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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Boston Mercantile Journal.

MR. SLEEPER:—

A paragraph from my Thanksgiving sermon, first published in your Journal, and the whole discussion, which it quickly revived, have been followed with unexpected notoriety. So far as I know, all but the party denominated *abolitionists* approve of the sentiments therein advanced. By the latter, they have not been very favorably received. Yet I trust they have by not a few of them been essentially misapprehended and misrepresented; I do not say intentionally, although it is difficult to see how men of strictly honest minds, after laboring under the delusion that it is right to 'do evil that good may come,' could so cull out words and sentences from their connection, and place them in a position to pervert their plainly intended meaning. Some of the writers, however, have not done this. The pamphlet of 'Strictures,' written in Boston, is the production of a candid mind and a good spirit. To this, and to several other communications in the Courier, Zion's Herald, Alton Observer, New England Spectator, Emancipator, Utica Observer, &c. &c. I should be quite willing to reply, if it were not contrary to my general rule, and if I had the time to spare for this purpose. The present communication must suffice for all of them. I make it not to *defend*, but simply to *state* my views, as expressed in the sermon, and in my discussions on Social and Civil duties, published three years ago. I do this, because multitudes have read the various statements and misrepresentations respecting the sentiments of the sermon, who will never see the sermon, and who will thus remain deceived respecting the real sentiments advanced by me, unless I take this means of undeceiving them.

In regard to the wrongfulness and the evils of slavery, and the great desirableness of its speedy and everlasting termination, I have declared my views—and sympathies to be cordially with those of the abolitionists; not have I ever impugned their motives. Whether the motives of their leaders are free from selfish and bad ambition, I prefer that others should judge.

2. But I have maintained that there is a right way and a *wrong* way to attempt to do good; that it is as much our duty to attempt good only in the right way, as to attempt it at all, since the end does not justify the means; that, as true citizens of this federal republic, we have no right to meddle with the peculiar laws and domestic institutions of the southern states, in right to get up a public sentiment to coerce them into what is contrary to their expressed wishes; that the institution of slavery is *theirs*, not ours, to consider, agitate, act upon, abolish or retain, as they please. As citizens of this federal republic, they are responsible to God for the right disposal of slavery, not we.

3. I have further insisted that the formation of abolition societies, and especially the course of denunciation practiced by some at the north, is not only a virtual violation of the spirit of our national compact, but directly calculated to prevent the slaveholding states from taking measures towards the abolition of slavery. The known character of the human mind would teach, and facts do demonstrate, that the more we do, in this way, the less *they* will do towards effecting the desired object. As a consequence of these gratuitous and improper doings in the Northern States, teaching and the Bible are in a great measure withdrawn from the slaves, their bondage made stronger, prejudice increased and confirmed. States recently approaching emancipation driven backward from it, and the desired event put in the more distant and uncertain future.

4. Until within a few years, I have signed petitions to Congress for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia. But three years ago, I was led to look more considerately at this subject, and became convinced that we ought to be as much to abstain from doing any thing in violation of the original design with which the District was ceded, and also from taking measures affecting the domestic condition of the District itself, according to the wishes of the same. For these reasons, I have conceived that petitions and all other public movements for the abolition of Slavery in the District, should emanate from the citizens of the same, and of the States implicated with it in slavery. It seems to me a plain case, that as republican citizens, we are bound to give to every State the same liberty which we claim for ourselves, that is, the liberty to manage our own exclusive institutions in our own way.

5. I have expressed the belief, that it is evil in the North, as well as in the southern masters and slaves of the South, to agitate our communities and churches with this subject, now discord among brethren, unsettle pastors, divert the attention of people and ministers from their proper work; that it tends to produce a pharisaical, uncharitable, impetuous, unreasonable spirit, and which seems to be the interior (vital) truths of religion, to lose sight of the fact, that the Gospel as preached by Christ and his apostles, including personal repentance, faith, holiness, fidelity, love, and thus brought to bear in its spirit, and power, is the mighty and great and only efficacious remedy for all moral evils; that the best thing we at the North can do for the slaves, for their masters, and for all men, is, to repent of our own sins, embrace the gospel, practice and preach its divine doctrines and precepts, promote the revival and spread of its holy principles, and in case we have the fruits of its righteousness to work through the nation, and thus leaven the great moral mass; that slavery will thereby be brought to an end, so far forth as we can justly effect it, in the best time and way, and with the best results; and consequently that those men and women, and especially those christian ministers, who leave their calling and go about lecturing on slavery, and bringing abolition societies in their wake, and slaveholding states, have mistaken their duty, and of course the best way to do good.

6. As to *republican liberty*. On no topic have my sentiments been more distorted than on this. I have said that as a member of *society*, no man can have the full liberty of an *isolated* individual, and that his liberty is modified by the nature and condition of the social state in which he exists;—that under a *despotism*, your liberty is in the power of the *despot*, and you can then say and do only what *he* will allow and protect;—that under a *republican* government, your liberty is in the power of the people, and you can then say and do only what *they* will allow and protect;—that the prevailing will and voice of the brotherhood, of which you are a member, will determine your liberty, and that in point of fact, the social state government confers no other. For, first, the prevailing will and voice of the brotherhood *make* the laws; secondly, they *execute* the laws, if executed at all; and thirdly, if you say and do what turns the current of popular sentiment and feeling strongly against your course, the people *will not* execute the laws to protect you in it. Whether what you say and do is in itself considered right or wrong, legal or illegal, until both magistrates and subjects are more virtuous and more true to law, they will not execute the laws for your protection. Not that they *ought* not to do it, much less that mobs are ever justifiable; for I expressly said that I was stating a matter of *fact*, and not what *should* be. Who does not know the fact to be as I stated? Even the very number of the Alton Observer which contained my doctrine, stated as an article of editorial information on another page, that although the evidence in court was clear against the rioters in the affair of Lovejoy, the court put out a jury to condemn them, and therefore could not effect the execution of the laws. This is precisely what I said. 'What is law but a dead letter, in a republic, unless enforced by a sentiment more stronger than the people, when the prevailing voice of the people is against its execution?' These things I said, to show the importance of elevating the virtue of the people through the influence of the gospel, as the only means of accomplishing the object desired, and of securing and preserving the most perfect of all social liberty.

7. Holding that republicanism implies *concession* on all the parts, for the sake of mutual liberty and protection, and that we are a great brotherhood dependent upon each other, I have maintained that it is the duty of every citizen to abide cheerfully by the laws of the land, to seek protection and redress in no other way; that by all the sacredness in which we hold our republican privileges, we ought to frown on mobs, that we ought to do all in our power to bring every rioter under the strong arm of law; and that we ought also to frown upon the conduct of those who rashly irritate the public mind, and *excite* mobs, insanuch as the progress of mob dominion in a republic like ours tends directly and infallibly to the subversion of all laws, all liberty, all happiness, and all religion.

8. The case of Jesus Christ, and of men especially commissioned by God to teach his holy religion, to manifest, is so infinitely diverse from that of our abolitionists, and so entirely irrelevant to this subject, that one scarcely knows whether to admire most the modesty or the logic which induces the latter to place them selves in the same company, and to assume the same authority and rights in common with the former. When men are commissioned by God to teach his religion, they are, of course, acting under an authority paramount to all other; their duty, then, is to *preach the message of God*, just as they are *commanded by him to do*, whether men will hear or forbear, and even if their martyrdom is the consequence. So did Jesus Christ and many of the primitive disciples, who sealed their message with their blood. But does their example justify or even palliate the course pursued by our abolitionists? Mark the fearful contrast. The former were engaged in the divine work, as by God commissioned, to teach his law and gospel to men, and to convert and save their souls. In doing this, they never meddled with the institution of slavery, although it existed extensively in the empire in which they preached; nor did they meddle with any other of the then existing civil and political institutions. They determined to know nothing among them save Jesus Christ, and him crucified. Never did they attempt to set one part of a nation in agitation against another part. Nor did they confer assemblies to deadening prudence, nor fire and excite their passions against men and institutions some thousand or more miles distant; if they had anything to do respecting the wrong character of the Roman government, they spoke of it within, they were 'wise as serpents and harmless as doves.' They confined themselves strictly to the limits of their divine commission to *"preach the gospel"*, holding it to be no shame for any man to suffer as *a Christian*, but a shame to suffer for being, among other things, '*a busy body in other men's matters*.' This they supposed to be the true way to remove all the evils from the world, and to conduct mankind truly good and happy. Let our brethren pursue a similar course, and I will be the last to complain of them, and the first to honor them.

9. As to *free discussion* and the '*liberty of the press*,' none can prize them more highly than I do. It was one of my express objects to advocate, protect, and perpetuate them. As to the course pursued by the Anti-Slavery Board, which I have been accused of misrepresenting, I had it directly from the lips of the oldest and most experienced of the Presidential Committee of the Board, in a public meeting of ladies, without first *knowing* whereof I affirmed. As to my views of republican liberty, and the duties of a republican citizen, I have the opinion of the Anti-Slavery Board, which presumably knows something upon this subject and of other gentlemen most deeply studied in the science of republican government, who say they have kindly sent to me of their own accord, that the sentiments which I have advanced are thoroughly sound and correct, and must be so esteemed by every patriot mind, which looks upon the dear bodies of the friends and foes of liberty were piled up in hecatombs round about. Then the press spoke out in thunder-tones—the public halls and churches rang with the shouts of victory, or resounded with heart-stirring appeals to arms; and even 'ministers of the gospel' felt that in a strife for the rights of man, carnal weapons were not less effective than spiritual weapons, and hence it is recorded that some of them carried loaded muskets into the pulpit on the Sabbath day. Now, we do not say that all this conduct was justifiable—God forbid! We have not so learned duty. But, in the names of justice and mercy, we protest against being condemned for our zeal or language, our principles or measures, by the men who eulogize such deeds and such excitement as we have just recited. The only lesson they can teach us is, that our zeal is tame, our sensibility obtuse, our language weak, our self-sacrifice nothing, compared to the wrongs to be redressed.

HUBBARD WINSLOW.

SLAVERY.

INCENTIVES TO ACTION.

Extract from the Sixth Annual Report of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

The success which has attended anti-slavery efforts, during the past year,—notwithstanding the treachery of professed friends, and the bitter opposition of avowed enemies,—has been truly wonderful. 'Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power: thy right hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy. Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods? who is like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?' The all-animating voice of God is still saying, 'Speak unto the people of holy and impartial liberty, that they GO FORWARD!' There is no discharge in this warfare, so long as one human being pines in bondage upon our soil. Let us arm ourselves with the same mind that was in Christ Jesus. Whilst we should watchfully see to it, that nothing of human passion, or personal hatred, or sectarian bitterness, or party policy, enters into our feelings in assailing the execrable system of American slavery, and in rebuking the transcendant wickedness of American slaveholders, we should be equally on our guard not to give heed to the suggestions of a false charity, or to allow the pure word of liberty. Let our single purpose be,—regardless whom it may please or offend among men,—to speak the truth of God in its simplicity and power—not to conceal danger, or gild over crime, or screen the wrong-doer. It is not light that is needed on this subject, so much as a heart of flesh. While the chains of millions of our enslaved countrymen are clanking in our ears, and their cries are piercing the heavens, and we know that their bodies and spirits (which are God's) are daily sold under the hammer of the auctioneer as household goods, or workings with the mere mind, or nice adjustment of abstractions, no metaphysical reasonings, to convince us that such scenes are dreadful, and such practices impious. All the nobility of our manhood, all the same mind that was in Christ Jesus, all the instincts and faculties of our souls, settle the question instantly. With the indignation that fired the bosom of a Brougham, each of us exclaims, 'I am not of Africa! I claim not of the property of the planter in his slaves! I deny the right, I acknowledge not the property! The principles, the feelings of our nature rise in rebellion against it. Be the consequences what they, standing or to the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it.' Let abolitionists remember this important truth, that it is because the skin of their poor despised, fettered, bleeding clients is black, that they themselves are incendiaries and disturbers of the public peace—that their temper is bad, their spirit uncharitable, their language abusive, their principles unsound, their measures dangerous, their logic worthless. Oh, the odious inconsistency of the American people! When the iron heel of Turkish despotism was planted upon the necks of the Greeks; when the Autocrat of Russia was sending his barbarian hordes to conquer the uncouquerable Poles; when the incensed populace of Paris contended for the space of three days with the National Guards, and drove Charles the Tenth from his throne; when the news of the passage of the Stamp Act, and the tax on tea, by the mother country, was received by our fathers, and insurrections for liberty broke out in all parts of the colonies; when, at a subsequent period, the tidings came that American citizens had been captured by the Algerines, and were pining in bondage; when, at a still later period, the rights of American seamen ceased to be respected by Great Britain, and some six or seven thousand were said to have been impressed; on each and on all of those memorable occasions, no denunciation against the oppressors was regarded as to strong, no impeachment of motives too sweeping, no agitation too great, no zeal too burning, no sacrifice too dear, no peril too imminent to be encountered: O, no! The sentiments of freedom became strength; prudence, noble daring; moderation, impetuosity; caution, a generous disdain of consequences; charity, righteous indignation! Then the cold blood of philosophers was stirred up by frigid eloquence, and the warm blood of patriotic life; then the abstractions of metaphysics became practical realities, affecting life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; then halting policy was transformed into high, immutable, eternal principle. Then the man, who, at such a crisis, had dared to mock the agony of men's souls, by giving them cold stones for bread, or giving them grave and severe homilies upon the duty of being very cautious, and prudent, and charitable, and upon the propriety of exercising moderation and being dumb as oysters, would justly have been deemed and treated as recreant to God and liberty. Then the land trembled as Freedom went forth to battle:—

'And there was rushing in her hoofs the steed,
The mustering squadron, and the clattering car,
Went pouring forward with impetuous speed,
And swift footed war sprang forth to meet the war;
And the deep thunder, peal on peal afar;
And near, the beat of the alarming drum,
Roused the sleep-walker in his mountain lair;
While through the citizens with terror dumb,
Or whispering with white lips—'The foe!' they come!'

These words, however huge—expostulations, however earnest—petitions, however importunate—resolutions of rights, however the most eloquent—appeals in language, however deemed wholly inadequate to such a crisis. Paving-stones in the streets were taken up and hurled at the heads of the myrmidons of tyranny—human blood was poured out like water—and the

arms, the right of the people to assemble to petition and consult for the common good; the right to speak, write, and publish on any subject, might be trammeled with such conditions, as to preclude their free exercise by a large portion of the citizens to whom they are secured. There is no proper security given for the right of suffrage, to those who now enjoy it, by the constitution, than is given to all men of acquiring and protecting property, pursuing happiness and enjoying the fruits of industry and property. The constitution was formed with a full knowledge that our population was comprised of white and colored persons.

The rights and privileges of the one class were as clearly defined and settled, and as sacredly secured, as the other, by that instrument. The discrimination was distinctly made and expressed in unequivocal terms, whenever it was intended to confer any political privilege upon the one, from which the other was to be excluded.

But these laws are not only repugnant to the constitution of this state, and to the principles of our free institutions, they are also in direct contravention of the constitution of the United States. That document declares, that 'the citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.' What is the plain and obvious import of this provision? What was the manifest design of its insertion? It cannot be any doubt as to the construction or intention? Was it not intended to secure to all the citizens, in each state, the right of ingress and egress to and from them, and the privileges of trade, commerce, and employment in them, of acquiring and holding property, and sustaining and defending life and liberty in any state in the Union? Does it not form one of the conditions of our national compact? It is true, the phraseology is changed from that found in the articles of confederation. The term citizens is substituted for 'free inhabitants and people,' but the right is secured to all the citizens of each state, by the national charter of our liberties, as it was under the confederation. Under the confederacy, all the free inhabitants of each state were entitled to all the privileges of citizens, and the people of every state were allowed the privileges of ingress and egress, and of trade and commerce in the several states.

In many of the states, those rights and privileges have been continued without change, and are still enjoyed by all persons, without distinction of color.

In other states, the colored population have been especially admitted to all the rights and privileges of citizens, by the constitutions which they have adopted.

In what manner have the claims to these privileges and immunities, thus secured to the citizens of each state, been treated by the states, as separate sovereignties? In Ohio, where slavery was prohibited by the general government—where political privileges and naturalized rights were well defined, and authoritatively established by the constitution—where exemption from all moral obligation to the colored race is claimed on account of having never participated in any system of oppression towards them, we have enacted arbitrary laws by which they are excluded from the rights and privileges, which are extended to the vilest criminal in the land. Our citizens are prohibited, by penal laws, from giving them employment or assistance, and are required to expel them by force from our state.

It is believed that no free state in the Union has adopted a system so oppressive and degrading to this unfortunate race—so repugnant to the spirit and genius of our government—so revolting to the feelings of humanity, or so adverse to the known and settled principles of its constitutional charter, as the state of Ohio. But to the honor and credit of the state, and the moral sensibilities of the people, some of these laws have been reprobated and denounced by the people.

The duties enjoined upon public officers have never been performed—the penalties imposed upon the citizens have been wholly disregarded—the essential requisitions of the laws have been disobeyed with impunity, until they have become a dead letter upon your statute books, to be regarded only as a record of the imbecility, timidity, and delinquency of legislators, and of the moral turpitude of a portion of the people. As a measure of public policy, it has been wholly inoperative, because it was not sanctioned by the community, and has not driven them from the state, or placed any check upon their immigration. They have found their way into this state as readily, and numerously, as into others, where no such constitutional charter, or statute, has been provided policy to enact laws so repugnant to the moral sense of the community, as to preclude their execution. It is degrading to the dignity of the state—it is trifling with the moral feelings of its citizens, to continue laws in existence, under which severe penalties are hourly incurred by the great mass of the community, under a belief and expectation that they will not be enforced.

In every light in which your committee have viewed this branch of the subject referred to them, they have been impelled to the belief that these provisions in our laws should be repealed.

FREE PRINCIPLES.

From the British Emancipator.

NORWICH ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.

On Wednesday, the 3rd of January, an excellent meeting of the friends of negro freedom was held in St. Andrews' Hall, Norwich, at which from 500 to 700 of the most respectable of the inhabitants were present; the Mayor, S. S. Stevens, Esq. presiding in the chair on the occasion.

We have not room, even for the shortest outline of the interesting and animated proceedings. The speakers were Mr. Wright, the Rev. S. Tidman, Mr. Brightwell, Mr. George Thompson, the Rev. Mr. Green, and others; and their several addresses were characterized by strong feeling, sound principle, and discriminating views of the wrongs of the negro. But the most striking feature in the proceedings was the presence of Mr. Fowell Buxton, who took an active part in discussing the objects of the meeting. We say striking feature, because it had been previously considered that so wide a difference existed between this gentleman and those who have been pleading the cause of justice and of humanity, that any proceedings having for their object the repeal of the Apprenticeship System, or

the abolition of the Apprentice system, as it is now, had been thought impossible. Mr. Buxton himself, however, has always been of a different opinion, and has now, in the most manly and honorable manner, avowed his sentiments, and the grounds on which he has acted, in the course he has pursued, in the matter of the Apprenticeship system. He hated the Apprenticeship, as he always had hated it, and was consequently an earnest and strenuous opponent of the system, from its first commencement. He hoped it would speedily be abolished—neither had he seen years, or even hours, it was equally a violation of the negro's rights. He opposed the present system of apprenticeship, as thoroughly as any man, though not perhaps all the good anticipated by some. He wished their efforts good speed in the name of the Lord. He thought, however, that the ultimate condition of the negro was a matter important, equally important, if not more so, than the present movement—he only desired to couple with its efforts for the welfare of the negro, the welfare of the negro's soul, as well as from a desire to hear a speech from George Thompson. He desired to tell the meeting, and the world, that there were no substantial differences between abolitionists and their friends, differed to the carrying out principles into details, and not to principles in themselves considered. He concurred in almost every syllable uttered by George Thompson, who was his brother, a labor shoulder to shoulder, through years so some, in the abolition of Slavery, and the Slave Trade throughout the world. He did not wish to be understood as retracting the sentiments he had put forth in a friendly letter which had been published; he would rejoice to find that he had been in error, and when he did so, no duty would be more pleasant than that of acknowledging his mistake!

From the New Hampshire Observer.

LOVEJOY AND CILLEY.

MR. EDITOR:—Public opinion has been recently excited by the death of Cilley, in a duel, one of the Representatives to Congress. Nearly all the public presses speak freely of this tragical and unhappy event. How much more should they speak freely, when that event relating to Southern opinion, does every editor, who has any regard for moral principles, declare his sentiments, then when Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy was murdered at Alton, on the 7th of November, 1837, in defence of the liberty of the press and of opinion. Then, with some honorable exceptions, the press denounced Lovejoy as a murderer, because he was murdered; now, Cilley is almost deified. Lovejoy was slandered in the most bitter terms, for his (so called) 'false courage;' now, Cilley is commended for his unflinching obstinacy. Then, the press declared that Lovejoy should have submitted to the public voice, and if persecuted in one city, flee into another: now, Cilley is defended on the ground that he could not, without sacrificing his honor, (?) have refused the challenge. How inconsistent are these contradictory opinions! We were told that Lovejoy did not die a martyr to the freedom of the press, but his corruption: now, that Cilley died a glorious martyr to the noble principle of honor! and not to the *corruption of human nature*. They both died martyrs: one to moral courage; the other, to the savage and brutal custom of duelling? Mr. Editor, they were antagonist on the field: both had equal advantages as to position; both were good marksmen; both *equally guilty*. But I do not intend to draw the line of distinction between the guilt of each slayer of a person concerned in the duel, for there is no such distinction; but the wide difference between the two martyrs, and the manner in which their deaths are spoken of by the press. How different the case! Lovejoy died, defending his property, and, what is of far greater importance; the freedom of the press and of opinion; Cilley, in defending his duty and his delicate affair '*honor*.' How different the principle of action! The former died 'girding on the whole armor' of moral principle, in defending his guarantee against violated public opinion; the latter voluntarily setting himself as a shooting mark, because he had virtually, by the laws of duelling, (but not expressly) intimated that same person was a coward and a liar. O! the depth of folly and inconsistency, and the corruption of the press! Let every one decide, without partiality, and without second the prejudice in his favor or against him, who possesses the greater degree of moral courage, and who was actuated by the purer motives. If life must, in any case, be sacrificed, let it be sacrificed for some noble purpose; Let it be some mere trifling whim, or fancy, to take away that life which was given by a benevolent Jehovah, and which man cannot give. But when, from the best of motives, in defence of humanity, a man is murdered, let him not receive ignominy and contempt, but that reverence and respect, which mankind owe to their benefactors. And when a man' dies at the field of honor, let him not be buried among those who courageously meet death in the face, in defence of a noble object; but permit him to go

'Down
To the vile dust from whence he sprung,
Unwept, unhonored, and unsung.'

EXTRACT FROM MR. SIDE'S SPEECH.

Mr. Slade said, that, as the memorial which he had had the honor to present, contained merely a prayer for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, unaccompanied by arguments in its support, he felt called on, as the representative of the abolitionists, to state in their behalf, the grounds on which he understood the prayer of the memorial to be founded.

Mr. S. said he approached this subject with great hesitation and embarrassment. He felt admonished by every thing he saw around him, that it was exceedingly unpleasant to a large portion of the House, to hear, even at the present session, as it came occasions, a manifest determination to suppress all debate upon it. It had been treated as a prohibited subject, no one which it was lawful to touch. Nothing could be more painful to a portion of the house, but silence—absolute silence—both on the part of the people and their representatives.

It was not so, Mr. S. said, on other subjects. Our petitions were received by the appointment of numerous committees, to whom we assigned various duties, corresponding with the vast range of subjects within the competency of legislation. They brought back their petitions, and representatives rise in their places, from day to day, and present them. They are listened to and referred; and, if necessary, they pass to the appropriate committee for examination.

But, among all the matters that concern the people whom we represent, there is one thing they never send us prayer for. Not one prayer for 17,000 human beings, who are, by the laws of the United States, held as property in this district, over which Congress exercises exclusive right to legislate, and who are held, bought, and sold, and treated as beasts, women, to all intents and purposes. For this, they must not pray. It is true, we receive petitions; but the moment they are presented, we are told that we cannot, we must not, we dare not, we will not, even receive them. If you attempt to write a petition, up starts a gentleman over the way, and, before his pen is in his hand, he

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BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, FRIDAY, APRIL 6, 1838.

the speaker anticipates his own sentiments as well as mine, and forthwith, the petition is on the table, and the mill driven! This process has been repeated so often, that it has come to work with perfect ease and smoothness.

Sir, I am astonished at this. I am amazed that a question so deeply affecting the honor of this nation, and so strongly identified with the great principles of Liberty, should thus be thrust overboard by us; and especially, when it is pressed upon our consideration in respectful memorials from the people who sent us here. Is this some specimen of the much sacred rights of petition. But what is it worth, if petitions and petitioners may be thus disposed of! We may keep up the form of receiving petitions; but it will be, to all practical purposes, a more mockery and insult and cruel contempt of the interests and feelings of the people.

Whose government is this? And who are we? Are we servants? or are we masters? Sir, this system of treating these petitioners form a part, made this government. It is theirs—not ours. They have constituted us their servants; and the powers with which we are invested are given us for the wise administration of their government—in adjusting the powers of which, they have expressly reserved to themselves the right to lay before us their petitions—then, to listen and hearken to what they want.

And now, shall we, the representatives and servants of the people, tell them that their petitions shall not be so much as considered, or even read? Can this be, in principle, a greater outrage on their rights than this? Not listen to and consider the requests of the people? and that, too, with the constitution in our hands, and professed creeds of regard for the people's rights continually on our lips?

Sir, we ought to stand confounded when we look at this. I speak plainly, but I speak truly. The whole course of our proceedings, touching the subject of slavery, during the present congress, thus far, and during the whole of the last, bears me out in what I say. I fearlessly appeal to this house, and to this nation, for its justice and its truth.

And what a contrast is exhibited between our course on this great question of slavery, and that of the government of Great Britain, on the same subject. Long, long did the philanthropists of that country urge upon parliament their earnest remonstrances against the continuance of the slave trade, and, afterwards, their petitions for the abolition of slavery: and they urged them until they were successful. But when was it heard, during the whole of this time, that the humble petitions of his majesty's subjects were laid upon the table, with contempt of their prayer, and with a determination not to consider them? Never—no, never. Sir, the blush of honest and manly indignation would have mantled the cheeks of every member of the British parliament upon a suggestion of doing what has been repeatedly done here.

Mr. S. proceeded to say, that, notwithstanding the course of measures here, the effect of which was to smother these petitions, he must say, once for all, that the voice of the people was not thus to be suppressed. The petitioners (said Mr. S.) whose memorials I have presented, and whose memorials I have yet to present, have not moved in this manner from sudden impulses of feeling. It is not the blaze which flashes one moment, and goes out the next. No, sir. The claims of humanity have a deeper and more enduring hold on their feelings. They have read much on the subject of slavery, and reflected more. They know something of the history and fate of the institution in other countries. They have explored the foundations on which it rests, and fixed a strong and steady grasp on its fundamental principles. They are fortified in their purpose, in the most deliberate and settled convictions which cannot be lightly abandoned.

Sir: I want you should understand these constituents of mine, whose memorials I have presented, and in whose name I speak. They entertain no feelings of hostility towards slaveholders. They threaten them with no force. It does not enter into their imaginations. Their only weapons are truth and reason. They aim to convince—not to intimidate. The bounds which limit their constitutional, right, they perfectly understand. They have not passed them and they will not.

It is because they stand on such ground, that they stand firmly. It is because they are impelled by such motives, and look to results the sublimest and the sublimest that can effect the condition and destiny of man, that they will steadily and patiently endure to the end.

Now, sir, if it is calculated that this spirit is to be suppressed by gag law, here, or mobs elsewhere, it is done under a delusion which should be dispelled immediately. You may, indeed, silence for a moment the voice of truth in this hall; but it will go out to give it deeper and louder tones elsewhere. You may destroy the freedom of debate here, but you cannot destroy the freedom of thought, and of speech, and of the press, in this nation. The spirit of free inquiry is not to be thus subdued. It is rising, and it will continue to rise, under the pressure with which you vainly think to crush it. I speak what I know with the people, and if your arguments are sound, you may convince them; but they are the last people on earth whom you convince by turning your backs, and closing your ears in their faces.

Sir, this great question must be met; not by threats, but by discussion—not by force, but by argument. The eyes of the world are upon us; and we must meet our responsibility to its enlightened and impartial judgment.

Mr. Speaker; one great purpose I have in addressing the house, is to entreat it to change its policy in regard to this subject. Let the questions involved in these memorials be met, directly and fairly. Let the memorials be referred to a committee; and as there are important facts, not fully before the public, connected with the slave trade here, let the committee have power to send for persons and papers. Let facts be drawn forth and embodied. Let there be a report—or reports, if the committee disagree. Let the subject be referred to a committee of the whole on the state of the union; and then here, on this floor, in the face of this nation and world, let us reason together concerning this matter. Are prejudices allowed to do this? Will not slavery and the slave trade, in this district, bear examination? Must truth and reason and justice invoke the aid of our laws for their protection?

Mr. Speaker, I wish I could indulge a hope that the course I have thus suggested, would be adopted. Could I feel any such assurance, I would gladly resume my seat, and not utter another word. I do not covet the privilege of addressing the house on this subject. I know I cannot do it without incurring censure, even from those whom I have permitted to call my friends—which I would gladly avoid. But, sir, I am admonished by what I have seen here, during the present session, as on former occasions, that the utterance of my sent will be the signal for another motion to lay on the table; and that the people, whose memorial I have presented, will be deprived of the hearing to which I consider their petition entitled. I am here, therefore, by alternative but to speak. I cannot desist—I must not; I will not.

A Lady Bear, Washington City, March 30, 1838.—"My last account was unfavorable from the Indian quarter, yesterday, and they were in the right report. The war will be prolonged, and the Indians will fight, they always do, in the interests and home of our sons. May Heaven, in its infinite mercy, shield our sons, and bring them back to their homes, and to their parents, before stage of sangfoid."

POLITICAL ACTION.

Remarks of Gerrit Smith at the Albany Anti-Slavery Convention, respecting the Duty of Abolitionists.

It is probably not too much to say, that through our political and religious portion of our voters, habitually cast their votes with little or no reference to the cause of slavery. I would not be understood to say, that the wicked maxim 'all fair in politics,' is so generally received and practised as to be a belief that it is. But I do say, that there is a very general impression, that it is safe to say, that a large proportion of our moral and religious people do not appear to think that moral considerations are any more needed to direct the exercise of the right of suffrage, than they to determine the mode of threshing grain or chopping wood. Such is the policy, and such the success of demagogues. Indeed, it has come to pass, that one can hardly accost moral reasons for his vote, without rendering himself obnoxious to the clamor, that he is carrying religion into politics, and uniting church and state. Hence it happens that thousands of our fellow citizens in this state chose to express, at the ballot-boxes, their virtuous indignation at the outrages on great and sacred human rights in the power of William Henry Harrison, they were detained with being guilty of a perversion of the elective franchise. They were told, that they were at liberty to be moral antimasons, but not political anti-masons; in other words, that they might have as much feeling against masonry as they pleased, provided that they would not indicate it at the polls. Hence if an attempt be made, through the ballot-boxes, towards repealing the 'crime laws'—the laws by which the state licenses and authorizes and encourages one man to poison another; such an attempt is frowned upon as an unreasonable and out-of-place manifestation of virtuous and moral feeling. Hence too, if one choose to give his vote a bearing against the gigantic sin of American slavery—the sin of which Satan may well be proud—if it is his manner—the very perfection of his body and soul destroying skill—hence, I say, if one choose to give his vote a bearing against this sin, he is not like to hear the last of it, from the right of suffrage—of his presumption in bringing his conscience and heart with him to the polls.

As proof of the success of our demagogues in divorcing political from morality, the people of this nation have recently elected the most notorious and shameless adulterer in it to the second office in their gift. I have no doubt that amongst those who voted for the election of Col. Johnson, and with eyes open to his profligacy, there were thousands of men of fair morals. Thousands of such men do also vote to elevate persons who have had a notorious agency in polluting the souls of people on human and divine laws. Nothing, indeed, is more common than to see worthy members of the church of Christ, in the hands of a dirty demagogue, on the days of election, casting their vote for some drunkard, or mobocrat, or other profligate person, for whom that demagogue may be electioneering. All this comes to pass, not because these church members would be guilty of deliberately violating the principles of morality, but because of the prevailing delusion, that, when men go to vote, they go to do that in which morality has no concern. The delusion comes to pass, because demagogues have succeeded in creating a very general impression, that, to defend or promote moral principles—the principles of truth and righteousness—is not a legitimate object of the exercise of the right of suffrage; and that this right is to be exercised exclusively to uphold or advance a political party, or on the subject of the currency, or internal improvements, or on some other subject which has no direct and obvious connection with the interests of morality.

Here, if I do not greatly misjudge, is a point of extreme and momentous importance; and never will there be a rational prospect of her safety, so long as the sentiment prevails, that the voter is not to feel the claims of virtue and morality when he goes to the ballot-box.

There are amongst abolitionists, as well as amongst others, persons, who, through conscientious scruples, refrain from voting. We do not ask for the violation of these scruples. We do not call on our abolitionists as do exercise the right of suffrage, so as to exercise it, as not to dishonor and harm their cause. And we do this, not merely because slavery is a political evil, but because it is a moral evil also—because it is a most loathsome and heaven-defying sin. If slavery were a political question only, (though, strictly speaking, political questions are moral questions also,) the demagogue himself might not object to its being meddled with at the polls;—but, because it is a moral question also, it is, in the language of the Sandwich Islanders, tabu, and it is deeper and louder tones elsewhere. You may destroy the freedom of debate here, but you cannot destroy the freedom of thought, and of speech, and of the press, in this nation. The spirit of free inquiry is not to be thus subdued. It is rising, and it will continue to rise, under the pressure with which you vainly think to crush it. I speak what I know with the people, and if your arguments are sound, you may convince them; but they are the last people on earth whom you convince by turning your backs, and closing your ears in their faces.

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From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

NEWS FROM LIBERIA.

By the politeness of the Editor of the United States Gazette, we have had an opportunity to peruse a die of the Philadelphia *Herald*, from the 5th month, to the 12 month last.

SLAVE CATCHERS IN LIBERIA!

The Herald of the 5th month states that an inquest had been held on the 14th inst. on the body of Lewis Sebastian, one of the Bassian emigrants of last year. The body was found in Stockton Creek, with marks of violence upon it. He was a resident at Caldwell, and the day in which he was missing, was seen down to a native town one mile and a half from the settlement with his wife's daughter with him—a girl of 10 years of age. The Herald says, that the most probable conclusion to be drawn is that this man was attacked by a band of unwelcome *guest of victims for the* SLAVE TRADE, offered resistance, was overpowered, and THE GIRL CARRIED OFF.

PREPARATION IN THE COLONY.

The same paper states that

'Captain Kennedy of the Commander Porcupine informed us that he found it his duty to procure rice or fresh provisions for the Commander Porcupine, and that he found it very difficult to procure the articles, in consequence of the great demand for them, by the natives, who are now preparing for a war with the Grebos.'

PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION.

We quote from the Herald of the Eighth month, the following editorial article, which shows the progress made by the Colony in christianizing 'the heathen round about.'

'We have heard but little recently of the *wars* in our territory. We know not whether to attribute this apparent cessation of hostilities to a want of means on the part of the belligerents, or to a disposition to come to an amicable arrangement. Perhaps operated with the late unusual efforts, meditating deeper revenge, they have retired from the conflict to gather strength to burst with increased vigor on their detested foes;—which may Heaven forbend. *From the wretched system hitherto pursued by the colonists, the actual depredations of the colony are inadequate to its support.* The attention of the native the past year has been so *exclusively occupied in* plundering and murdering, that they have neglected *absolutely necessary* for themselves. Thus, instead of being able to furnish the colony with the accustomed quantum of rice and cassada, they will have *to share with it, either by fair or foul means.* They will probably purchase as long as they can, to make up our deficiency in supporting a school in each settlement. Things went on pleasantly for a while, until we got a sey in the disposition of the funds raised in the colony. Then some of our sage counsellors, thinking that the rising generation could be better (at least more economically) taught by intuition or in the school of inspiration, by one sovereign vote piled up the money, till then allotted to education, in rice and cassada, and left the schools to starve. The rock, from its imperishable nature, still remains a monument of anti-intelligence. *And the timber, where is it?* Verily, people will prevail, we would *pile* upon these gentlemen all the consequences of their sage enactment.'

EFFECTS OF COLONIZATION MISREPRESENTATION.

In a well written article on the condition of the Colony, published in the number of the Herald for Sixth month, the editor states that many in the Colony seem to forget the circumstances which exist in the United States, and the state of feeling there manifested towards the colored man, and suppose that they are treated with contempt and disdain; and hence complain that this assistance is not forthcoming. The Herald states that there is an unfounded belief quite general, that the Colonization Society is in a manner pledged for the individual comfort of the colonists for life. To use the editor's own words:

'This belief may have been induced in many instances by the representations made of the Society in Africa, so abundantly and UNWARRANTABLY *given as an inducement to emigration.* And there not so much cause for complaint, if the Society, instead of encouraging emigration, the promise of prosperity and independence, without any exertion on their part, were, and have been so weak as to consider it, as the only indulgence the condition of pay for their passage.'

INDUSTRY OF THE COLONISTS.

'Talk not of idleness, we see it not in the streets of our town; the business of life is pursued with a vigor, which shows the industry of its actors.'

HEALTH OF THE COLONY.

'The prince of terrors has passed and repassed, and yet we are spared. Our population is increasing, and we are enjoying a degree of health, which, in the first years, we dared not hope for. Our rice fields are yielding a rich harvest, and we have money, without correct knowledge of the way, which, unaccompanied by the industry, would be of little value. The amount of arrivals, since we brought our regular quota of duty to the public service without fee or reward! The number by which our ranks will still be recruited, we cannot tell. They must be prepared to do our duty, or be demanded by any whose good opinion we value at one farthing.'

(From the Herald of the 9th month.)

'Idle, and merely patriotism may do very well in poetic—and well settled communities. But here, where men are so scanty—where the population is so MIXED—and ABSOLUTE POVERTY IS THE RULE, and moderate competency the *rare exception*, it is altogether inadequate.'

AGRICULTURE IN THE COLONY.

The Herald of the 12th month states that it is with deep regret that the editor has learned, that one of the most respectable and industrious citizens of Caldwell, has left his farming to take charge of a school. 'Our regret,' says the editor, 'is deepened by the fact that this gentleman has been setting a noble example of what, with industry and perseverance, may be done in farming; and we have been hoping that *repeated trials in his case* as evidence that the DIFFICULTIES OF RAISING RICE are not *so formidable* as had been imagined.'

We leave the scene with our readers. That it discloses a far different state of things at the colony, from what we have had reason to expect from the statements of the agents and periodicals of the American Colonization Society; we need not remark. We now examine into the true condition of the colony.—Its dreadful climate,—its enervated, sickly inhabitants,—its pinching want,—its thriftless agriculture—its exposure to attacks from the natives,—excite deep and bitter is our abhorrence of the cruel policy which has decoyed, or driven its victims to that ghastly graveground. It is but one more instance of the African slave trade.

From the Brandon Telegraph.

PRESIDENT WAYLAND.

The papers say that he has published another book entitled 'The Limitations of Human Responsibility.' Some of them speak of it, on the whole, in commendatory terms—others call it a crude mass of matter, totally unworthy of the author's former reputation. Be this as it may, the following extract from the work, which I find in the New England Spectator, is full of monstrous heresy. He is speaking of the efforts of the north 'to get the truth before the sinners of the south, on the subject of slavery. He says—

'If they will not hear us, our responsibility is at an end. We have done our duty. Our instructions to them, either by conversation, or by lectures, or by the mail. If they still determine to go on, in what we believe to be wrong, we must leave them to God, who is perfectly capable of vindicating his own laws, and executing justice among the slaveholders of men. They are not our servants, but our fellow men. We have no right to *force* their instructions' upon our slaveholders and man-butchers, 'either by conversation, by lectures, or by the mail!' But who would not charge *me*, for such a use of language, with being either unpardonably ignorant or wickedly perverse? President Wayland 'has no right'—more than any other person—to make any such use of the word 'force.' The word may, with equal propriety and justice, be applied to the labors of Protestants to enlighten Catholics—indeed, to the labors of every pious person, who is trying to winners to repentance—as to the labors of abolitionists for the reformation of slaveholders. (Any such use of the word is rank injustice to those to whom it is thus applied.

Now for the sentiment. 'If they will not hear us, our responsibility is at an end.' When? The moment avarice and cupidity make an outcry against us? And why is not the voice of idolatry equally entitled to be heard? Send them the remarkable book, which teaches this new doctrine, to your *Judson* and our *Brown*, and to all the host of their conjurors, and learn them either to hear us, or to make our instructions upon the heathen, 'either by conversation or by lectures'—tell them that 'if they will not hear them, their responsibility is at an end.'[1] The doctrine here inculcated, is, that the high teacher, would call home, forthwith, every missionary beyond the pale of Christendom—ay, 'would silence every faithful servant of Jesus Christ in Christendom! For never was an unpopular doctrine—never was it more sure of success, than has been that part of the gospel, technically called *anti-slavery*, for the last seven last years. Yet, the world refuses to hear, that has been manifested towards the preaching of this doctrine based on the greatest of all our Savior's commands, is to be taken for an 'indication' that 'our responsibility is at an end'—that God does not mean to use our instrumentality in the affair'—that 'we must retire and leave the case in his hands,' because he 'is perfectly capable of vindicating his own laws, and executing justice among the slaveholders of men.'[1] But such is not the teaching of the Holy Spirit. '*Line upon line, precept upon precept—whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear,*' is the word of the Lord. Whether it be right to hearken unto men more than unto God, judge ye.

The Spectator says, that the 'Doctor' comes out against the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.' Verily, he is espousing a bad and sinking cause very late in the day.

REV. MR. WOODBRIDGE.

The following remarks, in relation to the despotic conduct of the Bishop of Worcester, are extracted from an able article in the Independent Messenger:

'The pope said to the protestants, 'If you upon your churches to Luther, we shall destroy you.' But the calmer, 'If you will testify to your own character, as Dr. Wiseman said to the Union Parliament, 'If you let Birney or Stanton in to your meeting-house, I will not preach in it.' Abolitionists, say modern popes, 'was the cause of his dismissal.' Is it so? Was not the cause his own intolerance?

Suppose a Presbyterian minister, either by the laws of God or man, is right to dictate to moral, Christian agents, what they shall hear and what they not? Is not every man's conscience, and his own judgment, his soul hear and believe? Is it not an assumption of infallibility, and an attempt to crush the free agency of others, for any man thus to dictate? What more did Gregory or Bonifacius attempt with the Inquisition? And what, short of inquisitorial enforcement of his will, had he the power, would any man stop, who betrays this despotism? What but this keeping the Quakers, Methodists, Baptists, Universalists, Thompson, and shot Lovejoy? Why, really this gentleman seems to be almost a twin brother of Dr. Burgess, the apostle of African Colonization, who says, 'We have had African Colonization, not long since, if three of them joined an anti-slavery society, he would ask a dismission. For one, we bless God that Mr. W. has obtained leave to vacate the pulpit; for, he has shown, he is wickedly to pollute; and we humbly pray that it may be a means of leading him to a hearty repentance of his former sin. We hope also, not only, that it may prove a salutary warning to all ministers of a kindred spirit, teaching them that the *people*, not the *ministers*, own the meeting-house, but that a like result may follow every similar attempt at spiritual despotism, till the whole American pulpit shall cease to shield slavery from the arrows of truth; till it be made an engine of the liberty of the gospel; till every clergyman shall cease to plunder women of their property, and rob men of their husbands, to dash slavery with untempered mortar, and shall take hold in earnest to 'undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke.'

Many wonder that Mr. W. should have made up such a foolish issue with his people, or that he should have abided by the decision after it was made. Such have only to be informed that he has been, and probably now is at heart, a slaveholder,—at any rate, that he has given no indications of repentance but the selling of his victims, and pocketing of the price of his blood and souls. It is not strange that such a man should be anxious to keep out of his pulpit, James G. Birney, a repentant slaveholder, who, instead of selling, had emancipated his suffering slaves, and gave every provision in his power for their future welfare. *How* could such a minister have looked this man in the face? How could he have looked a *congregation* in the face, who had heard him call the blood of the slaves wrung, while his own garments are red with their blood? Is it any marvel that he should have taken decided steps to keep him from those to whom he preached? How could he have done otherwise? Could the demons look on Jesus, without shrieking, 'Art thou come to torment us before the time?' If such a man has a flickering ray from the taper of conscience remaining in his bosom, a discourse of Mr. B. would hurt him from his hiding place, as midnight darkness is chased by the morning sun. He now 'loves darkness rather than light,' because he remembers the past, and dreads the future. A. BT. C.

From the Boston Atlas.

THE PLUNDER OF THE CHEROKEES.

We would call the serious attention of every American citizen to the petition of the Cherokee nation, to the rulers of the United States. Can the people of this country hope and ask for the favor and protection of a just and overruling Providence, when they will stand tamely by and see such an act of the most flagrant injustice, of the most outrageous and diabolical oppression, committed by their government against an unoffending and most injured race—the original occupants of this soil, from which they are now to be ruthlessly torn!

We have frequently taken occasion to direct the attention of our readers to the interesting case of the Cherokees; and it is needless to say, that we have watched their progress with peculiar. It is well known that this remarkable people have made more rapid advances in civilization, than any other Indian tribe within our borders. Their government is entirely agricultural; and many of them are in possession of neat habitations and well cultivated estates. One of their number has invented a printed language—and there are a number who are in the Christian religion has wrought an almost miraculous change amongst them all. Several full-blooded Cherokees might be named, who, in point of intelligence, eloquence and mastery of the English language, are surpassed by few of our own statesmen, and who would do honor to a seat in the Senate of the United States.

The presence on which these Cherokees are to be plundered and driven, and driven to an inhospitable region beyond the Mississippi, is that a treaty was made three or four years ago between certain individuals of the tribe, and the Rev. Dr. Schermerhorn on the part of the United States, by which the whole tribe are bound to quit their lands and houses, and move into the wilderness west of the Mississippi, about the middle of next May!

Our readers will recollect, that these pretended treaties are got up by the miscreants employed by the administration. In the case of the Cherokees, a few worthless renegadoes of the tribe were induced by the agents of our philanthropic government, and plied with whiskey until they consented to affix their *marks* to a certain document, of the tenor of which they were almost ignorant as the pen with which it was written. This spurious treaty was never assented to by more than one hundred of the THIRTEEN THOUSAND persons composing the tribe—and it was a remonstrance signed by more than fifteen thousand Cherokees, denying the validity of the treaty—and yet our government has the iniquitous impudence to pretend that the treaty is binding on the Cherokees, and that in fulfilment of its articles, they must be compelled to remove.

Out upon such villanous mockery. If the government is not done let it be done on its true principle, that 'might is right'—but let not common sense be insulted, and common decency outraged, by pretending that the removal of the Cherokees is grounded upon this fiction called a treaty. Let the world see that we regard a 'treaty' got up between Mr. Schermerhorn and Mackenzie, Van Rensselaer, Sutherland, and a few more 'patriots,' as binding on the people of the United States! The treaty of New Echota was notoriously the work of irresponsible persons, and the attempt to enforce it on the Cherokees, is one of the most flagrant instances of abandoned scoundrelism that arbitrary power ever perpetrated. Compelled to remove by the ruffian policy of our government, the Cherokees now claim that an adequate remuneration shall be given them for their lands, and that they shall *scourge their own removal*.—On these conditions, they will consent to remove without resistance. The practice has generally been to remove them by *coercion*—a practice, which affords the President an opportunity of rewarding some of his needy partizans, and making a distribution of the spoils among his adherents. These contractors, looking upon their contracts, pay of course very careless of the health and comfort of the Indians. They blow them up in steamboats; keep them in a state of starvation; drive them without shoes or clothing, during inclement seasons, through long marches in the wilderness; and abandon the feeble, the aged, the young, the weary and the sick, to perish by the way side. A correspondent of the Journal of Commerce says—the Cherokees know of no law, and they never yet, in the execution of a treaty, they know that scarcely half the exiles will reach their destination beyond the Mississippi.

Will the moral and intelligent people of New England look on with heartless satisfaction, at so base white tribe of Indians, under the fraudulent pretence of a treaty, torn away from their cultivated fields, and placed in the hands of mercenary contractors to be driven like cattle into the western wilderness—without one, one effort, or raising one voice to soften the calamity of their fate—to alleviate their condition—and to induce our public servants to pay heed to their petitions and remonstrances? Can we regard any sufferings, which are inflicting Providence, and hereafter inflict on the people of the United States, by great displeasure of the silent indifference of our rulers, they looked on and permitted an infamous wrong to be committed against an humble tribe of Indians, struggling to acquire the arts of civilized man, and to elevate their moral and intellectual condition under the tenigmas of pices of the Christian gospel?

We have seen a letter, in a reprinted of the attempts which the Cherokees have made to obtain a hearing against the treaty (or it is called which is to be carried into operation in May next. The 'Ego' of Boston, is a most vain and chicanery and falsehood of every sort, and intended to be consummated by force, is ready does the Globe begin to fear and the prospect of bloodshed. The late correspondence between the Secretary of War and Dr. Jesup discloses the scheme of the administration. Gen. Jesup wishes to 'feed fat' the grudge against the Cherokees for questioning the purity and propriety of his conduct in relating the truce of which they were made tools—and he now proposes, almost command the Secretary to suspend the Seminole war, and give him a chance against the Cherokees. Comparing his letter with the correspondence protest, it may easily be conjectured, that would be the result should I Jesup be sent to the Cherokee country. There seems to us but one hopeful source of relief, that is a forlorn outcry the Cherokee nation.

If the great cities would mem rialize Congress, praying that the petition of this oppressed people may be complied with—that a respectfully for remonstrance, and petition, that they may be opened with authorized persons, to their comfort properly looked to in the reason. —If this would be done, it might lead to a consideration of their case. It would, at least free the people from the disgraceful imputation, which otherwise history must fix upon them, of standing coolly by, to see a deadly wrong inflicted in their name.

We beg every true republican—every friend of justice and his country, to give heed to the petition of this oppressed Indian tribe. For God's sake, and for our own honor's sake, let a few voices at least be raised sweep in their behalf. Let it not be said by our posterity, that the cruel outrage was perpetrated, and not one American heart throbbed with sympathy, at the injustice done. In less than two months, the fraudulent treaty is to be carried by our government. That the Cherokees are perfectly justifiable in resisting its behalf enforcement into effect, we have not the slightest doubt for a moment doubt. That the Cherokees are disposed to resist it, there is every evidence. People of New England! let it be said, that by your passive opposition to acts of injustice and oppression, the cries of blood which may be spilt in the attempt to enforce this wicked mockery, dignified with the name of a 'treaty,' must be upon your head.

COMMUNICATIONS.

MR PHILLIPS'S LECTURES IN HINGHAM.

Mr. Editor,

I cannot but hope that the good cause has at last, got a strong foothold in this ancient place. Old habits, fear of consequences, inveterate prejudices, are still strong against us; but the subject is here—it is a prominent topic of conversation—it is introduced into our religious paper, at first indeed by its opposers, and is now making slow but sure progress in this community. The two Anti-Slavery Societies that have been formed here, are small but are active as a proof of the point of attraction, and being based on truth and justice, they must necessity prevail against all the opposition that can be brought against them.

The great obstacles to the cause of Abolition here, are ignorance of the subject, and stubborn prejudice. Our people do not see the beauty which it has on themselves. They feel that it *will sell their wives and children and households*, and that further claims can be made upon them. They are not yet sensible of the fetters with they have worn and are still wearing on their own hands. They have brought their own chains. They have shut their ears to the ominious declaration, that they themselves were slaves—slaves to a false interpretation of the Constitution, slaves to those who have been ordered to cease their attention to the awful responsibility which rests on them; slaves to those who have made their *households* the permanent of Southern Slavery is trampling in the dust; when he has endeavored to point to them the ruin which must inevitably come on our whole land, unless they arise in the might of truth and justice, to stay the march of oppression; he has heretofore been received an ignorant fanatic, a wild enthusiast, an ambitious disturber of their comfortable repose.

But although our people are not yet convinced, they are beginning to rub their eyes, and to clear away a few of the scales by which they have been blinded. They begin to see that something must be done; they begin to feel that they have been wrong, and something to do. We have had, within the last few months, the most interesting abolition lectures; one from Miss A. E. Grimke, one from Mr. Quincy, and two from Mr. Phillips. Miss G. created an intense interest, and produced a powerful effect. She was opposed, of course, and misunderstood and misinterpreted; but she touched and opened many eyes that had never before been opened.

Mr. Quincy gave to our infant society its first public lecture. He came to us with the *elements, the first principles* of the subject, and laid the foundation of a structure which we hope to be permitted to build and adorn. His eloquence was the eloquence of truth, and his impression he made was deep and lasting. We expect him, before long, to come to us again.

Mr. Phillips has been here twice. In his first lecture, he took up the definition of slavery, spoke of its evils, and answered the objections that are most frequently brought against abolition. In his second lecture, he continued the same topics, and introduced others. He explained what abolitionists were doing, and what they wished to do. He was most powerful in his appeals, and unanswerable in his arguments. When he spoke of the imprisonment of Dr. CRAFTS, in Washington, and the necessity in which his friends found themselves, of stopping his preaching by night, in order to save him from the fury of a mob; when he spoke of the protection he *ought* to have found in the legislative halls of the Capital; when he spoke of that sense of duty towards an innocent

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[1] Italics mine.

and persecuted citizen, which should have indicted our Representatives and Senators to form a bulwark of defence around him; which should have indicted our Websters and Prestons to refuse him an asylum, nay, tall at a place of refuge, and which should have *chained* them to their seats, till the innocent and acquitted should be permitted to walk forth boldly in his freedom, protected by the protection of the laws of this country—whether the prosecution be rightly powerful, and his appeal was most thrillingly powerful, and must have produced a deep impression.

There is, however, but a step between the sublime and ridiculous. Even this appeal lost its effect among good men. He understood, as the Boston paper said, that *Dr. P. said, that Webster and Preston ought to have been chained to their seats, as a punishment for not defending Dr. Prentiss at a public meeting!* Well, perhaps they ought. *Candid!!* Well, perhaps they ought. It was not so absurd an idea, after all.

A great fuss was made, during the week before the lecture, about the meeting-house, and *for disturbance that might or should* take place. One man sailed up his pew; but there happened to be room enough without it; so that it was not deserved by being occupied at an abolition lecture.

Mr. P. may rest assured, that he has produced the effect he wished to produce. One *people will talk about his lecture*; and this fact can scarcely take place without awakening an interest in the suffering slave, and calling forth exertions for his deliverance.

I.

Hingham, March 31, 1838.

NEATE MASSIFIELD, March 12th, 1838.

MY BROTHER:

The following interesting dialogue was furnished me by our original friend Peter Peck. It is said to be a correct account of a dialogue between the parties, taken by one present. Three things are worthy of special notice in it.

(1.) *Johnson's views of woman.* What contempt, what hearty and unjust contempt for the moral and intellectual powers! But the dialogue itself is a sufficient answer. But Johnson's views were those of his age, and what present age to a great extent. Thanks to Heaven for raising up those two noble and morally just intellectuals of United States, to plead the cause! Never did brutality gifted Britain's Legislature do a nobler deed than when they granted these sisters a full, candid and respectful hearing in behalf of suffering woman and crushed humanity. If the Legislature would go one step further, and publish a large edition of their speeches, and send them over the land, that others as well as themselves might benefit by them, I should really begin to think that legislative bodies might be of some use in the world. But to see men of power and influence, as in all places, I for one thank them for what they have done, and hope that other similar bodies will do and do likewise.

(2.) *The responsibilities of nations.* Who is accountable for the acts of nations? Of this republic? For our robberies, murders and piracies, committed on the slaves and Indians? The republic has no conscience, no soul. The republic is a great robber and murderer. Those who believe in imprisoning robbers and hanging murderers, ought to imprison this republic, and hang it till it is dead—DEAD.

(3.) *Johnson's views of the Quakers.* Absent as much Christ and Infidelity as ever, my brother. Always persecuted and reverentially quoting the Holy Scriptures as your great spiritual weapon to overthrow the kingdom of sin. So do they. If these are infidels, where are the Christians?

Yours,

H. C. W.

AN INTERESTING DIALOGUE.

Between the lady Dr. Johnson, and Mrs. W. Knowles.

Mrs. Knowles. Why, my friend, Jenny Head, which her lord respects to thee, Doctor.

Dr. J. Tome! Tell me not of her; I hate the odious wench for her apostacy; and it is you, madam, that seduced her from the Christian religion.

Mrs. K. This is a heavy charge, indeed; I must beg leave to be heard in my own defence, and I entreat the attention of the present learned and candid company, desiring that they will judge how far I am able to clear myself of so cruel an accusation.

Dr. J. (Much disturbed at the unexpected challenge, said)—You are a woman, and I will give you quarter.

Mrs. K. I will not take quarter; and, in the present cause, I fear not Dr. Johnson himself. [Bravo, was repeated by the company, all silence ceased.]

Dr. J. Well then, madam, I persist in my charge, that you have seduced Mrs. Head from the Christian religion.

Mrs. K. If thou really knew what were the principles of the Friends, thou wouldst not say that had departed from Christianity; but waiving that discussion for the present, I will take the liberty to observe, that she had an undoubted right to examine and change her educational tenets, whenever she found them erroneous. As an accountable creature, it was her duty so to do.

Dr. J. Pahaw! pahaw! an accountable creature! Girls accountable creatures! It was her duty to remain with the church in which she was educated. She had no business to leave it.

Mrs. K. What, not for that which she approbated to be better? According to this rule, Dorcas, habit thee been in Turkey, it had been her duty to have remained a Mahometan, notwithstanding Christian evidence might have wrought in thy mind clearer convictions; and if so, then let me ask, how would thy conscience answer for such obstinacy at the great and last tribunal?

Dr. J. My conscience would not have been accountable.

Mrs. K. Who then would?

Dr. J. Why, the Sultan, to be sure. In adhering to the religion of the State, as by law established, our implicit obedience therein becomes our duty.

Mrs. K. A nation, a state, having a conscience, is a doctrine entirely new to me,—and indeed a very curious piece of intelligence. For, I have always understood that a government, or state, is a creature of time only, beyond which it does not become a moral personality. Now, gentlemen, can your imaginations body forth the monstrous individual or being called a State, composed of millions of people? Can you behold it stalking forth into the next world laden with its mighty conscience, there to be rewarded or punished for the faith, opinion or conduct of its constituent machines, called men? Surely the teeming brain of Poetry never held up to the fancy so wonderous a personage.

[When the laugh, occasioned by this personification, had subsided, the Doctor very angrily replied,] I regard not what you say as to this matter. I have the assurance of the Sultan, in supposing herself a more competent judge of religion than those who educated her. She should say, no doubt; but she ought not to have presumed to determine for herself in so important an affair.

Mrs. K. True, Doctor, if, as thou seemest to laugh, a girl of twenty years be not a moral agent.

Dr. J. I doubt it would be difficult to prove that those deserve that character, who turn Quakers.

Mrs. K. This severe retort induces me charitably to hope, that thou must be totally unacquainted with the principles of the people whom thou dost so unceremoniously prejudge, and that thou supposest them a set of infidels or Deists.

Dr. J. Certainly, I do think you little better than Deists.

Mrs. K. Tis strange, its passing strange, that a man of such universal reading and research has not found it at least expedient to look into the cause of dissent of a Society so long established, and so conspicuously singular.

Dr. J. Nay, madam, I have read Barclay's Barclay's Apology, and for this plain reason—I never thought it worth my while. You are upstart sectaries, perhaps the best subdued by silent contempt.

Mrs. K. This reminds me of Rabbies of old, when their hierarchy was alarmed by the increasing influence, force and simplicity of dawning truth. In this high day of spiritual dominion, you meekly trust our principles, and we invite the secutest investigation. The reason which thou givest for not having read Barclay's Apology, is surely a very improper one. For a man, to whom the world looks up as a moral philosopher of the first rank, a teacher from whom they think they have a just right to expect much information—to this expecting, enquiring mind, Dr. Johnson acquit himself for remaining unacquainted with the book translated into five or six different languages, which has been admitted into the libraries of almost every court in Christendom!

[Here the Doctor grew very angry; still more at the space of time the gentlemen insisted on his antagonist wherein to make her defence; and his impatience excited one of the company to say, "I never knew the lion and the lamb chafed before." The Doctor repeated, he did not think the Quakers deserved the name of Christians.]

Mrs. K. Give me leave, then, to endeavor to convince thee of thy error, which I will do by making, before this respectable company, a confession of our faith. *Creeds or confessions* of faith are admitted by all to be the transcript wherein they agree in every denomination of professors. (To this, every one present agreed, and even the Doctor grumbled out his assent.)

Mrs. K. Well, then, I take upon me to declare, the members of the Society of Friends believe in the Holy Scriptures, and rejoice with the most full and reverential acceptance of the divine history of facts, as recorded in the New Testament; that we consequently fully believe those historical articles comprehended up in what is called the Apostles' Creed, with these two exceptions only—our Saviour's descent into hell, and the resurrection of the body. These mysteries we leave, as we find them, they stand in the text, there being from that ground no authority for such an assertion as is drawn up in the creed. And now, Doctor, canst thou still deny us the honorable title of Christians?

Dr. J. Well, I must own I did not suppose you had so much to say for yourself; however, I cannot forgive that little slut for presuming to take upon herself as she has done.

Mrs. K. I hope, Doctor, thou will not remain unforgiving, and that you will renew your friendship, and joyfully meet at last in those bright regions where pride and prejudice can never enter.

Dr. J. Meet her! I never desire to meet *fools* any where! This sarcastic turn of wit was so pleasingly received, that the Doctor joined in the laugh; his spleen was so abated, he took his coffee, and tea, and supper, for the remainder of the evening, very cheerful and entertaining.

BURLESQUE PETITIONS.

MR. GARRISON,

The following was sent to the office of the Times; but for some reason unknown, was not inserted. It would have been sent to you sooner, if it could have been received from the editor's drawer. If not too late, please give it a place in the Liberator.

C.

[For the Times.]

MR. EDITOR,—In your paper of the 19th ult. you made some sensible and seasonable observations on *the right of petition*, a subject of great interest, as you justly remark. But I am glad, that amidst your merited animadversions on the abuse of the right, by the fictitious exercise of it, you did not discharge your artillery, as you had intended, at the petition from certain females in Hebron, for if you had, you would have wasted your ammunition upon a man (perhaps, in this case, I should say, *woman*) of straw. I happen to know something about that petition, and it is no 'burlesque,' but is the honest expression of sentiment. The ladies, to whom the *printed* copy was sent by the Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, well knew, that in many of the non-slaveholding States, some of the inhabitants were deprived of important rights and privileges, on account of their *color*. This they considered as wrong and cruel; since God has made of one blood all nations of men,' endued them with the same faculties and feelings, and given them the same desire of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' They viewed it to be as unjust to deprive a citizen of any of his civil rights, on account of the incurve of his skin, as on account of the color of his hair, or the length of his nose. They knew that the distinction made between the inhabitants of any State, on account of color, originated in a weak and wicked prejudice, arising from the degradation and wretchedness in which the slaveholders have succeeded in keeping the race in ignorant and helpless victims. They therefore saw, as every 'single eye' must see at a glance, that all laws, wherever and by whomsoever enacted, making such an unreasonable and injurious distinction, ought to be at once repealed. They felt no hesitation in giving their names to a petition, which—instead of praying for 'a repeal of the law against intermarrying with negroes,' as reported in the paper—simply asks for the repeal of a law which makes a distinction between the inhabitants, on account of color.' I believe these are the *precise* words of the petition. There is nothing *said*, and I presume nothing *thought*, by those benevolent ladies, respecting intermarriage at all. If the petition, therefore, whether married or single, had entertained the mischievous intention of elevating their own race, at the expense of the colored, that intention must have respected, not their white fellow-citizens, but the large portion of the population on the sea-board, in which colored people must abound.

I only add, that while I admire the *patience* with which the Hon. Legislature suffered the petition from ladies of Hebron, to be misrepresented and burlesqued' by fictitious counter-petitions; I have such an opinion of the intelligence and moral worth of those *whites* who forged, and instigated a few colored people to lend their names to the counter petitions, that if the colored people had *really* entertained fears of degradation from a union with *them*, I think their fears would have been well founded.

COSMOPOLITE.

Boston, March 30, 1838.

CONNECTICUT A. S. SOCIETY.

FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING.—The annual meeting of this Society, will be held at NEW HAVEN, on Wednesday, the 16th day of MAY next. We hope to see a large attendance from all portions of the State—the cause being of such a peculiar interest. The General Assembly will be in session, our petitions will be flowing in upon them, and the discussion, during the meeting, we shall have a public hearing, in behalf of the petitioners, before committees of the Legislature, upon the subject of the Annexation of Texas, New York, and other States. The meeting will be held the next week after the State Society, and be in the general vicinity of New York, and the week previous to the New England Convention, at Boston. This will enable the members and attendance of a large number of able and distinguished public speakers, who will attend the meeting at New York. Let the A. S. Societies appoint large delegations, or rather let the abolitionists come en masse.

Connecticut Charter Oak.

LEGISLATURE OF MAINE.

HOUSE—March 19.

Mr. Appleton, from the committee on certain petitions, reported the following resolves, which were read once, and so-order assigned:—

RESOLVES IN RELATION TO MAINE

Resolutions relating to the right of petition.

Resolved, That the Resolution adopted in the House of Representatives of the United States, on the first of December last, by which petitions, memorials, and papers touching the abolition of slavery, or the buying, selling or transferring of slaves in any State, Territory, or Territory of the United States, were ordered to be laid on the table, without being debated, printed, read or referred, was a violation of the rights of those who may be had thereon,—is an abridgment of the right of petition as secured by the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That a copy of these Resolves be forwarded to each Representative from this State in Congress, and that they be requested to use their efforts to have said resolution rescinded.

Mr. Appleton also reported a preamble and resolution relative to prohibiting slavery in the District of Columbia; read once, and to-morrow assigned.

HOUSE—March 21.

Mr. Appleton moved to take up the Resolves relating to Slavery in the District of Columbia. Mr. Coliman opposed, on the ground that there is more important business. On motion of Mr. J. Frost, the yeas and nays were ordered. Mr. Hinslin proposed against taking up a subject which would excite debate. Mr. Appleton remarked that the people who petitioned brought the question before the House, and he knew no reason why their prayers should not be heard. Mr. Delesdernier advocated taking up the subject now; the petitioners ought to be heard; he was ready to meet the subject, and dispose of it, as not the gentleman from Portland would wish. Mr. Coliman, in reply, made some further remarks against taking up the question now,—Mr. C. moved the previous question, which was seconded. Mr. Delesdernier replied to Mr. Coliman's remarks. Mr. Norton moved to lay the subject upon the table—carried, 66 to 26.

SENATE—March 22.

Mr. Osgood moved the resolves relating to slavery in the District of Columbia to be finitely postponed. Mr. Appleton said, he hoped the very his motion so as to refer to the next Legislature. Mr. Ham moved to lay them on the table. Mr. Dunnost opposed—said he agreed that slavery was an evil, and that Congress had no right to touch slavery in the States, but there was something absurd and inconsistent in the resolves, and he hoped they would consider the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, and in the sent of the capital of the U. States. He believed the petitioners were sincere in the prayer of the resolves, and he felt bound to act accordingly. He deemed it high time that the Legislature should speak out and express their sentiments on this subject, and let the public know on which side gentlemen range themselves. The people should assume and maintain their rights on this subject, and never have long submit to; they will continue to petition, and there is no human power that can prevent them from the exercise of this dearest of all rights.

The question was then taken by yeas and nays as follows:

YEAS. Messrs. Heagan, Jaques, Lake, Littlefield, Milbrum, Osgood, Smart, R. Soule, Woodbury, S. Wood—10.

NAYS. Messrs. Belcher, Dumont, Emery, Fletcher, Hersey, Rundell, Stevens—8.

Resolves against the annexation of Texas, came from the House passed to be engrossed. Mr. Wood, moved to lay them on the table—carried. Mr. Dumont called for the yeas and nays; ordered, and decided as follows:

YEAS. Messrs. Hum, Littlefield, Osgood, Prince, R. Soule, Woodbury, Woodman—7.

NAYS. Messrs. Belcher, Dumont, Emery, Fletcher, Heagan, Jaques, Lake, Milbrum, Rundall, E. Robinson, Smart, Steward, Whipple—12.

A motion was made to refer to the next Legislature; lost. The question was then on their engrossment; negatived, 10 to 11.

IN THE HOUSE.

THURSDAY, March 22, 1838.

On motion of Hight, the previous question on taking up the Resolve in relation to the District of Columbia was taken up. The yeas and nays ordering the previous question were ordered. Question on proceeding to the consideration of the Resolve, it was decided in the affirmative. It could put an end to the business of the session. Mr. Appleton had no fears of that kind; the friends of the Resolve are all as calm as a summer's evening. Mr. Ingalls hoped the question would be taken up and acted on without discussion. Mr. Hobbs said he was in favor of the resolve, if it was the business of the legislature, but he wished the question on the resolves could be put off until the business of the legislature, which was now in the hands of the committees, should be disposed of. Mr. Jemery said he had no objection to taking up the question, if the resolution could be disposed of, and further remarks discussing the yeas and nays were ordered. Mr. Codman opposed taking up the resolves. Mr. Delesdernier said he believed it would take less time to dispose of the subject than to discuss the question of taking it up. The question on taking up the resolves was negatived, 56 to 64.

Afternoon Session.

Mr. Appleton called up the Resolve relating to slavery in the District of Columbia. On motion of Mr. J. Frost, the yeas and nays were ordered. Mr. Boies moved indefinite postponement. Negatived, Yeas 39, Nays 67.

Mr. Codman moved to add at the end—"Resolved, That the people of Maine have no right to interfere with the individual rights and domestic concerns of other States." Negatived by the casting vote of the Speaker, 63 to 63.

The Resolutions were then passed, Yeas, 69, Nays 62.

Mr. H. W. Paine called up Resolves in relation to the annexation of Texas; read and passed, 65 to 30.

Mr. Codman, by leave, introduced Resolves in relation to slavery, which were read and assigned for to-morrow. Mr. Hobbs moved for notice that he should move a reconsideration, and Mr. Parris gave notice that he should make a speech on the subject of slavery.

STATE OF MAINE.

Resolve relating to Slavery in the District of Columbia.

Whereas the cessions of the territory, which now constitutes the District of Columbia, by the State of Virginia, and of Maryland, were made subsequently to the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and in pursuance of its clear and unquestionable authority, and with the express stipulation, either for the States making the cessions or Congress in accepting them, to have made no admission of any power in Congress, to legislate, in any way, either directly or by implication, to restrict any subsequent Congress in its action over said District; and whereas the history of that period furnishes numerous facts all going to show the expectation of the American people, that Congress could exert its powers, upon the territory so ceded, to prevent the extension of Slavery, and to remove it from those places over which it might have undisputed jurisdiction; and whereas the continuance of slavery within the sacred enclosure and chosen seat of the National Government is inconsistent with the spirit of the enlightened portion of our Republic, and with all just pretensions on our part to be character of a free people, and is adapted to bring into contempt republican institutions, and render its influence powerless throughout the world:—Therefore

Resolved, That the Representatives of the United States have the right under the Federal Constitution to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia; and it is consistent with the spirit of the Constitution, and not be inconsistent with the good faith and lasting honor of our country.

The above preamble and resolve were adopted in the House of Representatives by the following vote:

YEAS.

York—Messrs. Hobbs, Hight, Hersey, Jordan, Kimball.

Cumberland—Appleton, Buckman, Dunlap, Bradbury, E. Bliss, W. Bradbury, Chandler, Hancock, Hamlin, Lynam, W. Lowell, Penley, Small.

Lincoln—Chase, M. Gurcelon, Huston, T. M. Lewis, C. W. Lewis, Parlin, Pierce.

Hancock—Gray, Trussell.

Washington—Bell, Harris, W. B. Smith.

Somerset—Ayer, Blake, Craig, Hanscom, Holmes, Lothrop, Morton, Neal, Norris, Porter, Paine, Pierce, Smiley, Stubbs, Swanton, Tuttle, Wheeler, J. Weeks.

Oxford—Allen, Chaplin, Hayford, Smith.

Somerset—Barrows, Coburn, Frost, Ingalls, McDaniel, Robinson, Stevens, Whipple, Wood.

Penobscot—Allen, Herson.

Waldo—Harmon, McCrillis, Richards, Sawyer, Thorndike, True—69.

NAYS.

York—Brackett, G. W. Bean, Cook.

Cumberland—Codman, T. Estes, Harding, S. M. Marble, Moulton, Staples, H. Warren.

Lincoln—Fuller, J. Gurcelon, Gray, Hoodlett, A. Hathorn, J. Lowell, Levensaler, Myrick, Otis, Thompson.

Hancock—Clark, Graves, Hinkley, J. Smith.

Washington—Boies, Delesdernier, Gilpatrick.

Kennebec—Leach, Stevens, J. Weeks, Tuckerwood, M. Weeks.

Oxford—Cole, J. Dearborn, P. Ernst, Howe, Hill, Martin, Masterman, Parris, Rawson, Taylor.

Somerset—B. C. Coburn, Norton, Pennell, Wiscome.

Penobscot—M. Barker, Butler, Burleigh, Dyer, Dunforth, Grewly, H. Hamlin, Libby, Mitchell, Roberts, Tuttle, Webster.

Waldo—Bryant, Cargil, T. Fowler, Lermond—88.

Mr. Dunnost introduced the resolves relative to the Banks introduced by Mr. Codman in relation to the subject of Slavery, yesterday refused a passage. Negatived, 37 to 42.

Resolves in relation to the annexation of Texas, came from the Senate passage refused, and the House concurred, and adhered to its former vote.

BOSTON.

FRIDAY, APRIL 6, 1838.

QUARTERLY MEETING AT DEDHAM.

The Quarterly Meeting of the Massachusetts A. S. Society was held at Dedham, on Wednesday, the 28th ultimo. Francis Jackson, Esq. President of the Society, in the chair. Prayer was offered by Rev. N. S. Spaulding of Dorchester.

On motion of A. A. Phelps, a committee of eleven were appointed to prepare business for the meeting. The following gentlemen were appointed, with instructions to increase their number, if thought necessary: Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, and A. A. Phelps, Boston; N. S. Spaulding and David Sanford, Dorchester; P. N. Pratt, Weymouth; Erastus Worthington, Jesse Wheaton and John Houghton, Dedham; Elphalet Rhodes, Walpole; Nathaniel Southard, New York.

On motion, Orin P. Bacon of Dedham, was appointed secretary pro tem.

W. Phillips, chairman of committee on business, reported the following Resolutions, which were adopted in their order by Messrs. Phelps, Quincy, Phillips, Fuller, Rhodes and Sanford, and unanimously adopted.

1. Resolved, That in the recent movements in Great Britain and some of the British West Indies, with respect to slavery, we rejoice in the entire relinquishment of the 1st of August next, we have occasion for renewed and devout thanksgiving to Almighty God, not only for the evidence thus furnished of the speedy and entire extinction of slavery in those islands, but for the fact, that, in his providence, he is thus writing the conviction on the mind of this nation, of the superiority, in all respects, of immediate and entire emancipation over the partial, and protracted one of it.

2. Resolved, That the recent movements in Kentucky, with the evidence they furnish of the extent of abolition views and feelings in that state, is a complete refutation of the charge, that abolitionists are in the wrong, but put back the cause of emancipation by their discussions.

3. Resolved, That it be recommended to auxiliary societies throughout the state, to secure the delivery of addresses on the subject of emancipation, in their respective towns, on the 4th of July and the 1st of August next, and to take collections on the occasion for the promotion of the cause; and to this end, that they apply at most convenient seasons, to their immediate vicinity to deliver and addresses, that thereby new advocates may be brought into the field, and the societies not be left to the necessity of having no meeting, except in the few cases in which help can be otherwise obtained.

On motion, voted to adjourn to half past 2 o'clock, P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The society met according to adjournment. Rev. Mr. Durfee, of South Dedham, opened the meeting with prayer. The following resolutions were then presented by the committee, severally discussed, and adopted.

4. Resolved, That it be recommended to auxiliary societies, and to individual abolitionists generally, to take immediate measures for the establishment of an anti-slavery library in their respective towns; and that the executive committee of each county society be earnestly requested to see that this measure is carried into effect in each town within their respective limits.

Several libraries were pledged for on the spot.

5. Resolved, That we earnestly recommend the speedy adoption of the plan of cent-a-week collections, throughout the state, that all who feel any sympathy with the slave may have an invitation to manifest it in a way which is in the power of the poor as well as the rich.

6. Resolved, That the Hon. Wm. Slade, Representative in Congress from the state of Vermont, for his moral courage and fidelity in presenting the petition in a bill, providing for the immediate abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and for the firmness with which he resisted the attempts of the South, to awe him into silence, deserves our thanks, not only from his immediate constituents, but of the friends of liberty in every part of the country; and that the President and Secretary of this society be instructed to communicate to Mr. Slade this testimonial of our grateful esteem.

7. Resolved, That the Liberator, for its constant, fearless and consistent advocacy of the cause of emancipation, is entitled to the support and confidence of abolitionists; and that while we disclaim all responsibility for its editorial or other subjects, we abhor that spirit of sectarian exclusiveness which would deny to him, as an individual, the right of expressing and defending those opinions.

8. Resolved, That it be recommended to each town society in the State to hold monthly meetings in each school district, in rotation, in their respective towns, in the school-house or such other place as can be obtained, for the purpose of reading the Scriptures, and the reading of suitable publications; and at the close of each meeting, the constitution of their respective societies be presented for the signature of such as may be disposed to unite with them.

On motion of A. A. Phelps, the following resolution as adopted at the last annual meeting, was reconsidered and laid on the table.

Resolved, That in order to bring our colored friends within the brotherhood of this nation, we will encourage them in petitioning Congress in their own names, for the redress of their grievances, and if not successful, then we will lend them our aid in bringing their cause before the court of all nations, and we will entertain it a cause can be held in bondage, agreeably to the principles contained in the Declaration of Independence, and the constitution of our country.

EVENING SESSION.

The evening session was occupied in the discussion and adoption of the following resolutions:

9. Resolved, That those persons, who call themselves abolitionists, and declare they like our principles, but not our measures, manifest a little, if any, of the spirit of the Christian religion.

10. Resolved, That we have no fellowship with those who hold to free discussion on all subjects, but shut their houses against the abolitionists, lest the agitation of the subject of slavery, in their neighborhood, should produce an excitement.

11. Resolved, That in the death of the devoted Dr. CRANDALL, who has just sunk under disease,—the result of imprisonment in the District of Columbia, on account of being suspected of holding the opinion, that all men are created equal,—we recognize another evidence of the natural effects of slavery, another proof that while our colored brother is in fetters, we are neither safe nor free, and that to him undeniably belongs the title of martyr in the cause of liberty and humanity.

Attest, O. P. BACON, *Sec. pro tem.*

"A FINE CLIMATE."

The Middletown (Ct.) Sentinel publishes a letter from J. J. Matthias, Governor of Bassa Cove, Western Africa, to his friend in that city, under date of Dec. 18, 1837, in which he declares—

"There is not a finer climate for the colored man in the world; for a soil more fertile. It is now our Summer. The birds are singing,—and a greater variety of song or plumage I never saw. The Thermometer, for a month past, has ranged from 79 to 84 degrees, and the season will continue until May; during which period the thermometer will not rise above 90 degrees. Although the 'Watchman' has been pleased to ridicule our organization as a Republic, nevertheless we are happy with the Republic. The Editor would be induced to change his views, were he to see OUR WELL DRESSED AND DISCIPLINED MILITIA, on Parade. Nevertheless, I should venture nothing in comparing them with the Militia any where at home.

To illustrate the subtlety of this 'fine climate,' we copy the following advertisement from the same number of the Middletown Sentinel:

"At Bassa Cove, Western Africa, on the 4th of December, of the prevailing fever, Mrs. Charlotte, wife of Dr. Matthias, Governor of the Colony, aged 39.

Also, on the Friday previous, Miss Amanty, who went out to the Colony in the Tiber. The Thermometer ranged from 80 to 90 degrees, in his family."

N. B. "Our well dressed and disciplined troops will be ready to Congress, and the territories of the Pawnee Indians."

MAINE.

Mr. Codding is making a deep impression upon the minds of the people in this State, by his powerful lectures upon slavery. Wherever he has spoken, great success has attended his efforts.

We have said that the abolitionism of Maine was not worth much, either in quantity or quality; but it is daily improving, and we have little doubt will go on to perfection. Hitherto, it has been tame, dogmatic, and timid. We hope, that it will be petitions to Congress, or the State Legislature, on the subject of slavery of Texas. But we shall look for more activity and boldness in future.

The Advocate of Freedom informs us that an Anti-Slavery Society, for Somerset County, was formed in Norridgewock on the 28th Feb.—Eleazer Coburn, Esq. of Bloomfield, President; Rev. Joseph Peet, Cor. Sec. Another Society, for Lincoln County was formed on the 13th ult. in Winslow.—Col. E. Hilton, of Wiscasset, President; Rev. Ashbury Caldwell, of do. Cor. Sec. Among other resolutions adopted at Norridgewock was the following, which the narrow bigotry of the N. E. Spectator will be unable to digest.

"Resolved, That in the consecration of the great cause in which we are engaged, we know no party or sect or such; but cheerfully extend the hand of fellowship to all who are of whatever religious sect or political party, whose hearts respond to ours, in action and measures."

BOSTON RECORDER. Formerly, this paper was so hostile to the abolition cause, that an advertisement of a Boston meeting of Anti-Slavery Ladies, was refused an insertion in its columns, though payment was offered for the same. Its usual courtesies was subordinate to its animosity. While some years before, the Recorder most zealously combatted it, and spoke great swelling words in praise of that 'heaven-originated institution,' the Colonization Society. Now that our cause is in the ascendant, and the spirit of humanity has pervaded the Christian world, a foul *fiend*, from New England, the Recorder is beginning to alter its tone; and has actually opened an anti-slavery department in its pages! We allude to the fact merely as another instance of signs of the times.

From the Emancipator.

THE NEXT ANNIVERSARY.

We call the special attention of our friends, to the approaching anniversary week of the American Anti-Slavery Society. It will be a season of peculiar interest. The eye of the nation is upon our movements. Congress has been for the last two half sessions of Congress, and into nearly all the state legislatures, challenging an investigation of the principles and objects. This, with the opening of the State Houses at Boston and Albany, for our meeting, the flood of petitions which have been pouring in before the annual adjournures of the free states, the respectful and protracted hearings which have been granted to the petitioners by Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Michigan, have given our cause an dignity and importance of our operations in the estimation of all, and especially of those who do homage to public sentiment.

The murder of Lovejoy has contributed to arouse the public eye. The probable substitution of unconditional freedom for the apprenticeship, by many of the W. I. Islands, and the preliminary movement towards the assembling of a convention to amend the Constitution of Kentucky—all these will render the next anniversary of unprecedented importance.

It will be remembered that the BUSINESS MEETING commences on Wednesday, the 2nd of May, the week previous to the Anniversary. Important matters belong upon the consideration of that meeting; there discussed, plans of operation arranged, measures for mutual cooperation between the different state societies in regard to publication, finance, lectures, agents, &c. adopted, and the campaign for the next year marked out. We hope to see an unusual number of our friends present on that occasion.

Heretofore, complaint has been made, that from various causes, there was no opportunity during the anniversary week, for a thorough discussion of the numerous topics which have been before the annual meeting, and no amendment; but, greater efficiency may, undoubtedly, be imparted to our measures by mutual suggestions and discussion.

WM. A. DODGE, *Sec'y.*

From Zion's Watchman.

EMANCIPATION IN THE WEST INDIES.

A six months' visit in Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, in the year 1837. By James A. Thome, and J. H. Kimball. New York; published by the American Anti-Slavery Society, 1838. 143 Nassau-street, 1838. 12 mo. pp. 400.

This book should be forthwith put into the hands of every minister, every civil officer, every father, every mother, every slaveholder, slave-trader, and slave-driver; in short, every man, woman and child in the nation, who will see it, that his minister, his neighborhood, is supplied with this most interesting work. If you wish to know what is going on before them, you need but read it, read it, read it! It gives a detail of facts which demonstrate the following points beyond the reach of doubt or contradiction.

1. That the act of IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION in Antigua, by which the apprentices were released in instantaneous freedom, amided a population of four thousand five hundred free people of color, and only two thousand slaves, on the 1st of Aug. 1834, was attended with any disorder whatever.

2. That the emancipated slaves have readily, faithfully, and efficiently worked for wages from the first.

3. That the slight disturbances which have occurred in those islands, have been entirely unimportant, and are traceable solely to that system, and the officers appointed for its execution, professedly, to *prepare* the slaves for freedom.

4. That hatred of humble life, or the prejudice of caste, is fast disappearing in the islands of Antigua, &c.

5. That the negroes themselves never sought the apprenticeship system, as a preparation for freedom.

6. That the apprenticeship is a DEAD LETTER.

7. That the planters who have fairly tried the experiment, now greatly prefer the new system to the old.

8. That the apprentices are rapidly and perceptibly rising in the scale of civilization, morals and religion.

Again we say, let these facts be spread before the people, and we shall see the prejudices of the north in favor of slaveholding under certain circumstances, will and must fade away. And the same cause which withstands the influence so convincing and utterly destructive to slavery as the mass of evidence is contained in this book.

From the same paper.

AN APPEAL TO THE METHODIST E. CHURCH.

By Rev. O. Scott. This work is now in press and will be published next week. It will make a large 8vo. pamphlet of about 120 pages, and contain about 12 lines in the matter found in one number of the Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review.

It will consist of two parts. Part 1. Will be entitled *Slavery and the Church.* Part 2, the' *Bible Argument.* Part 3, will contain a thorough examination of the Pro-Slavery Resolutions of the late General Conference. Part 4, will be devoted to the subject of 'Conference Rights.' Part 5, will contain strictures on the Pro-Slavery Resolutions of the Church—Review of President Fisk on Colonization—Wesleyan Methodism—Episcopal Power, &c. &c. Part 6, will contain a thorough examination of the General Conference Address to the Episcopal Methodists, &c. &c.

The work will be put at 50 cents in paper covers. Twenty per cent discount will be allowed to those who purchase to sell again. The profits, should there be any, will be applied to the Anti-Slavery cause.

Orders may be obtained of D. S. King, Boston, Mass., D. Cook, Springfield, Mass., Elias Smith, No. 14 West, 4th-st. New York, Rev. Orlando Scott, Agent for the A. A. S. Society, New York, office Zion's Watchman, N. Y., and the A. S. office, Utica, N. Y.

☞ Since the foregoing was in type, we have received a copy of the pamphlet alluded to. Bro. Scott has managed his great argument with consummate ability and entire satisfaction. He has occupied a large portion of the disputed territory between the friends and foes of emancipation, and has made a succession of irresistible charges. The pamphlet is for sale at 25, Cornhill. We ask for it the widest circulation, especially among our Methodist brethren.

HEZEKIAH WOODSON. Frightened at the blackness of the infinity which is settling upon his clerical reputation, this worthy is doing nothing endeavors to gloss over his heathenish and mobocratic Thanksgiving Sermon—but utterly in vain. He only stains himself the lower in guilt and shame. Let him repent and forbear.

THE CHEROKEES. Read the memorial of their delegation to Congress, and the territory of the Pawnee Indians.

FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

N. ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The New-England Anti-Slavery Convention will hold its fifth annual meeting, in the city of Boston, on Tuesday, the 29th day of May next, and continue two or three days. The objects of this Convention, and its advantages in giving an impulse to the cause of emancipation, are well known. Distinguished advocates of the cause will be present, and many friends have expected to be present, to aid in the deliberations. And, as it was never more desirable or important than now, that the Convention should be well attended, it is earnestly hoped that friends will make arrangements, and lend will see that they are represented on the occasion by large delegations.

Signed in behalf of their respective Societies,

MAINE:

SAMUEL M. POOR, President.
WM. SMITH, Brunswick, Secretary.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

JAMES PEASLEE, Portsmouth, President.
JOHN FARMER, Concord, Secretary.

VERMONT.

H. F. LEAVITT, Vergennes, President.
E. D. BARBER, Middlebury, Cor. Secretary.
M. D. GORDON, Rec.

MASSACHUSETTS.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston, President.
WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Boston, Cor. Secretary.
AMOS A. PHELPS, Rec. Secretary.

RHODE-ISLAND.

PELEG CLARK, Coventry, President.
ELIAS SMITH, Providence, Cor. Secretary.

CONNECTICUT.

JOHN T. NORTON, Farmington, President.
HORACE COWLES, Cor. Secretary.

☞ Editors of anti-slavery papers, and other friends, will oblige by the request to give the above an insertion in their columns.

CONVENTION OF AMERICAN WOMEN.

Alluding to our notice of the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, to be holden at Philadelphia in May next—of the hospitality of the friends of the cause in that city—and of the probability that among the delegates will be Lucretia Mott, Charlotte Pierce, Mrs. M. and Mrs. A. E. Grimke, our friend J. G. Whittier says in his Pennsylvania Freeman—

The editor does no more than justice to the friends of freedom in this city. We know that the American Anti-Slavery Society will welcome them, and also the excellent President of the Boston Society, Mary S. Parker. We are authorized by the President of the Boston Society to say, that she will be happy to extend a hospitable welcome to any and all of our eastern friends, who may visit Philadelphia on that occasion.

☞ In absence of Miss Parker from the Convention, we are sure, would be regretted by many friends.

LECTURES AT THE ODEON.

The spacious Odeon was again thronged on Thursday evening of last week, by an orderly and highly respectable assembly, to hear ANSELM G. GREEN, lecture on American slavery. Never was the reception of a speaker more respectful, or better attention paid, than on that occasion. Of the ability with which Miss G managed her subject, we need not say, we know that that it was worthy of her reputation for eloquence and philanthropy. A second lecture followed last evening, and a fourth will be given next Thursday evening.

☞ A notice of the Letters of our deeply repentant brother Ray Potter hereafter. [See last page.]

NOTICE.

☞ Providence permitting, the regular Quarterly Meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society will be held on Wednesday next, April 11, at 3 o'clock, P. M. in the Marlboro' Chapel, Washington-street.

By order of the Board.

April 6. M. V. BALL, *Rec. Sec.*

NOTICE.

A meeting of the Essex County Anti Slavery Society will be held at Gloucester, (Sandy Bay,) on Wednesday and Thursday, the 18th and 19th of April next. All the local societies are requested to send delegates, and friends of the cause in and out of

LITERARY.

From the Vermont Telegraph.

SLAVERY—A DIALOGUE.

The Author.—The dialogue begins with the soliloquy of an imperious slave, who, after the fatigues of the day are over, takes a moonlight ramble on his 'vile heap of straw' in his miserable hut; but finding no rest within, makes an excursion into the fields, in order to refresh his wearied spirits with the scenery of nature, the sight of which once, not only awaken reflections of a more melancholy nature, and he takes up a lamentation on his own wretched condition, which continues till the approach of Margaret, his wife, who having seized from sleep and thinking his groans, comes in pursuit of her husband, and having found him, entertains him with the recital of an extraordinary dream, which she had just had, in which an angel makes known to her the nobility of her family, and the glories of that day when Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto God, and the nations learn war no more, &c.

Scene.—A Negro hut in Carolina.

Characters.—Pompey a slave, and Margaret his wife.

Time.—Midnight.

Pompey. Worn with excessive toil, in vain I seek, On this vile heap of straw, refreshing sleep. From' the day-spring I' rise, but find no rest, And the'n, strange tho'e are working in my breast; And if perchance I drowse, my feverish brain Scares me with frightful visions, and again I wake in agony.

The moon is up: how beautifully bright The stars look down upon the gloom of night!— How cool—how fragrant is the cool night breeze! That plies his wanton wake, and wave you forest trees! I'll get me out into the fields awhile; Perhaps it may my loneliness beguile— Dispel the gloom that gathers round my heart, And cool my fever'd brain.—Eve I depart, Ope look to see if all is well with thee, Thou partner in my toil and misery.

Ah, thou art sleeping—hast, my dear one, rest—Sleep sweetly, and thy visions blest.

Better for thee, if thou should'st no'er again Awake to all thy wretchedness and pain! Better for thee, to close in endless sleep Those tearless eyes which only wake to weep. He, thou dost smile!—thou must be dreaming—say, Dost thou again revisit Africa?

Does dusky bed where we on oft have strayed, Culling sweet flowers, and 'neath the spreading shade Of stately palm have sung the hours away—Free as the birds of summer and as gay?

Dream on and smile!—what I see dreaming too: Wrapt in eternal slumber;—but for you I bear existence only. Fare thee well [*Goes out.*]

Pompey alone in the fields. As he looks on the scenery around him, takes up a lamentation as follows:

O thou bright, blooming earth, so fresh and fair! With all thy charms, and variety Of mountains, forest, plains,—and you, ye streams, That with soft murmurs smoothly flow along Through you green meadows beautiful and gay—I would—but cannot love ye:—What to me Are all earth's glories now,—since I no more May taste the sweets of freedom? Ye were made To be admired—to be enjoyed by man, Who, giant-like, the Spirit's award shall wield. Fearless shall plead the cause of Human Right: And on the slumbering conscience pour the light. In halls of legislation shall arise The voice of freedom which shall pierce the skies. The press shall speak—the general voice shall be, Let the oppressed in every land be free! But many a martyr's blood shall dye the sod, Who urge the claims of Nature and of God! The wounded tiger, mad with pain, will rave, And wreak his vengeance on the hunter's slave. Clouds—storms—tornadoes, from hell's dark pit will rise With vain attempt to shake or veil the skies. But her harsh thunder, roaring long and loud—Her baleful fires, that fringe the sable cloud—On the deep tempest's wing shall fly, And the bright bow of promise span the sky. Go then, and let this vision cheer thy mind: Be patient—meek—submissive and resigned.

Thus spake the beauteous stranger: and shall On glittering pinions soaring, vanished soon.

P. Thy dream is strange and wonderful indeed! And tho' not wont to put much confidence In a mere dream, I must confess that thine Has a mysterious influence on my mind. And tho' I know it will pain thee, Margaret, For its recital, for to-morrow's task Will be the lighter for't.

Clintonville, N. Y. A.

MISCELLANEOUS.

ADMONITIONS FROM 'THE DEPTHS OF THE EARTH.'

Extract from a book recently published by Ray Potter, in twenty-four letters to his brother.

You here have a specimen of the righteousness and equality of civil government, as it is administered in this land. For a number of months were my rights invaded by a reckless mob, and my family made wretched, as I have shewn you:—and this, under pretence of driving me away, when I was put under bonds by the supreme civil tribunal of the state not to go! Did the officers of justice use their authority to protect me? No! but left me to the mercy of these blood hounds. And, moreover, I can prove, that one civil officer said that he would hold me, (as he let one of my enemies beat me!) This was the protection that the civil government gave me, when my rights were invaded; yet when I was found to be a transgressor, I was visited with its utmost severity. Again—I believe that no public man in this State has ever come out before the community, and humbled himself, and confessed his sin, in the manner which I have done; and still I believe no man was ever indicted for the same offence in this state before.* Now, why is it that unbridled licentiousness has rolled over this state, like a poisonous flood, bearing on its current men from the highest official standing down to the lowest black-leg that walks the streets, and this law has lain dormant for perhaps more than a hundred years, until a transgressor is found, who humbles himself before God and man, imploring mercy and forgiveness—and on *him alone* fixes its penalty? I say, why should I have been singled out? My brother, not even my inveterate opposers can have the face to say that it is on account of the *sin*—the *crime*. No! for if it were, thousands of others would not pass on the same transgression with impunity! Thousands! This is an irresistible inference. Observe, I am not in this place passing sentence of condemnation on this law—I am only enquiring why *I* should be singled out, as the only man to feel its penalty. Ah my brother, David was not the only man who could utter the following words with the utmost propriety: 'For, lo, they lie in wait for my soul: the mighty are gathered against me: *Not for my sin, nor my transgressions, O Lord.*' No; if God had not enabled me by the power of truth to slay many Philistines on the field of moral conflict *before* my fall, I should not be grinding in the prison house.' No, it is for the truth which I have told, the good which I have done, that I am here. But they have not put out my eyes! I see the pillars of the house, where the Lords and Nobles are regaling themselves over my fall and wretchedness. If my God shall please again to give me strength, more of them may be slain by my death than by my life.

When I was at brother Coroso's, soon after I left your house, and in the forlorn state which I have already spoken of; and when, with the utmost propriety, I could say with the Psalmist, 'I was a reproach among all my enemies, but especially among my neighbors, and a fear to my acquaintance: they that did see me without, fled from me:' I have heard the slander of many, fear was on every side.' I say, when in this distressed, forsaken, despised and persecuted state, having fled from the lawless mob, the violence of a mob, the following letter was brought to me from Gerrit Smith, of Peterborough, New-York; which I have already adverted to, and which I promised to lay before you in its proper place. You know by reputation this man. His name has long since sounded through the land, and I was about to say, through the world, as a kind of second Howard. Now, why was not this man afraid of losing *his* character, by sending such a letter to a poor sinner like me, in the deepest disgrace? I will answer for you, by asking why the adorable Jesus was not afraid of offending the character in visiting a *world* of fallen, degraded sinners—infinitely more disgraced in *his* sight than I could possibly be in the sight of any finite being:—I say, why was not the adorable Jesus afraid of losing his character in visiting such a world? And after coming, receiving sinners and eating with them—taking into the arms of his fellowship and love, penitent *publicans* and harlots, and saying to the disciples, and reproaching their pride of caste, 'This day shall thou be with me in paradise!'—was Jesus afraid that the holy angels would despise him for such conduct as this? The Pharisees did despise him for it. This was one of his worst offences, in *their* view—that he kept company with those, who, in their estimation, were disgraced sinners. The Pharisees have acted the same spirit, precisely, towards those who have visited and shewn mercy to me, in my wretched state: but the angels of God adored Jesus for visiting fallen and disgraced sinners: and I believe the same holy angels have gazed with infinite delight on the Christ-like conduct of Gerrit Smith, and others, for similar conduct towards me. Now, my dear brother, if you wish to bring old times up in full view—to see scenes which were acted by Jesus on the one hand, and the Pharisees on the other, in the days of his flesh—I say, if you wish to have the conduct of Jesus, and the conduct of the Pharisees, brought up in full view before you, side by side—take this letter, and lay it by the side of the conduct of those ministers and professors, who, since my fall, have denied me mercy, been deaf to my cries of distress, and have done nothing but to try to aggravate my case, and thus to sink me into despair. Do this, and you will have a portrait of both. Here it is. Mark every sentiment, every sentence, and every word; and tell me, if it does not look to you as if God designed it for the very purpose of shewing the contrast alluded to.

Petersboro', March 5, 1837.

Elder Ray Potter:

My beld Brother—You will perhaps say, that you are not worthy to be called my brother. But I say that you are; and that the honest-hearted, full, and precious confession of your sin, makes me feel unworthy to be called your brother. Christ loves best, not him who has committed the fewest and less heinous sins, but him who has the most penitent heart. I do not write this letter to direct you to the never failing source of consolation. You are more familiar with it than I am. I doubt not that you are richly experiencing its comforting and healing power. I write to let you know that I pray and pray for you—that I most tenderly sympathize with your dear wife, and children, and church, and the cause of humanity and religion, all of which, I believe with all your heart, you have wounded. I write, also, to let you know that my love for you is undiminished. Indeed, I can truly say, that I love you better than I loved you before I heard of your fall. Dear Charles Stuart, who is with me, says that he too loves you more than he used to do. The deep repentance of your transgression has increased his confidence in your christian integrity. 'Courage, brother,' said the good man, when we were in prison, 'God saw that nothing else would do for you.' And so would I tell you take courage, and believe with all your heart that God saw that nothing else would do this deep fall would do for you. Perhaps you had one of my besetting sins, pride of character—one of the sources of your fall. Yes men; and that the disgrace with which you have overwhelmed yourself is the corrective and cure, which your Heavenly Father provided for this sin. Pray for me, my dear brother, that the like sin may be subdued at a less expense; but that, at all events, it may be subdued. I have sometimes thought that God would leave me to perpetrate some enormous sin, utterly destructive to my usefulness, before I should be relieved of my wicked solicitude about my reputation, and the wicked pride which I take in it. His holy will be done. Knowing your power with God, I am bold, thus, suppositing that it may prove peculiarly hard upon you now, I take the liberty of sending you the white check. Our beloved brother, Charles Stuart, joins me in love to you and your dear family.

Your friend,

GERRIT SMITH.

'Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.'—Matt. 5 c. 7 v. 'For he shall have judgment without mercy, that hath shewed no mercy; and mercy boasteth against judgment.'—James 2 c. 13. Dear brother—*public sentiment*, the criterion of most professors' conduct towards me, will never, never change, invalidate or nullify the sentence of God. No: *that* may change thousands and millions of times, but these will remain the same when time shall be no more! O praise the Lord! This letter I have by me, which will bear the test of eternity. Yes, my dear friend, which all other days were made,' and will, I trust, live to be admired by all who admire the spirit of Jesus, long after its author, and the fallen and afflicted man to whom it was addressed, shall mingle their joys together in the New Jerusalem, before the throne of God! Beloved man of God! may the spirit of Jesus ever influence thee on earth, and glorify thee in heaven! Farewell for ever! Nor would I forget in this place, that 'dear Charles Stuart' breathed the same sentiments, and sent me the same consolation. It was *like him*—the friend of sinners, the friend of the oppressed. In all my wretchedness since my fall, but two or three ministers have ever visited me with similar language in their mouths, to that contained in this letter. Indeed, but a very few have ever dared to put their heads under the cloud where I dwelt. Of this number, I delight to speak of Henry C. Wright. He came to see me, and looked at me, with an expression that did not convey the idea, that he thought there were no *other* sinners in this fallen world besides myself. His language was like that of Jesus—and he ventured to the pulpit on the Sabbath, and dared to preach the whole truth in sympathy with the blessed doctrine of forgiveness. His visit of mercy will long be remembered by me, with feelings of the deepest gratitude and unfeigned thanks; and the same remember, by the name of Brown, from Pawcatuck, of this state. I might speak of a number of other individuals who have visited me from abroad, and manifested the same christian sympathy, but have not room. Those which I have already laid before you, may serve for an illustration: my great object being to contrast truth with error, and the spirit of the adorable Jesus with the spirit of this world.

I cannot forbear, in this place, to mention the christian and merciful conduct of Mrs. Sophia Little of Newport, towards me and my family, in the midst of our distress. Although the daughter of one of the highest official characters in the state, yet, on my being driven away from home by the mob, she immediately came, with her family, and commenced boarding with my wife—which she continued to do, for a number of months; and by her pious sympathy, counsel and prayers, has afforded me a balm in Gilead, which I hope never shrinks from eulogy more than from persecution; yet I cannot withhold this testimony to her unfeigned charity, and Christ-like humility.

* I have since learned that a black man was indicted and convicted for the same heinous crime of my sister's sheet, we learn, fell at the first fire.—*N. O. Mercury.*

APPEAL OF THE CHEROKEE NATION.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled, respectfully and humbly sheweth:

That whereas, we, the undersigned, citizens of the Cherokee nation, have always regarded the instructions of our fathers, delivered in the year 1833, at New Echota, by the Rev. John F. Schermerhorn and certain unauthorized individual Cherokees, to be a violation of the fundamental principles of our social compact, and a perfidious rules of national intercourse, as well as the known laws and usages of the Cherokee nation, and, therefore, to be destitute of any binding force on us;

And, whereas, in a General Council of the nation, held at Red Clay, in September 1836, our sentiments were set forth, and our solemn protest entered against it;

And, whereas, in a subsequent General Council of the nation, held at Red Clay in August, 1837, a communication from the President of the United States, on the subject of said instrument, was delivered in full council, by Col. John Mason, Special Agent of the United States;

And, whereas, after mature deliberation on the said communication, the resolutions of the preceding Council, in reference to that compact, were re-affirmed, together with the memorial which accompanied the same;

And, whereas, we entertained the belief, that from the tenor of the special Agent's report, the President would become correctly informed of the true state of the matter, and of the real sentiments of the Cherokee people;

We, therefore, relying with confident hope, that he would deem it right to abrogate that fraudulent instrument, and, at once, enter into arrangements with us, for the adjustment of all difficulties.

With these views, we then appointed a delegation to represent us before the government of the United States, and vested them with full powers to make final arrangements of all matters in controversy; and were animated with the prospect of a speedy termination of our distresses; but the cup of hope is dashed from our lips: our prospects are darkened; our hearts are filled with bitterness. Agonized with these emotions, language fails, our tongues falter as we approach the bar of your august assemblies, before whom we again beg leave humbly to unfold our wrongs.

With the full details of our troubles, we forbear to trespass on your indulgence. They are extensively known, and our delegation, now at Washington, will be found competent, to furnish any information which may be needed.

We therefore respectfully present the following; which will show the appalling circumstances in which we are placed, by the operation of that perfidious compact.

A communication has recently issued from the United States Agency, addressed to the Chiefs, head men and people of the Cherokee nation, in which we are told, that '*the Executive formally declined*' all intercourse or correspondence with Mr. Ross in relation to the treaty, '*and* 'that *i an end has been put to all negociation upon the subject*' and that *it is the unalterable determination of the President to execute 'the treaty'—'the time cannot possibly be prolonged'—another day, beyond the time named, cannot, and will not be allowed.*' '*Gentlemen*,' says he, '*we will not attempt to describe the evils that may fall upon you, if you are still obstinate, and refuse to conform to the requirements of the treaty'—'we will not paint the horrors that may ensue in such an event.*'

It will be readily conceived that declarations like these, emanating from such a source—our country already filled with troops—cannot fail to fill our minds with apprehension and surprise. What have we done to merit such severe treatment? What is our crime? Have we invaded any one's rights? Have we violated any existing or subsisting treaties? Have we, in any manner, acted in bad faith? We are not even charged with any such thing. But we are accused of '*laboring under a dangerous error*;' and of being '*misguided and misled by those in whom we have placed implicit confidence.*' '*Your pretended friends*,' say they, '*have proved themselves to be your worst enemies.*' But what is our '*dangerous error*?' What is our '*delusion*?' Is it a '*delusion*' to be sensible of the wrongs we suffer? Is it a '*dangerous error*' to believe that the great nation, whose representatives we now approach, will never knowingly sanction a transaction originated in treachery, and to be executed only by violence and oppression? It cannot be. Is it a '*delusion*' to assert that the makers of that ill-omened compact were destitute of authority? This fact we are prepared to prove by incontestible evidence. Indeed, it is virtually admitted by the parties themselves; and the very fact, that an armed force should be put in requisition to defend their position, and to compel our submission, argues, not obscurely, a defect of confidence in the validity of the compact. Is it obstinacy to refuse our assent to an act which is a flagrant violation of the laws of God, of our government, and which sets foot on the neck of our liberties and our dearest rights? Are we to be thus frowned into silence for attempting to utter our complaints in the ear of our, lawful and covenanted protector? Is it a crime to confide in our chiefs—the men of our choice—whom we have tried and found faithful? We would humbly ask, in whom should we confide? Surely not in those who have trampled on our solemn injunctions, and in opposition to the reiterated expression of our sentiments, conspired the ruin of our country,—usurped the powers of the nation,—formed the spurious compact,—and by perfidious and fraudulent arts to the authorities of the United States, and procured for it the recognition of those high functionaries.

And now in the presence of your august assemblies, and in the presence of the Supreme Judge of the universe, most solemnly and most humbly do we ask,—in vive, for these causes, to be subjected to the undeniable evils which are designed to be inflicted on us? Is our country to be made the scene of the '*horrors*' which the Commissioners '*will not paint?*' For enforcing a compact, the ratification of which your great empire is founded, and which have advanced it to its present elevation and glory, are we to be deposited of all we hold dear on earth? Are we to be driven from our homes, exposed like wild beasts, and our women, our children, our aged, our sick, to be dragged from their homes, like culprits, and packed on board those boats, for transportation to a sickly clime?

Already are we thronged with armed men; fort, camps, and military posts of every grade, already occupy our whole country. With us, it is a season of unusual excitement. We acknowledge the power of the United States, we acknowledge our own feebleness. Our only fortress is, the justice of our cause. Our only appeal, on earth, is to your justice. To you, then, we look. Before your honorable bodies, we in view of the appalling circumstances with which we are surrounded—relying on the righteousness of our cause, and the justice and magnanimity of the tribunal to which we appeal,—we do solemnly and earnestly protest against that spurious instrument; and we do hereby, also, respectfully re-affirm, as a part of this our memorial, the resolutions of a accompanying memorials of the two last General Councils of the nation, held at Red Clay. Our last hope, under God, is in your hands. We feel that we are the weakest party; and we believe that the United States are bound in honor, or in justice, to take on us its degrading and ruinous provisions.

It is true, we are a feeble people; and as the lands physical power, we have not forfeited our rights; and if we fail to transmit to our sons the freedom we have derived from our fathers, it must not be by an act of suicide,—it must not be by our own hands.

With trembling solicitude and anxiety, we most humbly and respectfully ask, will you hear us? Will you extend to us your fostering protection? Will you shield us from the 'horrors' of the threatening storm? Will you sustain the hopes we have rested on the public faith,—the honor, the justice of your great empire? We commit our cause to your favor and protection.

And your memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Cherokee Nation, Feb. 22nd, 1838.

Signed by Fifteen Thousand, Six Hundred and Sixty-Five of the Cherokee people,—as will appear by referring to the original, submitted to the Senate by the Cherokee Delegation.

PROSPECTUS.

QUARTERLY ANTI-SLAVERY MAGAZINE,

ENLARGED.

In the opinion of not a few in whose judgment the public are wont to place confidence, the time is fully come when the most important practical question of this age should have a journal of the highest order devoted to its discussion. Apathy is deprived. The pen or the sword must soon decide whether or not slavery is to remain one of the elements of our republic. Let those who prefer the mode of argument to that of brute force, it cannot but be deemed important that a periodical should be in the hands of Christian pertaining to slavery may be settled in the light of thorough investigation. Surely, the many gifted minds that are now concentrating their powers of thought upon this subject, will forfeit their high responsibilities to God and the age in which they live, if they do not make their vindication of liberty not only effectual for the present, but as durable as the causes which lead to it are permanent. The elements of the great present controversy are too important to be committed to the sheet which perishes with the day that gives it birth. Such was the reflection which originated the Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine, and it has acquired fresh strength with every day. The subject has been discussed, but from the narrowness of their limits and the equalness of the labor bestowed upon them, they have by no means exhausted the demands of the cause to which they have been devoted.

It is now proposed to ENLARGE the work, and give it a character adapted to the times.

I. Each number will contain at least 250 pages, making two volumes of 500 pages per annum, of the size and quality of the Scottish American Review.

II. About 150 pages will be devoted to the discussion of Slavery and its immediate relations, as heretofore.

III. At least 30 pages will be occupied by a minute and condensed record of facts and events, both foreign and domestic, which go to form the history of the abolition movement.

IV. The remaining pages will be open to uncontroversial literature, whose tendency shall be to develop that the literature of the world is against them, it is not doubted that this department will receive contributions from the best sources.

V. The most prominent characteristic of the work will be its openness to both sides of the controversy. Articles in favor of slavery, or opposed to either the doctrines or measures of the abolitionists, if possessing sufficient literary merit, and accompanied by the name of the writer, will be admitted to the pages of the Magazine for the promulgation of their sentiments. They will be treated with fairness and courtesy; their articles will be printed with the same typographical beauty and in the same type with the rest of the work, and it will be their fault, if that of their cause, if the abolitionists do not thus receive the free of one of their own batteries. The conductors of this work will always prefer living men to men of straw, as the antagonists.

VI. Pains will be taken to give value to the work by offering adequate compensation to able writers whose talents are devoted to the cause. The editors will not frequently require articles of deep research, that will cost laborious and long-continued examination, both of time and money. The right is to make such contributions are not always the ones who can do it grandiously. Nor do we expect to be understood, when we say, we intend, acted in bad faith? We are not even charged with any such thing. But we are accused of '*laboring under a dangerous error*;' and of being '*misguided and misled by those in whom we have placed implicit confidence.*' '*Your pretended friends*,' say they, '*have proved themselves to be your worst enemies.*' But what is our '*dangerous error*?' What is our '*delusion*?' Is it a '*delusion*' to be sensible of the wrongs we suffer? Is it a '*dangerous error*' to believe that the great nation, whose representatives we now approach, will never knowingly sanction a transaction originated in treachery, and to be executed only by violence and oppression? It cannot be. Is it a '*delusion*' to assert that the makers of that ill-omened compact were destitute of authority? This fact we are prepared to prove by incontestible evidence. Indeed, it is virtually admitted by the parties themselves; and the very fact, that an armed force should be put in requisition to defend their position, and to compel our submission, argues, not obscurely, a defect of confidence in the validity of the compact. Is it obstinacy to refuse our assent to an act which is a flagrant violation of the laws of God, of our government, and which sets foot on the neck of our liberties and our dearest rights? Are we to be thus frowned into silence for attempting to utter our complaints in the ear of our, lawful and covenanted protector? Is it a crime to confide in our chiefs—the men of our choice—whom we have tried and found faithful? We would humbly ask, in whom should we confide? Surely not in those who have trampled on our solemn injunctions, and in opposition to the reiterated expression of our sentiments, conspired the ruin of our country,—usurped the powers of the nation,—formed the spurious compact,—and by perfidious and fraudulent arts to the authorities of the United States, and procured for it the recognition of those high functionaries.

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PREMIUM TEETH.

DR. THOMAS BARNES,
SURGEON DENTIST, 45 HOWARD STREET, BOSTON,

Having received the premium at the late Fair in this city for the best specimen of Mineral Teeth, and the Medical Tooth, exhibited by friends and the public, that the Mineral Teeth, in Dental Surgery, are the best substitute for Natural Teeth. Teeth, from one to a whole set, inserted on Gold Plate, Pivot Teeth, Tooth Powder, &c. Testimonials have obtained for the past three years in the cities of New York, Boston and Providence, that the Teeth are as much amalgamated with dentistry, as the human teeth are with the jaw, superior to any other Mineral Teeth in the country, especially those made in Boston, and which are manufactured by the subscriber.

Dr. Barnes has practised Dentistry in this city for twenty-five years, and he flatters himself that his long experience, as well as his knowledge of the Patent method of inserting Teeth, will be satisfactory to the public. Dr. Barnes, at the same time, will be sufficient recommendation to the citizens of Boston, is by seniority. He is of the opinion that a set of teeth, performance in persons employed by Dentists that they deem a sufficient recommendation, and are ready to give testimony of the art.

Specimens may be seen at his office, 45 Howard Street.

TERMS.—Whole sets on gold plate with pivots $20. Half sets, $10. Best sets, gold plate, $40. Single teeth, $3.00. Filling, $1.50. Cleaning, $2.00. Extracting $1.

N. B. The subscriber continues to manufacture Dentists Materials, and of cutting Teeth on Gold Plate, and the Medical Tooth, which is recommended by any other Dentists, sugar and by him. Prices $100.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

IVES & JEWETT, Publishers, Boston, have opened a sale of his justly *Celebrated Vegetable Universal Pills* for Essex County, have appointed Agents in the following Towns, viz: Salem, Newburyport, Newburyport with certainty be obtained:

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Danvers Plains—Daniel Richards.
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Hamilton—F. Dane.
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Lynn, Swampscott—J. W. R. Millet.
Egloid—Wm. H. Chapman.
Malden, Fall—Dr. Wm. Lewis.
Salisbury—B. E. Fifield.
Danvers Shillelaus Plains—Mr. Walton.

Purchasers of Dr. Brandreth's Pills, observe the following:

1st. *Never purchase of any individuals in Essex County* but of the above, for the sale of the Pills is authorized by IVES & JEWETT, as vendors of the Genuine Medicine.

2d. Druggists are never appointed agents by Dr. I. M. Ask to see the Copper Plate Certificate of Agent every Agent has one.

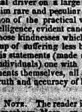
3d. Beware of the spurious stock in unqualified terms of probation of the GENUINE PILLS, whenever the cost terfeits have generally been found to be worthless, and effects.

IVES & JEWETT, *Bookseller*,
No. 193 Essex Street, Boston.

Dr. Brandreth's General Agent for Essex Co

March 19. 1y

AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE
OF AN
American Slave!



NARRATIVE of James Williams an American Slave, who was for three years a driver on a cotton plantation in Alabama. Published and sold by ISAAC KNAPP, at the Liberty Bell—price, bound, 25cts; paper covers, 18.3-4 cts.

This work contains the simple and unvarnished story of an American Slave,—of one who so situated, in the first place, as a favorite servant in an attractive family in Virginia, and afterwards, as a driver, on a cotton plantation in Alabama, shows how rare and peculiar advantages for appreciating the evils of slavery, and for the development of the system, the intelligence, evident candor, and grateful recollection of those kindnesses which in a land of slavery, shed a deep and lasting lustre upon the perfect accuracy of his statements (made at different times and to different individuals, and at a period of his life, as to free statements themselves, all afford strong confirmation of the truth and accuracy of his story.—Emrss.

Note. The reader is referred to John G. Whittier, of Amesbury, Mass., or to the following gentlemen, to whom I have been known for a part of the history of my own life: Emmor Kimber, of Kimberton, Pa.; Lindley Chozier, of Lancaster Co., do.; James Mott, of Westbury, L. I.; Lewis Tappan, of New York; Wright, Jr. Foster, and Fabius O. Birney, of New York. The last gentleman, who was a few years ago a resident of Alabama, and who, I have been informed, made to him by James Williams were such as he had every reason to believe, from his own knowledge of slavery in the States.

JUST PUBLISHED,

A Letter from James Boyle to Wm. Lloyd Garrison, respecting the Clerical Appeal, Sectarianism, the Bible in West Indies, &c. &c. Also, a Letter from Gerrit Smith, Esq. to Mr. Garrison. For sale, by the hundred, dozen, or single, at 25 Cornhill.

KIMBALL AND THOMPSON'S JOURNAL.

JUST RECEIVED, at 25, Cornhill, a supply of the Journal, containing a Complete Tour in Antigua, Barbados and Jamaica, in the year 1837. By Messrs. Kimball and J. Horace Kimball. 12 mo. 75 cts. March 9.

AGENCY.

I. KNAPP, 25 Cornhill, is agent for all the publications of the American Anti-Slavery Society. The largest Spirit, at $5.00 per year. The Slave, at $2.00 per year. The Anti-Slavery Reporter, is one of the contributions to this work. The Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine, and Slaves Friend, will be delivered from the Rights, and Slaves Friend, will be delivered from the Rights, and Slaves Friend, will be delivered from the Rights, and Slaves Friend, will be delivered from the Rights, and Slaves Friend, will