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VOL. IX. OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. NO. 5.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1839. ISAAC KNAPP, PRINTER.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

[From the Globe, MONDAY.

It will be seen, from the reports, that last Monday was made, as usual, *dies non*—a holy day in legislation. From 8 to 9 o'clock—from 4 to 5 o'clock the eager agitation of the abolitionists to work with our representatives in some angry, alienating discussion between the North and South.

As we proceed through the House on Monday, Mr. Bond was up, mumbling over petitions—reading and presenting from morning to evening of the same grinded and ground by different, probably fictitious names, the same jargon from the abolition spouters and slaves, which have been so often, upon refer-ence and report from committees, and more recently by great and decisive votes of the House, directly defined to be, what it has been long before, a gross violation of, if not an unconstitutional right to do so, and because it is deemed unregardless, if it had the right. The plan now adopted to be, instead of the ordinary abolition petitions on the table, and so proceed to other business at the time of the House, is that of getting in a petition every day during the House to the end of the long session. Upon all these, the scheme is more definite and press the subject, out of which the agitation is to come, and of the difference of opinion it is easy to foresee, and then excite-ment, by the people themselves in these sections.

We have seen the beginning of his wonted pile ably and led from a Whiggery in this new move.

After this, Mr. Ogden the Belmont member from the State of New York, opened a volume of petitions, of the best graying for the rescinding of Mr. Atherton's amendment, that the subject of abolition petitions be laid on the table, and for the purpose of encouraging the blacks of the South to rise upon the whites, and drench the South in servile blood and a Republican government.

Mr. Bryan Allen (the defeated Federal representative of Vermont, for whose sake Mr. Smith, the member-elect, was cheated out of his seat in the first session, by the Federal officers) followed suit to Mr. Ogden. He lodged implored Congress for amalgamation, black and white upon a mixed and small scale. His song was mostly from females. In the first place, it was deserted that the heroes of Hayti should not upon the footing of the most favored people, lest that no Sate should be let into the Union that will not put the people of color into a condition to intermarry with the white population, and, finally, he prayed that the District of Columbia might be made a place for the general blending of races, by means above all discriminating and within the miles square.

Enrichments then came down with a flood of amazing eloquence. Messrs. Fletcher, Briggs, Grennell, Gates, Reed, Lincoln, Calhoun, Saltonstall, Ac. Ac. presented petitions, in the main, from the grave prudents bound to the abolitionists as the price of his action, signalized himself by a new movement. He, in the resolution of amalgamation, was distinguished in action, and insisting that it was unconstitutional for Congress to decide, when a subject was sufficiently agitated in the South, if it had been sufficiently debated—or to determine a question; but that it was a violent violation of the rights of the States, of them if needed, to lay a petition, to lay a subject on the table after the House was satisfied that no good could come of further debating it. He therefore concluded his amendment, and other resolutions, by declaring the rule of the House to lay the abolition petitions on the table, to be a violation of the rights of the States, whose official representatives, he declared, in the exercise of their duty, in the abolition petitions, to be a violation of the rights of the States, which it cancels and abridges, and violation of the privilege of speech and of debate, which it operates to deprive the members of this House, which it forecloses and abolishes.

From this we learn that if Congress does not consider debate on the subject, or, if it does, if any member is found to demand it, (and that a subject in which Congress has no right to interfere,) he will be found a great conservative, and, instead of the abolitionists, the Congress will be found to be the ultra-abolitionists. Mr. Cushing, in the course of his speech, produces the result he aspired to, by putting it in the power of one individual to embarrass a pig law on the majority of Congress, compelling it, against its will, to discuss one subject exclusively, to the exclusion of all others.

It also succeeded Mr. Cushing, and opened up the ball, by presenting a memorial from sundry inhabitants of Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, asking Congress to remove the present seat of Government, from the District of Columbia, to some place out of the jurisdiction of the States, where the principles of the "Declaration of Independence" are not treated as a mere rhetorical flourish, but are adopted as a memorial presented to the Legislature, from inhabitants of the District, in the Legislature of the same to the States of Virginia and Maryland, in which they have ceded to Congress, as a proposition for a compromise. At the same time, he gave an opportunity for considering so seemingly impossible a proposition, that the House to consider it

would resort for their accomplishment will appear by the following extract from his oration:—

'I avow, distinctly, that my object is not only to make a constitutional question: I mean to make myself and the public which listens, believe, has so hobly assumed, to bring to an issue the controversy which the abolitionists have so long been seeking, and pressing in their suits. I have labored and reflected, that the question long, and with a profound impression of its importance; and it seems to me (with all deference for the opinions of those who may differ from me) I speak it, that now is our time.

'The State of Georgia has clearly the right of the whole controversy, as now presented. Two of these tactics, impelled by their insolent and diabolical notions of philanthropy, have wantonly transgressed within her borders, a deed which, if it be duly proved upon them, (and we are informed the evidence is almost unquestionable,) amounts to a felony. On this indictment, transaction, the Grand Jury of the county have found a 'true bill;' and under that bill, the Governor of Georgia, by the direction of her Legislature, has demanded according to the provisions of the constitution, the delinquents for trial. It only, therefore, remains for the State of Maine to perform her necessary and common duty, as a member of our Union, to bring these culprits to condign punishment.

If she acquiesces in this just and rightful demand, they will then be made to suffer the penalty of the offence, and abolition will receive a lesson that will be long and deeply remembered—a check, which will, at the same time, rouse the slaveholding States from their too long inaction, and teach those who have so recklessly embarked in their career of madness and false philanthropy against their countrymen, to pause and reflect on the utter folly and iniquity of it, however sacred it might seem to them, under the guise of a false and morbid religion.'

So according to Mr. Rhett, the true means of establishing the character of the South, for 'christianity,' 'philanthropy' and 'humanity,' the true means to refute all the calumnies of the abolitionists, and to make the world that slavery is an excellent institution, and that the slaves of the South, are 'clothed, fed and protected with the care and kindness which the people of the South show to their children and their friends,' the true means to establish and prove all this is, to catch and hang two northern abolitionists, on the charge of having allured a slave to escape from his master!—This method of demonstration is certainly very compendious; but whether, out of South Carolina, it would prove perfectly *satisfactory*, is perhaps a little doubtful.

We now come to the State of Alabama. The following amusing account of an abolition *scene* in the Legislature of that State, is from the *Tuscaloosa Intelligencer*:

'EXCITEMENT IN THE HOUSE.—The lower House of the Legislature, on Tuesday last, made the State a new year's present of its power of enlightened counsel, the inflammatory subject of abolition as connected with party politics. The excitement arose from the last resolution of the amendments of Mr. Payne of Sumter, to Judge Smith's resolutions, which resolution proposed a recommendation of the course of the administration, on the ground of its soldierly policy from the days past, and present. The amendment, Mr. Baldwin of Montgomery moved to lay upon the table. Mr. Payne went into a defence, at some length, of his amendment, and in the course of his remarks, took occasion to make some impassioned and very animated observations touching the league, which he supposed to have been formed between the northern Whigs and abolitionists, and expressed deep mortification, profound humiliation, at the course of the southern politicians who were, in his opinion, sustaining those accursed fanatics, by their support of a Whig candidate for the Speakership. The speech of Mr. Payne was made under much apparent excitement, and was, in its matter, sufficiently fiery. Mr. Hilliard of Montgomery followed in the debate, and avowing himself to be entirely southern in his feelings, interests, partialities, and even prejudices, yet could not support Mr. Payne's resolution, because it was inconsistent with every view he was enabled to take of southern interest.—He was a State Rights man, and had ever been said, and was always, as much, opposed to the late and present Administrations. He utterly denied any shadow of propriety in the application of abolition principles or connections to the Whig party in the South. Mr. Payne rejoined—and said that the advice of Junius was never to deny any thing for fear of suspicion; it, also, was in old times, that the cap sat uneasily upon the head it fit; if it fit the gentleman, he was welcome to wear it. He had not, and he had no intention to have, any single application to any one in the House, but the denial of the gentleman was suspicious, and if Junius was to be believed, indicated the truth of what he disclaimed.

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ELOQUENCE. The meeting of the State Anti-Slavery Society, which was held in the House of Representatives on the evening of the 24th ult. was thronged to excess. It so happened that we were not present; but we have heard the proceedings described as remarkably interesting. The speech of Wendell Phillips—an extempore effort—is on all hands conceded to have been one of the most finished and powerful attempts at oratory ever listened by any public assembly. He drew a striking contrast between the past and the present, and came down with annihilating effect upon that matchless imposture, the colonization scheme.

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MASSACHUSETTS A. S. SOCIETY.

SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT.

Extracts from the Seventh Annual Report of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

ELECTION IN THE FOURTH DISTRICT.

Since the standard of emancipation was first flung out to the breeze, no local election in this country has excited so intense and wide an interest as that which is now pending in Middlesex. It not only happens that the rival political parties are nearly balanced, so that a very small *corps de reserve* can prevent a choice; but it also happens that a large portion of the electoral strength in the District belongs to the abolitionists, who, in the most decisive manner, have proved upon them, (and we are informed the evidence is almost unquestionable,) amounts to a felony. On this indictment, transaction, the Grand Jury of the county have found a 'true bill;' and under that bill, the Governor of Georgia, by the direction of her Legislature has demanded according to the provisions of the constitution, the delinquents for trial. It only, therefore, remains for the State of Maine to perform her necessary and common duty, as a member of our Union, to bring these culprits to condign punishment.

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BOSTON:

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1839.

THE ANNUAL MEETING.

As when a gallant bark, suddenly overtaken on her voyage by a furious hurricane, groans through all her timbers—now rising to a perilous height upon the storm-tossed billows, and anon plunging into the abyss of waters, yawning to devour—escape from destruction seems to be almost hopeless; so has the gallant ship ABOLITION just encountered the most violent gale yet recorded in her log-book, to the imminent peril of her existence, and not without injury to her spars and rigging, and the loss of some of her crew. It was a 'white squall' that overtook her, of which every experienced mariner knows that an ordinary tempest is nothing in comparison. There is little danger to be apprehended from the latter; for timely warning is given of its approach. The sunny face of the sky gradually assumes a troubled aspect, and the vessel is in the verge of the tempest portentous clouds are seen rising and thickening for the conflict, and the wind begins to whistle in fitful gusts, and the terror-stricken deep makes convulsive efforts to preserve its tranquillity. Forewarned by these signs, the experienced seaman has time to bestir himself, accordingly—every sail is snugly secured, the hatches put down, and thus they safely 'ride the billows of the pitiless storm.' But a 'white squall' is another affair entirely. It is full of treachery and peril. The most practised eye can hardly discern a single premonition. One moment, the stately bark is seen under full sail, dashing merrily onward before a propitious wind to her destined port—the next, she is seen dismasted, or thrown on to her beam-ends, or with sails all torn and fluttering in the gale.

Though the annual meeting of the State Society has terminated in a manner most gratifying to our feelings, and to the utter confusion of the faction who have sought to divide the anti-slavery ranks, yet the remembrance of its turbulent scenes fills our breast with pain and sorrow. For the first time in our life, of the church and abolition gatherings that we have attended in various parts of our country, have we seen professed abolitionists exhibiting a spirit of insubordination disgraceful to themselves, and injurious to their holy cause. For the last year, our friends have been extolled by the rights found just occasion to point the finger of reproach at Massachusetts abolitionists, and to exult in view of their dissentions. A fearful amount of responsibility rests upon them, of whose disorganizing measures we have no doubt approved not a few readers.

At the opening of the meeting on Wednesday forenoon, the number of delegates in attendance, from all parts of the Commonwealth, was unusually large—showing that an intense interest was felt in the proceedings of the Society. It was plain, too, that whether might be the voice of the Society, the result would be decisive as to the wishes of the great body of abolitionists in this State. The forenoon was occupied with preliminary matters, and the reading of the Annual Report. No unpleasant outbreak occurred until the afternoon; when a gentleman having arisen as to who were entitled to vote, Mr. St. Clair stated, that in moving that 'all *persons* present' be invited to take a part in the proceedings of the meeting, he did not mean to include the women. Some chapping followed this explanation, on the ground that one who for keeping woman in her 'appropriate sphere,' which was instantly succeeded by a general hissing—many regarding it as a piece of deception, and so manifesting their displeasure in this reprehensible manner. During the remainder of the forenoon session, nothing, and a portion of the ensuing day, much excitement prevailed in the meetings, and it required all the firmness and decision of the President (for which he is remarkable) to preserve order. Indeed, the conduct of some of the Torry factions was disgraceful in the extreme. The more apparent it became that they constituted but an insignificant portion of the large assembly, the more boisterous and dogmatical was their behaviour. After all their sly management and deceptive proceedings prior to the assembling of the meeting, it was a bitter pill they were more than they could easily bear. They were allowed to occupy at least two-thirds of the time, in the vain attempt to satisfy the audience that they were the only consistent abolitionists in the Commonwealth; that there had been no dividing, as had been laid to their charge; that the Liberator was a highly injurious publication, having abandoned the old standard; that its editor was recreant to the cause of the slave—and by admitting articles into his paper on the subject of Peace, had sacrificed all the principles of the cause of those respecting the duty of political action;—and yet, (strange paradox! believe their professions who will,) that they had a high regard for the editor of the Liberator,—did not wish to abridge the circulation of his paper,—and hoped it would continue to receive the support of abolitionists!!! If any evidence had been wanting to sustain all the charges we had brought against them, their conduct and incoherency of speech, on this occasion, more than confirmed the worst suspicions in regard to the purity of their motives and the subject matter had in view. It was apparent to all impartial observers, that they were not actuated by any special regard for the cause of the perishing slave, but by the strongest aversion to the Liberator and its editor. 'DIVIDE, and rule,' is manifestly their motto. Though they monopolised a large portion of the time in speaking, yet whenever any attempt was made to bring the discussion to a close, they clamored loudly about 'gag-laws,' &c.; it seeming to be their aim to talk against time, so as to weary out the patience of the audience, in the expectation that by every hour's delay, the immense majority against them would be reduced by the withdrawal of delegates.—Of the course of argument that was pursued, we shall have occasion to speak in another number. The motive attempted to be maintained was, that it is the moral and religious duty of every abolition voter to go to the polls, whatever may be his views of government; and that whoever refuses to vote, however conscientious he may be in this subject, is to be treated as an enemy of the cause, and drummed out of the camp!! On this ground, we have ever been disloyal to the anti-slavery cause, as we have not cast a single vote at the polls since we became its advocate! Neither has our bro. Garrison, for the same reason, and by many tried friends of abolition are in a similar predicament! This dogma is a most impudent assumption on the part of those who support it—warranted by nothing in the constitution or government of the anti-slavery association—and diametrically opposed to that liberty of conscience which is to be treated above all price. It is now resorted to merely for effect. The Liberator and its editor must be put down; and no matter by what means it be done, so it be accomplished. The hypocrisy of these political disorganizers will soon be made apparent to all who have eyes to see.

It will be seen, that the proposition to establish another anti-slavery newspaper in Massachusetts was indefinitely postponed by an overwhelming majority; and, notwithstanding every effort was made to change its character, the Annual Report was adopted by a vote of 8 to 1; thus proving conclusively, that those who sounded the treacherous designs of that grand mischief-maker, and conclave participant in the Central Abolitionist Convention, Charles Stearns, of Lexington, were a very small minority. The vote upon the Report was declared as follows:—Yeas 198, Nays 24! All those portions of the Report, which were contested, we have inserted without abridgment in the preceding pages—to the exclusion of much other important matter. But more anon.

Notwithstanding the decisive verdict of the Society against their project, the disorganizers are about starting a new weekly journal, to be called 'The Massachusetts Abolitionist.' There is great rejoicing among the pro-slavery divines, in all quarters. They care not what is substituted in its stead, only SINK THE LIBERATOR. From facts already within our possession, we cannot doubt that those professed friends, who have suddenly lifted their heels against us, are disposed to resort to every low artifice and the most scandalous misrepresentations, to carry their point.—Thus saith the Lord, Cursed is he that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm!

The anti-slavery house in this Commonwealth is now divided against itself—and how can it stand?—What its most powerful enemies could not do, is now to be effected by the treachery of its former friends!

MEETING OF FRIENDS OF THE LIBERATOR.

Agreeably to public notice, given in the adjournment of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, on Friday afternoon, a meeting of FRIENDS OF THE LIBERATOR was held at Marlborough Chapel on the evening of the day. The meeting first assembled at 6, P. M., but unfortunately, a large portion of the delegates had returned to their homes, the place was not large enough to contain those who desired to furnish, at this crisis in the anti-slavery cause, a testimony of their attachment to the paper that was instrumental, under God, in awakening their long night of slumber, those who are now enlisted in the warfare against American slavery; and, consequently, and adjournment to the large and spacious Chapel became necessary. The meeting was called to order by EDMUND QUINCY, after which, FRANCIS JACKSON, President of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, was called to the chair, and J. A. COLLINS, member of the Andover Theological Seminary, appointed Secretary.

On motion of Mr. PETTIBONE of Andover, it was

Voted, to appoint a committee of seven to draft resolutions, expressive of the views and feelings of the meeting. Whereupon, the following persons were appointed:

John Bailey, of New Bedford; J. N. Buffum, of Lynn; Edmund Quincy, Wendell Phillips, Samuel E. Sewall, Maria W. Chapman, and Thankful Southwick, of Boston.

Henry C. Wright addressed the Throne of Grace.

While the committee were engaged in preparing resolutions, interesting remarks were made by J. V. Himes, Philemon R. Russell, Henry C. Wright, Richard Thayer, and George Bradburn of Nantucket.

The committee appointed to draft resolutions submitted the following for the consideration of the meeting.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas, the Liberator was the first paper devoted to the cause of immediate emancipation in the United States; and, whereas, it has ever been the common sentiment of the country, and proven it before the world the foe of the colored race; and

Whereas, it has ever been the consistent advocate of the rights of the slave, diverted from its onward course by the prejudices of the people, the enemies of human party selfishness, or the opposition of spiritual wickedness in high places; and

Whereas, it has ever been fearless in its rebuke of flattering friends as well as of open foes; and

Whereas, with an instinctive sagacity which has anticipated every danger and defeated every plot, whether of open enemies or hollow friends; it has been the first to summon with trumpet-tones the friends of humanity to the rescue;

Whereas, it has ever been the personal sympathies, but by deep convictions of duty to the cause—

1. Resolved, That we regard the prosperity of the Liberator as identified with that of the anti-slavery enterprise.

2. Resolved, That with GERRIT SMITH, we believe 'that the Liberator should ever be dearer to the heart of every genuine abolitionist than any other paper;' and that, 'among the many things in which THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF OUR COUNTRY SHOULD BE ASHAMED, are the following:

(1) THE LIBERATOR'S EXISTENCE BE SUSTAINED.

(2) Its editor must be kept above want; not only, nor mainly, for his own and his family's happiness; but that, having his mind unembarrassed by the cares of griping poverty, he may be a more effective advocate of the slave's enslaved poor.'

3. Resolved, That, so far from looking upon the expression of the peculiar views of its editor on other topics as a fault, or esteeming it a hindrance to the progress of the abolition cause, we value the Liberator for its fearless expression of its editor's views of truth; and though we do not hold ourselves responsible for any sentiments uttered in its columns, we abhor that sectarian bigotry which would prescribe their free utterance, and clog its editor with the shackles of party creeds.

4. Resolved, That while there exists among abolitionists such irreconcilable difference of opinion, both as to fundamental principles and on questions of party politics, so far from dreaming of dividing the Liberator faithly in respect to political action, *we look upon the ground it has occupied as the only one upon which any anti-slavery periodical can stand*—the urging upon every individual, action consistent with his principles and his conscience.

5. Resolved, That the women of Lynn, by their recent appropriation of $500.00 to the Liberator, have, in this most trying crisis of our cause, shown a sagacity, fortitude and liberality worthy of imitation and praise.

6. Resolved, That we regard it as a solemn duty to the oppressed, to use our utmost efforts to extend its circulation as widely as possible.

7. Resolved, That we earnestly exhort the abolitionists throughout the land, especially those of Massachusetts, to take IMMEDIATE measures to multiply its subscribers, and thus enlarge the sphere of its usefulness.

Remarks in support of these resolutions were made by Wendell Phillips, Wendell Phillips, and Edwin Thompson, after which they were unanimously adopted, nearly the whole assembly rising in their favor.

Papers were then circulated, 42 new subscribers obtained, and donations and pledges made in support of the paper to the amount of more than $ 600.00.

D. K. Hitchcock, of Boston, offered the following resolution, which was adopted nem. con.

Resolved, That any and all attempts to deprive W. L. Garrison and Isaac Knapp of the fruits of their labors, are unmanly and dastardly, and that we feel indignant at such a proceeding.

Resolved, That we do not hold ourselves responsible for the conduct of those who have left the Liberator faithly in respect to political action, *we look upon the ground it has occupied as the only one upon which any anti-slavery periodical can stand*—the urging upon every individual, action consistent with his principles and his conscience.

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The meeting will be long remembered for the delightful harmony that prevailed, and for the spirit of zeal and devotedness that characterized its proceedings.

After voting to publish the proceedings in the Liberator, *and to request all other papers friendly to the anti-slavery cause to copy them*, the meeting adjourned *sine die*.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Chairman.

J. A. COLLINS, Secretary.

NATHAN BROOKS AND H. B. STANTON. In the present crowded state of our columns, it would not be convenient for us, even if we felt, that the occasion required it at our hands, to publish the elaborate and lengthy vindication of Mr. Brooks, respecting the Townsend affair, (now almost an old story,) sent to us by an unknown correspondent at Concord, who signs himself 'A Friend of Man, White as well as Black.' We feel under no obligation to give it an insertion in the Liberator. We shall state our reasons briefly:

1. The controversy is between Mr. Brooks and Mr. Stanton, over their own proper signatures. Mr. S. has no assistance in any necessary controversy. It is to be presumed that Mr. B. is able to make out as good a case for himself as any one can for him. If he can refute the facts and reasoning advanced by Mr. S., he knows that we shall most willingly allow him ample space to do so in our columns. We prefer to let the *principals* settle this matter between themselves.

2. Our correspondent thinks that Mr. Brooks had good and sufficient reasons for believing, that Mr. Stanton had labored publicly to propagate an idea in regard to him, which was false, slanderously and entirely false.' Be it so, for argument's sake. As both Mr. S. and ourselves have explicitly exonerated Mr. Brooks from all participation in the Townsend affair, we have more on our side to be regretted of than he.

3. The 'fifty-seven' individuals, who have testified over their own signatures that Mr. Stanton did not argue at the Concord Convention as Mr. B. alleged, upon the (anonymous) authority of 'several abolitionists,' have thus vindicated Mr. S. from calumnious aspersions, and exculpated Mr. B. from all blame as to the closing of the Townsend meeting-house, so far as relates to any thing that was said or done in that Convention.

4. Mr. Brooks is bound to produce the names of the 'several abolitionists,' who he says, told him a story which is flatly contradicted by fifty-seven members of the Convention. In justice to himself, he should bring them forward, and they one of them to come at his call. It will then be seen whether they are his partizans or not.

5. Our correspondent says that 'it is known that there were about 130 gentlemen present at the Convention—delegates and others.' If this be so, Mr. Brooks and his friends, yet smile it appear that a majority of the Convention are now in the state of mind stated by the fifty-seven. Unless he produce their names, it will leave him in a worse dilemma than before. For ourselves, we doubt whether the whole number of those who participated in the doings of the Convention, exceeded at any one time three score and ten persons.

MEETING IN FANEUIL HALL.

THE OLD CRADLE OF LIBERTY ROCKT SIDE THE

The grandest meeting in Faneuil Hall to the anti-slavery citizens of Boston, after a public notice given in the papers of the City Authorities, is to be regarded as one of the most cheering signs of the times, and will carry dismay to the remotest corners of the South. We know that this event will come to pass in all due time. Although no prophet, nor the son of a prophet, yet, in the darkest hour of the anti-slavery enterprise—immediately after the great pro-slavery meeting held in Faneuil Hall in 1835, and just before we were so roughly handled by the thousand gentlemen of property and standing'—in a letter addressed by us to Elizur Wright, Gray Otis, we said we saw many things in defence of our good cause—

'THE SPIRIT OF SEVENTY-SIX shall yet rise from its sleep, and the Cradle of Liberty rock! *The cause of the bleeding slaves shall yet be pleaded in Faneuil Hall*, in tones as thrilling, in language as stirring, in eloquence as irresistible, as were ever heard within its walls!'

On Thursday forenoon, of last week, the doors were thrown wide open to the friends of immediate and unconditional emancipation, and most animating was the spectacle witnessed on that occasion. Notwithstanding the much the mercury ranged several degrees below zero, and there was no fire to warm the immense hall, yet there was no flinching on the part of those in attendance—some three thousand persons, of both sexes. It was a time-honored hall, and it was filled to the brim with the audience. Every thing went off happily, and with rapturous applause. As no previous arrangement had been made, either in regard to the speakers, or the resolutions to be offered, all that was presented and said came forth spontaneously, adding an exceedingly lively zest of style and topics. The speakers were received with every demonstration of gladness, and we heard not a discordant note from any quarter of the hall; though some very severe things were said in some of the speeches, calculated to excite opposition, if there had been any hostile spirits in the assembly.

Of the character of the speeches delivered on the occasion, some idea may be formed by reading the resolutions offered, and examining the list of speakers below. We shall endeavor to procure copies for obtaining but as our bro. Leavitt, of the Emancipator, was present, who holds the pen of a ready writer, we shall probably have from his pen a sketch of some of the proceedings. As each resolution was presented to the meeting for adoption, the response that followed was tremendous. Not a voice was heard in the negative! Never since the walls of the venerable building first resounded to the inspiring appeals of the sons of Liberty, has there been greater unanimity of feeling manifested, or a more thrilling response given, to the speakers in Faneuil Hall. How have the times changed within three years! *Laus Deo!*

It was an affecting and thrilling sight to see the venerable SETH SEAGUE, of Duxbury, (father of Veg Seague of this city,) stand up in the very place where his son stood in 1835, advocating with all his soul a cause which that son had so strongly reprobated as detrimental to the Union, and repugnant to the spirit of the U. S. Constitution. May it not be hoped, that the time is near at hand when the venerable Patriot will feel himself to be the saviour of his father, and publicly acknowledge a radical change in his views of the principles and measures of the abolitionists!

Resolutions passed in Faneuil Hall, at a meeting of the friends of the immediate Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

The meeting was organized by the choice of Francis Jackson, Esq. as Chairman, and J. A. Collins, as Secretary—and the call was read by Mr. Jackson, Mr. Scott, of Lowell; and after addresses were made by the Rev. Mr. May, of Scituate, J. W. Brown, Esq. of Lynn, Wendell Phillips, Esq. of Boston, Amos Dresser, Amos Walker, Rev. Mr. Colver, and Edmund Quincy, Esq. of Boston, Rev. C. P. Grosvenor, of Worcester, Hon. Seth Sprague, of Duxbury, Rev. Samuel Ward, of Dover, and Rev. Joshua Leavitt, of New York, the following resolutions were adopted.

Resolved, That the slaves of this country ought instantly to be set free, and brought under the protection of law.

Resolved, That 'immediate emancipation does not mean that the slaves shall be turned loose upon the nation,' but, among other things it does mean 'that, instead of being under the dominion of laws made by irresponsible masters, they shall have protection of law—that the husband shall have his own wife, and every wife her own husband, both being united in wedlock according to its proper forms, and placed under the protection of law—that selling in trade in human beings shall be regarded as felony, and entitled to the highest punishment;' that 'all those laws which now prohibit the education of the slaves, shall be instantly repealed, and others enacted, providing schools and instruction for their intellectual illumination;' that such provisions of law shall give protection to millions who are now at the mercy of a few irresponsible masters and drivers,' so that 'every man and every woman may be secure in their rights.'

Resolved, 'That there are at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free states, to use their influence for the immediate emancipation, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States,' and that 'their relation to slavery is criminal, and must be made to cease.'

Resolved, That in all consistency 'the whole American people ought to be abolitionists.' Slavery is a violation of every first principle upon which our government is built; that the spirit of civil and religious liberty pervades the Constitution of the United States, and the spirit and letter of our Constitution require it; and that we must be wholly inconsistent with ourselves, if we do not carry the principles by which we profess to be governed, if we do not by every laudable exertion, endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity, and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States.'

Resolved, That 'so long as slaves are held in the District of Columbia, and in the Territories of the United States, so long as ours is a representative government, subject to the will of the people: so long as Southern States deprive the Northern States of New England, who may visit them, of their liberty and the rights of citizenship guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States; so long as the spirit of harmony, divides the policy, retards the prosperity, and seriously threatens the dissolution of the Union; so long as the commands of Jesus' remain binding upon all men, 'whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them;' so long as the spirit remains any flesh in our hearts, any physical or moral affinity between us and our enslaved brethren, any love to our country, or any love to our God, it is not true that the people of New England are not bound to use their moral and political power to overthrow slavery in the District of Columbia.'

Resolved, That 'if from any place a voice of remonstrance should go forth in thunder-tones against the adoption of the resolutions of the Abolitionists, coming from any quarter, and especially from a recreant son of New England, desiring to the people the sacred right of petitioning their representatives the freedom of speech, that place above all others is Faneuil Hall; that the people of this place will unanswerably lift up their voice in no mighty burst, from full hearts, and with an uncongered and uncorruptable energy, and with a power of deep-toned eloquence, in this daring and despotic measure, we hereby pledge ourselves, before God and the world, that we will resist it in a manner worthy of the cradle of liberty.'

Resolved, That Samuel Adams, and the other Fathers of American Independency, who have raised their voices from the tomb, would have blushed and despised that false idea of liberty, which would compel even one of their fellow citizens to purchase his freedom by flying from his country; and that we, breathing the same free spirit, and inheriting the same free principles, repudiate, as adverse to freedom and the rights of man, the American Colonization Society.

Resolved, That when Doctors of Divinity teach the doctrine, that men are at liberty to pass by the suffering and down trodden slave, with no regard to his wrongs,—when they write books for the purpose of so contracting the circle of Human Responsibility, that the slave shall be left outside of that circle, then the demand is imperative on every citizen to constitute himself a Doctor of Divinity, and spread out again this contracted circle to its original limits—the limits of Human Sympathy and Duty.

Resolved, That the Abolition Revolution of 1833, and the Revolution of 1776, aimed at a similar object—the enfranchisement of a whole nation.

Resolved, That whether the members of Congress sustain freedom of speech in the Capitol or not—Massachusetts and Faneuil Hall are engaged.

Resolved, That the Resolutions of this meeting be transmitted to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, with a request to present them; and if they are not received and acted upon in a suitable manner, to return them to us, that they may be published to the world, as the evidence that the voice of Faneuil Hall can no longer be heard by American Legislators in the Halls of Congress.

Voted, That so far as in us lies, we hereby revoke, rescind, and annul the resolutions passed by a meeting of citizens in this Hall in August, 1835, expressive of their sympathy with the slaveholders of the southern States.

Voted, That these resolutions be published in the daily papers of this city.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Chairman.

J. A. COLLINS, Sec'y.

FREE DISCUSSION. One of the friends of the new anti-Liberator paper, who is pledged to obtain a certain number of subscribers for it, in a letter to us, dated a fortnight since, says:

'I have thought it might be well to have a new paper, and have wanted to have a hand in it, that I might *shield what I consider unpopular and dangerous opinions* on some important subjects.'

There are but two subjects discussed in the Liberator either by us or our correspondents, viz. Abolition and Peace. On the former, our friend will not charge us with shielding unpopular and dangerous opinions; for to the latter, we advocate the universal forgiveness of enemies, for Christ's sake. If the doctrine be fallacious, it can be refuted in our own columns. What need, then, of a new paper!

If any of our opinions are to be combatted by that paper, then, unless it disallow free discussion in its pages, it must admit our replies. In that case, how will it differ in its character from the Liberator?

How can it avoid a discussion of the 'woman question,' as connected with the anti-slavery cause, except by refusing to be free and impartial? If it shall take sides against the women, and yet exclude articles in their defence, what better will it be than a cowardly and despotic periodical? If it shall tolerate a free discussion of the merits of the question, why go one step further than we have gone? Why not be consistent, and yield up the cause in which you are engaged, vote for none but a sterling abolitionist—one who has been tried, and not found wanting. You are attempting to roll onward the car of abolition; trig not its wheels by voting for Van Buren or Parmenter. Remember at the polls the cry of the slave, his galling chains, and lacerated back. Pail not in the hour of trial. Abolitionists of No. 4, no yoke nor, stand firm for the slave, for truth, and for God.

ESSEX.

Receipts into the Treasury of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, from the 20th January, 1839.

Edmund Jackson of Boston,	$100
Abington A. S. Society, on account Plymouth County pledge, by Samuel Philbrick	50
Kingston A. S. Society, on account Plymouth County pledge, by Geo. Russell	11 61
Wrentham A. S. Society, by Abner Belcher,	5
Wrentham Female A. S. S. by do.	10
Boston City A. S. S. by Edmund Quincy, Tr.	1
Experience Billings, Foxboro',	1
William Lewis, Boston, membership,	1
John Lee, do do	1
John B. Cutler, do do	1
Coffin Pitts, do do	1
Wm. C. Nell, do do	1
Chs. P. Bosson, do do	1
David Keith, do do	1
Receipts at the Annual meeting.	
Moses Harlow, of Plymouth,	2
Rev. Joshua Leavitt, N. York,	1
David Goodale of Marlboro'	1
Horace Moulton, do	1
S. Weeks, do	1
B. Smith, do	50
Joseph Williams, do	50
Wm. Newton, do	25
Daniel Brown, do	25
Fall River A. S. Society, by hands of Do.	11
Nath. B. Borden, Washington, D. C.	1
W. F. Bassett, membership,	1
John Dickinson,	Caroline Adams, 1
Abner Newhall,	Henry Lunt, jr. 1
Wm. Lord Garrison,	Benj. Spaulding, 1
Henry Chapman,	Edward Walcott, 1
S. M. Osborn,	Hezekiah Sargent, 1
Thos. Davis,	Catharine Sargent, 1
G. L. Clarke,	Atoline A. Chase, 1
Horace Mann,	Jos. P. Montgomery, 1
J. H. Murrin,	Adam Oswell, 1
Christopher Robinson	1 Chs. Simmons, 1
J. L. Crosby,	Samuel Philbrick, 1
Joseph Cleverly,	Lydia Dean, 1
John H. Gove,	Daniel Cross, 2
George Smith,	Jos. Pewter, 2
J. Hutchinson,	I. P. Williston, 2
Daniel Gregg,	P. R. Russell, 1
Henry Thompson,	H. M. Little, 1
Polly Graham,	75 Frances Clapp, 1
Chs. K. Hood,	S. S. Hills, 2
J. N. Buffum,	H. B. Grange, 1
S. H. Fawcett,	1.50 Rachel Newcomb, 1
Thos. Carpenter,	L. W. Bates, 1
Chs. E. C. Loring,	Geo. W. Leeds, 1
John Rogers,	James Ford, jr. 1
E. Richards,	Samuel Reed, 1
Eliz'th H. Richards,	Walter C. Durfee, 1
A. N. Hunt,	Benj. Hall, 1
E. Sanwood,	Stephen Bradford, 1
L. Sawyer,	David A. Brown, 1
John Rush,	Jno. S. Brown, 1
Thos. Cowldredge,	C. P. Dresy, 1
Mary Weston,	William S. Ide, 1
N. P. Ford,	Thos. Cole, 1
Wm. Lloyd Garrison,	Charles Hale, 1
R. Goss,	Elbridge Sprague, 1
J. T. Hilton,	Avery Cole, 1
Chs. Kimmary,	Benj. Frost, 1
Jon. Buffum,	Calvin Shaw, 1
Thos. Haskell,	Jos. W. Cross, 1
S. A. Haskell,	Moses Everett, 1
D. Butler,	William S. Bennett, 1
L. Richards,	T. W. Durant, 1
J. Ford,	Dexter Dickinson, 1
L. Sewell, Sandy Bay	John A. Innes, 1
J. Putnam,	David McClure, 1
Caroline Weston,	Nath. Harlow, 1
S. Shove,	Johnson Davis, 1
John Jones,	Lamson Stephens, 1
O. F. Batchelder,	George Adams, 1
James Bartlett,	Hannah S. Adams, 1
John Bartlett,	Samuel J. May, 1
Joseph Southwick,	Pound on the floor, 3
C. L. Emerson,	Wm. Ashby, Salem, 1
Richard Clapp,	Mrs. French, 1
Rufus Howe,	Isaac Stevens, 1
Henry Coleman,	Mrs. H. C. Pitfield, 1
Wm. Rice,	M. T. Congdon, 1
Ezra Baker,	Anna M. Bailey, 1
Moses S. Breed,	Mrs. C. Collis, 1
Joshua Cowldredge, jr.	A friend, 1
Jon. Perry,	Daniel Mitchell, 1
L. Woodbury,	Dr. A. Farnsworth, 1
Dugood S. Bryant,	Dwight F. Eager, 1
John B. Peirce,	Royal Southwick, 1
Charles Bye,	Elias Forbes, 1
Chas. Bye,	A. E. Newell, 1
Elbridge F. McElroy	1 John W. Brown, 1
J. E. Fuller,	25 Rev. Thos. Merritt, 1
Sarah Stephens,	Warren Allen, 1
Abigail Morton,	Geo. W. Benson, 1
Mary Morton,	Rev. Thos. Merritt, 1
Wendell Phillips,	H. A. Newhall, 1
W. P. Peakes,	Francis Jackson, 1
James Whittemore,	Wm. P. Ripley, 1
Preston Paul,	Geo. Russell, 1
Thos. W. Pratt,	Edwin Morton, 1
Enoch Hoag,	G. H. Durfee, 1
S. Woodward, jr.	Wm. Bassett, 1
J. H. Gray,	Mary B. Bassett, 1
Ed. P. Little,	Rev. Mr. Thayer, 1
Orange Scott,	N. H. Whiting, 1
S. W. Bean,	Oliver Johnson, 1
G. W. F. Mellen,	3 Dr. Appleton Howe, 1
C. K. Whipple,	Wm. Adams, 1
Moses Sawyer,	Dr. Chas. Follen, 1
Rebecca Sawyer,	I. M. Nelson, 1
James Merrill,	W. S. Crane, 1
Benjamin Walcott,	1 Sullman Lothrop, 1
D. F. Paul,	Geo. O. Harmon, 1
Jairus Lincoln,	Hon. Seth Sprague, 1
Spencer Kellogg,	A (Sandwich) friend, 1
Edmund Quincy,	1 John Levi, 1
J. V. Himes,	Rebecca Ingham, 1
Sarah M. Kimber,	1 S. S. Cowles, 1
Chs. Grant,	Nathan Johnson, 2
George Bradburn,	1 Isaac Winslow, 1
Jas Richardson,	1 Geo. Weltcroft, 1

$412 37

Of the above amount $216 26 were taken up at the annual meeting.

HENRY G. CHAPMAN,
Treasurer Mass. A. S. Society.

* ANTI-SLAVERY ANNIVERSARY.

The fifth Anniversary of the Vermont Anti-Slavery Society, will, if no prior appointment, be holden at Middlebury, on the 20th, 21st and probably 22d of February next. A preliminary discussion to be given on preceding evening, Tuesday, the 19th, by the Rev. O. Scott of Lowell, Mass. Business meeting of the Society will commence at 9 o'clock of the session, at 9 o'clock, and public exercises at 11 o'clock, A. M.

All Anti-Slavery Societies, or associations, in the State are requested to send one or more delegates.

NOTICE.

At the quarterly meeting of the New England Temperance Society, held in the Baptist Church, Belknap-st. on the 31st inst. it was

Resolved, That the meeting be adjourned from one colored church to another for four successive weeks, for discussion on Temperance, provided as it places can be obtained by the Committee.

The first meeting will be held in John's Church, Cambridge-st, on Monday evening, Feb. 4th, at 7 o'clock. Friends of temperance, and others interested, are invited to take part in the discussion.

J. C. BEALS, *President*

J. P. HILTON, *Secretary.*

DISTRICT NO. 4.

MR. EDITOR:

A few days, through the medium of your paper, one word of foreign interference, with the approaching congressional election, in District No. 4. It is the great battle-ground of liberty—the Lexington of political action—the spot where love for the slave first triumphed over love of party. Abolitionists, every eye is directed towards you. The friends and oppressors of the slave are alike watching your conduct. Twice you have met the foe, and twice returned from the field unconquered. Another trial is to be had,—another battle fought. The struggle will be great—glorious. What shall be the result? Shall the banners you have unfurled, and which now float freely in the breeze, be lowered? Shall it be struck to the foes of universal freedom,—the apologists of southern slavery,—the defenders of the 'domestic institution?' Never—never! The Spartan band, that have rallied in its defence, will rally again. But they must not stand the assault alone. Every abolitionist must do his duty. If you have been bound in party cords, be bound no longer. If you have doubted the expediency of political action, doubt no longer. Slavery is supported by political action, and by political action alone can it be abolished. Do you love the slave? Prove it at the ballot box. Strike for him, where the blow will take effect. As you would be consistent and consistency, as you value the cause in which you are engaged, vote for none but a sterling abolitionist—one who has been tried, and not found wanting. You are attempting to roll onward the car of abolition; trig not its wheels by voting for Van Buren or Parmenter. Remember at the polls the cry of the slave, his galling chains, and lacerated back. Pail not in the hour of trial. Abolitionists of No. 4, no yoke nor, stand firm for the slave, for truth, and for God.

ESSEX.

Ms. EDITOR:

A few days, through the medium of your paper, one word of foreign interference, with the approaching congressional election, in District No. 4. It is the great battle-ground of liberty—the Lexington of political action—the spot where love for the slave first triumphed over love of party. Abolitionists, every eye is directed towards you. The friends and oppressors of the slave are alike watching your conduct. Twice you have met the foe, and twice returned from the field unconquered. Another trial is to be had,—another battle fought. The struggle will be great—glorious. What shall be the result? Shall the banners you have unfurled, and which now float freely in the breeze, be lowered? Shall it be struck to the foes of universal freedom,—the apologists of southern slavery,—the defenders of the 'domestic institution?' Never—never! The Spartan band, that have rallied in its defence, will rally again. But they must not stand the assault alone. Every abolitionist must do his duty. If you have been bound in party cords, be bound no longer. If you have doubted the expediency of political action, doubt no longer. Slavery is supported by political action, and by political action alone can it be abolished. Do you love the slave? Prove it at the ballot box. Strike for him, where the blow will take effect. As you would be consistent and consistency, as you value the cause in which you are engaged, vote for none but a sterling abolitionist—one who has been tried, and not found wanting. You are attempting to roll onward the car of abolition; trig not its wheels by voting for Van Buren or Parmenter. Remember at the polls the cry of the slave, his galling chains, and lacerated back. Pail not in the hour of trial. Abolitionists of No. 4, no yoke nor, stand firm for the slave, for truth, and for God.

ESSEX.

MARRIED—In Foxborough, Ms. Capt. Martin Torrey, to Mrs. Clarissa Sherman.

DIED—In Methuen, Jan. 13, of apoplexy, Mr. Joseph Barnard, aged 72, of Boston, aged 45.

In Boston, on Tuesday morning, Mr. Benjamin A. Brown, aged 23, son of John and Abigail R. Brown, of Salem.

LITERARY

FRIEND GARRISON!

I read with much surprise a communication in your paper of the 4th inst. purporting to be the production of Mr. Folsom, Editor of the Gospel Witness, etc. How well the sentiments contained in that article will chime with the title which Mr. F. has selected for his paper, I have those who know what the Gospel is, to decide. It is matter of surprise to me that a minister of religion love to all mankind as a sacred duty enjoined upon every individual, should utter sentiments so diametrically opposed to the exercise of such love. I can assure Mr. F. if God does not love the black man much better than he does, He will be the Saviour of his souls too. The following thoughts, elicited by the article above referred to, are submitted for publication in the Liberator, if you deem them worthy of publicity.—

TO REV. MR. FOLSOM.

Dost thou believe that God loves *all*,
White's their form or hue?
That He will lift from them the pall
Of death, and let them view
The glories of His blest abode,
And share its sacred joys
And subjects to its peaceful code,
Eternally *rejoice*?
How can'st thou, then, the idea scout
Of doing good to all?
Who's taught to leave thy brother out,
Though black as death's dark pall?
Did Jesus tell us we might love
None but the white man's soul?
Did he declare, 'Ye're privileged above
The black man, to control
His body, and his mind to tramp
With tyrant-foot in dust?
Did He on white or black stamp,
His glorious image first?
When thou can'st prove that Christ loves not
Thy *darker* brother, then
I'll prove to thee that He is not
The Saviour of all men!
Though that thy priestly visage fix
On woman, and in wrath
Denounce her if she ope her lips,
To lore to wisdom's path,
Those who from *truth* and *right* are betrayed;—
Yet is it plain to see
That thou the *recreant* part hast played—
Mong traitors shalt thou be.
Go, *learned* physician, heal thyself;
Go, save in Freedom's fount;
Say to the tyrant, 'quit thy pelf,'
Then give thy last account.

T****.

Boston, Jan. 11th, 1839.

PEACE.

PEACE—'tis a blessed word—
Blessed are the sons of peace,
Who following their ascended Lord,—
From strife and wrangling cease.

Peace reigns in heaven supreme—
It makes that kingdom love—
And it will be the subject and theme
Of all who reign above.

Peace Jesus sought to make,
When from the skies he came;—
And who a brother's life can take,
Yet love his holy name?

The men of peace will we—
Appoint a battle field
Or in the martial deep depart,
With pride and folly fraught.

Orphans and widows made,
With none their pains to share—
By men who bloody oceans wade
As earthly crown to wear.

Will kindle deep disgust
Within his peaceful breast,
Who puts in Heaven his only trust,
And blessing man is blest.

Great God, speed on the day
When all will follow peace—
When brothers will not brothers slay,
And wars and fightings cease.

D. C. C.

Portland.

THE VOICE OF LIBERTY.

'And that, knowing the time, that now it is high time to awake out of sleep.'—[ROMANS.

Oh! the world from its trance is awaking,
With the spring of regenerate youth;
And the error-freed people are shaking
Their fetters in the fountain of truth.
Oh! the canker-worm, custom, was eating
Its way through the veins of the age,
Till man, like a wild-bird, seemed beating
His breast on the bars of his cage.

Hark! a voice to the nations hath spoken,
In tones which the mind's ear hears well
'Let the dark chain of error be broken—
Let LIBERTY'S flag be unfurled!
For time and progressive opinion
Shall conquer where cohorts shall fail,
And Freedom assert her dominion—
Hail—Freedom—all hail!

The war-fiends, sin-spotted and gory,
No longer shall gorge on mankind,
For the Sun of a new day of glory
Flashes far o'er the empire of mind.
Man's spirit is quickly surmounting
The vapor that veiled it in night,
And now like a long pent up fountain,
Its waters are gushing to light.

From the heavens dark shadows are clearing,
From the earth a thick mist rolls away,
And the rainbow of hope re-appearing,
Brightens the way, I ween,
Ye helots shrink back new in terror,
To the dens where lost tyranny lies—
Light dawns on the long night of error,
The PHAROS of Freedom will rise.

From the Emancipator.

APPROPRIATE SPHERE OF WOMAN.

'Carrying about petitions to legislative bodies and soliciting signatures is not the 'appropriate sphere' for ladies.'—*The Lords of Creation.*

Tell me not of woman's station,
Tell me not we leave our 'sphere,'
When we urge by pleading persuasion,
Rights to every woman dear!

When her back is stained and gory,
When her tears in anguish flow,
Shall we then not heed her story—
Her sad tale of grief and wo?

When her lend'rest ties are riven,
For the sordid love of gold;
And her children from her driven,
'Human chattles' to be sold.

Then must woman seek to smother,
Feelings which her Maker gave!
Pity for the wife and mother,
Bowed in sorrow to the grave.

Must we seek our lips to fetter,
When our nature bids us plead?
By our sisters in the shutter,
Causing woman's heart to bleed?

No! Though man may still revile us,
Though the nation spurns our prayer;
Mercy's voice shall still inspire us,
We will plead till they *shall* spare.

S. E. P.

New York, 11th mo. 1838.

WO TO THE LAND.

Wo to the land where all the words of truth
Are made of none effect,
Where love is cherished into hate forsooth,
And God hath no respect.
Wo to the land where mercy hath no pleading,
Where righteousness, and Truth, and Love is bleeding

NON-RESISTANCE.

[SELECTED.]

HUMAN GOVERNMENTS; CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL. NO. I.

All governments are founded upon one of two distinct, and in some extent, conflicting assumptions. The advocates of popular governments take the ground, that man has an inherent right, to form a government, to take the government and protection of himself into his own hands; or, in other words, to govern himself. The advocates of despotic governments upon those who do him injury. This is the only consistent ground which such persons can take; for if *man, as individual*, has not power to govern the land by rule of God, the *bringing together* of millions of such cents will not, and cannot *create* a single particle. Therefore the right of self-government, and of rendering civil for evil does not belong to *individuals as such*, and cannot be maintained, the whole fabric of popular governments is left without a just foundation, and must ultimately crumble into dust.

Despotic governments, on the other hand, are based upon the contrary assumption, viz. that the civil or ecclesiastical legislator and ruler, by virtue of a *divine right*, conferred upon them as the representatives of God, possess the requisite authority to enact laws for the government of the people, and to enforce these laws by the infliction of appropriate penalties. Therefore despotic governments, or those professedly founded upon the *pure divine* principle, or principle of divine right, cannot claim, in their commission, accompanied with the seal and signature, of Almighty God; or, if they cannot give us indubitable evidence from the bible, or from some other source of equal authority of their divine commission and vicegerency, we must look upon them as flagrant usurpers and impostors. Our object in examining the rival claims of human governments, civil and ecclesiastical, is to show, that the whole of them are based upon impious assumptions—are without any just foundation whatever; and, as such, should be discountenanced and opposed by every friend of God and man. We will commence with an examination of the Divine Government, which is the basis of popular governments.

1. We deny that man has any right, either inherent or derived, to take the government or protection of himself, by legal statute or penalty, or by physical force, into his own hands—that he has any such concent laws, either for his own government or for the government of others. We give the following reasons for this denial.

1. God is the only independent sovereign in the universe, and the only rightful legislator among men or angels—which is equivalent to being and his subjects are subjects of his righteous government. His laws recognize every possible case of criminality, hence the enactment of other governments, have by implication, say the least, unnecessary, if they are not an implied impeachment of the divine wisdom and goodness.

2. When men take the government of themselves into their own hands, they thereby declare themselves independent of their lawful and only sovereign, the Lord Almighty. It is the very thing which makes men rebels against the laws and government of God—it is putting self upon the throne in man, instead of the king of all the universe. It is the same crime for king to wrench the reins of the governmental chariot out of the hands of the Creator, and is the very essence of that 'carnal mind which is enmity against God.'

3. It is an incontrovertible truth, that man never did, and never will, and never can govern himself. He was made to be governed, not by himself, but by the mighty, wise, and best of Beings; and by law as man has been kept within the bounds even of propriety and good order, it has been through the overruling, but in no case extent, unseen providence of that God from whom cometh every good and perfect gift. It is said, both by politicians and priests, that the government of a country may properly be denominated an *experiment*, designed to prove the sufficiency of man to govern himself; and the failure of this experiment is confidently expected by both, insomuch as it will extinguish the last hope of the world, in regard to this momentous question. To both these classes of men we can say with the most unshaking confidence, YOUR EXPERIMENT WILL FAIL—as has every similar one to invent a self-moving machine, or to detect a universal specific among medicines.

II. We deny that man has the right to take the protection of himself into his own hands by redressing upon others who do him injury, or in other words, to render evil for evil in any case whatever. The Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles have most plainly and decisively settled this question. 'Ye have heard that it hath been said, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. Mat. v. 38—40. Let it be distinctly observed, that the reference here made by Christ to the principle of retaliation, is not to the law of Moses in the *Jewish civil code*, which was instituted by Jehovah himself; see Exod. xxiv. 12, 18. 'He that killeth any man shall surely be put to death. And he that killeth a beast shall surely make it good; beast for beast. And if a man cause a blemish in his neighbor; as he hath done so shall it be done to him; breach for breach, *eye for eye, tooth for tooth*; as he hath caused a blemish in a man, so shall it be done to him again. And he that killeth a beast he shall restore it; and he that killeth a man, he shall be put to death.' Remember, that in no case did the Jewish dispensation or civil government man, as an individual, allowed to render evil for evil, except in the single case of the manslayer; and this was only allowed to the authorized magistrate as the representative of God. Now observe, when Jesus referred his hearers to the law of retaliation, which had existed under the great fundamental principle in the Jewish civil government, and when in express terms he repealed that law, he laid the axe at the root of that government, and virtually repealed or abrogated the whole of it; for of what force can any civil government be, which cannot enforce its laws by inflicting penalties on violators? When Jesus took from the Jewish civil ruler the right to inflict punishment, he declared that the only civil government, which God had ever instituted, and recognized as of any rightful authority, to be null and void forever.

Again: 'Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shall love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy. But say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you.' Mat. v. 43, 44. 'Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath; for it is written, vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord. Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.' It will be admitted by all, who receive the plain declarations of scripture as truth, that no man, as an individual, has the right to render evil for evil, or to enforce even his lawful claims by his fist, the club, or the sword. But if man has such right, *as an individual*, he has none *as a member of a family; as the inhabitant of a town, county, state, or nation*; for every *aggregate* was made up of such as others, called legislators, magistrates, judges, sheriffs, &c. If no man has the right to retaliate with the fist or club, or sword, it is equally and immutably true, that he has no right to render evil for evil by using laws, or magistrates, or judges, or sheriffs, as the clubs, or swords, or other instruments of such violence.

When men 'resist evil,' either by the use of the club, or of human law, the principle upon which they act is the same in both cases, and the difference is in the instruments employed. The mob resorts to stones, brickbats, clubs, and firearms—the advocates for human governments resort to law, and the instruments of its execution in order to avenge themselves upon their real or imaginary enemies. Christians can never be force and arms to do, or to desist from doing what is really, or supposed to be, injurious to them. In vain do the people called Quakers oppose war, while they are engaged in lawsuit wars among themselves about meeting houses, wood and stones, brick and mortar—and actually in vain do peace societies, 'so called, write, and lecture against war among nations, so long as they countenance the principle of retaliation, as the basis of all human governments. If they would effect any thing, let them lay the axe at the root of the tree. Such persons may talk, and preach, and write about peace, but to a such God may justly say, 'What hast thou to do with peace so long as the whoredoms of thy mother are so many?'

NO II.

GOVERNMENTS FOUNDED UPON THE PRINCIPLE OF DIVINE RIGHT.

It will be admitted by all who are familiar with the scriptures, that the bible recognizes two distinct kinds of government, a moral and providential, which the king of the universe exercises over his creatures. By a moral government, we understand one which employs moral influence or preceptive laws, which command the minds of men, understandings and consciences of the governed, and which are enforced by appropriate sanctions. By providential government, we understand that which is administered by force, as the Supreme Being exerts over all the actions of his creatures, whether moral, or immoral, or neither; and over all inferior creatures, and even of his own highest glory, and the best good of the universe.

When therefore, the bible speaks of human governments, it must recognize them, either as forming so many parts of a system of divine moral government, or else as moving independently of divine moral control, by which Jehovah makes the wrath of man to praise him, and restrains the remainder. If they form parts of a divine moral government, then are all nations under a genuine Theocracy, and every civil officer becomes an authorized and appointed representative of God, and every law a divine commission, and every judicial decision a righteous sentence—because the same scriptures which recognize any human government, recognize it as a divine ordinance, and every political