the wild ravings of fanaticism; they must rant, and roar, and foam at the mouth, and smite the cushion, pervert 'the word and the law,' and condense all the venom of fanaticism in one focus of unrelenting ire against a people with whom they are united by every tie that binds mankind most closely and inseparably together, or they will not be recognised or treated by these sublimated incendiaries, 'as ministers of the Church of CHRIST.'

One scarcely knows whether to treat this effusion of presumptuous arrogance with ineffable scorn, or glowing indignation. What a knot of people, who have only ceased to be obscure to become the common disturbers of their country, and whose only talent is that of pithy declamation, should have the intolerable arrogance thus to denounce and ostracise the churches of the United States, nay, of the whole world, for not adopting and carrying out their pernicious dogmas, is such a proof of impudence and presumption, as was reserved for the Abolitionists alone to exhibit. It is as if some wretched maniac should escape from his cell, and run about denouncing the world for not believing that he alone was inspired, and all the rest of mankind involved in error and depravity.

It is high time for the rational and pious ministers of the Gospel, the teachers of charity, benevolence, truth, and humility, to set their faces against this insolent attempt to overawe and dictate to the Church of CHRIST. They owe it to themselves, to the dignity of their calling, the preservation of the rights of conscience, and the sanctity of pure religion, to use all their efforts to restrain these dangerous innovators, to resist their insolent dictation, and to preserve their flocks—most especially the women—from the scorching fires of this new fangled fanaticism. THE TRUE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IS IN DANGER. LET THEM COME TO THE RESCUE IN TIME.

The same number of the Globe which contained the foregoing defence of the Church, also contained the following advertisement, which is the legitimate fruit of that Christianity, for which the editor feels so tender a concern!

$20 REWARD.—Ranaway from the subscriber's residence, (near Piscataway, Prince George's county, Maryland,) on Saturday night, the 30th of May, 1840, my negro woman SUSAN, about 35 years old, about 5 feet 6 or 7 inches high, of a very dark complexion, and had a scar, I think, on her left cheek, about an inch long. She took with her some calico dresses. She has a mother and some brothers living in Washington city, some living near the steamboat wharf, and some on the Capitol hill, I believe, and were left free some years ago by Peter Dejean, of Prince George's county, Maryland. The above reward will be paid to any person who will secure her in jail so that I get her again, and all reasonable expenses paid if brought home. JOHN H. GWYNN.

SELECTIONS.

From the Practical Christian.

Garrisonism.

DEAR CHRISTIAN:—I read a great deal in the papers, and hear a great deal said, from time to time, about *Garrisonism*. It is represented both by pro-slavery and anti-slavery men, as a most noxious, hateful, and horrible compound of mysterious and indescribable mischiefs, which must be put down, or Church and State, religion and government, will be subverted by its potent influence. But, my dear Christian, you would know *what* this same *Garrisonism* is. Why, they say it is *infidelity* in *religion*, and *Jacobinism* in *politics*; that its drift is to destroy the Church and anarchize the State—to put down the clergy, and disband civil magistracy—to rend asunder all the ties of human society. Now some people are very anxious to know whether you are going to endorse Garrisonism, or oppose it. It is suspected that you are a little tinctured with this *odious ism*, and at any rate that you will not be very forward in denouncing its reputed author. Nevertheless, there are those who think it your duty to join in the cry—'away with such a *fellow* from the earth!' What say you, shall he be *crucified* or not? In order that you may judge, perhaps you wish to know what accusations are laid against him. I will endeavor to set them forth.

In the first place he is a most dangerous fanatic—wild, visionary, furious and untameable. He has disturbed and agitated the whole North American nation on the subject of republican slavery;—denouncing it as sinful against God, inhuman between man and man, iniquitous and abominable altogether; and contending that it ought immediately to be repented of and abolished; all this by peaceable means alone. Thus he would annihilate $1,200,000,000 worth of property at a stroke, and let loose thousands of ferocious butchers to ravage the whole southern country. By the promulgation of such monstrous notions, he has got himself mobbed at the *North*, and doomed at the *South* to destruction, by large offers of reward for his abduction. And now ought such a fellow to live in this most christian and republican country? Only consider how many thousand men and women he has infected with this *madness* of immediate emancipation, most of whom, but for his violent outcry, would have slept in quiet, unconscious torpor, on the very brink of slavery's volcanic crater to this day.

In the second place, he is a loud-mouthed, rough-spoken, harsh-toned 'VOICE—crying in the wilderness.' He has clamored 'wolf! wolf!' 'fire! fire!' without any sort of regard to delicate ears, or drowsy eyes,—and has denounced all the 'dumb dogs that will not bark'—even all those reverend clergy who love the wages of iniquity. He has had no fear of ministers or churches before his eyes, but treated the advocates and apologists for slavery *in the pulpit*, just as if there were no such sacred place. And by this means he has driven some into anti-slavery, who would never forgiven him; their anti-Garrisonism being to their abolitionism as *two* to *one*. Thus has he hatched a brood to pick his own eyes out—or at least to *attempt* it. And ought not such a man to be anathematized? Dear Christian, you cannot imagine how this man has threshed and winnowed '*the clergy!*' And he is still the same contumacious assailant of the priesthood. Shall he be allowed to go on?

In the third place, he has inveigled the *women* out of their 'appropriate sphere,' and set them agog after the rights and privileges of men—insomuch that some of them presume to vote and speak in the public assemblies of abolitionists. It is even apprehended that they may be emboldened to claim an *equality* with men in all our voluntary associations. Nor can the end of these things be foreseen. If they should be pushed to such extremities that the men are forced into the peculiar offices of wives and mothers, and all the concomitant evils of those relations, Garrisonism will then have consummated its work with a witness. But the universal opinion of the civilized world is against this interchangeable metamorphosis of the sexes; it insists that women shall keep their place. They may sing, and dance, and declaim in that celebrated school of morals, the Theatre, but as to their voting and speaking against *slavery*, in the public meetings of philanthropic associations, it is *intolerable*. They may also, if religious, travel the streets and circulate Tracts, or teach in Sunday Schools, or do any manner of business assigned to them by the clergy, for their personal advantage and sectarian aggrandizement; but otherwise than this, they are to consider *it the 'chief end of a woman to get a husband,'* or at least a *master*. Now all this conclusively shows that Garrison ought to be silenced at once and forever; he is a dangerous man.

In the fourth place, he has bewitched nearly all the colored people, who stick to him like burrs, and will not believe they have another such a friend in the country. He is crowding them on as fast as he can towards the dreaded consummation of an unnatural amalgamation with the whites; clamoring on all occasions that they are real human beings—and that they are entitled to equal rights and privileges with other people. He maintains that the *negro-pease* is a relict of slavery, and that reaching a colored communicant the bread and wine at Sacrament with a pole is anti-christian. Such are the lengths to which he is carrying things. Ought he then to be tolerated? Above all, ought he to be approved?

In the fifth place, he is *ambitious*. With all his women, and colored adhererents, and a motley multitude of congenial associates, restless spirits from every sect and party, he feels his importance, and assumes to be the grand leader of the anti-slavery enterprise. He takes 'too much' upon himself. He must be put down. There are other anti-slavery heroes and generals fit to command, as well as he. Moses had his Korah, Dathan and Abiram,—and Cæsar had his Brutus and Cassius; let the *usurper* beware! Ought he not to receive 'death for his ambition?'

In the sixth place, dear Christian, you know that Garrison is a sort of *sui generis* Quaker, who believes that all days ought to be kept holy, and therefore, that keeping only Sabbath day so, is not up to the mark of pure Christianity. He is a *non-resistant*, too, and deems it anti-christian to repel physical force *with* physical force—evil with evil. It is said, withal, that he is a *perfectionist*, and believes *man*, with the help of God, *can do his whole duty* in the present life. if he will only *try* as he *ought!*—All this is passing strange; it is monstrous! Shall such a man be suffered to go on deceiving the people?

Finally, he is a '*no-government man*.' He believes that all human governments now existing, however necessary and good, compared with a worse state of things, are more or less anti-christian in the spirit and policy of their constitutions, and will finally pass away before the brightening manifestation of the kingdom of Jesus Christ: *that* kingdom which is not of this world, but which is destined to supercede and swallow up all mere human kingdoms; *that* kingdom whose laws are written on the heart, and whose judgments take hold on the inmost soul; *that* everlasting kingdom, which shall never pass away—in which the tabernacle of God shall be with men, and all hatred, sin, war and death forever cease. So he will not fight with carnal weapons for one country against the people of another. He will not accept office and bind himself to take the life, limb or liberty of his guilty brother man. He will not vote others into offices which he cannot conscientiously fill himself; nor sue men at the law; nor depend on the protection of the civil or military power for personal safety. In fine, there is nothing wild and extravagant, and unpopular, into which his fanaticism has not plunged him. Even his friends who idolize him, allow that he is *man*, with sundry human weaknesses, while his enemies think they have good reason to believe '*he hath a devil.*' In the midst of all this, the man has the hardihood to retain his rank in the anti-slavery army, and stoutly contends that he ought not to be expelled from among his old associates—all his religious and political heresies to the contrary notwithstanding. He will have it that the old anti-slavery platform is broad enough to hold him and all other real abolitionists, whether orthodox or heterodox,—war-men or peace-men, politicians or non-politicians, human-government men or divine government men. But issue has been joined, division created, and separation effected. And now the cry from 'new-organization' is, down with Garrison, the *infidel and anarchist!*

Shall we, dear Christian, join in the death-cry? Let us first pause, look into the future, and consider well whether at last, when all illusions are dispelled, and truth comes fully to light, and God sits in judgment on human conduct, W. L. Garrison will not be found nearer right than those who have set themselves in array for his overthrow. Let us consider that pride, and prejudice, and envy,—though inveterate and irresistible for a time, must at last perish together in the very pit which they dig for the faithful witnesses of hated truth and righteousness. Think of the future, the *just and impartial future!*

From the Herald of Freedom.

New-Hampshire.

The following are some of the most important resolutions adopted at the late anniversary of the N. H. Anti-Slavery Society.

Whereas, slavery is a monster which, in his ravages, spares neither old nor young, male nor female, but preys alike upon the rights of all human beings within his grasp; and whereas, this monster, which is gnawing at the vitals of our country, is supported by the combined influence of persons of all ages, of both sexes, and of almost every party and sect in the land; therefore

Resolved, That in our labors for the overthrow of this execrable and bloody system, we will joyfully co-operate on equal terms, with EVERY HUMAN BEING, who desires to take a part with us in this great work of philanthropy and benevolence.

Resolved, That the spirit which would lead its possessor to point the finger of scorn and reproach at a fellow-laborer in our holy cause, on account of his or her peculiar sentiments in relation to matters foreign to the great object for which we have associated, or to exclude from the anti-slavery platform any friend of immediate emancipation who desires to co-operate with us, is at war with the principles of our enterprise, and closely allied to the spirit of slavery.

Resolved, That deeply impressed with the importance of the services rendered to the anti-slavery cause by our beloved brother N. P. Rogers, in the able, faithful and diligent discharge of his duty as editor of the Herald of Freedom, in the vigilance with which he has continelled our watch-tower, the fearlessness with which he has defended our strong-hold; we earnestly recommend to the Executive Committee to re-appoint him to that station, which for nearly two years past he has filled so creditably to himself, and so advantageously to our enterprise.

Whereas, slaveholding is in all cases a violation of the fundamental law of Christianity, and one in the guilt of which the American people, north and south, and the professed church in America of almost all denominations, in every part of the country, are deeply implicated; and whereas, it is the duty of the ministers of Christ to cry aloud and spare not, to lift up their voices like a trumpet and show the people their transgression, and the professing church their sin; therefore,

Resolved, That abolitionists cannot consistently with their principles receive and support any man as a Christian minister, who holds slaves, apologizes for slavery, or refuses to bear a faithful pulpit testimony against the giant sin of our country.

Resolved, That abolitionists cannot, without a violation of their principles, recognize or sustain as a Christian church, any body of persons which tolorates slaveholding in its members, which apologizes for slavery, or refuses to bear an unequivocal testimony against it.

Resolved, That Martin Van Buren and William Henry Harrison have both shown themselves so thoroughly subservient to the interests of slavery, and so utterly hostile to the equal rights of man, as to have forfeited all claim to the name of Democrat or Whig, and the political support of any man worthy the title of freeman.

Whereas, the principles of abolitionism are but the principles of democracy applied to slavery, and the measures of abolitionism but the dissemination of the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, and the endeavor to bring slaveholders and the supporters of slavery to receive and practice on them,

Resolved, That no man can be a true and consistent Democrat or genuine Whig of the school of '76, who either opposes the abolition enterprise, or refuses to co-operate in efforts for its promotion.

Resolved, That we regard the conduct of the late Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in selling the Emancipator, the Society's official organ, on the eve of the late anniversary, as wholly unjustifiable, and involving a breach of trust, which proves them unworthy of our confidence as the servants of the cause.

Resolved, That the New York City Anti-Slavery Society, in refusing to re-transfer the Emancipator to its rightful owners, on being remunerated for any expenses which they had incurred by the purchase, disregarded the Christian law—'Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.'

Resolved, That we have learned with high satisfaction, that the present Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society propose to issue a new weekly journal, to be entitled 'THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD;' and that we will do all in our power to extend its circulation in this State.

Resolved, That the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, by permitting slaveholders to participate in the management of its concerns, and by receiving into its treasury the avails of unrequited toil, and the price of 'slaves and souls of men;' is guilty of sustaining a system of human depravity unparalleled in the history of the most degraded of the nations they are laboring to convert, and merits our severe condemnation and stern rebuke.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be authorized to call a State Convention in the early part of autumn to devise and prosecute measures to advance our enterprise, and also to hear a report from our delegate to the World's Convention.

Resolved, That he who arrays himself against the cause of equal and impartial liberty, is therefore unworthy the suffrages of the friends of freedom, whether whigs or democrats, for any office in the gift of the people, because he is either ignorant of the principles on which our government is based, or hostile to their prevalence and practical development in its administration.

Resolved, That our regard for the integrity, purity and prosperity of the anti-slavery cause and for the successful prosecution of our efforts to induce the members of all existing parties to embrace and act upon their own professed principles, constrains us to protest emphatically against the organization of abolitionists, as such, into a distinct political party, or embarrassing our operations with the machinery of partizan political action.

Resolved, That we decidedly disapprove the movement of the recent Albany Convention, in nominating candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States, in opposition to the wishes and judgment of the great body of abolitionists throughout the country; and that without intending the slightest disrespect to the distinguished and highly estimable gentlemen whose names have been so unwisely presented to the public, we counsel abolitionists to give no countenance to this movement either by voting for these candidates, or in any other way.

Resolved, That under existing circumstances we recommend to abolitionists to scatter their votes at the approaching Presidential election.

From the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

To the Editor of the Emancipator:

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Allow me to say something relative to the meeting of the colored people in T. S. Wright's church, a report of which was published in the Emancipator of May 22d, and copied into the Colored American. I wish the writer had signed his English name to the article, if he has any, and not one that is about equivalent to 'nobody.' I hesitate not to say that this report is calculated to make erroneous impressions. Its whole purport seems to be, to flatter the colored people, and to decry William Lloyd Garrison, whom it represents as making a long and labored self-glorification speech. Having attended the meeting, and being acquainted with the manner in which it was called, I will offer my version of it.

On the evening of the 17th ult. W. L. G. was informed that notice had been spread among the colored people to meet on the next evening in T. S. Wright's church to hear an address from him previous to his departure for England. He declined acceding to the arrangement, and expressed his strong disapprobation of the measure, but yielded finally to the solicitations of friends present, and consented to attend. It would appear from the general tone of Philemon's account, that the movement was artfully preconcerted, whereas W. L. G. was not consulted about it at all, and if notice had not been given, he would have positively forbidden it. I was present at the time, and feel confident of the truth of my assertion.

As to the long speech, Philemon may possibly be mistaken in his judgment, and so may I. My judgment is, that it was a plain, clear, historical discourse, remarkably calculated to inform the ignorant and to soothe the irritated: and there was no more allusion to himself than was absolutely necessary to make the subject clearly understood.

The resolution offered by T. Van Ranslaer was expressive of confidence in the delegation sent out by the American Anti-Slavery Society as such, commending them as tried friends of human liberty to the kind regard of abolitionists in England. It was shown to me before it was offered to the meeting, and I thought it appropriate and reasonable; nor do I believe that there was any intention to cast censure, or to make an invidious distinction between the delegates of the Parent Society, and those of other societies. I conceive that the colored people of New-York, or Boston, or Philadelphia, might very properly approve of a delegation chosen by the American Anti-Slavery Society, they being members thereof. They might also extend their approval to the entire delegation of the country, if they should see fit; and there might exist a difference of opinion among them as to the propriety or importance of doing either, without party jealousies being provoked to render confusion and discord.

Philemon should have stated that W. L. Garrison, in expressing his unwillingness to be associated in the same clause with Birney, Stanton, and Colver, said also that *they* would feel equally unwilling to be placed in that relation to himself, so that it would be mutually disagreeable, which I suppose to be a simple fact. He did not oppose the proffered amendments on any other ground than that of his unwillingness to be associated with those whom he considered as having departed from the true platform of abolitionism; and when S. E. Cornish proposed that the whole business should be indefinitely postponed, he expressed his decided judgment in favor of that disposition of it, whereupon the original resolution was withdrawn by the mover, and that was the end of it.

Respectfully,
J. S. GIBBONS.

6th mo. 9th, 1840.

PUBLIC ACTION OF WOMEN—MY NATIVE TOWN FOREVER!—Listen to this, all ye contemners of public female action. In Orwell, my native town, there is to be a public Sabbath School Celebration, on the 4th proximo. Well, that this public transaction be properly conducted, a *Committee of Arrangements* has been appointed, 30 out of 50 of whom are *females!* and this done, in a great part, by orthodox Congregationalists, who are most strenuous of any class of professing christians against the public action of females! What next? Verily, they who so greatly fear the world will be turned upside down, are involuntarily laying their own hands to the naughty work!

Since I obtained the foregoing information, I have been told, by one who knows, that the like thing was done in the adjoining town of Benson, last year. Wonder if any have seceded and organized a new Sabbath School, because women were appointed on committees with men?—*Ed. Vt. Telegraph.*

COMMUNICATIONS.

Another Case of Colorphobia!

BOSTON, June 17, 1840.

MR. EDITOR:

Will you allow me to give you a short account of a most disgraceful incident, which occurred yesterday afternoon in Charlestown?

Wishing to ride into the city in one of the omnibuses, I had just taken my seat, when a gentleman stepped up, followed by a very respectably dressed colored man. When the latter attempted to enter the omnibus, the driver interposed by catching him in his arms; saying at the same time, 'You cannot get in here.' 'Why cannot he get in?' I asked; 'he seems a very decent man, and you are public carriers.' 'I have orders from the owners,' he replied, 'not to allow any *niggers* to get *inside*.' 'If you keep him out,' said I, 'I shall get out;' and accordingly I did so, and the vehicle passed on.

The occurrence had attracted the attention of a number of spectators, and quite a crowd soon collected on the side-walk, on the countenances of a number of whom, I observed decisive indications of habitual inebriation. These were very clamorous about the impropriety of permitting '*niggers*' to ride in public conveyances with white ladies. The sympathy existing between the pro-slavery spirit and the rum-drinkers and loafers in Charlestown was palpably apparent.

Much discussion ensued in the crowd. One man asked me, with an air of triumph, if I would like to have a sister of mine ride in a coach with a black man. I answered that I had not the slightest objection to her riding with any decent man. 'Would you walk from here over the bridge with that negro?' he asked. 'I would rather walk with *him* than with *you*, from the sentiments you have advanced,' I replied. 'In such a case I would fight,' said he, doubling up his fist. 'You would thus prove yourself a barbarian and a ruffian,' I replied.

The innocent cause of all this difficulty was a Mr. Jinnings, a colored individual of prepossessing appearance, very genteelly dressed, and of an intelligent countenance, who has qualified himself for performing dental operations, with Dr. Mann of the city. In conversation with several individuals he evinced himself quite their superior.

This circumstance, taken in connexion with the unwarrantable interference of some individuals, who are a disgrace to their species, with a colored man and woman walking together in the street on Friday last,—the female having a *few drops of black blood in her veins*, but who was so white as to be undistinguishable from a white person,—evinces that the ferocious spirit of prejudice against color is not dead but sleepeth, and only requires opportunities for its manifestation, even to outrage and murder. Colored persons may not walk the streets, or ride in the public conveyances, without being subject to insult and violence; and if any friends of the blacks interfere, they are accused of wishing to create a disturbance of the public peace.

Truly, the race of those, 'who are of their father the devil, for his works they do,' is not yet extinct.

A justice of the peace finally came up and dispersed the assemblage. F. F. MANFORD.

New Organization.

'*The most benevolent and glorious enterprise, which has brightened the prospects of the world, this side the dark ages.*'

Such is the language incidentally used, in the clandestine missive, issued by the Executive Committee of the Massachusetts Abolition Society, as a '*concio ad clerum* to assemble, and save the American A. S. Society, from falling into the hands of the rabble rout of men and women, who were expected to come from highways and byways, east and west, north and south, to the annual meeting at New York, at the summons of Wm. Lloyd Garrison!

Although I deeply sympathize with those who, as the result has proved, give their money for that which was not bread, and their labor for that which satisfied not, yet the quotation, given above from their exhortatory epistle, is fully true as respects the anti-slavery enterprise.

It is much to be regretted, that men who so clearly perceive the beauty and grandeur of the design to extirpate slavery in our country, and raise up nearly three millions of our fellow-men and women from a state beneath the dust they tread on, to that of our equals; should yet allow feelings so paltry and mean as jealousy and envy to enter their hearts, to poison their affections, and paralyze their benevolent efforts.

Passing strange is it to me, that men of talents, education and professed piety, should so far dehumanize and dechristianize themselves, as to permit spite to oust benevolence and kindness from their bosoms, and cause them to make the enfranchisement of the slave a secondary consideration, and the gratification of personal dislike a primary one.

It is impossible successfully to deny that new organization embodies and personifies all the virulence of hostility, and all the bitterness of malice. It may be defined as hatred to liberty, so far as the cause of human liberty is connected with Wm. Lloyd Garrison. New organization would wish to overthrow slavery, but it has a more darling object, one much nearer its heart, and that is, the destruction of that fearless and uncompromising champion of freedom:—'let us kill this son, and the inheritance shall be ours.' The vehement hostility manifested towards that heroic and self-sacrifising individual savors very little of wisdom or sound policy.

The cause of the slave is from henceforth, inseparably bound up with his name, and the torrents of calumny may descend, and the winds of denunciation may howl; yet being founded on the adamantine rock

POLITICAL.

For the Liberator.

Independent Nominations.

BOSTON, May 27th, 1840.

Pursuant to the call of a committee, appointed under the authority of the late Albany Convention, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Convention for independent nominations assembled this day in the Melodeon, in this city, at 9 o'clock, A. M. Thomas W. Ward, Esq. of Shrewsbury, was chosen President; Col. E. Whitmore of Ashburnham, and I. Kittredge, M. D. of Beverly, Vice Presidents; E. Wright, Jr. of Dorchester, C. C. Nichols of Freetown, and Charles T. Torrey of Worcester, Secretaries.

The list of delegates embraced members from every county but one, and from more than 30 towns, in every part of the State. Messrs. Joshua Leavitt and Charles W. Denison of New Jersey, E. G. Chase and Augustus Adams of New Hampshire, were invited to participate in the proceedings of the convention.

Discussions, in which great ability was displayed, and deep interest manifested, occupied the sessions of the body, and resulted in the adoption of the resolves given below, and the unanimous nomination of the gentlemen mentioned as candidates for public offices.

Presidential Electors.

JOSEPH SOUTHWICK, *Boston*,	} *Electors at large.*	
SYLVESTER JUDD, *Northampton*,		
SIMON G. SHIPLEY, *Boston*,		District No. 1
LEMUEL GOTT, *Rockport*,		" " 2
JOHN G. WHITTIER, *Amesbury*,		" " 3
JAMES T. WOODBURY, *Acton*,		" " 4
THOMAS W. WARD, *Shrewsbury*,		" " 5
JOEL HAYDEN, *Williamstown*,		" " 6
GEO. W. STERLING, *Great Barrington*,		" " 7
CHAS. SEARLE WEATHER, *Northampton*,		" " 8
BUCKLIN FITZ, *Holliston*,		" " 9
BENJAMIN BURT, *Freetown*,		" " 10
ZENAS D. BASSETT, *Barnstable*,		" " 11
JONATHAN NEWCOMB, *Braintree*,		" " 12

The Convention then proceeded to nominate candidates for State offices, and the following gentlemen were unanimously nominated.*

FOR GOVERNOR,
Hon. WILLIAM JACKSON, of *Newton*.

FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR,
Hon. ROGER LEAVITT, *Charlemont*.

And they are accordingly recommended to the cordial support of every friend of the liberty of the slave, and the cause of temperance, good morals, and sound and equal legislation for the whole commonwealth.

Messrs. Samuel E. Sewall of Boston, E. Wright, Jr., of Dorchester, and I. Clark of Northampton, were chosen a committee to prepare an address to the people of the State, explanatory of the views of the convention. Other measures were adopted to carry out the views of the convention in regard to the fall elections—and the following resolves were unanimously adopted:—

1. That MARTIN VAN BUREN, by his whole course in relation to slavery, since his nomination for the office which he now holds, by his 'veto pledge' to the slaveholders, by his casting vote in favor of the basest censorship of the press, while Vice President, by his abject subserviency to the slaveholders since his elevation to the Presidency, in the use of the appointing power, in his diplomacy with Great Britain, and above all, in his espousal of the cause of the Spanish slave traders, against the unfortunate captives of the Amistad, has shown himself wholly unworthy of the votes of freemen for the highest office in the gift of a republic.

2. That the vote of WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, as a member of Congress, in favor of the disgraceful Missouri compromise, his avowal at Vincennes, in 1835, that the discussion of slavery in the free States is *unconstitutional*, and ought to be put down 'by the force of public opinion,' which sentiment he has reaffirmed since his last nomination, and finally, his encouragement to the Kentucky delegation, in procuring the infamous 'black act' of Ohio, clearly show that he also is wholly unworthy of the votes of freemen for the highest office in the gift of the people.

3. That the friends of liberty can have no choice between two such evils as the above named pro-slavery candidates for the Presidency of this republic.

4. That the association of JOHN TYLER, a slaveholder, and a public advocate of the application of 'lynch law' to all abolitionists, and of JAS. K. POLK, JOHN FORSYTH, or R. M. JOHNSON, also slaveholders, with the Presidential candidates before mentioned, as candidates for the second office in the gift of the people, settles the question, that as a matter of principle, no friend of liberty can vote for the tickets of the parties to which they respectively belong.

5. That slavery, and the ascendancy of the slaveholding power, in this republic, are the principal causes of the present pecuniary distress, and that till these are removed, no permanent relief can be afforded, either by an independent treasury or a national bank, and therefore,

Resolved That none of the measures, proposed by the rival parties of the day, are of such importance, compared with the abolition of slavery, as to warrant any delay in presenting candidates for office who will use all the constitutional power conferred by office, to remove the greatest evil which can possibly afflict a republic; and

6. That we heartily respond to the nomination of the Albany Convention, of JAMES G. BIRNEY, of New-York, for President, and THOMAS EARLE, of Pennsylvania, for Vice President of the United States, and will sustain the said nomination with our influence and votes.

The subject of a new daily paper, in this city, was referred to a committee, with discretionary power.

The connection of this movement with the anti-slavery, or abolition society, or any other existing association, was universally disclaimed, by the convention, though the Secretaries doubt whether the resolution on the subject was passed or not.

The central committee were instructed to fill all vacancies in the ticket. The convention then adjourned sine die.

THOMAS W. WARD, *President.*

ENOCH WHITMORE, ISRAILS KITTREDGE, } *Vice Presidents.*

E. WRIGHT, JR. C. C. NICHOLS, C. T. TORREY, } *Secretaries.*

Boston, May 27, 1840.

Address

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The undersigned, on behalf of the Convention lately held in Boston by the friends of independent political action, beg leave to address you in regard to your duties at the ensuing election.

We would premise, that the friends of this measure are not confined either to the Abolition, as distinguished from the Anti-Slavery Society of Massachusetts. In both societies some advocate, and others oppose, the movement. It is the same in the National organization. Friends and opponents are to be found in both the old and new societies.

As independent political action is not the measure of either society exclusively, neither is it confined to either political party. Converted whigs and democrats are now linked together in the common cause of humanity. Mr. Birney may be considered as preferring the whig, and Mr. Earle the democratic party.

We call on you, then, friends and brothers, not in the name of any society or party, but as men driven by our consciences and our love of humanity to assume an independent position. We call on you to forget for a moment that you are, or have been members of any religious, political or philanthropic association, and determine from your own unbiassed judgment what course you will pursue at the ensuing election.

The convention, in whose name we speak, has nominated an anti-slavery ticket for electors of President and Vice President, and for Governor and Lieutenant Governor, and recommends similar nominations for other State officers. Why has this course been adopted? Why is the whole system of political anti-slavery operations to be changed thus suddenly? are questions which are naturally asked. We reply that we believe independent political action is one of the great measures which is to effect the overthrow of the slave system; without it all others, if not entirely nugatory, will be far slower and less efficacious.

Look for a moment at the gigantic enemy with whom we are contending. With a few solitary exceptions, he moves all the presses from Eastport to New Orleans. The clergy are struck dumb in his presence. Religion quails before him. The legislatures of the Nation and the States fall down and worship at his nod. President, Vice President, Senators, Representatives, and Governors all bend to do him homage. The common law, daring to maintain an uncertain struggle against the mighty foe, has been nearly crushed in the conflict.

Do you ask for exhibitions of his power? you will find them in the Constitution of the United States, which binds us to surrender the runaway to his tyrant, and which gives such a fatal preponderance to the slave interest in the councils of the nation. Little more than one third of the free population of the country, or 3,823,389 people in the slave States, have one hundred representatives in Congress; while the remaining two thirds, 7,003,451 persons, have only one hundred and forty-two representatives. Why this disproportion? Why, too, is it that they have given the country Presidents for forty years, and the free votes for only twelve? Why is it that a foreigner is prohibited by Congress from being naturalized unless he is white? Why are free colored men not permitted to drive the mail? Why was the curse of slavery entailed on Louisiana, Missouri and Arkansas? Why is it still tolerated and encouraged in the District of Columbia and the territories under the exclusive legislation of Congress? Why has this country done so little for the abolition of the foreign slave trade—nothing for the abolition of the domestic? Why does our government still refuse to recognise Hayti as a nation, when our commercial interests so imperiously require it? Why is it that the petitions of our free citizens of the United States cannot be read before their representatives, if they relate to the obnoxious topic of slavery? These things are not accidental, they are the inevitable consequences of a predominating and constant influence. Time would fail were we to attempt to recapitulate, even in the briefest manner, the instances in which the slaveholding power has ruled the councils of the National and State governments.

How is a power so strong, pervading the country, sustained by the habits, feelings, and supposed interests of the South, and the pusillanimity of the North; that the planters and the merchants kneel to as the associate of Mammon; that magistrates and people equally reverence—how is such a power to be successfully attacked? Some of our friends say by moral suasion—by appeals to the conscience of the nation. We should be the last to doubt the efficacy of such appeals. Truth and justice, immortal and invincible, angels of God himself, are fighting for us. The final issue of the struggle cannot be doubtful. But in this world truth and justice must fight with human weapons, the press, the pulpit, and the ballot-box.

As long as we have an immense and overwhelming force to contend against, which has allied to itself the pulpit, the press, the courts, and the legislature of the country, to resist it effectually, will require every human means which heaven has placed within our reach. No one can be safely neglected. Why is the obvious means which the ballot-box offers, to be despised? How often has that been effectual in this country for purposes much less important? Where else is the battle of freedom to be fought, if not at the polls?

Is it not obvious that both the great political parties in the country are the allies of slavery? Have they not denounced, reviled, persecuted, and mobbed abolitionists throughout the country whenever they thought it would promote their purposes? Have not both parties now nominated candidates for President and Vice President, who are sworn friends to the slaveholding interest?

Look at Van Buren, who publishes in advance, that if the people of the country, by their representatives in Congress, pass a bill for abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, he will show his devotion to southern policy by vetoing it. His equally disgraceful conduct in relation to the captives of the Amistad, is still fresh in our recollection. In trembling obedience to the dictation of slavery, he is ready and anxious to surrender to a foreign country these unfortunate strangers, whom justice, mercy, heaven, and the honor of his country, all commanded him to protect.

Next turn to Harrison. While governor of the Territory of Indiana, he used his official influence to introduce slavery into that territory, contrary to the Act of Congress by which it had been for ever excluded. While a member of Congress he voted for the admission of Missouri, with a constitution sanctioning slavery, and thus consented to an act which under the name of a 'Compromise,' delivered the free States and free labor wholly into the hands of the slave power. While a candidate for the Presidency in 1836, he uttered the sentiment in a public speech, that the citizens of the free States have no constitutional right even to *discuss* the subject of slavery, which sentiment he has re-affirmed since his recent nomination. He maintains, too, the doctrine that Congress has no power by the Constitution to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia without the consent of the slave States. Finally, he gave his encouragement and assistance to Kentucky, in procuring the passage, by the legislature of Ohio, of the infamous law making it criminal to give food and shelter to fugitives from republican bondage.

The candidates for Vice President, Johnson, Tyler, Polk, and Forsyth, are all slaveholders, wedded to the institution of the South.

It is not by accident, that the candidates of both the political parties are thus the devoted friends of the slave system. They were selected for that reason, they are supported on that account.

Brethren, we should think it an insult, to ask you whether you can vote for such men, were it not that too many abolitionists have formed their party chains so strong, that they have joined in the thoughtless shouts for Harrison and Van Buren.

Abolitionists of Massachusetts, we appeal to your consciences, can you consistently enroll yourselves with parties, either of which, if successful, is sure to maintain the slave system? Become a whig or a democrat, and you not only suffer the great principles of the natural equality and brotherhood of all mankind, for which you are contending, to become subservient to the inferior objects which they aim at,—to a Sub-Treasury system or a National Bank,—but you are in reality building up the great fabric of slavery with one hand, while you pretend to be demolishing it with the other.

It was the opinion of the Convention we represent, that there ought to be anti-slavery candidates for Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and other State officers. The same considerations which lead to the nomination of candidates for office under the U. S. Government, seem to require this further action. We cannot consistently act with the other parties. We must divorce ourselves from them altogether. The connection between the State and General Government is so intimate, that the only means by which we can make the power of the State felt in the national councils, is by reforming our own Legislature. When United States Senators are to be chosen, how are we to ensure the selection of those, who will dare to maintain the rights of man, and not crouch to the spirit of slavery? Can any other way be pointed out but independent political organization?

But it is urged we shall oppose particular candidates whenever necessary, as effectually by scattering our votes at elections, as by more organized opposition. This is sheer nonsense. Few men will take the trouble to go to the polls to scatter their votes. But give them names which they have been wont to love and reverence, round whom to rally, and thousands will rush to support the nominations. This is the only course to concentrate and consolidate our strength.

The truth is, our principles are directly at war with those of both political parties. We cannot be true to our own views of duty, and act with them. The sooner, therefore, our connexion with them is dissolved,—the sooner we allow our principles to develope themselves in a political form, the sooner will they triumph.

Friends and brethren, you have been too long united with whigs and democrats, you have too long aided the slave power of the country by enrolling yourselves in these parties. Abandon them then, at once and forever, and join in the name of freedom and Christianity in opposition to these parties, and all parties who will not recognize the claims of a common humanity.

But we hear it said, abolitionists will become corrupted by becoming partizans. How so? Have not the majority of them hitherto been members of parties with whom they could not entirely sympathize? Will they become corrupted by acting in concert with those in whose great object they heartily sympathize? Do men become the worse by conforming their actions to their views of duty? The argument goes too far; it would put an end to all united political action. If the thing itself, a political party, be not wrong, and we are not now addressing those who consider it so, then one based on sound principles is the one which every good man should embrace and cling to. To say that he ought not to make his great moral principles the main spring of his political action, is to say, that he must be content with meaner principles for public use and keep his strict morality at home for private purposes.

We believe that the great principles for which we are contending, the brotherhood and equality of all mankind, will not only necessarily form a party, but will purify the elements of which it is composed. Selfishness and ambition may indeed exist in such an association, as they are liable to in every thing human, but they will be compelled to move in strict subordination to the generous motives which create and animate the organization.

What led our fathers through the toils and perils of the revolution with unabated zeal and courage? It was the great principles which moved them. These bound together the people of the country, and sustained and cheered them in all their reverses. It will be so with abolitionists. The great ideas of universal freedom, and equal rights, will summon the great body of our citizens to support our cause. However few we may now be, however we may be persecuted and reviled, the sacred truth will have its influence on the hearts and minds of men, and in the end must triumph. The idea expressed in the following resolution has of late been widely circulated among abolitionists.

'Resolved, That it is the duty of abolitionists, by diffusing the principles of light, and liberty, and love, to convert men of all parties to truth in doctrine and right in practice; to make abolitionists of partizans, not partizans of abolitionists.'

It requires but little reflection to perceive that the argument conveyed in this resolution is superficial, and, we speak it with respect, little better than a play upon words. If a whig or a democrat becomes an abolitionist indeed and in truth, must he not cease to be a whig or a democrat? Nay more, will he not find himself at once the antagonist of both whigs and democrats? Can he for a moment unite with his old associates in supporting their presidential and vice-presidential candidates, the devoted allies of the slave system, or in totally neglecting all efforts for accomplishing the great duties, which devolve on the national government, of abolishing slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia and the territories, and the slave trade between the states, and preventing slavery in every new state admitted to the union? These great objects are not merely forgotten in the strife of contending factions, but are, by mutual consent, banished from discussion.

We are told every day that certain great interests of the country are at stake on the issue of a presidential election, and that as we cannot prevent the success of one or other of the great parties, we ought to unite with the one whose triumph will most promote the welfare of our common country. We must not bring anti-slavery forward in the present critical condition of the nation, but wait for some fitter opportunity. Listen not to the voice of the tempter. He will always tell you that it is better to postpone duty to present interests, and that your struggles will be futile and unavailing, if commenced at an unpropitious season. But the present is always the best time to begin either personal or national reform. The sooner the work is set about in earnest, the sooner will it be accomplished. All we expect at the next election is to bear a faithful testimony against oppression and in favor of liberty, to enjoy the satisfaction of a good conscience, to present an example for others to follow hereafter. Our votes we know are too few to change the result. But should we, against all hope and calculation, prevent an election by the people, and so throw the choice on the House of Representatives, the whigs no doubt will exclaim, you have treacherously deserted your country in her most imminent peril; you are the cause of the success of Van Buren and his myrmidons; in following the shadow of an impossible theory, you have sacrificed the substance of a glorious reform and general prosperity.

Such charges would no doubt be painful to those of us who have been whigs. But we ought to rejoice in such a result. It would be a lesson never to be lost upon either party. It would fill their souls with terror and confusion. It would be the presage of our future and final success. It would rouse the nation like an earthquake.

Abolitionists of Massachusetts, we exhort you to remain true to your principles in the approaching contest; to cast your suffrages for James G. Birney, whose labors and sacrifices in the cause of liberty are so well known, whose sound judgment, comprehensive views, political information, and above all, unswerving rectitude, eminently qualify him for the high station for which he is a candidate. Every abolitionist should esteem it a pleasure and a privilege to vote for such a man. Nor is it necessary for us to enlarge on the merits of Mr. Earle, the tried and devoted champion of freedom. It is needless to compare him with the slaveholding candidates of the whigs and democrats.

Abolitionists of Massachusetts, renounce forever the fatal connexion with other parties, which you cannot maintain without a compromise of the great principles by which you are guided. Follow the dictates of your own consciences. Burst the chains which political and personal connexions impose upon you, that you may the sooner break the chains of the slave. You will enjoy the highest reward in the approval of your own consciences and the smiles of heaven.

S. E. SEWALL,
ISAAC CLARK,
E. WRIGHT, JR., } *Committee.*

Boston, June 20, 1840.

* Since the meeting of the Convention, vacancies have been made in the nomination for Governor by the declinature of Mr. Jackson, and in that for Lieutenant Governor, by the decease of Mr. Leavitt. The central committee have not yet been able to fill the vacancies, but hope to do so soon.

THE LIBERATOR.

BOSTON:

FRIDAY MORNING, JUNE 26, 1840.

☞ All letters, newspapers, packages, &c. intended for WM. LLOYD GARRISON, must be directed to the care of J. H. Tredgold, 27 New Broad-street, London. [Letters may be sent by the Great Western, which departs from New York for Bristol the first day of July.

☞ During the absence of Mr Garrison, the Liberator will be under the editorial care of the General Agent.

Anti-Slavery Political Party.

We publish this week, by request, the proceedings of the Convention of friends of independent anti-slavery nominations, recently held in this city, and also the Address of the committee of that Convention to the abolitionists of Massachusetts. It will be seen that candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the State, and an electoral ticket for the support of Birney and Earle as candidates for President and Vice President, were nominated. The fact, that out of five or six hundred friends of the anti-slavery cause, who were in the city at the time, only forty took part in the proceedings, would seem to show conclusively, (what, indeed, was scarcely doubted before,) that the third party scheme finds but little favor among the great body of abolitionists in Massachusetts. While a few are doubtless influenced by party attachments in their opposition to the measure, we are confident that an immense majority are actuated by the highest considerations of duty and sound policy, and a deep-rooted conviction that it will retard rather than accelerate the triumph of anti-slavery principles at the polls. Such being our own settled opinion, we are not a little gratified to learn, that the Hon. William Jackson of Newton, for whose judgment in such a case we entertain a very high respect, has declined to accept the nomination for Governor. One at least of the gentlemen nominated on the electoral ticket, will unquestionably decline; and we are not without hope that others will see the propriety of pursuing the same course.

The Address is from the pen of our highly-esteemed and single-hearted brother, SAMUEL E. SEWALL, who has been a member of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society from its origin in 1832 to the present period, and who has given the most unequivocal proofs of his ardent attachment to the cause. He is one of the few friends of the old organization, within the sphere of our acquaintance, who support the third party scheme. No one who knows him will for a moment doubt his perfect integrity and uprightness; and there are few men in our ranks whose opinions are entitled to more profound respect than his. The Address is written in that calm, but earnest style, which characterizes all the productions of its author; and it is our earnest wish that the facts and arguments which it embodies may be duly weighed by the anti-slavery voters of the State.

The whole question of political action having been already very fully discussed in our columns, and our own views having been repeatedly expressed, the present occasion does not appear to demand any extended remarks. We offer only a few words upon one or two prominent points.

We must express, at the outset, our cordial approbation of a large portion of the Address. To all its statements respecting the debasing and corrupting influence of slavery upon the pulpit and the press of the nation, and the utter subserviency to the slave power of both political parties, as well as the government of the country, we yield a hearty response. The picture is as just as it is humiliating. If the contemplation of it shall induce even one professed abolitionist to break the cords which bind him to either of the pro-slavery parties, no one will rejoice more heartily over his enfranchisement than ourselves. That no abolitionist can vote for either the whig or democratic candidates for President and Vice President, without the grossest inconsistency, or without striking a deadly blow at the principles he professes to revere, is a proposition so clear to our mind, that we wonder how any one can for a moment hesitate to admit its truth. We freely confess, however, that at the last Presidential election we were so blind as to vote for a pro-slavery candidate; but, even if our conscientious scruples did not keep us from the polls, we would sooner cut off our right hand than suffer it again to deposite a vote for such a candidate. If any advice or warning of ours against voting for slavery at the polls, could add any force to those presented in the Address, we would urge them with all the earnestness of one whose attachment to the cause is paramount to every personal and party consideration.

But, while we admit the truth of the premises so eloquently set forth in the Address, we are far, very far, from being convinced of the soundness of the writer's conclusions. It is still our firm conviction, that little or nothing will be gained, while much will be lost, by the plan of independent nominations. We are confident that our opinion upon this point is not the result of our peculiar views of the inherent character of government, but of a careful estimate of all the considerations which should have weight with a person who regards it not only right in itself, but a duty, to exercise the elective franchise. That slavery in our country will eventually be abolished by law, (so far as it can be done by such means,) unless the views of the people in relation to government shall undergo a speedy and almost miraculous change,—and that every consideration of expediency and duty must naturally operate to induce abolitionists, who vote, to carry out their principles by consistent and persevering political action, is what we fully believe. We urge no arguments, on the anti-slavery platform, to dissuade men from voting. The question is not, whether the ballot-box is not an important instrumentality, which should be wielded by every voter for the promotion of the cause of humanity and freedom; nor whether anti-slavery voters are not under the most sacred obligations to bestow their suffrages upon men who have given unequivocal evidence of their fidelity to the principles of impartial justice; but it is, whether the desired object can be most speedily and effectually accomplished by an organized and independent political party, or by the modes of action hitherto pursued, modified somewhat, perhaps, in the light of past experience. It does not follow, that he who opposes the plan of independent nominations must therefore stay away from the polls, or vote for the pro-slavery candidates of the present parties. This is not the alternative now presented to the anti-slavery voters of the country. On the contrary, they may, and, if they are governed by principle, they will, bestow their suffrages upon men of the right stamp.

Much has been said of late to disparage the plan of 'scattering votes,' as it is termed, and not a few have treated it with utter contempt. The authors of the Address do so by pronouncing it 'sheer nonsense' to maintain that this plan is as effective as that of independent nominations. They doubtless utter their honest convictions by the use of this strong, not to say dogmatical expression; but we have searched the Address in vain for any argument in support of this opinion, which shakes our former belief. It is said that 'few men will take the trouble to go to the polls to scatter their votes,' while if you 'give them names which they have been wont to love and reverence, round whom to rally, thousands will rush to support the nominations.' Are these assertions true? We will not allow ourselves to place so low an estimate upon the character of abolitionists as for one moment to believe it. Is it the enthusiasm of a *name* that is wanted to prevent them from prostituting their principles at the polls? Is it by such enthusiasm alone that they can be induced to perform their duty to their perishing countrymen? Are now the cords of sympathy which bind them to their brethren,—to say nothing of their regard for principles dearer to them than life,—strong enough to break every party ligature, and secure the faithful performance of every political duty? If not, then are they unworthy of the name of abolitionists. They need a new baptism of principle, and not the enthusiasm of a party, to ensure their fidelity at the polls. If they are abolitionists indeed, one half the labor and expense which will be required in maintaining a party organization, would be sufficient to induce them all to vote for good men and true. If they are not abolitionists, their organization into a party will not make them so. Under such an influence, their last state would be worse than the first.

We refer to the Middlesex Congressional election in 1838 as evidence that abolitionists may be easily brought to act right at the polls, without either the enthusiasm of a name, or the machinery of an organized party. It is our firm belief, that the nomination of an independent candidate in that case would have resulted in the success of one of the parties at the first trial; whereas, by 'scattering' their votes—or, in other words, by voting independently, *as individuals*, they succeeded twice in preventing a choice. We well remember that the parties at that time, next to their desire that abolitionists would vote for their candidates, prayed that they would make a nomination of their own.

The advocates of a third party, it seems to us, have betrayed a degree of impatience with the natural progress of events, which a more candid estimate of what has been already accomplished would have led them to avoid; and under the influence of this feeling, they are rushing into a measure which, we fear, will retard still more the object they are so anxious to effect.

We have not yet seen sufficient cause for disregarding the example of our English friends, who persevered in holding the balance of power between the parties, until their patient and untiring exertions were crowned with complete success. It is said, we know, that the political parties of our country are more subservient to the slave power, and guilty of greater outrages upon human rights, than were those of Great Britain. Admit it—but what does the fact prove, except that the *people* of the United States are more corrupted and debased by slavery than were the people of England? And is an anti-slavery political party the means most likely to purify their hearts and rectify their moral vision? To ask the question is to answer it.

All attempts to abolish slavery by legislation before the people of the country are converted to anti-slavery principles must of necessity be unsuccessful. A political party is not needed as a means of converting the people, and when they *are* converted, such a party will of course be unnecessary. When we say that efforts to abolish slavery by legislation must for the present be necessarily unsuccessful, we do not mean to intimate that such efforts should not be constantly and vigorously made; but only that the want of success should be attributed to the right cause, and not lead to the adoption of a measure which is at best of doubtful utility.

One point seems to have escaped our brethren who insist so strongly on the necessity of a new party. Neither of the great political parties is founded on the rightfulness of slavery. Look at their manifestoes. You find no open justification of slavery. On the contrary, each claims to be the party of the largest liberty. Both are barely subservient to the slave system; but this subserviency is not a principle of the parties; it is an accident, an occasional, temporary *measure of policy*, as inconsistent with their own professed principles as it is with those of the abolitionists. It is the result not so much of their own choice, as of a conviction that THE PEOPLE demand it at their hands; or at least that a portion of those whose votes are necessary to their success demand it, and that the remainder will not be driven by it from their support. The remedy for this state of things is to be found, not in a new party, but in scattering the 'living coals of truth' upon the heart and conscience of the nation. Considered as a means of doing this, an organized political party appears to us one of the most mischievous expedients which could possibly be devised. It not only has no adaptation to the end proposed, but cannot fail to be highly pernicious.

Our faith is strong, that if the anti-slavery voters of the country will only persevere in the system of independent, *individual* action at the polls, and carefully avoid setting up candidates of their own, they will at no distant day achieve a brilliant victory. They will thereby make it manifest to all the world, that they are actuated by no selfish or ambitious designs—that they desire only the triumph of principle and the enfranchisement of their brethren in bonds; while the formation of a party will throw new obstacles in their path, and put to a still greater distance the day of the slave's redemption. We counsel them, therefore, to give no countenance to the plan of independent nominations, and, at the same time to bestow their suffrages upon men of tried character and principle. Above all, let them see to it that they do not incur the contempt of slaveholders, the rebuke of their own consciences, and the frown of Heaven, by casting their votes for pro-slavery candidates.

Colonization Effrontery!

A person unacquainted with the past history of the American Colonization Society, and who has not reflected upon the character of the American Church, would naturally suppose, that after the accounts, which have just been spread before the public, of the late bloody and brutal war in Liberia, the former would not have the impudence, for at least a twelve month, to call upon the latter for funds to aid in the further prosecution of its worse than barbarous plan for civilizing and christianizing(!) a heathen people! What would such a person say to the following official bulletin from the Colonization Office at Washington?

COLONIZATION ROOMS,
Washington City.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society, June 12, 1840, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That in view of the *animating intelligence* received by the Saluda, from Liberia, demonstrating the rapidly increasing prosperity and *power* of that colony, *its ability for self-defence, its salutary influence upon the native tribes*(!!) its operations against the slave trade, and that it is *opening a wide door for civilization and Christianity*(!!) in Western Africa; and in view of the importance of the early return of the Saluda with a cargo and emigrants—requiring, in connection with the discharge of existing engagements, from fifteen to twenty thousand dollars—this Board recommend to all its friends liberal and energetic exertions in its behalf; and especially and most earnestly to the churches of every denomination throughout this Union, to take up collections for its benefit on the 5th of July next.

S. WILKESON,
President Board of Directors.

R. R. GURLEY, *Secretary.*

We would suggest to clergymen, when they call for contributions, that they had better read to their people the '*animating intelligence*' published by us last week, in order that the '*salutary influence*' of the Colony '*upon the native tribes*,'(!) and its mode of '*opening a wide door for civilization and Christianity*'(!) may be distinctly seen and duly appreciated.

After all, there is nothing incongruous or surprising in this call for funds. Why should we expect that a church which tolerates war and slaveholding, and maintains the divinity of governments based upon violence and brute force, should be shocked, or even seriously disturbed, by intelligence like that recently received from Liberia? The conduct of the missionaries is the legitimate fruit of the principles maintained by the great mass of the clergy and the church of this country,—and, indeed, by all the defenders of human governments; hence it is no wonder that the latter should aid the former in the prosecution of their 'holy war' in behalf of American civilization and Christianity!

Questions and Answers.

We very cheerfully comply with the request contained in the following note. While there seems to be a peculiar propriety in our being called upon to answer such of the interrogatories as refer to the relation which the Massachusetts A. S. Society sustains to the Liberator, we think our correspondent himself would give a better reply to the first of the series than any which we are able to offer.

BROTHER JOHNSON:

A friend requests me, in a letter lately received, to obtain for him answers to the following questions; and as it is possible there may be others who would like to have the same information for which he calls, I have thought it as well to solicit replies through the Liberator.

1. What are the principal points of difference between the Old and New Organizations?(1)

2. Is the Board of the Mass. A. S. Society responsible for the contents of the Liberator, except when they authorize publications, and have them signed by their officers?(2)

3. Does the Board pay for the insertion of such articles?(3)

4. Does it support the Liberator with funds collected from the various A. S. Societies throughout Massachusetts?(4)

5. If there is any connection between the Liberator and the Mass. A. S. Society, what is it?(5)

Please answer the above in your next, if convenient, and oblige Yours, &c. C. C. B.

(1) The principal points of difference, as developed in the Constitutions, addresses and resolutions of the parties, are three. We will endeavor to state them all clearly and candidly, *as we understand them.*

1. *The 'woman question,'* as it is familiarly called. This question, as understood by the friends of the old organization, respects simply the Constitutional rights of females as members of Anti-Slavery Societies, and has nothing whatever to do, so far as the Societies are concerned, with their rights in any other capacity. The friends of the old organization understand the word 'person,' in our Constitutions, in its literal and unrestricted sense—as no more allowing any distinction on account of sex, than it does on account of age, sect, caste or color. They therefore believe that females cannot, any more than males, or any other class of persons,—as, for example, clergymen or laymen,—be constitutionally excluded from a free participation in the proceedings of the Society. The propriety or impropriety of females addressing promiscuous assemblies, they do not consider at all involved in the question: that point they would leave women to settle for themselves, on their own individual responsibility; and at the same time permit others to enjoy, without molestation from the society, their private opinions on the subject. Thus, by treating the question as one of individual and constitutional right, they avoid 'committing the Society in favor of any controverted principle respecting the equal rights of women to participate in the management of public affairs.'

The new organization, on the other hand, attaches to the word 'person' a restricted meaning—which restriction, it contends, is demanded on account of the usages of civilized society, the understanding of the framers of the Constitution, and the practice of the Society until within a recent period. Instead of permitting females to enjoy the rights of membership, if *they choose*, and allowing them to vote and speak in our meetings, *on their own responsibility*—thus leaving the question of propriety or impropriety unsettled by the Society—they assume the right to decide that 'extraneous' and 'sectarian' question on the anti-slavery platform, by a direct vote of exclusion, founded on the 'usages of the civilized world.' It is as if a high church Episcopalian should secede from the Society, because it refused to make any distinction between the ministers of his own and other denominations, and called all men clergymen who claimed the title, without inquiring into the validity of their ordination.

2. *The government question.* The friends of the old organization believe that the government of the country is recognized in our Constitution, just as the church is recognized—viz: *as an existing institution;* but that the *rightfulness* of the one is no more admitted than that of the other; and that it is no more the duty of abolitionists, as such, to become connected with the former than with the latter. They regard the question of the rightfulness of human government, as one with which the Society, in the language of its former Executive Committee, has 'NOTHING TO DO,' and upon which it has 'NO AUTHORITY TO SIT IN JUDGMENT.' They believe that the Constitution opens the door of membership, on equal terms, to resistants and non-resistants, peace men and war men, church members and non-church members—only requiring them to carry out the principles of the abolition in all the relations of life in which they find themselves called to act, whether at the polls or away from the polls, in the church or out of it, in stations of authority, or in the capacity of private citizens. The old organization aims to keep a watchful eye both upon the religious sects and political parties of the country, and whenever members of the church or voters at the polls are found faithless to their anti-slavery principles, it will administer deserved rebuke; but it does not censure in any way those of its members whose conscientious scruples forbid them to join either the Church or the State. It labors not to make abolitionists, or others, either church members or voters, but ☞ *to make all voters and church members, as well as those in other relations of life, consistent and faithful abolitionists.*☜ As a matter of fact, an immense majority of those who belong to the old organization are, as individuals, the supporters of human government; but they believe that it would be a breach of good faith to procure the sanction of the Society, as such, to the opinions they hold upon an extraneous topic.

The new organization maintains, that the Constitution of the old Society recognized not only the *existence*, but the *rightful authority* of the government, and that it is the *duty* of every abolitionist, as such, to whom the law grants the privilege, to vote at the polls. It was because the old Society, among other things, refused to sanction this construction of the Constitution, and to censure such of its members as could not conscientiously vote, that the new organization was formed. But, while the seceders recognized the rightful authority of human government, in their Constitution, they at the same time expressly disclaimed making a belief in that doctrine a test of membership. They magnanimously (!) allow non-resistants to join their organization, only claiming the right to denounce them as *recreant to duty*, as abolitionists, for not going to the polls!

3. *The democratic principle.* The old organization admits every human being, without regard to sex or locality, or any other distinction, who conforms to the simple conditions of membership, as prescribed in the Constitution, to have a voice and a vote in the proceedings of the Society. It cares not to inquire, invidiously, whether an abolitionist lives at the East or the West, the North or the South; but allows his opinions to have influence according to their intrinsic weight, and not on account of his location. It does not exclude from action the great majority of those who *can* attend our meetings, because others, who it would be glad to see present, lack either the zeal or the ability to attend. It regards the question of abolition, not as geographical and local, but as a great question of humanity, which concerns alike every human being, wherever he may chance to reside, and to which, therefore, every one, who desires the privilege, should have a voice and a vote.

The new organization rejects the democratic principle, and graduates the right of action by local and geographical considerations; thus throwing the management of the cause into the hands of a select body of men. Each State Society, auxiliary to the American and Foreign Society, is entitled to send two delegates to the meetings of the latter, and the auxiliary Societies may send one delegate for every fifty members. Forty-nine fiftieths of the abolitionists of the country, (including, of course, ALL THE WOMEN)

would, on this principle, be deprived of all right to act directly in controlling the operations of the national organization.

(2) No—not in any manner whatever.

(3) Never.

(4) No. When the avails of the subscription-list are insufficient for its support, the deficiency is wholly made up, if made up at all, by individual subscriptions.

(5) There is no connection whatever between them, except that they are laboring in the same cause, and located in the same State.

Parties and Sects.

The captiousness of the editor of the Emancipator blinds his eyes to the most palpable truths, and leads him to see what is not to be seen. For instance, in his last paper, he quotes two resolutions passed at the late New-England Convention—one of them declaring that the professed Christian church and ministry of the North have made themselves the main pillars of slavery, and that abolitionists cannot consistently support those ministers and churches who neglect to raise their voices in condemnation of the atrocious crime—the other expressive of the faith of the Convention that the truth may be so brought to bear upon the various sects and parties in our midst, as to arouse them to a hearty and zealous co-operation in favor of our cause. He then subjoins the following comments:

'In their anxiety, to preserve the entireness of the political parties, they have first placed these transient and ever changing combinations on the same footing of permanency and sacredness with the religious sects. Then, in one resolution, declare it the duty of all abolitionists to abandon their ministers and churches, as they hold that all real christians are abolitionists, to dissolve and destroy that religious sects; and in the next resolution avow a belief that it is practicable to convert all sects and parties, as such, to true abolition. Let us have the standard doctrine clearly explained. Are we to abandon our sects—our ministers and churches, or are we to abide by them with a deathful grasp as the resolution requires us to abide by our parties in the face of the most overwhelming proofs of their incurable servility?

N. B. We do not mean ourselves to admit that the two cases stand on the same footing. We only ask an explanation from those who invest both with equal sacredness.

These remarks, in their spirit and language, (we quote it with grief,) are no better than wholesale slander, as we will show. The editor talks of the 'anxiety' of the Convention 'to preserve the entireness of the political parties.' Where is the evidence of such 'anxiety'? No where, but in his excited imagination. But, as if this were not enough, he has the brazen effrontery to assert, that the 'resolution' which expresses the confidence of the Convention in the power of truth to convert the sects and parties of the land to anti-slavery principles, 'requires 'abolitionists 'to abide' by their 'parties,' 'with a deathful grasp,' 'in the face of the most overwhelming proofs of their incurable servility.' That our readers may see whether 'the resolution' contains any thing on which to found this sweeping declaration, or any thing which can even afford an apology for such a monstrous perversion of truth, we copy it entire:

'Resolved, That our faith in the power of truth remains undiminished; and we believe that, with the blessing of God, it may be so brought to bear upon the various sects and parties in our midst, as to arouse them to a hearty and zealous exercise of those great principles of freedom which can alone work out the peaceful and bloodless enfranchisement of the suffering millions who are now pining in bondage in our land.'

Can the reader find a line, a word, or a sentiment, in this resolution, which even hints, in the most distant manner, that abolitionists ought to cling to their parties? Is an expression of confidence in the power of truth to convert sinners from the error of their ways, tantamount to an avowal of a determination to be *identified with them* while they remain in their sins, and to become partakers in their guilt? We trow not, and we marvel at the blindness, or the audacity, or both, of the man who could make so slanderous an assertion. Something more than his 'vision,' we fear, is at fault, or he could not thus pervert and falsify the plainest and simplest form of words. The doctrine which the Convention applied to pro-slavery ministers and sects, it virtually applied also to the political parties, by its open and undisguised condemnation of their candidates, and by warning abolitionists not to vote for them. If it did not call upon them to withdraw, *formally*, from the parties, it was only because they had never formally joined them, and because, unlike the religious sects, the parties have no form of initiation. To call upon them to withhold support from pro-slavery candidates, was to ask them to give the best satisfactory evidence possible of having, in every essential respect, severed their party cords. And yet the editor of the Emancipator says that the Convention 'required' them to 'abide' by their parties 'with a deathful grasp.' (!!)

The assertion that the other resolution declares it to be 'the duty of all abolitionists to abandon their ministers and churches,' is equally untrue.

Our readers will 'take particular notice' that the editor of the Emancipator, does not admit that pro-slavery sects and pro-slavery parties stand 'on the same footing of permanency and sacredness.' Not he! A religious sect which supports slavery is more 'sacred' in his estimation than a political party which does the same thing! On the same principle, a pious rum-seller, or a clerical manstealer, is more 'sacred' than a layman or a non-professer, who is guilty of the same crimes! We understand now why it was that Orange Scott and his nineteen associates could not conscientiously remain in the American Anti-Slavery Society, but could reconcile it to their consciences to cling 'with a deathful grasp' to a pro-slavery church! It is because the latter, with all its corruptions, stands upon a footing of permanency and *sacredness*,' while the former is a temporary and *unordained* association. This same distinction will enable us to understand certain other phenomena which would otherwise be inexplicable. We shall remember it.

The editor of the Emancipator, in announcing that he was 'new organized,' made quite a show of magnanimity by avowing his determination to record all the labors of the old society for the good of the slave. His record of the proceedings of the New-England Convention will serve to show how the pledge will be redeemed. It will show also the real value of the professions of a desire for peace on the part of the friends of new organization.

'The Principal Organ.' A remark of some friends of the Liberator, not long ago, that on account of the fidelity of its editor, and its connection with the anti-slavery enterprise from the beginning, it was worthy of being regarded as the 'grand organ of the cause,' has furnished the occasion for a great abundance of sneers and sarcasms from the pen of Joshua Leavitt. It has been held up as a reproach to friend Garrison, as if he were worthy of 'death without benefit of clergy,' for the good opinion which others chose to express of his long and faithful services. Here is a paragraph, which we have clipped from the leading article under the editorial head of the last Emancipator, from the pen, of course, of a correspondent. Brother Leavitt would do well to post it up in a conspicuous place in his editorial closet, that he may read it as a relief to his overburdened spirit when in future he is anxious to be delivered of a sneer about 'organs.'

'It [the Emancipator] *is doing more good, in my estimation, than any other six anti-slavery papers in the country.* Take away the Emancipator, and some of the local 'organs' would *die for want of food. It performs the office of a nursing mother to them all.* In proof of this, see the numerous extracts they all make from its columns. On account of its long standing, its well established character as the OFFICIAL ORGAN of the National Society, and its facilities for obtaining the latest intelligence from every part of this and other countries, the Emancipator, while properly conducted, will continue to be THE PRINCIPAL ORGAN of communication with abolitionists throughout the country—either directly or indirectly, through the medium of other papers. Those who do not become subscribers, and thus receive the intelligence fresh from its columns, must be content to wait a week, and then take it second-handed, or not get it at all.' (!!)

Mr. Webster at Alexandria.

The unworthy course of this brilliantly endowed, but feeble-souled man, is run. Statesman as he thinks himself, he has failed to perceive the only safe or statesman-like course, regarding a question of such deep import to the nation as the anti-slavery question. Astute politician as he would be thought, he is the latest of the laggards in the reception of the ordinary political axioms of an advancing age. He has been deluded and degraded by his ambition. That sin he begins now to be rightly considered;—not 'god-like guilt,' as in the 17th century, but 'a mean chimney-sweeping vice, which cares not through what defilement it creeps, so that it can but thrust its head out at the chimney-top!' His selfish aspirations have been his ruin. They have blinded him to the fact, that he who would have honor and office of the people, must lead the advance. He must not suffer himself to be floated backward and forward with the popular tide, against the onward and ever-strengthening current of the times.

It were well for a statesman to have an inflexible sense of right and justice;—to be possessed by the inspired idea, 'Whoso loseth his life shall find it'—with little care though the promise prove to be loss of life temporal, than life eternal. Perhaps this is too much to expect from a soul voluntarily seeking temptation, and stretching itself out of its Christian proportions in efforts to become 'available.' Torn asunder, like the robber of the Isthmus between the tree-tops, by the opposite demands of State government and General government, as the petty statesman in our country will ever find himself, he is not so much the State's *man*, as its slave.

But, avoiding every imputation of fanaticism or Utopianism, it is at least necessary to the statesman that he should be bold and patient, having a Stoic constancy, if not a Christian one. He must be able to see the fires of his hopes going out in darkness for a season, or no fulfilment can rise gloriously from their ashes. We have said also that he must be bold;—but *not only* must he be able 'to dare—dare and evermore dare':—a far higher ability is indispensable. He must be able to mark out his course on principles and considerations as high as the pole-star above the crowd; or even the mere log-cabin-led, cider-stimulated crowd will discern in him the infirmity and uncertainty of purpose which is its scorn. He must be able to stand immovable against calumny, exile from power and place, and apparently impending oblivion. No late-extorted concession should shame his constancy—no vascillation should stimulate the stifled derision of those who profit by his weakness. He should stand in the midst of his age, earnest and calm—resolute and ready—seeing that concealment is folly, and compromise weakness.

It is no clever shuffling or shallow diplomacy which can fit the strong man into his place as the helmsman of a nation like this. To practice them, is so to weaken himself in reaching it, as to be unable to fill it. Nothing can effect it but a clear perception, (with vigor of soul to act upon it,) that freedom only, freedom for the slave as for the master—the triumph of Liberty in the present struggle, can preserve the U. States from anarchy and blood. *Peace*, till this struggle is decided in favor of Liberty, there can be none. The only alternative is the one which is so madly kept out of view by the incumbents and the aspirants for office in church and state—national reform, or national ruin. Unholy quiet has been hitherto preserved only as long as the church could hold up her shield before the state;—so long, that is, as the people might justify themselves in holding slaves, by their religion. But, deny that shield to be the true shield of faith, and the state, i. e. the people, will rage as only the conscience-stricken can, when exposed to the sharp assaults of truth.

This denial has been uttered. It is the heart's conviction of thousands, but its might is in its truth. Though one only had uttered it, it is of power to rouse a land. Some have pronounced it who lack courage to face the foes it evokes!* At such a moment, the opening one of an hour unparalleled in this world's history, had Daniel Webster been equal to its grandeur and sublimity, 'twere worth ten years of *creeping* life,' even to his political fame and success. But he is weighed and found wanting. Now, as in all past and in all future time, the course a statesman shall take in a conflict between Liberty and Slavery, marks him as fit to destroy or to save his nation. Let Daniel Webster be marked in soames, as one whose selfish and vicious feebleness is fit only to destroy it. Mark him, fellow citizens! all you who would fain be its saviours, mark him as he stands in the streets of Alexandria, 'hailed by an immense assemblage,' 'ladies in carriages,' 'with reiterated shouts,' as of triumph at his degradation; crouching, bondman-like, as he calls upon 'distinguished' slaveholders to 'witness for him whether he entertains on THIS SUBJECT different sentiments from their own'! How does manhood sicken at his abjectness!

'As far as experience may show errors in our establishments, we are bound to correct them; and if any practices exist, contrary to the principles of justice and humanity, within the reach of our laws or our influence, we are inexcusable if we do not exert ourselves to restrain and abolish them.'

Most powerfully was this general principle illustrated:

'I hear the sound of the hammer—I see the smoke of the furnaces where manacles and fetters are still forged for human limbs. I see the visages of those, who by stealth, and at midnight, labor in this work of hell, foul and dark, as may become the artificers of such instruments of misery and torture. Let that spot be purified, or let it cease to be of New-England. Let it be purified, or let it be set aside from the Christian world; let it be put out of the circle of human sympathies and human regards; and let civilized man henceforth have no communion with it.'

This *was* Daniel Webster, with his foot on Plymouth Rock. Now look at Daniel Webster in the District of Columbia, yielding up 'life, honor, soul and all,' if so he may establish slaveholding communion between New-England and the South! Submitting to become the herald of Harrison's shame, for the more complete proclamation of his own! We have seen him heretofore stand trembling in the Senate, hesitating and yielding principle after principle, for the preservation of which our institutions were framed, as the South went on to bid higher and higher for his integrity. He shakes—he hides himself—he is 'sick at Harrisburgh!' ('Tis very like! he hath the *falling sickness!*') Another bid! going—but not gone. The scene changes from the Senate house to the open slave market of Alexandria. Webster stands for ignominious examination 'on a platform, erected for convenience,' before his purchasers. He understands from the whole presence that he shall put on the presidential crown at the end of four years, if he will assume the badge of slavery. It is a trying moment for a New-Englander born. A bitter thought—the one that rushes on a man's soul with the memories of his birth-place, his home and his dead'—that he is about to disgrace and betray them all. It must be this thought that half-suffocates his meaning and makes him insinuate rather than declare it. No distinct word of Slavery, or Freedom, or abolition, passes his lips. He dwells darkly upon 'THIS' subject—utters enigmatically something about defending the Constitution, and 'your institutions.' He dares not frankly cry, 'Done!—'tis a bargain!' like a bold villain; but he crouchingly *conveys* away his own freedom of soul, and independence of thought and action—his country's safety and honor—his future hopes of renown—as far as in him lies, the best interests of universal humanity,—all involved in the great choice which now lies before him. But he signifies himself ready to sign, seal and deliver, and, with a voice quivering with consternation, counterfeiting joviality, he calls for the witnesses!

Crittenden crowds forward, with triumph, yet with haste, lest the purchased victim retract, and brands

* These,—be it known to all curious observers, who would fain find out 'what made the split in the Anti-Slavery cause,'—are the '*new organized*.'

How it looks!

He who fails to read the article in this week's Refuge, headed 'The Spirit of Abolition,' will overlook a matter of unusual interest and importance. There is not a more reckless or unprincipled political paper in the United States than the Washington Globe, as every abolitionist, whether whig or democrat, will readily admit. It goes the whole in defence of slavery, according to the school of Calhoun and McDuffie, and is filled from week to week with the most monstrous falsehoods in relation to the movements of the abolitionists. But it volunteers a defence of the American church and clergy against the resolutions of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and manifests as tender a concern for their safety and prosperity, as if its editor were in fact a Bishop or a D. D.! How can a church and a ministry, whose corruptions have exposed them to the withering disgrace of a defence from such a source, hold up their heads, or even dare to look each other in the face, and lay claim to the character of Christian? Mark the pathetic appeal of the editor to the clergy, 'most especially' in behalf of 'THE WOMEN'—uttered with as much pathos as characterized the speech of our friend Denison, when he besought Abby Kelley to keep in her appropriate sphere! And then read the proof of his sincerity in the advertisement of Susan, who, it seems, took it into her head to pay a visit to her mother and brothers!

Read, too, the article from the Connecticut Observer, written by Rev. E. R. Tyler, a new-organizationist, wherein, after heaping slander and abuse upon Mr. Garrison, he addresses the editor of a religious (!) paper in that hot-bed of slavery, Charleston, S. C. as a 'good brother,' speaks of his periodical as a 'useful paper,' and endorses his slaveholding readers as 'Christians'! What an exhibition of 'elective affinity' is here! Turning away in pious horror from a faithful and distinguished advocate of the slave, and at the same time extending the right hand of fellowship to slaveholders!

Daniel Webster Sold on the Block!

If Daniel Webster had been seized as a runaway, and sold, for the want of free papers, to pay his jail fees, the mistake, (!) though easily accounted for by a reference to his complexion, would have filled not only Massachusetts, but the whole of New-England with excitement and agitation. What then ought to be the feelings of the people, when they learn that he has *sold himself* into the most degrading bondage—a slavery not of the body, to toil on a Southern plantation, (that were comparatively a light matter,) but of the *mind*, the SOUL, the MAN? Language is powerless to convey any adequate impression of the disgust and indignation we feel in view of subserviency so mean, and treachery to freedom so foul and dark.

But we warn the South to keep a good look-out for her victim. He was made to be free! and he will betray his new masters as soon as the temptation which brought him into his present degraded situation is removed. Let Senator Crittenden and hangman Preston watch him, or before they are aware of it, he will be found with free papers, headed towards Canada, and passing himself for a white man! Even now his eye is cast anxiously upward to identify the fanatical star which has guided multitudes whiter than himself out of bondage!

Gen. Harrison—Our Object. We received last week, through the mail, a copy of the Liberator, with the following endorsement on the margin:

'If the object of distributing your papers is, to defeat the election of General Harrison, I wish for no further communications from your press. Very respectfully, yours, B. BARDWELL,

Montague, Mass.'

Our whig friend, (for such we take him to be, although we have no personal acquaintance with him)—probably does not see the Friend of Man, and is therefore ignorant of the union which exists in this State between his party and the non-resistants! He has not been able, with his own eyes, to discover the leaning of the Liberator and the Massachusetts A. S. Society towards Harrison! Strange that he should be so blind as not even to see that which is not to be seen!

Seriously—'the object of distributing' the Liberator is to disseminate TRUTH in all its multiplied leanings upon the question of slavery. Having before us the most incontestible evidence, that both Gen. Harrison and Martin Van Buren have basely bowed the knee to the dark spirit of Slavery, no threats of a withdrawal of patronage, come from what quarter they may, will induce us to withhold from our readers the truth, or to neglect to warn them not to violate their solemn and oft-repeated professions by giving such men their support.

Prompt Aid. If any persons have heretofore supposed that the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society was 'dissolved,' we commend to their notice the following evidence that it is yet among the things that have life. We copy from the Standard.

Boston, May 22, 1840.

To the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society

Dear Friends—Heartily approving the determination of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as expressed at its recent meeting, to supply the vacancy created by the unjustifiable transfer of the Emancipator, by establishing a paper as a National official organ, and being aware that the pecuniary condition in which you are placed by the course of the Committee of last year, renders it necessary that the Anti-Slavery of the land should make special exertions to enable you to carry out its plans, the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society resolves not to be found backward in doing what it can to that effect, for the slave's sake.

Therefore, at thirty days sight hereof, please to draw upon Eliza F. Merriam, the treasurer of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, for the sum of *Five Hundred Dollars*, and place the same to the credit of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

By order of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society.

THANKFUL SOUTHWICK, *President.*
Louisa M. Sewall, *Secretary.*

'Massachusetts Female Emancipation Society.' We have received, from the Recording Secretary of this 'new organized' association, an account of its formation, a list of its officers, and a statement of its objects. The manuscript is so perfectly neat and plain, that we can hardly resist the temptation to place it in the hands of the compositor; but, in the present state of our columns, we can hardly afford room to herald a society whose object it is to pick our own eyes out. We think it is not ever modest in them to ask it. The document, therefore, lies on the table, according to editorial and parliamentary usage.

Candid Acknowledgment. A sensible mechanic in Connecticut writes as follows, under date of June 13.—'Allow me to say here, that I have often read articles in the Liberator, from the pens of various persons, finding fault with the agents of the new organization for their misrepresentations, &c., and have thought that the statements they contained exaggerated; but my tour to the anniversary at New York, in company with the disorganizers, and hearing them converse, has convinced me fully, that the half was not told me.'

☞ We hope to see a large gathering at the concert in this city on Monday evening. Shall we be disappointed?

People's Own Book—*By F. De La Mennais* Translated from the French, by Nathaniel Greene. Boston: E. Littlefield, 122 Washington Street.

We thank the publisher for sending us a copy of this precious little book. We have read it with intense delight. It is a collection of rich and sparkling diamonds. If truth is more precious than rubies, then indeed is this unpretending volume a rare treasure. We invite every body to procure a copy of it. It costs only 25 cents.

To Correspondents. The favors of 'Truth-Teller,' 'F. F. M.,' and others, and the letter of H. C. Howells, are on file for an early insertion.

Freedom's Gift. A neat duodecimo volume, of 108 pages, with this title, and composed of original articles by various anti-slavery writers, has just been published at Hartford, Ct. by S. S. Cowles, and may be had at 25 Cornhill. The work was originally intended to be sold at the Connecticut A. S. Fair; but as this was postponed, it was thought desirable to publish it at once. The work is well calculated to advance the anti-slavery cause. We have copied some of its poetical articles in our last and present numbers. The price is 50 cents single; $4,50 per dozen. The Charter Oak states that the ladies in one town purchased seventy-five copies for circulation.

The editor of the Pennsylvania Freeman, in noticing this work, thus happily alludes to the frontispiece:

'Will friend Rust explain to us how it happens that he has embellished his Gift with that beautiful frontispiece, which looks so exceedingly like a pictorial vindication of *Woman's Rights?*' A woman in a long flowing robe, standing in an attitude decidedly oratorical, one hand raised above her head, with a book (the Bible, probably) in it, and the other out-stretched as far as the arm's length will permit, seems to be addressing an assembly quite as 'promiscuous' as it has often been our lot to see. Men, women, and children, bond and free, black and white, compose her auditory, and she is evidently preaching an anti-slavery discourse, with great acceptance and effect. What meaneth it? It cannot surely be designed as a sketch of Abby Kelley, getting 'out of her appropriate sphere?' Were you not fearful, brother Rust, that your dignified friend Ludlow would suspect 'sorcery' in it?—or apprehend the insidious approach of 'petticoat government' under that graceful drapery? We hope it was not a sight of this embellishment that stimulated A. F. Williams to move a change of the State Society's constitution, and induced the editor of 'Freedom's Gift' to vote for the same.

Explanation. The paragraph in the Liberator of June 5, over the signature of 'F. F. M.,' was inserted in our absence, and without the knowledge or approbation either of ourselves or the Liberator committee. The necessary vindication would have been presented to the Abolitionist a fortnight ago, but for an oversight on the part of a member of the committee.

Temperance Almanac for 1841. We acknowledge the receipt of a copy of this useful annual. It is worthy to be a companion of the Anti-Slavery Almanac, and should have a place in the family of every abolitionist.

Ecclesiastical. Our readers may wonder, perhaps, that we have been so silent respecting the recent movements in the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches. The subjects has not been overlooked or forgotten. We shall have something to say upon it hereafter.

☞ We have not been able this week to write any thing on the peaceable *professions* of the Foreign Society. The subject is not forgotten.

☞ The article on the first page, headed 'Garrisonism,' from the pen of Adin Ballou, is happily conceived, and will be read with peculiar pleasure by all the friends of the Liberator.

SUMMARY OF NEWS.

Great Anti-Slavery Meeting in London.

The following account of a great anti-slavery meeting held in Exeter Hall, London, June 1st, at which Prince Albert presided, is from the London Sun.

A public meeting of the Society for the extinction of the slave trade, and the civilization of Africa was held this day at Exeter Hall. It had been announced that the doors would be opened at ten o'clock; but in consequence of the general understanding that his Royal Highness, Prince Albert, would be present, the anxiety to get places was so great, that crowds, principally of ladies, began to assemble at several entrances in the Strand, and in Exeter street, as early as six o'clock, and it was found necessary to open the doors before nine. In a few minutes the large area of the Hall, containing what are called the central seats, was completely filled, as were the galleries and the portions of the platform which were not reserved for the Committee and the most distinguished visitors. There were certainly not less than 4,500 persons present, a large proportion of whom were ladies belonging to the Society of Friends, although their number did not preponderate so much as we have observed on similar occasions in this place. The *coup d' œil* presented a vast assemblage of beauty and elegance, was extremely rich and imposing, and indeed was as interesting as the occasion on which so much grace, feeling, and loveliness were collected.

Just precisely at eleven o'clock, His Royal Highness Prince Albert appeared on the platform. The whole assembly rose and greeted His Royal Highness with the most enthusiastic cheering, clapping of hands, and waving of handkerchiefs. He was conducted to the chair by Mr. F. Buxton. The cheering continued for several minutes, during which His Royal Highness stood acknowledging by repeated bows, and a strong expression of feeling upon his fine countenance, his sense of the affectionate reception. When the tumultuous greeting subsided, the organ struck up 'God save the Queen,' during which the Prince and the whole company continued standing. The conclusion was followed by the repeated rounds of cheering and applause, after which

His Royal Highness said—I have been induced to preside at the meeting of this Society, from a conviction of its permanent importance to the great interests of humanity and justice. (Tremendous cheering.) I deeply regret that the benevolent and persevering exertions of England to abolish the atrocious traffic in human beings—(Renewed and prolonged cheering)—at once the desolation of Africa, and the blackest stain on civilized Europe—(Renewed cheers)—have not led to a satisfactory conclusion. I sincerely trust that this great country will not relax in its efforts, until it has finally and forever put an end to a state of things so repugnant to the principles of Christianity and to the kindly feelings of our nature. (Loud cheers.) Let us, therefore, trust that Providence will prosper our exertions in so holy a cause—(Cheers) and that, under the auspices of our Queen—(Here the whole assembly rose and cheered with the utmost enthusiasm, for some minutes) under the auspices of our Queen and her Government, we may, at no distant period, be rewarded by the accomplishment of this great and humane object—(Repeated and enthusiastic cheers)—for the promotion of which we have this day met.

A repetition of the most enthusiastic cheering, applause, and waving of handkerchiefs, followed the conclusion of this address, which (we may be permitted to remark) was delivered with the most perfect dignity, grace, and with an engaging air of modesty and dignity, which elicited expressions of admiration from all around us.

Six hundred Slaves killed by suffocation. The last accounts from Mozambique, state that two slavers, one a ship and the other a brig, were wrecked in Mozambique Harbor, during a hurricane from the south east, but the crews of both, and 200 slaves on board the brig, were saved. The ship had arrived the preceding day, and had not taken in any slaves. It was reported of the brig, which was commanded by a Spaniard, that she originally had on board 900 slaves, but during a hurricane in the prosecution of her voyage) the hatches were battened down, and on opening them after the hurricane had subsided, it was discovered that three hundred of the slaves had died from suffocation and want of food. The gale commencing, the hatches were battened down a second time, the consequence of which was an additional 200 slaves perished from the same cause; and, 100 of the remaining 300 slaves died on the passage to Mozambique Harbor, whither she repaired for the purpose of getting a further supply.

The same paper, under the head of 'Portuguese Slavers—Further Captures,' states that the brig Amazona Constante, of about 200 tons, captured in the Mozambique Channel, Feb 23, by her Majesty's ship Modeste, and sent into Simon's Bay, originally had 650 slaves, of which about 50 are supposed to have died during the voyage. Another vessel with 400 slaves on board, had also been captured by her Majesty's ship Modeste, and was hourly expected to arrive in Simon's Bay; besides which she had run a vessel on shore, where she had become a wreck; but 25 slaves and 6,000 Spanish dollars had been taken out of her.

The slave trade up the east coast continued with its usual spirit, and the Portuguese whaler, Eliza, Lopez master, had while lying in Mozambique (twelve miles south of Mozambique harbor) smuggled on board two hundred slaves, the duty of seven Spanish dollars per head being evaded, upon which intelligence the acting Governor at Mozambique despatched two armed boats after her, but they, being without ammunition, were kept off, and the vessel landed with her cargo, bound to the Brazils. At Quilimaine the slave trade was carried on with the greatest activity, and at Mozambique harbor it was calculated that during the months ending December last, no less than twelve thousand slaves had been exported from that harbor alone.

Correspondence of the Journal of Commerce.

Washington, Wednesday, June 17.

The Slave Trade.

The Bill to aid in putting an end to this diabolical and inhuman traffic in human blood and misery, so far as the flag of this country was concerned, was taken up, in the U. S. Senate, at the earnest solicitation of Mr. Davis, who explained the object of the bill, by showing that American vessels were built for this purpose, and sold to Spanish and Portugese merchants, the transfer not being made until the vessel reached the coast of Africa, and the vessel being, in the mean time, protected by her flag—that after the transfer was made, the slaves were put on board, and the vessel depended on her *bona fide* for the safety of the return voyage. The object of the Bill before them was to prevent the flag from being used for any such purpose. Mr. D. alluded to the treaty stipulations with some European powers, by which the slave trade was, by general consent, made piracy, and the use made of the flag on those occasions, was liable to bring the country into disrepute and difficulties, particularly with England. Mr. D. said that the Committee had an immense mass of facts before them from the Consul at Havana, and others from British authority. This Bill clothed the Consul with additional powers, authorizing him to withhold his sanction where he had reason to believe the papers were to be improperly used. He would state that it had been drawn up with great care, and had met with the unanimous approbation of the Committee.

Mr. Calhoun thought the measure would rather be embarrassing than lead to any good practical results. He was inclined to think the Bill had grown out of the interference of another power, which was setting itself up as a general arbiter to regulate the internal concerns of other nations. He had understood that, while all this show of feeling was kept up, on the part of England, about suppressing this trade, the very manacles used to fetter those unhappy beings were manufactured, by thousands, at Birmingham. Had England taken any steps to put an end to that? For his part, he never could think of the interference of that power in the case of the Amistad with any degree of patience, and he thought it was time for this country to look to herself and assert her own dignity.

Mr. Davis replied that the bill was offered rather to carry out the policy of our own country than that of Great Britain. He could say that Great Britain had vindicated herself—he admitted that manacles had been manufactured there, but, then, there was a law on the statute book which authorized their seizure wherever found, but the law was evaded by the slavers taking out bolt iron and manufacturing them on the voyage.

Mr. Grundy condemned the interference of the British Government in the case of the Amistad as highly improper.

Mr. King was sorry to say that there had been a correspondence with the British government, and it was there among the voluminous documents furnished to the committee. The British government had pressed upon them the right of search, but had been promptly told that no such claim would be tolerated. Mr. King avowed himself favorably disposed towards the bill—he regarded the measure as necessary to prevent the prostitution of the flag.

Mr. Webster made some remarks in support of the bill, contending that every possible step should be taken to prevent the glorious flag of the country from being prostituted for the aggrandizement of Spanish and Portuguese adventurers.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed, without a division.

Whig Nominations. The Whig Convention held at Worcester on the 17th inst, nominated Hon. John Davis, for Governor, and Hon. George Hill, for Lieut. Governor. They also nominated the following electoral ticket for the support of Harrison and Tyler.

Isaac C. Bates of Northampton, and Peleg Sprague, of Boston, Electors at Large.

District 1 Robert G. Shaw, of Boston.
2 Stephen C. Phillips, of Salem.
3 Rufus Longley, of Haverhill.
4 Sydney Willard, of Cambridge.
5 Ira M. Barton of Worcester.
6 George Grennell, of Greenfield.
7 Thad. Pomeroy, of Stockbridge.
8 Samuel Mixter, of North Braintree.
9 Thomas French, of Canton.
10 Wilkes Wood, of Middlebore'.
11 Joseph Tripp of Fairhaven.
12 John B. Thomas, of Plymouth.

The Convention adjourned to meet again on Bunker Hill, on the 10th of September next.

Suicide. The Marion (Ala.) Herald, states that a man named Vincent Sanders, recently shot himself in that place. The deceased was the husband of the unfortunate lady who was recently hung to a joist in the same house. There is little doubt that the agony of mind which Mr. S. had recently suffered induced mental aberration. The circumstance of Mrs. Sanders' death, it may be remembered, left it doubtful whether it was her own act, or murder committed by her slaves.

The 'Schoolmaster' at Washington. In the city of Washington—the metropolis of the nation—having a population of 20,000, there are *two free schools.*

Significant. The Editor of the Liberia Herald, after copying from an American paper a statement of the offers made by the government of Trinidad, to induce colored people to emigrate thither, asks, 'Will his Excellency extend the same conditions to *emigrants from this place?*' What does it mean?—*Pa. Freeman*

Another Storm at Natchez. Another storm visited Natchez on the 6th inst. causing considerable damage to the neighboring plantations, destroying fences, corn, negro quarters, gins, &c. Fortunately, the approach of the storm was preceded by a heavy rain, which prevented a repetition of the fatal effects of May 7.

Benjamin Rush, Esq. Secretary of the Legation of the United States at London, arrived this morning in the Great Western. Mr. Rush is believed to be the bearer of important despatches from our minister Mr. Stevenson. He proceeded direct to Washington, immediately on landing, and we understand that he returns to England again very soon.—*New York Evening Post.*

German Emigrants. Numbers of men, women and children from Germany continue to arrive in Liverpool via Hull, for the purpose of emigrating to the United States. Several hundreds have departed this season already, and more are coming. What with English, Scotch, Welsh, Irish and German emigrants, the Union will this year receive from Liverpool alone an accession to its population of between twenty and thirty thousand souls.—*Liverpool Standard.*

The citizens of Nashville have contributed fifteen hundred dollars to the relief of the sufferers at Natchez.

DIED—In Mansfield, on Thursday, April 30, Mrs. Susanna Stearns, widow of the late Mr. Isaac Stearns, aged 75 years. She was the mother of eight children, all of whom survive her, and who deeply feel the loss of a kind and affectionate parent, and a sincere Christian. Although she never joined a church, she experienced the Christian's hope, which is an anchor to the soul, sure and steadfast, and was the governing principle of her life. Her charity and benevolence were not of that kind which are narrow and sectarian, and limited to a particular party or church, like that of the ancient Jews, who had no dealings with the Samaritans, and like that of many in our day; but it was broad and extensive, taking in the whole human family. Her friends and relatives had the consolation of witnessing her resignation to the will of God, with full faith in Christ, at the closing scene of her life. 'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.'

In this city, on Monday, 16th instant, Miss Ellen Smith, aged 25 years.

On Saturday, June 20, Mr William H. Copman, of St. Thomas, W. I., aged 52.

NOTICES.

Plymouth Co. A. S. Society.

The annual meeting of the Old Colony Plymouth County Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Abington, on the 4th of July next, at 10 o'clock, A. M.—at which time an address will be delivered by the Rev. Samuel J. May, of South Scituate. The peculiar state of the anti-slavery cause at the present time makes it imperative upon every abolitionist to be at his post. Let there be a full delegation from every town in the County.

WM. T. BRIGGS, *Sec.*

South Scituate, June 9th, 1840.

N. B. The meeting will be held in the meeting house of Rev. Daniel Thomas.

MIDDLESEX COUNTY.

A Quarterly meeting of the Middlesex County A. S. Society will be held in the Orthodox meeting-house in Westport, on TUESDAY, the 28th of July.

Auxiliary societies are requested to send delegates, and all persons, holding the principles of the society, are invited to be present, and take part in the deliberations.

HARRIS COWDRY, *Sec.*

UNION ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY CONCERT.

The Union A. S. Concert for June will be held at the Marlboro' Chapel, Hall No. 2, on Monday evening next, at a quarter before 8 o'clock. The monthly collectors are requested to make their returns as usual, and all the friends of the cause are invited to attend.

T. A. COLLINS.

POETRY.

From Freedom's Gift.

CONNECTICUT.

The arms of this State are three vines, with the motto—Qui transtulit, sustinet.

BY N. W. CHAPMAN.

Come, toil-worn, and care-worn, and battle-worn friends!
Ye bound with the bondman, till tyranny ends!
From the glimmer of dawn on the waves of the sea,
To the shadows of sunset, wherever ye be;
Take courage and comfort! Our land ● bright streams
And beautiful valleys, awakes from her dreams,
At the sound of your voices, and calls from its grave,
The Spirit of Freedom, to shelter the SLAVE.
Our rocks bear a record that rouses the blood:
'Resistance to tyrants is duty to God!'
And the conflict of *Spirit* is kindling afar,
And mothers are girding their sons for the war!
Be glad! for the land of the *vine* and the *oak*,
The slumbers that bound her hath joyously broke;
Our people,—they gather their forests among,—
They throng to their temples, with prayer and with song;
Our mountains are ringing with Freedom's Refrain—
'The land of the *Charter* shall shiver the chain!'
Well is it, ye sons of the puritan stock,
That your slumbers no longer your forefathers mock!
The vine that they cherished, yet richly shall yield,
Its clusters of fruitage, empurpling the field:
For the people that twine it their armor around,
In token of faith in the promise which crowned
The day of its planting, no longer forget
The Slave! and a blessing shall rest on them yet,
As they sing in its shadow their joyous refrain—
'The God who transplanted, shall ever sustain!'

Boston, April, 1840.

MY HAME.

BY ROBERT NICOLL.

O! I ha'e lo'ed the heather hills,
Whar' simmer breezes blaw;
An' I ha'e lo'ed the glades that gang
Through yonder greenwud-shaw!
But noo the spot maist dear to me
Is whar the mone doth beam
Doon through the sleepin' leaves, to watch
My ain wee cantie hame.

My cantie hame! its roof o' strae,
Aneath yon thorn I see—
Yon cosie bush that couthie keeps
My wife an' bairnies three.
There's green grse roun' my cottage sma',
An' by it rins a stream,
Whilk ever sings a bonnie sang
To glad my cantie hame.

When delvin' in the sheugh at e'en,
Its entlin' seek I see,
I ken the precious things at hame
Are thinkin' upo' me.
I ken my restin' chair is set,
Whar' comes the warmest gleam—
I ken there 're langin' hearts in thee,
My ain wee cantie hame.

O! can I do but love it well,
When a' thing's lovesome there?
My cheerfu' wife—my laughin' weans—
The morn an' e'enin' prayer.
The Sabbath's wander in the wuds,
An' by the saut-sea faem—
The warst o' hearts might learn to lo'e
My ain wee cantie hame.

The blessin's o' a hame-bless'd heart
Be warm upon it a'—
On wife an' bairns may love an' peace
Like sunbeams joyous fa'!
Blithe thochts are rinnin' through my heart,
O! thochts I canna' name—
Sae glad are they—while thinkin' o'
My ain wee cantie hame.

JUNE.

BY WM. H. BURLEIGH.

June, with its roses—June!
The gladdest month of our capricious year,
With its thick foliage and its sunlight clear;
And with the drowsy tune
Of the bright leaping waters, as they pass
Laughingly on amid the springing grass!

Earth, at her joyous coming,
Smiles as she puts her gayest mantle on;
And Nature greets her with a benison;
While myriad voices, humming
Their welcome song, fling dreamy music round,
Till seems the air an element of sound.

The overarching sky
Weareth a softer tint, a lovelier blue,
As if the light of heaven were melting through
Its sapphire home on high;
Hiding the sunshine in their vapory breast,
The clouds float on like spirits to their rest.

A deeper melody,
Poured by the birds, as o'er their callow young
Watchful they hover, to the breeze is flung—
Gladsome, yet not of glee—
Music heart-born, like that which mothers sing
Above their cradled infants slumbering.

On the warm hill side, where
The sunlight lingers latest, through the grass
Peepeth the luscious strawberry! As they pass,
Young children gambol there,
Crushing the gathered fruit in playful mood,
And staining their bright faces with its blood.

A deeper blush is given
To the half-ripened cherry, as the sun,
Day after day, pours warmth the trees upon,
Till the rich pulp is riven;
The truant school-boy looks with longing eyes,
And perils limb and neck to win the prize.

The farmer, in his field,
Draws the rich mould around the tender maize;
While Hope, bright-pinioned, points to coming days,
When all his toil shall yield
An ample harvest, and around his hearth
There shall be laughing eyes and tones of mirth.

Poised on his rainbow wing,
The butterfly, whose life is but an hour,
Hovers coquettishly from flower to flower,
A gay and happy thing,
Born for the sunshine and the summer day,
Soon passing, like the beautiful, away!

These are thy pictures, June!
Brightest of Summer months—thou month of flowers!
First-born of Beauty, whose swift-footed hours
Dance to the merry tune
Of birds and waters, and the pleasant shout
Of Childhood on the sunny hills flung out!

I feel it were not wrong
To deem thou art a type of heaven's clime,
Only that there the clouds and storms of Time
Sweep not the sky along:
The flowers—air—beauty—music—all are thine,
But brighter—purer—lovelier—more divine!

ON TIME.

Time flies—it quicker flies, in short,
Than e'en the lightning flies,
When forked beams are seen to sport
From east to western skies.

Quicker is time than words can tell,
Though swift those accents flow;
Consider, then, O man! full well
How thou should'st live below.

NON-RESISTANCE.

To HENRY C. Wright.

WHITESBORO', near UTICA, June 2nd, 1840.

DEAR SIR:—In the Liberator of May 15th, I find an article over your signature, and headed 'WILLIAM GOODELL—NON-RESISTANCE'—which I intended to have noticed sooner, but pressing labors have prevented—nor have I time now to say all I could desire. The chief burden of your article is, that WILLIAM GOODELL has changed his mind on the subject of *non-resistance*. You commence thus:

'The course of brother Goodell respecting non-resistance is most extraordinary. One moment he throws his whole soul into an effort to vindicate the doctrine, in the Friend of Man, and the next, speaks of it with a kind of holy horror, as though it would rivet the chains of the slave forever!'

To quote all you say or imply in respect to the alleged change in my opinions, and my fluctuating, unstable course, would be to copy nearly the whole article. The chief impression intended to be conveyed, I should be tempted to infer, was, that William Goodell is altogether too unstable in his views, on this subject, to admit his opinions to have much weight. You allude to many things I have said and written, to prove this instability. You say with emphasis—'*Men* may change, but *Truth* never.' And you bring the whole to a conclusion in your last paragraph, thus:

'To show where brother Goodell once stood on the doctrine of non-resistance, and how much he has done to identify non-resistance and abolition, you have only to publish what he has spoken on the principle of war and armed resistance. If brother Goodell has repented of his former course, let him say so; if not, it is but justice to himself, and to truth, to show us how he reconciles his *present* with his *former* position.'

Now, my brother, I need not spend time in proving *to you* that it is no disgrace or disparagement to any man to change his opinions, if he has good reason to do so, and that the man who always holds himself open to conviction is more worthy the public confidence as an editor, or preacher, or reformer, than one who maintains practically, the infallibility of his own opinions. He who labors as you and I do *to change* men's opinions, and to induce them to avow openly such change, should beware of insisting upon that sort of self-consistency which seems to pride itself in the merit of having never become wiser by investigation. I am glad to see, in your closing paragraph, something which I may venture to construe into a recognition of this principle, and especially am I glad to see you insist that *those who do* change their opinions are bound *to say so*, and admit freely that they *repent of their former course*. I think that if this were followed by those abolitionists who have changed their views of civil government since they commenced their anti-slavery labor—if they would frankly admit that it was *they themselves*, and not *others*, that have changed their principles and measures, and if they would magnanimously acknowledge that they repent in dust and ashes for having advocated the anti-slavery measures that they did, a few years ago—such a manly and ingenuous course would tend much to prevent dissension in the anti-slavery ranks, and promote the true principles and practice of brotherly love, harmony, and PEACE.

Of course, if I were conscious of having changed my opinions on the subject of non-resistance since I became an editor, thirteen years ago, I should cheerfully say so. *But I am not.* And I am exceedingly surprised that HENRY C. WRIGHT should be the man who should impute to me such a change. You know, very well, that I held the peace principles, as they are commonly held by the Society of Friends, long before my one among us broached the idea that the principles of peace were inconsistent with the existence of civil government and penal law. You know, too, if you have not strangely forgotten, that the very first time you broached to me, in conversation, your new sentiments respecting civil government, you presented it as *a new proposition*, to which you invited my assent, (just as you doubtless do, whenever you come in contact with Quakers and others, who discard the *military* principle, and yet adhere to *civil* government and civil law.) You must remember, too, I am almost confident, that I strenuously questioned the soundness of your position, and that in subsequent interviews with you, I have always and uniformly maintained that civil government may exist, and was actually administered by William Penn and his successors, for sixty years, in perfect consistency with the principles of peace. I do not pretend that you have been puzzled, perhaps, in some instances, and, *for a time*, in disposing of some of the difficulties to my conclusions, which modern 'non-resistants' have been able to present. But I deny that I have ever, for a moment, or on any occasion, or to any person, (according to my best knowledge and belief,) admitted that the principles of those who reject civil government and penal law are correct. And except for a very short time, when the subject was new to me, I have uniformly expressed my full belief that the doctrine of modern non-resistants, so called, in rejecting penal law and civil government, were fundamentally wrong, unscriptural, and dangerous. Your own account, in the Liberator, of a conversation you held with me at my house, in Utica, will bear testimony to the truth of this statement. The paper is not at hand, but I remember you said in substance, that I took strong exceptions to the anti-civil government views of non-resistants, while I nevertheless rejected the military system. With what fairness, then, can you represent my course as 'most extraordinary,' when it is the same as that of the vast majority of those who go against the military system, and against war, including the members of the Society of Friends? And how can you represent me as changeful and fickle, when it is William Lloyd Garrison and Henry C. Wright, and not William Goodell, that have changed? Let me commend to you and to bro. Garrison, your own doctrine, that those who repent of their former course should say so, or else reconcile their *present* with their *former* position.

And as you have so confidently appealed to my past writings in the 'Friend of Man' and elsewhere, to prove my instability and change, let me ask you to point out and republish any thing from my pen that disproves the truth of what I have now written. Most assuredly, you will *not* find to your purpose the 'long articles' written by me, in the Friend of Man' against the military system. One of the avowed objects of that series of Essays was to establish the *radical distinction* between the CIVIL and the MILITARY power, the natural repugnance, instead of affinity between them; thus drawing a broad line between the *military* advocacy of civil government, on the one hand, and the *opposition* to civil government on the other. Were I to write a volume *against* the doctrines of non-resistance, *as you hold them*, I should have to transcribe the substance of those anti-military essays into the argument—and I have had the satisfaction to be assured by perhaps as many persons as bro. Garrison now states to be the number of non-resistants in New-England, (one hundred) that the perusal of those 'long articles' in the 'Friend of Man' prevented them from becoming non-resistants! As you now appeal to them in proof of my having 'thrown' my 'whole soul into a vindication of' your doctrine, and since you commend my powers of logic in the effort, let me hope that your influence will secure their republication and circulation by the N. E. Non-Resistance Society. *Such* 'non-resistance' I am still willing to see identified with abolition, and have no fears that it would injure the cause of the slave.

To all this you may say, if you think so, that I am inconsistent with myself—that my logic is unsound—that my distinction between civil and military government is futile—that the former cannot exist without the latter, or that the one is as bad as the other. Very well. That is your opinion, and you have a right to proclaim it, as such. Make me as *inconsistent* as you please, or as you can, but do not say, *contrary to the fact*, that I have CHANGED my opinions, when I *have not*. Do not say that 'one moment' I throw my whole soul into your doctrine, and, 'in the next,' speak of it with a kind of holy horror. In this you bear wrong testimony of me. State the *facts* as they are, and give your *opinions* of me, distinct from those facts.

Wherein have I changed? When did I oppose civil government? When did I write against penal laws? When did I say that it was wrong to hold office—or to vote for another to hold office? *These* are the fundamental points on which you insist 'in the same breath' in which you complain of my *changefulness*! But WHEN did I ever agree with you on these points? Answer me this, if you can. But if not, do not make it the basis of your argument against me that I have changed—that my course, in this respect, has been 'most extraordinary,' inasmuch that 'one moment' I am one thing and the next' another, and nobody can tell where to find me!

You strangely confound *facts* with *opinions* in this matter, and charge me with your own *inferences* instead of my *positions*. You lay down what you say is 'the only principle at issue in non-resistance.' You say I have admitted that principle, and therefore charge upon me inconsistency and change, because I do not admit your 'application of this principle!' Strange testimony! Suppose I *had* admitted that principle, (of which, by the way, I am not conscious—not understanding precisely its exact import)—suppose I had admitted (which I have not) that the taking of human life by a human being is always *malum in se*, the inferences you draw from that principle are not clear to *my mind* and *never have been*. Why then should you make *your* logical deductions, (the soundness of which you know very well I do not admit,) the foundation of your *testimony* to the supposed *fact* that I have changed my opinions? Such a course, depend upon it, my brother, cannot do credit to the cause you espouse. If your sentiments are correct, they can be better supported than by imputing change to their opponents, especially if the charge be unfounded. Upon the same principle by which you have imputed *to me* a 'most extraordinary' change of opinion, you might impute the same 'most extraordinary' change to the great body of the friends of peace, including the Society of Friends—when, it is well known, that it is you and your 'less than one hundred' non-resistants in New-England, who have changed, and not the Peace Society, or the Quakers.

And if it be true that William Goodell is opposed to 'the Christ-like doctrine' of non-resistance—that, in the words of the Liberator, he is hostile to 'the pacific principles of the PRINCE OF PEACE?'—then it is equally true that the Society of Friends, with few exceptions, ('less than one hundred in all New-England,') fall under the same condemnation—the peaceful WILLIAM PENN along with the rest. With these remarks, which fill my sheet, I must conclude, and remain,

Your friend, as ever,
WILLIAM GOODELL.

MISCELLANY.

MOHAMMEDAN *vs.* CHRISTIAN. It is a singular fact that grog-shops and the demoralizing effects which they produce, are found only among Christian nations. They are abominated by the Mohammedans. Mr. Southgate, in his late interesting tour among the nations of the East, says, 'The Mohammedan law, although it does not prevent the manufacture and use of wine and other liquors, keeps it under such restrictions as are unknown in any Christian country. You do not find in the Eastern cities, as you may in our own, a *tippling-shop* at almost every corner. In Constantinople, indeed, there is no deficiency of them, but even there, they are to be found only in the Christian quarters, and are only tolerated for the use of Christians, although the Mohammedans do sometimes pay them secret visits.'

Again, Mr. Southgate says, 'Whether tippling-shops are to be found any where in Turkey, besides Constantinople, I am unable to say. I have visited four-fifths of the cities of the Empire, and have never seen one.' He adds, that in Persia they are still more rare; and why? Hear the humiliating reason—*Because the Christian population is small!* He never saw or heard of more than one veritable grog-shop while he was there—and for that the owner paid the enormous license of six hundred tormans, or fifteen hundred dollars.

Mr. Southgate says that in the East it is rare to find a confirmed drunkard, excepting among the Christians—and among Christians, such characters are more rare than in this country. He never saw in the East, but two men overpowered by liquor and staggering through the streets. The first was an American sailor, and the other, by his language, was an American or an Englishman.

Such is the wide difference in the practices of a Mohammedan and a Christian country. In the latter, grog-shops are licensed for the public good—and the sale of poison to the wretched inebriate, is recognized as one of the civil rights of a free people—and is protected and encouraged by law.—*Mer. Journal.*

RUM IN THE CHURCHES. We know of no subject more painful, at this enlightened day, than the reflection that within the pale of the church, are to be found those who drink or vend intoxicating liquors. Yet such cases we are constrained to say are more frequent than we had supposed. We confess, that at this meridian light of the sun of Temperance, we had flattered ourselves that there were no dark corners into which its rays had not, more or less, penetrated; and as a consequence had supposed that no man, laying claim to the character of a professing christian, could be found, who would, for the sake of paltry gain, barter away all such claims, and we had almost said—all hopes of heaven. That there are some such in Vermont we are obliged to admit. What word of exhortation to administer we acknowledge ourselves ignorant, for we know of nothing new in this respect to be said, but our earnest prayer to God is 'that he would WATER THE CHURCHES.'—*Vermont Temperance Star.*

HARD CIDER—REV. LEONARD BACON. When the conduct of a political party calls out a public rebuke from one of their own friends, possessing the influence of Mr. Bacon, it is high time for them to pause, reflect, and change their course. At the Annual Temperance Convention of Connecticut, this gentleman made the following just remarks:

There is another reason why the cause of temperance is retrograding. It is, (and I say it with no wish to offend any person,) it is owing in a great measure to causes of recent occurrence. Within three or four months, *Intemperance has become the badge of a political party!*—The hard money humbug was hard enough—but the *hard cider* humbug will prove more disastrous to the country, and more degrading to those concerned in it. Yes, intelligent men—men who have enjoyed the benefits of Christian teachings—and who live in a land of gospel light—are called upon to exhibit their enthusiasm in a political strife, by drinking *hard cider*, made harder by hard *brandy*, for the glory of General Harrison! Yes—at these conventions and committee-rooms, many a young man will take his first lessons in drunkenness, which will bring him to the almshouse, or the prison, and the drunkard's grave!—More than ten thousand men will be made drunkards in one year by this hard cider enthusiasm.

Temperance Medal.—One of the medals distributed in Ireland, to the converts to the temperance reformation, was exhibited to us a day or two since. It was of silver, about the size of a dollar, handsomely executed, and bore various emblems and mottoes illustrative of the objects of the association, of which it is an evidence of membership. The name of the society was inscribed upon it, the St. Paul's Temperance Society, founded November 3, 1839; Very Rev. Dr. Yore, President. In the centre was the following pledge, the words arranged in the form of a cross:—'I do hereby pledge myself to abstain totally from every species of intoxicating drink, and to use my influence to discountenance the vice of drunkenness, and I will moreover observe the rules of the St. Paul's Temperance Society.' On the reverse was a domestic scene, two figures, representing husband and wife, each with a flag in hand. On that of the former was inscribed the word, 'Sobriety,' and on that of the latter, 'Domestic Comfort.' A device somewhat similar, it strikes us, might be appropriately worn by the temperance societies of this city, as a substitute for the badges now in use, which do not distinguish them from any other body of men.—*Phil. Ledger.*

THE LAST YANKEEISM. A Yankee, some two or three years ago, contrived a way of making covered buttons, by just compressing an edge of metal and so in one moment threw a thousand women out of employment. Another Yankee, by a different application of the same idea, has contrived to put on buttons without sewing, and that too, so that they can never come off. The invention is only applicable to metal buttons, and chiefly to those for suspenders and straps under boots. The button is made in two parts, the eye being a bolt with a large head. It is put through the cloth and a hole in the button, when a single blow rivets the two parts together, never to be separated. The thing is admirable; and already the man who was fortunate enough to get possession of the thought, is making his fortune, with more orders on hand than he can supply. The same idea was applied to eyelet holes not long since, and at once the ladies were relieved from a great deal of labor, and could belay themselves much tauter than before. Let the Yankees alone, and in a little while they will have strawberry pickers, and whortleberry rakes, and all such things.—*Jour. of Com.*

A Turkish paper says, in announcing the fact that the Grand Seignor is expecting an addition to his family, that, 'A soul-animating rose bush, bud and blossom yielding, in the happy Imperial rose-garden, has exhibited signs of vegetation.'

GRAHAMISM. We had yesterday an invitation to dine at the Graham House of Mr. Goss in Barclay street. As we have no such fear of being converted to new opinions that we dare not go where they are advocated, and as in fact we were never so bigoted as to refuse to eat ripe fruits, we accepted and went. A long table was spread, and at the sound of the bell, lined on either side with a very respectable company of ladies and gentlemen, mostly boarders at the house, and all looking as hearty as if they had eatenmeat seven days in a week. Well, first we had succotash, green peas, mashed potatoes, boiled eggs, lettuce, &c.—then a baked Indian pudding, cherry, strawberry and minced pies, (minced fruits we mean;) then apples, watermelons from the South, oranges, dates, strawberries and cream, &c. &c. As for drink, it was Adam's Ale, the best ever yet invented, and lemonade. The bread was—Graham bread. No stately castors, filled with biting pepper, mustard, and other condiments, adorned the table. Their places were supplied by bunches of flowers. His Excellency Gov. Seward honored the occasion with his presence, being introduced by Mr. Greely, of the New Yorker, who is a lodger at the house, and regularly takes the edge from his appetite and puts it upon his wit at this table of fruits and vegetables. We came away thoroughly persuaded that it is not the most dangerous error in the world to believe in Grahamism, especially if one joins the sect of Mr. Goss. So, as we ate but a small bit of beef-steak at breakfast, we intend, after finishing this paragraph, to eat a bowl of bread and milk, with a few more strawberries, for supper, and go to bed, reflecting that we have lived very innocently, for one day at least.—*Jour. of Com.*

Emancipation in Virginia.—Emancipation sentiments seem to be prevailing in Virginia. The 'Old Dominion' says:

'We hear the determination expressed from candid persons of all political parties, that they will pay no more taxes in Virginia until they are allowed the privileges of freemen—the rights of American citizens. They argue very correctly that taxation and representation should go together.'

Suppose all the laborers in Virginia should come to the same resolution—what a rumpus! 'Taxation and representation should go together,' true enough, and so should work and wages. Glorious principles, these.—*Philanthropist.*

Colleges and Newspapers.—There are, nominally, ninety-five colleges now in the United States, with about ninety-five hundred students; twenty-seven medical schools, with about twenty-seven hundred and fifty students; thirty-seven theological schools, with about fourteen hundred students; and eight law schools, with about three hundred and fifty students.

One thousand five hundred and fifty-five newspapers and other periodicals are published in this country, two hundred and sixty-seven published in New England, (Massachusetts one hundred and twenty-four;) two hundred and seventy-four in the state of New-York, two hundred and fifty-three in Pennsylvania, one hundred and sixty-four in Ohio. The next largest number in a single state is sixty-nine, and the smallest number three.—*Christian Review.*

Too Particular.—A gentleman who had sat half a minute to have his miniature taken by the Daguerreotype, was surprised, on looking at the picture, to see a spot on his cheek which he was sure did not belong to him. Daguerre would have been set down a liar at once, but for his well established reputation of always speaking the truth; yet there was a plain contradiction between the picture and the original, as they both stood together. A microscope was brought, and then the spot was seen to be the well defined miniature of a fly, who had seized that occasion to get his own likeness taken, and so had stood upon the gentleman's cheek unobserved.

ITEMS.

Summary Vengeance. We are informed that four horse thieves were captured about two weeks ago in Iowa Territory, somewhere near Davenport, one of whom was instantly hung up to a tree, where he had remained four days, and was being consumed by crows, &c.; another was shot, and the remaining two mutilated and set at liberty. We have heard no further particulars, and trust, for the honor of the far west, that the story is exaggerated.—*Peoria Register.*

A Convention of the colored people of the State of New York is to meet at Albany on the third Tuesday in August, to consider their political condition, and to adopt measures to remove their disabilities. A certain amount of real estate formerly gave a colored man the right of suffrage in that State.

An English paper says: 'The quartermaster of the Thunderer, of 84 guns, at Devonport, was blown to pieces on Friday week, whilst standing in the chains, having been struck by the whole contents of a signal gun. Part of his skull was picked up on the shore, half a mile distant from the vessel.'

TAUNTON AND NEW BEDFORD RAILROAD. We learn from the New Bedford Mercury, that this road will be completed in a few days, and open for public travel on the 1st of July. The length of the road is 19 miles and three fourths of a mile. The actual cost will come within the original estimate of $400,000.

Edward C. Pritchett is appointed Corresponding Secretary of the New York State Anti-Slavery Society, in the place of W. L. Chaplin, who is now Corresponding Secretary, &c. in the new society in the western part of the State.

FLY IN WHEAT. The Hessian fly is destroying many of the fields of wheat in Erie, Huron, Seneca and Sandusky counties. We understand that there are thousands of acres which will not produce the seed.—*Sandusky (Ohio) Clarion.*

The Petersburg Star of Thursday, states that the Roanoke river has swollen to an almost unprecedented height, and that the crops on the low grounds will be greatly injured, if not entirely destroyed in consequence. The Appamattox is also unusually high and rising.

The piracy off Cape Antonio is fully confirmed by Capt. Remington of the brig Elizabeth, arrived at Philadelphia on Saturday from Havana. The seven pirates had been brought to that city, and would be tried forthwith. They would no doubt be executed immediately afterward.

FROM FLORIDA. The St. Augustine News of the 29th ult. says: 'There is a rumor in town, and generally credited, that the Indians made an attack on one of the Alachua settlements, on Sunday night last, killing thirteen families, and the garrison of six men; the attack was made at night, and is represented as a complete surprise.'

Scarcity of Fish.—The readers of our shipping list will perceive that the fishermen are making out but very poorly this season. A vessel which arrived at Marblehead a year ago, this week, brought 21,000 fish; nearly twice as many as the whole eight vessels reported to-day.—*Salem Gaz.*

Official information has been received by the authorities at Natchez, confirming the truth of the report of the steamboat Hinds being wrecked at Natchez during the tornado of the 7th ult. She had been picked up with 51 dead bodies on board, 48 of whom were males, 3 females, and one child.

The Boston and Portland Railroad is now completed as far as Exeter, and the cars will carry passengers to that town, a distance of 48 miles, this week. The time occupied will probably exceed two and a half hours. Go ahead.—*Mer. Journal.*

FROM JAMAICA. By the schr. Cyrus, Capt. Howard, we have Jamaica papers to May 23rd. The prospects of the Colony in respect to population, are favorable. The Jamaica Despatch says:—

On a certain Sunday, in a country parish, (Clarendon,) no less than two hundred and seventy (270) baptisms, and seventy-three (73) marriages took place. On the following Sunday, sixty-three (63) marriages were celebrated, and one hundred and twenty-five (125) banns published!

It is stated that the storm in Natchez had scarcely subsided, till the land pirates who infest the southern cities, were at work at their trade, robbing the ruins of the houses, and even stripping watches and jewelry from the dead and wounded.

The Legislature of Connecticut adjourned on Monday afternoon. But few public bills were passed during the session, and those not generally of an important character.

The Young Ladies' Missionary Society of Wheeling, Va. have transmitted, through their pastor, the Rev. Dr. H. R. Weed, $2000 to the Treasurer of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, for the purpose of constituting Martin Van Buren and William Henry Harrison members of that Board. (!)

The population of Worcester, Mass. according to the new census, is 7060, being an increase of 2892 in ten years.

The increase of members of the Methodist Church for the past four years has been one hundred thousand.

New Books,

For sale at the A. S. Office, 25 Cornhill.

FREEDOM'S LYRE.—A new Anti-Slavery Hymn Book, compiled with great care, and just from the New-York press. Price 37 1-2 cents.

FREEDOM'S GIFT, *or Sentiments of the Free.*—A collection of original pieces of poetry and prose. Published at Hartford, Ct. Price 50 cents.

MR. MAY'S DISCOURSE, *on the Life and character of Charles Follen*—Delivered before the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in the Marlboro' Chapel, Boston, April 17, 1840. Price 17 cents.

☞ The above are all works of peculiar interest.

JOHN CURTIS, Jr., Tailor,

No. 6 Ann St., 3d door from Union St. Boston.

CONSTANTLY on hand, a general assortment o READY MADE CLOTHING, which will sold at prices to suit the times.

Also.—Cloths, Cassimeres, Vestings, Stocks, Hdkfs, Gloves, Hosiery, Suspenders, &c. &c.

N. B. Garments of every description cut and made to order, at short notice, and in the best manner.

June 10. 24. 3m.

NOTICE.

JAMES TOLMAN, of the late firm of Macomber and Tolman, has taken the store recently occupied by Winckley and Dickenson, No. 76 Congress square, Congress Street, nearly opposite the old stand.

He will constantly be supplied with a complete assortment of first rate MERCHANT TAILOR'S GOODS, which will be sold at the very lowest prices.

By particular personal attention to all departments of the business, he will be able to execute all orders in a perfect and satisfactory manner. The patronage of his friends and of the public is respectfully solicit ed. March 13.

HENRY A. NEWHALL,

45 Hanover Street,

(Under White's Bonnet Rooms,)

BOSTON:

RETAIL dealer in Calicoes, Sheetings, Shirtings Summer Cloths, Broad Cloths, Cassimeres, Satinetts, Flannels, White Goods, Embroideries, Black Silks, Hosiery and Gloves, and various other articles usually kept in a

DRY GOODS STORE.

☞ Calicoes by the pound for patch-work, at wholesale or retail.

N. B. Believing that the custom of asking one price and taking another cannot be practised without *deception*, the subscriber has decided to practise it no more. It will be his design to offer goods at the lowest market price, from which there will be no abatement.

He would respectfully solicit the patronage not only of purchasers living in the city, but also of those from the country. H. A. N.

March, 1840. 12tf.

TO BE SOLD OR LET,

A DWELLING HOUSE, pleasantly situated on Humphreys street, Dorchester, comprising parlor, sitting room, breakfast room and kitchen on the lower floor, four chambers and attic above, well of excellent twaer, garden, &c. Said house has recently been put in good repair. Inquire at 26 Congress st.

June 10—24tf

NEW BOOKS.

JUST PUBLISHED, and for sale at 25, Cornhill THE SLAVE: or the Memoirs of Archy Moore Price 50 cents.

DESPOTISM IN AMERICA, by the author of Archy Moore. Price 50 cents.

LECTURES ON BRITISH INDIA, by GEORGE THOMPSON, with a Preface by W. L. Garrison. Price 50 cents.

COLE'S PARAGON.

THOMAS COLE returns his thanks to the public, for the liberal patronage he has heretofore received, and solicits a continuance of the same, at his *HAIR CUTTING & CURLING ESTABLISHMENT* in Atkinson Street, 3d door from Milk St. where he would be happy to wait on all who favor him with their custom.

Particular attention paid to Cutting Children's Hair.

PERFUMERY of all kinds kept for sale.

March 6.

Hats, Caps, Stocks and Trunks.

GEORGE ADAMS, No. 300 Washington Street,

Offers for sale a prime assortment of fashionable Fur and Silk HATS; Cloth and Velvet CAPS, in great variety, wholesale and retail; NECK-STOCKS, UMBRELLAS, VALICES, CARPET-BAGS; Hair, Leather and Travelling TRUNKS; all of which will be sold at the *lowest prices.* The patronage of his friends and the public is *earnestly* solicited. Hats and Caps made to order at short notice. Call and examine for yourselves, ☞ No. 300 Washington-St. ☜

Feb. 27. 9eow6t.

GENTEEL BOARD.

☞ *At 24 Franklin Place, near the Odeon.* ☜

FOUR lower and several upper chambers will be vacated by gentlemen resuming their country seats on the first of April. Several single rooms may be taken immediately. The suits of rooms are convenient for families and others desiring a quiet, central and pleasant situation for a permanent residence—possessing the advantages of a large yard, and plenty of good aqueduct and well water, bathing rooms, shower bath, ect. Strangers visiting the city, preferring private accommodations, are invited to call.

J. E. FULLER.

13-tf.

Dr. Hitchcock, Dentist,

No. 98 Court Street, corner of Stoddard Street, Boston,

Extracting, Filling and Setting Teeth.

Extracting.—Dr. H. has an Improved Extractor for removing teeth, which is superior and far preferable to all other instruments. Its popularity and excellence require no other recommendation than the fact, that during the past year it has removed nearly *Two Thousand Teeth.* Extracting 25 cents.

Filling Teeth.—The advertiser has paid particular attention to the one and only correct method of filling carious teeth with gold, and as he received the *premium at the late Fair in this city,* for his specimens, he will load decayed teeth and warrant them. Price $1.

Artificial Teeth.—Persons desirous of having artificial teeth, can have the Mineral or unchangeable teeth, which are unsurpassed both as to their perfectly natural appearance and utility. Single pivot teeth, $2, and on gold plate lower than any other place in the city or country. Half or whole setts furnished on very low terms.

Individuals are invited to call at office, and examine specimens. Dr. H. is permitted to refer to

WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
AMASA WALKER, Esq.
Dr. THOMAS BARNES.

ANTI-SLAVERY PRESS!

DOW and JACKSON,

(SUCCESSORS TO ISAAC KNAPP,)

BOOK, CARD, and FANCY JOB PRINTERS,

☞ 14 *Devonshire Street,* ☜

WOULD respectfully inform their friends and the public, that they have materials for doing all kinds of work in their line in the best manner, and can do it on the most reasonable terms. They have just added to their establishment one of the LATEST IMPROVED IRON POWER PRESSES, which are well known to turn off work in a better manner, and with greater rapidity, than any press now in use.

Circulars, Reports, Addresses, &c. executed at short notice. Anti-slavery friends are particularly invited to call. Boston, 1840.—15tf.

H. L. DEVEREUX,

Book and Job Printer,

☞ *No. 4, Water Street, Boston.* ☜

THE OFFICE is furnished with good type of various sizes, suitable for Book and Pamphlet work; and with all the fashionable Job Type from the principal Type Foundries, in the United States, for Cards and Fancy Jobs. March 6.

JUST published and for sale in pamphlet form, at 25 Cornhill, Report of the Difficulties in the Boston F. A. S. Society; price 10 cents.

No. 2. RECORDS OF THE REFRESHMENT HOUSE

2 WILSON'S LANE

A FEW FEET FROM CONGRESS STREET

BOSTON.

PROPOSALS

FOR PUBLISHING A SELECTION FROM THE WRITINGS OF THE LATE DR. FOLLEN.

BESIDES various articles which Dr. Follen has furnished to periodical journals in our country, he left a large number of manuscripts, many of which would need no alteration to prepare them for the press. It is thought that a selection from these manuscripts, with a republication of some of the articles which have already appeared in print, would be welcomed by his friends as a grateful means of preserving and extending the influence of his mind.

Many of his sermons, his lectures on Moral Philosophy, on Schiller and on Switzerland, were completed. He had also made considerable progress in the preparation of a work on Psychology, the introduction to which was completed, and which it was his earnest desire to finish.

It is proposed to collect such of these writings as shall appear most suitable for publication, and to prefix to them a memoir, prepared by Mrs. Follen. They will probably fill four duodecimo Volumes, of 300 to 400 pages each, and be divided as follows, viz:

1 vol. of sermons and other theological writings.
1 do on German Literature, including Lectures on Schiller.
1 do on Moral Philosophy, and kindred subjects.
1 do Miscellanies, with memoir and portrait.

The work will be delivered to subscribers, neatly bound in Boards at one dollar and a quarter a volume. An engraving, from the excellent portrait of Dr. Follen, by Gambardella, will be given in one of the volumes, which will be put to press as soon as a sufficient number of subscribers is obtained. The friends of Dr. Follen, who may receive subscription papers, are therefore requested to return them before the 1st of May, to Hilliard, Gray, & Co. Publishers, Boston.

April 23

THEORY OF LEGISLATION.

BY JEREMY BENTHAM.

TRANSLATED from the French of M. Dumont, by R. HILDRETH, 2 vols. 12 mo. just published by WEEKS, JORDAN & CO. No. 121 Washington Street.

Jeremy Bentham may be justly regarded as the most original genius of his times. He has done more for legislation as a science, than all other writers put together. The work above announced, compiled by Dumont, from the manuscripts and printed treatises of Bentham, exhibits a clear and comprehensive view of the whole subject of Legislation, civil and penal, founded throughout upon the idea, that utility ought to be the sole guide of the legislator. Many of the ideas developed in this work are as novel as they are important.

It is a remarkable fact, that neither the works published by Bentham himself, with the exception of one or two of the least important, nor the compilations of Dumont, are to be found in any of the public libraries. The lamentable ignorance of the doctrines of Bentham betrayed by those writers among us, who sometimes allude to him, serves to prove that our private libraries are equally deficient.

Those persons who have been accustomed to sneer at the doctrine of utility, the greatest good of the greatest number, will now have an opportunity to learn what that doctrine really is, and what practical application Bentham proposed to make of it. The treatise on legislation ought to be in the hands of every lawyer, every judge, every legislator, and indeed of every person who wishes to know the true foundation of rights and obligations. 6t

Mr. Beckwith's Family School,

AT WEST NEWTON, MASS.

THE Rev. Geo. C. Beckwith will open, on the second Wednesday in May, his FAMILY SCHOOL, designed to receive lads over six years of age, and not only instruct them in all the branches preparatory to business or college, but superintend with paternal care the formation of their entire character, intellectual, social and moral. The number is not to exceed twenty; and to them all, he will, as far as possible, act the part of a parent. The location, eight miles from Boston, on the Worcester rail-road, and accessible almost every hour of the day during the warm season, is in point of health, pleasantness, and freedom from bad influences, one of the most eligible in New England.

TERMS. For tuition, board, washing, fuel and lights, $40 a quarter. Only two terms, each 20 weeks, commencing permanently on the first Monday in May and November.

☞ Further particulars, together with ample testimonials from the best sources, may be had on application to the Principal, and Circulars at No. 9 Cornhill, Boston.

REFERENCES. Hon William Jackson, Prof. B. Hackett, Seth Davis, Esq., Rev. Lyman Gilbert, Rev. A. L. Baury, Newton, Amasa Walker, Esq. William Cogswell, D. D., Rev. Baron Stow, Boston; Hon. Simon Greenleaf, Cambridge; Rev. Milton Badger, New York.

TO ADVERTISERS. Heretofore it has not been our wish to obtain advertising patronage to any considerable extent, believing that our subscribers would be better satisfied to have the paper filled almost exclusively with reading matter. By the advice of many of our friends, however, we are now indured to open our columns, to a moderate extent, to such persons as may choose to use them as an advertising medium. As our paper has a wide circulation among people of all political parties and nearly every religious denomination, and as our subscribers are confessedly among the most enterprising and energetic portion of community, we can confidently assure advertisers, that offer friends or opposers of abolitionism, that they will find it for their interest to avail themselves of the opportunity now presented of enlarging the number of their customers. Book-sellers of all classes, whether literary, scientific or religious, will find the Liberator a medium of advertising quite as advantageous as any