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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorized to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, to be not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz:—WESLEY PHILLIPS, EDWARD QUINCY, EDWARD JACKSON, and WILLIAM L. GARRISON, JR.

W. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXXIII. NO. 18.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 1, 1863.

WHOLE NO. 1682.

Refuge of Oppression.

A TRUE PICTURE OF ABOLITION.

By REV. PRESIDENT LOUIS, D. D. OF DANFORTH COLLEGE.

To the Editor of the Boston Courier:

When an abolitionist justifies the now proclaimed policy of the Administration, he takes the ground that slavery is the cause of the war, and that either the government or slavery must be destroyed. But the government must not be destroyed; therefore slavery must be abolished. His first fallacy consists in a begging of the question, and his second in a deceptive substitution of terms—the government for its administration.

His adversary denies the assumption that slavery is the cause of the war, saying that the law of the case is the cause of the war, or the robbery or murder. An antecedent is not necessary and morally a cause. He affirms, on the contrary, that abolitionism is the causative antecedent of the war, and will be fatal to the government if its destructive policy be carried on. But government must be sustained, and therefore all good citizens must think, and speak, and vote, in the exercise of their constitutional freedom, so to secure, if that be possible, a better administration.

It is a very considerable issue. As things now are, it is of great consequence that the people to whom the government belongs should look well into the dispute. Otherwise, they may lose their inheritance without knowing it, and reparation may be impossible. A government, like a house, is more easily demolished than rebuilt. It is not a goodly one, Mr. Editor, who hold no office, and publish no paper, and have no intention of doing either, have, so far, a fair claim to be heard in respect to the controversy which is now going on. Besides, we have somewhat carefully studied the abolitionists, whose doctrine the present recognized agents of the people are about to carry out in their administration of affairs. We can speak advantageously.

Our method is historical, which is best adapted to the occasion. Men may speculate about slavery and its relations indefinitely, and be no wiser. The doctrine of fashion every where disagree as to its origin, its nature, its design, its genius and spirit, its policy, ethics and theology, its science and literature and management. Since this is the case, we may read many ingenious discussions of the subject from learned jurists, statesmen, divines, but only to perceive how they have multiplied confusions. The writers have looked out from their respective different standpoints, and reasoned in evident subservience to their different idols more numerous than Babel has described, till they have bewildered themselves and their readers. An epidemic mental disease is consequently settled upon us. We wait for some highly rare and concentrated solvent to digest all their respective varieties of wisdom before a panacea can be found. Then, however, the poor, afflicted patient may be beyond recovery.

It is the only scientific solvent of all our intellectual credulities is history. But all our intellectual faculties are far gone already, and we are raised so much above the natural. We must content ourselves with what is next best—history. That gives us the wisdom of God in his moral providence, and to know that may be of great consequence in default of more spiritual enlightenment.

We find that, before the era of abolition, this whole country enjoyed remarkable union, peace, and prosperity for half a century. Generally speaking, we were chosen with reference to no special peculiarities, but as representatives of parties indiscriminately scattered over all the States. No considerable national dispute arose in the Congress, but such as grew out of natural diversities of physical condition, like, internal improvements, bounties, and the like, were settled, and exhausted controversy. The best produced was a better man than enough to produce a healthy intellectual activity, and check the bad tendencies of appropriating minorities. So far there was but little difference between Northern and Southern politicians, in the spirit with which they defended, or the expedients which they adopted. It would have been difficult, and of little consequence, to form a moral point of view, to strike a balance between them. Neither the logic of statesmen, nor the craft of politicians, could have awakened the process of national animosity or disturbed constitutional relations, so long as they overstepped not the limits of expediency, and affected no moral principle of the public mind. Calhoun and Webster at the east, or such men as Brooks and Sumner at the south, never have contended greatly in the discussion that all the Congress let in subjects of national concern. This was our original mistake, which some of the fathers had foreseen with warnings—the common mistake of all countries, as virtue declines—of essaying, wittingly or unwittingly, to bring together what God requires us to keep apart—the Church and the State. Till we made that mistake, the country was united, prosperous, and happy. There had been no such intestine in the history of the world.

If there were, before that time, any dangerous parties against the Government, North or South, we had no evidence of it in history. That there may have been men, on both sides, ready to take advantage of the Republic, to exalt themselves on the ruins of a free government, for Americans are not excepted to the common law of selfishness and ambition. But such men could have made no figure in the Union, the Constitution and the Laws were so expeditiously against them as a healthy stomach rejects anything that would not do it good. We were safe and honorable till the moral balance was deranged, and each other and to moral government. We were tempted, almost unobservedly, into that fatal reckoning of politics, and thereby brought from that time our glory has departed. Our Christianity has become secular, and our secular glory has departed. We have lost the reflection of a more noble light. We have admitted speculations have been degraded into angry wranglings. We have made God an exchange partner. His institutes and his promises have been interpreted by the "higher" of our own conceits. We have converted the sacred laws into a politician. We have dishonored the way to the North is for the Administration to return to the policy of the Crittenden resolution. This was the platform of the New York Democracy last fall, and on this the North ought to be united. This is common sense. It needs no argument. It commends itself to the reason of all sensible men. (11)—Journal of Commerce.



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Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof.





Poetry.

THE CONTRABAND.

We were playing a game of cards by the dull Oklahoma side; Not playing for fifty cents; Not only our souls to lose; For there's nothing so dull as inaction; When after from our dear ones we roam; And the game had a single attraction; 'Tis it dawned the sad thoughts of our home.

The Liberator.

THE CONNECTICUT AND HERBANDIAH. A TALE OF TO-DAY.

CHAPTER XI. WOMAN UNDER THE LAW.

In a private room of the Messuage, Springfield, two gentlemen sat in low earnest conversation. "Yes, it may be so," the taller and older of the two was just saying in a musing manner. "I was not aware that he had been there, or had ever seen you."

THE LIBERATOR.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

Why did not our Republican Congress, instead of barely leaving an order to our Democratic military command to do its worst of supererogation as bounds and kidnapers in the service of Slavery's Confederacy, repeal the Fugitive Slave Law at once? It was but the most miserable mockery to leave that law as it was, and to order our Executive to enforce it, and to order our Democratic Administration to condescend to the very requirements of that law, which they had been taught to look upon as organic, as final, as the "higher law," as the paramount rule of conduct for all the faithful, who would have "the Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is."

THE LIBERATOR.

THE LOYAL WOMEN OF THE NATION.

DEAR LIBERATOR: Mrs. E. C. Stanton's call to "the Loyal Women of the Nation" might be a text for a grand sermon or a live editorial. It will rejoice many fearless women at the North, who wish to "send the arrow straight to the mark," and are in earnest to make this in reality a model republic.

THE LIBERATOR.

THE KENTUCKY TRADE.

"Notice. There are committed to the Jefferson County Jail, as runaway slaves, a negro man named REX, and a woman named SALLY, who are about twenty years of age, black color, heavy set, stout and well made, weighing 100 pounds. Rex is tall, about 28 years of age, 6 feet 6 inches high, weighing 130 pounds, dark copper color, thin whiskers, light complexion, slow spoken and movement, round full face, high forehead. Sally says they belong to John B. Evans, of Washington county, Mississippi. The owner can come forward, prove property and pay charges, or they will be dealt with as the law requires." March 6, 1863. W. K. THOMAS, J. J. C.

MAY 1.

THE LIBERATOR.

There are committed to the jail of Warren county, as a runaway slave, on the 25th of September, 1862, a negro man named GEORGE RYAN, alias George Merritt. He is about 24 years of age, 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high, copper color. He had on a suit of military cloth. He claims to be free, and says he was a waiter to an officer in a Illinois regiment at Mt. Sterling.

AN INVOCATION TO SPRING.

Come quickly, O, thou Spring! Write love's fair alphabet upon the sod. In many-colored flowers to preach of God, Our everlasting King!

THE SPRING-TIME.

In what fair country are the South winds straying. With lingering steps and slow? Amid what fairy groves and flowery delving, With whippings soft and low?

NOT YET.

Not yet, - along the purpling sky We see the dawning ray; Not yet, - the languid of cloudy distance, Between us and the day.

FROM CHAMBER'S JOURNAL.

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Whatsoever business it is proper for either of us to transact with you, gentlemen, is most proper for me, my sister being an invalid, and unable to see you. Were she standing here, she would put the same questions that I have done—What have I to do in a matter of this sort?

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