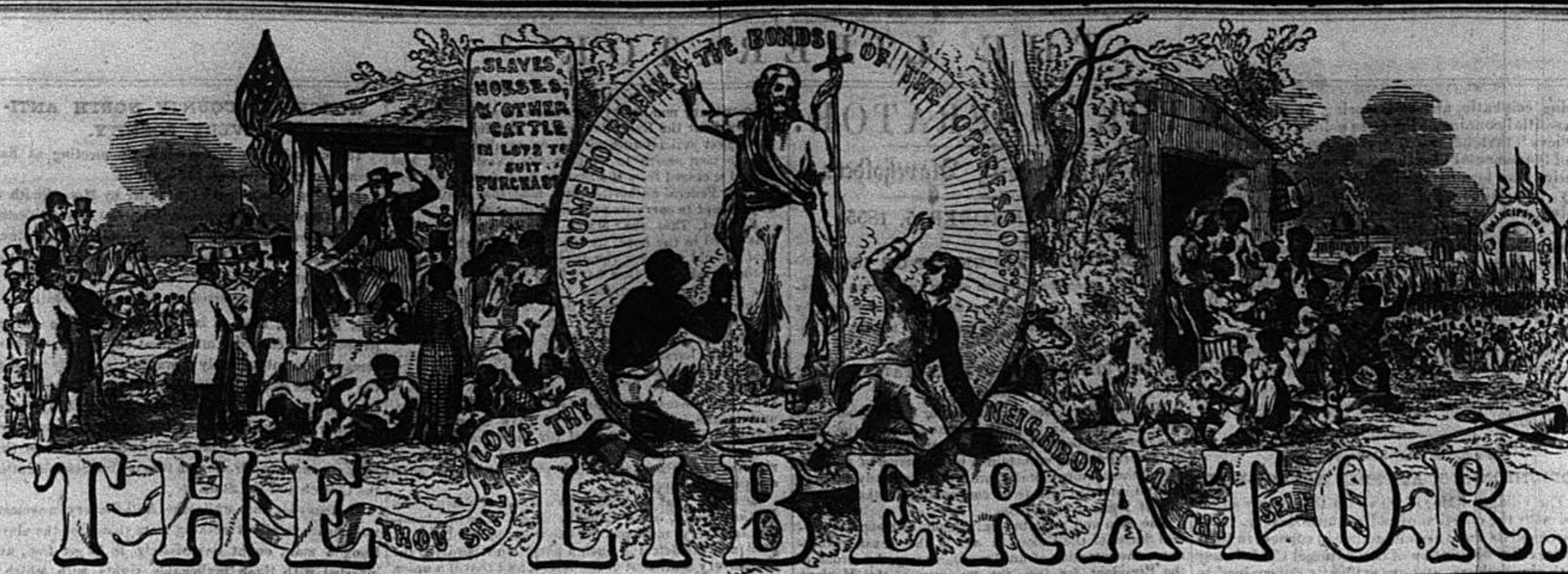


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ROBERT F. WALLACE, GENERAL AGENT.
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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are authorized to receive subscriptions for the Liberator.
The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz.—FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY LORING, EDWARD QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.
In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of every question are impartially allowed a hearing.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Editor.
VOL. XXV. NO. 40.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.
THE BENEFITS OF SLAVERY—THE INJUSTICE OF THE NORTH.

Extracts from the volume, entitled 'A South-Side View of SLAVERY, or, Three Months at the South, in 1854, by NATHANIEL ADAMS, D. D.—[Continued.]
The free States are too apt to invest a slave, especially a fugitive, with an interest which may be overthrown; to our eye he is the incarnation of injured innocence; liberty, priceless mastery, is personated in him; to us, as a slave State, the South is a true man, contending for Heaven's blessing, freedom, and in his proportion he seems worthy of a place with patriots.
We may as justly aid in every case of elopement, or get a voyage for every runaway boy, as help every fugitive slave.
It offends our moral sense, we will suppose, to have a man who has tried to escape from his master taken back to involuntary servitude. But there are other reasons for moral sense to be concerned in the case of a fugitive black man. Until his master is separated from the South by dividing the Union, while we live under our present Constitution, our moral sense must be more intelligent and comprehensive. We may well be reminded that moral sense agreed in 1787, for the sake of certain objects which could not otherwise be secured, to suffer in silence, and let persons held to service, and escape, be recovered. Now, to rouse our sense, we say it shall not be done, it trenches upon what we have obtained the benefits of constitutional government; and shall we now repudiate the compromise by which they were gained? We may use all proper means to have slavery abolished; but while it remains as it now is, we must submit to the recovery of fugitive slaves, or to annulment, or to dissolution of the Union. All apparent feelings, on this subject, when the case of a fugitive slave is pending, are as really out of place, if the object be to hinder the process of law, as appealing against a sheriff's doings in attaching and selling private property.
What though the probability were that the slave would be sold at auction as soon as he could be taken over the boundary line? The Constitution of the United States must not be nullified in its fugitive slave provision for that reason, unless we seek to make a revolution.
That compassion for a fugitive slave which leads one to abrogate the constitution of society is not benevolent, nor does it secure respect from any but rogues—a class of men, in all ages of the world, who have uniformly failed to secure the confidence of mankind.
Instead of contending with one another, and endangering our future means of doing good to the colored race through impatience at present and temporary evils, necessary, in the providence of God, as it may prove, to prepare us all, for his further benevolent purposes, let us endeavor to heal the breaches between us, and interchange kind words and deeds.
The tumultuous excitement on the subject of American slavery and the din of approaching conflict, I cannot help looking at the South as the appointed protectors of this feeble member of the human family. . . . Instead of regarding the South as holding their fellow-men in cruel bondage, let us consider whether we may not think of them as the guardians, educators, and saviors of the African race in this country.
If we are to do further good to the African race in this country, we must be obliged to our southern brethren and sisters to do for us.
The South was about to free herself of her slaves; northern interference, seeking to hasten the day, prevented it, perhaps forever; and now we will not dispute with those who say that the South, and her portions of our land and continent, are, perhaps, to be the nursery of millions of Africans, for their present and future good, and for the increasing supply of the world with a great necessity of life, [et cetera.] Perhaps, in future, the failure of southern efforts at emancipation may be the occasion of unparalleled good to that race, by bringing us to unite in the only compromise that will save us from ruin, and them from protracted misery, in which we do not know cannot bring us comfort; yet we admit that, cannot bring us comfort, either where, through example and efforts, under the social and religious influences which many of the slaves at the South enjoy, it would be, in fact, breaking every yoke.
We must begin to be friends of the master, if we would be truly friends of the slave. Our only way of benefiting the slave is through his master.
Let us then think of that great body of Christian men at the South, who are perfectly competent to manage this subject, and meet their accountability to God without our help. (1)
The greatest kindness which we at the North can show upon the slaves, is to be no longer the seeming enemies, the censors, the civil and ecclesiastical judges of the masters.
We must change our manner and tone with regard to the South, and study ways to signify such a change. One expression of kind feeling, one fraternal act on the part of the North toward the South, in exchange for the almost unnumbered expressions of displeasure with which she is addressed, would do much to restore a good understanding, and by its influence at the South, but by putting ourselves into a more suitable attitude.
Any thing like inviting the South to a compromise on this subject, or obtaining from her a promise that certain things shall be done on certain conditions, is absurd. We must of our own selves correct the spirit and manner in which we have proceeded toward her.
It seems hard if some good understanding cannot be had, to the effect that travellers from the South, visitors, are to be protected in the enjoyment of services, and that members of their families, who, if left to themselves, would change their condition, with its name slavery, for the thing under the name of freedom. Now, the members behind them—the skillful driver, the month's physician, who has dressed the chronic sore on the mother in the child's arm, who is a rival with the mother of wailing (2), because of our procedure of wailing (3), with the heathen corpus of colored servant from the South.
Let our people be appealed to against this injustice and unkindness. Legislation cannot well be the poor doer of it, especially if its only remedy be no more, with a slave at the North, as some of the free States have enacted. This concession under obligations to us for that which could not be placed on the ground of permission.
Would that, for our own sakes, we could enjoy the pleasure more frequently, of becoming acquainted with the citizens of the South in their domestic relations. We are becoming mutually



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BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1855. WHOLE NUMBER 1109.

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Seventh—That the three and a half millions of slaves introduced directly or indirectly by the North, could not be set free without consequences detrimental to both sections.
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Ninth—That the South would take up a good deal of time, and of course I would reverse the liberty of amplifying or of adding others to them.
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For several years past, our citizens have had a great deal of instruction, in regard to the duty of obeying every law which is enacted by the legislative authorities of the nation. The ground taken has been, that resistance to any one law militates against the loyalty of the people, and involves the public regard for order and authority which is the basis of our political institutions. Statesmen and theologians have brought every argument which the secret terms those who have dared to call in question this point. The cry has been that, the law of the land is coming, the day of retribution, and as there is a God on the throne, and as there is equity in his moral government, these Southern men will feel it soon, unless they let the oppressed go free.

Never, we are accustomed to think, could slavery have existed so long amidst such influences of Christianity as prevail in this country, and such efforts of the southern people themselves to abolish it. (2) We are not that God intends to use us as the chief instruments of good to the African race. Let us together wait and hope till Providence disclose ways of doing good to the African race. The South is best qualified to lead the whole country in plans and efforts for the African race. We will follow her. (3)

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FROM THE BOSTON EVENING TELEGRAPH.
LAW IN BOSTON.
For several years past, our citizens have had a great deal of instruction, in regard to the duty of obeying every law which is enacted by the legislative authorities of the nation. The ground taken has been, that resistance to any one law militates against the loyalty of the people, and involves the public regard for order and authority which is the basis of our political institutions. Statesmen and theologians have brought every argument which the secret terms those who have dared to call in question this point. The cry has been that, the law of the land is coming, the day of retribution, and as there is a God on the throne, and as there is equity in his moral government, these Southern men will feel it soon, unless they let the oppressed go free.

Never, we are accustomed to think, could slavery have existed so long amidst such influences of Christianity as prevail in this country, and such efforts of the southern people themselves to abolish it. (2) We are not that God intends to use us as the chief instruments of good to the African race. Let us together wait and hope till Providence disclose ways of doing good to the African race. The South is best qualified to lead the whole country in plans and efforts for the African race. We will follow her. (3)

No Union with Slaveholders!
THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.
'Yes! it cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—AN engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the enactment, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons. . . . In fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed! . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.—John Quincy Adams.
J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, PRINTERS.

POETRY.

For the Liberator. SHALL I FORGET THEE? A HEART ECHO. Forget thee? yes, when the claspings...

CHARACTER OF THE HAPPY WARRIOR.

Who is the happy warrior? Who is he That every man in arms should wish to be? It is the generous spirit, who, when brought...

OCTOBER.

October strews the woodland o'er With many a brilliant color; The world is brighter than before...

RETRAP.

Rest, to the clay, below this emerald sod, Peace, to the spirit, with his Father-God...

THE LIBERATOR.

LETTER FROM KANSAS. LAWRENCE, (K. T.) Sept. 10, 1855.

DEAR FRIEND: It is with the painful emotions that I take my pen to inform you of the sad termination of the long-looked-for 'Big Spring Convention'...

A NORTHERN REPUBLIC.

Now, I have been so long accustomed to hear our Free State men speak of honesty, in opposition to those whom they term the 'vile Missourians'...

THE MEMORABLE TWENTY-FIRST OF OCTOBER, 1855.

PORT NORFOLK, Sept. 23, 1855. MR. GARRISON: Dear Sir—On the 21st of October next, it will be twenty years since a mob composed of 'gentlemen of property and standing'...

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THE LIBERATOR.

From the New York Tribune. CHURCH GOING.

'We must be there early, this evening,' said M. as we would find good seats. So there we were, an hour before church service, dubiously eyeing a conspicuous notice upon the door...

WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.

The Boston Post is growing most intently glibly. It has a lachrymose leader every morning, calling upon everybody to vote for Beach, and save the country and the country's Custom Houses...

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HOPDALE JUVENILE AND COLLEGIATE HOME SCHOOL.

DESIGNED FOR YOUTH OF BOTH SEXES. Sanctioned by the Authorities of the Hopedale Community.

PHYSICAL HEALTH AND MENTAL DISCIPLINE.

The First Winter Term, consisting of twenty weeks, will commence Thursday, Nov. 1, 1855.

ARTICLES NECESSARY TO BE FURNISHED BY THE PUPIL.

Hand-brush and comb, tooth-brush, and a case for the same; soap, four toilet towels, a pair of slippers...

IMPROVED METHOD OF Champeing and Hair-Dyeing.

MADAME CARTEAUX, having removed to 25 Washington Street, avails herself of this opportunity for tendering thanks to the Ladies of Boston and vicinity for the liberal patronage awarded her...

AN APPROPRIATE BRIDAL PRESENT.

THE TRUE WAY TO SECURE A HAPPY HOME AND HEALTHY CHILDREN. MARRIAGE AND PARENTAGE, OR THE REPRODUCTIVE ELEMENT IN MAN, AS A MEANS TO HIS ELEVATION AND HAPPINESS.

DR. B. W. MASON, DENTIST.

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