



THE LIBERATOR

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. BOSTON, MASS., FRIDAY, MAY 14, 1852.

From the Toronto Globe.

ANTI-SLAVERY DEMONSTRATION.

The first Anniversary of the Anti-Slavery Society of Upper Canada, was held on Wednesday evening, in St. Lawrence Hall.

Dr. Willis congratulated the Society on so large an attendance of friends as he already saw present.

Mr. George Brown, M. P. P., rose to move the following resolution:

Resolved, That while we would gratefully record our thanks to those Clergymen and others in the United States, who have so nobly exposed the atrocities of the Fugitive Slave Law...

Mr. Brown supported this resolution in a very eloquent speech, concluding as follows:

The question is often put, 'What have we in Canada to do with American Slavery?'

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Yes! it cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their domain over their slaves.

The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fata to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons.

To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress, and thereby to make the PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

WHOLE NO. 1114.

From the Harrisburg Telegraph.

CASE OF ELIZABETH PARKER.

The following is a copy of the Joint Resolutions, which have passed both Houses of our Legislature, relative to the prosecuting of the suit of Elizabeth Parker, a free colored girl, who was abducted from Chester county some months ago, and sold into slavery in the city of New Orleans by a Baltimore slave-trader.

Resolved, That the Governor be, and is hereby authorized, in his opinion there is reasonable ground to believe that the said Elizabeth Parker was illegally abducted to employ counsel to prosecute the suit of Elizabeth Parker for her freedom.

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LETTER FROM HORACE MANN TO THE OHIO CONVENTION.

WASHINGTON, December 21, 1851.

GENTLEMEN:—Your letter of the 17th inst. informed me that the colored people of Ohio propose to hold State Convention at Cincinnati in the month of January ensuing, to adopt such measures as are best calculated to enhance their moral, social and political interests; and you are pleased to say my views "as regards the present position and future prospects of the colored race in this country."

You submit to the population alone. But I presume you would not exclude from contemplation the welfare of the white race, so far as that can be promoted by a full regard for the rights of the blacks. Fortunately, however, I believe there is no real conflict of interests between the races. The eternal laws of justice and right would promote the welfare of both. If either resists these laws, it will deserve, and must ultimately receive, an avenging retribution.

The colored race of this country now numbers nearly four millions of people. More than three-fourths of this number are in the lowest political and civil condition known to the human race. They are a word that includes all woes and wrongs. They are denied all political rights. They are cut off from all civil rights. They can hold no property, but are themselves held as property. They have no marital or conjugal rights; no parental or child rights; but husband and wife, parent and child, may be torn from each other under the most wretched and cruel circumstances, and from the wickedest and meanest of motives, and for the most trivial cause. He has no rights of reputation or character. He is sold, he is auctioned, he is traduced, vilified to any extent, and without any possibility of redress. The laws of the Slave States, so far from securing to the slave any intellectual rights, absolutely build a wall of darkness around him, so that no ray of knowledge can illumine his soul, except such as the master deigns to afford him. In a land, also, of professed Christianity, and among a people who call themselves Christians, the slave is treated as a mere brute, and his capacities of virtue are developed only so far as a virtue is profitable or convenient; and when his vices are supposed to be more profitable than his virtues, they only are cultivated. There is no such thing as religious freedom for the slave; for where there is no knowledge there can be no freedom. There is no such thing as free agency for a slave; for his body and limbs are at the control of his master, and his soul, in the blindness of his ignorance, is like any blind creature, under the dominion of his leaders. Thus, all the most precious and sacred relations of a human being to his fellow-beings, to nature, and to God, are obliterated by slavery. True, it is said, that the institution of slavery permits the soul of the slave to be enlightened sufficiently to be saved, so that a wretched existence like this slave may be followed by a happy one beyond it. But is this any thing more than saying, that it is impossible for the wickedness of man to send forward its cruelities into eternity, and there wholly to thwart and cancel the goodness of God?

The residue of the colored population of the United States are in a condition vastly superior to that of the slaves, though still immeasurably below the position which they are entitled to, and, as I believe, destined to fill.

Now, as one of the points of your letter regards the future prospects of the race, it involves a consideration of the means which may be brought to bear upon those prospects, and to determine what they shall be.

I shall only attempt to throw out a few hints on this great subject. In the first place, I think it neither probable nor desirable that the African race should die out and leave that part of the earth to which they are native or indigenous, to the Caucasian or any other of the existing races. There are vegetable and animal races which may lawfully desire to see supplanted by other kinds of vegetable or animal growths; and there are tribes of the human family, whose existence we may wish to see extinguished, provided always, that the extinction be in a natural way, and without the exercise of violence or injustice to expel them from the earth. But writers on the characteristics of the different races of men, ascribe to the African many of the most desirable qualities belonging to human nature. As compared to the Caucasian race, they are, indeed, supposed to be less inventive, to have less power for mathematical analysis, and less adaptation for abstruse investigations generally, are less enterprising, less vigorous, and are less defiant of obstacles. But on the other hand, there is great unanimity in according to them a more cheerful, joyous and companionable nature, greater fondness and capacity for music, a keener relish for whatever, in their present state of development, may be regarded as beauty, and more quick, enduring and exalted religious affections. The blacks, as a race, I believe to be less aggressive and predatory than the whites, more forgiving, and, generally, not capable of the white man's tenacity and ferocity of revenge. In fine, I suppose the almost universal opinion to be, that the African race are inferior to the whites in sentiment and affection, but that the whites are inferior to the blacks.

Under these natural conditions, may not the blacks develop as high a state of civilization as the whites? Or, what is, perhaps, the better question, may not independent nations of each race be greatly improved by the existence of independent nations of the other? I believe so.

I believe there is a band of territory around the earth, on each side of the Equator, which belongs to the African race. Their Creator has adapted their organization to its climate. The connexions of the earth have justly many of them out of their place; but they will be restored to it when reason and justice shall succeed to the terrible guilt and passions that displaced them.

Under these circumstances, what endeavors shall the free colored population of the United States put forth, in order to improve the condition of themselves, their posterity, and their race?

It is almost too obvious for remark, that no nation or people can ever rise to prosperity, dignity or power, without intelligence and virtue. These are the only means of individual or social elevation; and the end without the means is impossible. Every colored man, therefore, who loves his children, or his kind, should be frugal, temperate, industrious and studious. He should abjure all ignoble ease, luxury or pleasure, and concentrate his efforts on the improvement of his family and his people. He should earn money, that he may send his children to the schools; supply his house with books and all available means of knowledge; cultivate the refinement of manners which will help to gain him admittance into the intellectual society, and inform himself of all his rights, and claim them—by no means forgetting his right of suffrage. Whenever any colored child evinces talent, his whole circle of acquaintance should take an interest in him. He should be educated for business, for any such mechanical trade that requires educated labor, for the professions, or for any department of life which he can fill with honor to himself, and with advantage to his fellow-men.

A condition, at present nearly or quite as indispensable to the elevation of the colored people, is the formation of communities by themselves. Scattered, or rather sprinkled, as they now are, among the whites, mostly engaged in occupations which are considered, (though unjustly,) to be subordinate and servile, the spirit of self-reliance and ambition for advancement is fibriled out. At least, it is not nourished, and like any thing else without nourishment, it will not grow. Without a chance to rise to offices and stations of honor, trust or emolument, they must be far, very far above the average of common men, to qualify themselves for the discharge of duties, from whose honorable or lucrative performance they are debarred. But, did they constitute a community by themselves, such, for instance, as a New England or an Ohio township, then they would rise from domestic labor and mere chance service, from being drudges and deliver, into farmers, mechanics, artisans, shop-keepers, editors or professional men. Town-officers, justices of the peace, and candidates for those State offices which towns are authorized to elect, would be sought and found among themselves. The supply would follow the demand. The whites themselves, with all their education and their opportunities for improvement, by associating more or less with the colored people, would be able to carry on the business of a municipal corporation, without some practice and training. They would go through with a period of pupillage, by observing the manner in which business is conducted, with a view to conducting it themselves. How difficult, then, for the colored population, in their present isolated and weakened condition, ever to rise as a body, above very a low level of improvement. How painfully certain it is, under existing circumstances,

that they are debarred from the opportunity and the ambition of making great progress, they are debarred also from its possibility; and even what progress they do make, must be, with some extraordinary exceptions, in the rear of those among whom they live, and without any chance to pass by or overtake them in the march of improvement. We may as well say, as we please, that the revolution, which condemns the iniquity of this country, is a mere form, and that iniquity is a fact which we must take into account as much as any other fact, and in laying his plans for future action, he recognizes until he can remove it.

On these accounts, I have looked with great interest upon the colored settlements or colonies in Canada, in which the whites do not intrude, and thrust aside the blacks, and seize upon all the post-offices, and all the eligible and lucrative branches of business. As members of such communities, the blacks will be compelled to qualify themselves, to act independently, and to qualify themselves and their children for the various offices and occupations which an independent community necessitates. Their minds will be forced into practical channels, they cannot run to a master or an employer every hour, to learn the order or the forms of business or how to execute work. They must judge, they must foresee, they must adapt means to ends. They must outgrow that most unnatural of relations, (although it still exists in the great majority of cases,) that relation, I mean, in which one man is a man's muscles and another man's brain. They must be brains unto themselves. Under such an unnatural relation, both the muscles and the brains are likely to be very poor articles. But the blacks will never be able to do these things for themselves, until they set themselves to doing them. A man might as well expect to learn to swim without going into the water.

As one of the consequences of these independent Canadian communities, a large law with exceedingly pleasant, and some colored people had been recognized as jurors; because I recognized a germ of independence, of progress and of self-government.

Even to conduct the business of a Society or a public assembly—a Lyceum, a Debating Club, or a Temperance meeting—is something. It tries the wings. It may only prepare to fly low; but even eagles fly low at first.

It is obvious, however, that even the management of public meetings, or of the affairs of a town, is not enough. The colored people must open their eyes to the responsibilities of self-government—to fill the various offices, judicial, legislative, and executive, of a State. For this purpose, they must, of course, have space, numbers and independence, and at least so much freedom from admixture with the whites, as will give them a fair chance in all the competitions for eligible and honorable stations.

And here, this topic indubitably connects itself with another, namely, the conditions and prospects of the slaves of this country, and the duty of the free colored population towards them.

It is not necessary to continue always, it would be the grossest atheism to affirm. A belief in the existence of a just Governor of the Universe, includes a belief in the final and utter abolition of slavery. But even this faith leaves the means and the period of emancipation unsettled.

Now, there are three modes of emancipation. The first is special and individual, as the emancipation of their slaves, by patriotic and Christian masters, and the second is general, as the emancipation of the slaves of this country, and the duty of the free colored population towards them.

Suppose, now, there were a prosperous and independent community of blacks in Jamaica, or in any of the other West India Islands, offering the equality and dignity of free institutions to whosoever of their African brethren would emigrate thither, would not numbers of the more benevolent and conscientious of the slaveholders give freedom to their slaves, with the expectation and perhaps the award of their becoming citizens of such a government, rising at once into the dignity of freemen? Not only so, but with such a people in our neighborhood, would not thousands and thousands of the most healthy, intelligent and valuable slaves exercise that inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, which they are authorized by the law of Nature and of Nature's God, at any moment, to enforce, by self-emancipation, that is escape? If the last census is to be relied on, about a thousand slaves escaped during the year that preceded his being taken. I have no doubt this is a great exaggeration; for many slaves who are charged with escaping to the north, are stolen and sent to the south. But suppose a thousand escaped into the black, and to them, unnatural climate of Canada. Would not many times this number have exercised this unquestionable right, if there had been any asylum on the south side of the Union as accessible as that on the North? Suppose a free and independent Republic to exist in Jamaica or Cuba, with language, or even with laws and civil institutions like our own, in which the highest atrocities of our Fugitive Slave Law were unknown, and in which, therefore, the fugitive slave would be protected from his pretended owner, as we now would protect Kosuth and his glorious Hungarian patriots from the clutch of Austria, what a glorious opportunity would this afford, from all the southern ports, and from the mouths of all the great southern rivers, to exercise this inextinguishable and inderestructible right of self-emancipation.

I would not, however, be understood by this to counsel of contentment in the recently proposed plan of the authorities of Jamaica, to import a large number of the United States into that island, as indentured apprentices, or laborers bound to serve for a term of years. But I would encourage and urge the migration of such of our more intelligent colored population as have the means to buy land and become independent freeholders or proprietors. Real estate, in Jamaica, is now at an immense discount. Making allowance for difference in fertility, land can be bought there almost as cheap as in any of the new States; and the purchaser at once enters society on an equality with most of his neighbors. He may have all that any man ought to demand—a station according to his character, talents and attainments.

Another method of emancipation is by act of the Legislatures in the slaveholding States. Without fixing the time when this shall be done, it is not an improbable, nor, as I trust, a very future event, in regard to the northern tier of slave States. Few things would tend to hasten such a consummation more than the existence, in the law of all the world, of self-administered, successful governments, by people of firm lineage. Whether those governments should exist on the western coast of Africa, in the West Indian Archipelago, or elsewhere, the demonstration and influence would be the same. It would silence, it would annihilate that impious argument that slavery is a benefit to the slave. It would give full scope and encouragement to that better nature of the slaveholder, which, in spite of all his sophistries and his selfishness, is forever counselling him that it is a sin for a man to claim property in man. It would bring the public opinion of nations to bear with irresistible force upon the institutions of slavery, and would put its voluntary holders out of the pale of civilization.

I would then adjure the free people of color to do whatever in their lies, to build up free colored communities in whatever parts of the world may be most favorable to the community themselves; and for reacting upon our colored brethren in this country, I would invoke a missionary spirit among them. Nay, it is higher than a missionary spirit. The missionary carries Christianity among the heathen; but this enterprise would react upon heathenism in a new and a more powerful manner. What a glorious change it would be in the condition of the colored people of the world, so far as this question of slavery is concerned, if, instead of our present debates in Congress, whether we should establish a government line of steamers to the western coast of Africa, free and prosperous republics on that coast were debating whether they should not establish a government line of steamships to us! Would it not seem as though slavery, in any place, could hardly co-exist with such a condition of the nations of the earth?

Let me here guard myself against misconstruction on one point. The idea of forcibly removing the American-born negro from the place of his birth and residence, and driving him out of the country against his will, is as abhorrent to my notions of justice and equality, as it can be to those of any one. The next most cruel thing to kidnapping a race of men, forcing them from their home and dooming them to slavery in a foreign land, would be the seizure of the descendants of that race, and driving them from the new world, as they had done with the great crime as this second expatriation would be, could hardly be conceived unless by a mind that had prepared itself for it by participating in the commission of the first. My moral nature, therefore, revolts with an abhorrence which I cannot express, from those recommendations of the governors of some of the southern States, who have proposed to expel from their borders all free colored persons,

under the terrible penalties of fine, imprisonment and a subjugation to slavery of them and their descendants. The proposition made last year, in the Senate of the United States, by a Senator from Massachusetts, to appropriate the entire proceeds of the sale of the public lands, estimated to be worth \$200,000,000—to transport the free colored population from the slave States, which would instantaneously have set in motion the legislative and physical power of those States to expel that population (and would have given the strongest guarantees for the security and the perpetuation of slavery among them), from their homes, I regard as one of the most wicked ideas ever conceived by the human mind. And I give it this precedence, in full recollection of the command of Herod to murder all the Hebrew children under two years of age, of the persecution and massacre of the Aborigines and Waldenses, and other calamitous instances of human wickedness.

But while I would oppose every form of force or intimidation to expel the free colored people from the land of their nativity, I should rejoice beyond measure to see great, intelligent and powerful African communities springing up, wherever by their power or their proximity, they could encourage or excite the free colored people in this country. And I can see why the benevolent and moral government of the free colored people amongst us should not flow into this channel.

There is one other means of emancipation—such as our revolutionary fathers adopted against Great Britain, and such as Hungary has lately adopted against Austria, not only with the justification, but with the approval of the civilized world. For this there are two conditions: a sufficient degree of oppression to authorize an appeal to force, and a chance, and a power, of bettering the condition. The measure of the first condition is already full—heaped up—running over. The second condition will be fulfilled, either when the slaves believe they can obtain their freedom by force, or when they are so elevated and enlarged in their moral conceptions as to appreciate that glorious supplication of Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty or give me death!"

It is most devoutly to be implored that God will save the slaveholders from the madness of defying the vengeance which will surely be visited upon them, if they continue much longer to do so, and to advocate the atheistic dogma that slavery is to be eternal. The very declaration that slavery shall be eternal will give birth to the resolve that it shall not be eternal! Hence, inevitable collision. And the ultimate result of collision is as certain as the fulfillment of any natural law; as certain as that gunpowder will explode on the application of fire, or that the generation of steam, without vent, could convert the solid earth into another group of asteroids. It is such a collision, on one side is the power of the people, on the other side, is the Omnipotence of God: "His truth shall prevail, and his captivity shall go into captivity," said the sure word of prophecy. "The Almighty hath no tribute," says Mr. Jefferson, "which can take part with us in such a contest! However disastrous may be the result of the first, or the tenth, or the hundredth struggle on the part of the slave; however many of the colored Hancocks and Adamses of that revolution may be singled out for vengeance and placed beyond the reach of pardon; however many Binns and Balthazars may be massacred in cold blood, each death will be a figure in a multitude more glorious lives, and for every drop of heroic blood which the earth shall drink, it will send back an armed man.

Now, there are two things which, above and beyond all others, the Angel of the Apocalypse will proclaim: first, a warning to the slave-power, deep and piercing as an afflatus of the Spirit of God, to escape this retribution, by a voluntary and timely abandonment of its unholy domination; and second, if the admonition is resisted, the inexorable and awful certainty of the doom of that power.

Now, this third method of emancipation, though it may require, on the other side, to be accepted only in case the preceding methods fail to bring relief, yet as an alternative to endless slavery, it is to be hoped for, prayed for, and provided for. And what provision can be so efficacious and toward as that of establishing independent communities—in the West Indies, on the coast of Africa, or elsewhere—which, should the great crisis ever arise, will be able to act for the freedom of their brethren in this country, as the law of God may require. I say, as the laws of God, but ought I not rather to say, as the example of God may require, for many slaves who are charged with escaping to the north, are stolen and sent to the south. But suppose a thousand escaped into the black, and to them, unnatural climate of Canada. Would not many times this number have exercised this unquestionable right, if there had been any asylum on the south side of the Union as accessible as that on the North? Suppose a free and independent Republic to exist in Jamaica or Cuba, with language, or even with laws and civil institutions like our own, in which the highest atrocities of our Fugitive Slave Law were unknown, and in which, therefore, the fugitive slave would be protected from his pretended owner, as we now would protect Kosuth and his glorious Hungarian patriots from the clutch of Austria, what a glorious opportunity would this afford, from all the southern ports, and from the mouths of all the great southern rivers, to exercise this inextinguishable and inderestructible right of self-emancipation.

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...was made to reconsider the vote on these res-...
In the evening, no resolutions were before us, but...
The following are the admirable resolutions...

and that an unqualified and bare-faced submission to...
Resolved, That every man, who is a slaveholder...
Resolved, That the cause of 'oppression as well as...
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as splendid and sublime by mortal man. It is one of...
By this time his means were exhausted; for he...
At this meeting, Mr. Mullen presented his facts;...
About forty to fifty people are employed constantly...

ing so good an opportunity to exhibit the fallibility of...
FROM THE ANNUAL MEETING!
The nineteenth annual meeting of the American...
The resolution was seconded by Oliver Johnson...

PROTECTION OF PERSONAL LIBERTY.
In the Massachusetts House of Representatives, on...
Mr. Pomeroy, of Southampton, made a long speech...
Mr. Lord, of Salem, was desirous of being informed...

Daniel Foster in Fall River.
PLYMOUTH COUNTY.
A meeting of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society...
THE YOUNG LADIES' MORAL AND LITERARY SOCIETY...
PATENT 'EOLIAN PIANO FORTE.'



For the Liberator.

THE INTERDICTION.

What! set a seal upon my lips, When suffering millions bid me speak? When, fiend-like, with their chains and whips, Tyrants their lustful vengeance wreak? No! while with freedom I am blessed, My lips shall plead for the oppressed!

For the Liberator.

LYING EPITAPHS.

I've read a score of consecrated lies, Extolling soundrels to the very skies; Making the knave a shining saint when dead, Whose 'pound of flesh' was some poor neighbor's bread.

For the Liberator.

WANT OF FAITH.

'Tis fear that stifles many a willing soul, Whose voice had else in tones of thunder spoken; Who, with the faith that makes the fearless whole, Each tyrant-spell with potent words had broken.

From the National Era.

APRIL.

The spring comes slowly up this way.—CHRISTABEL. 'Tis the noon of the spring-time, but never a bird In the wind-shade elm or maple is heard; For green meadow grasses, wide levels of snow, And blowing of drifts where the crocus should blow, Where wild flowers and violet, amber and white, By south-sloping brook-sides should smile in the light.

A GOOD HONEST HEART.

I'm happy, I'm cheerful, I'm merry and gay, From year's end to year's end—no time glides away; Though on humbled fare or on dainties I dine, Contentment and peace are companions of mine.

SLEEP ON, MY LOVE.

The following lines were written by Bishop Chester, on the death of his wife.— Sleep on, my love, in thy cold bed, Never to be disquieted; My last 'Good night!' Thou wilt not wake Till I thy fate shall undertake;

FORGIVENESS.

Oh! if you look to be forgiven, Love your own foes, the bitterest, even, And love to you shall glide from heaven.

Reformatory.

THE BIBLE AND SLAVERY.

It is time, in my opinion, for abolitionists to consider the relation which the Bible bears to slavery, and the influence which the prevailing notions respecting its heavenly origin and divine authority exert on the anti-slavery cause.

That portions of the Bible are in favor of slavery, I cannot doubt; and it is a fact, that while many general expressions in the New Testament are inconsistent with slavery, there is no command or exhortation to slaveholders to emancipate their slaves.

It seems, therefore, evident to me, that so long as the Bible, or even that portion of the Bible which is called the New Testament, is regarded as the word of God, and as a perfect rule of life, great numbers will consider that slavery is not inconsistent with God's will, and that slaveholding is not inconsistent with piety, justice or charity.

The consequence was, that the Bible was regarded as opposed to slavery, and was employed as an instrument for its destruction. The most popular sects, the most popular preachers and writers, denounced slavery as the most enormous and atrocious of all crimes; as the most impious of all abominations; and demanded its abolition accordingly.

Here, the churches and governments, the priests and the rulers, the preachers and divines, have discovered that the Bible, or portions of the Bible, treat slaveholding with leniency and respect, and rank certain slaveholders among the best of men, among the brightest examples of righteousness, and the greatest favorites of Heaven.

They have discovered that, though the children of Israel, whom the Scriptures represent as the special people of God, as a holy nation to the Lord, were not permitted to hold their brethren in perpetual and involuntary slavery, they were permitted to hold the people of the nations around them in such a condition, and were even permitted to hold their brethren in slavery for a term of years.

They have discovered that, though he advises Christians to abide in the situation to which they are called, though he advises the Christian slave, if he has the opportunity of being free, to choose it rather, he still exhorts him not to look on slavery as a serious evil, or to allow himself to be uneasy in his situation. They have, in short, discovered, that the book, which they regard as divine,—that the teachers, whom they regard as supernaturally inspired, treat slaveholding as a thing consistent with piety, justice and charity; with fidelity to God, and benevolence to man; with honor before men, and a good conscience towards God.

They have not only discovered this, but proved it. They have proved it to the satisfaction of multitudes. They have proved it, that the abolitionists are wise above what is written—wise above the prophets and legislators, the saints and apostles, whom God is represented in Scripture as moving, inspiring and controlling. They have proved, that abolitionists denounce what Jesus and his Apostles did not denounce, and require of men what they did not require. The priests and the rulers, the church and the people, are now persuaded, and, in my opinion, rightly persuaded, that slavery, according to the Bible, rests on a sacred foundation,—has the sanction of God himself,—is allowed even by Christ and his apostles, and can never be assailed as a deadly sin, as a damnable offence, as an outrage against humanity, as a violation of the principles of justice, charity or piety, without endangering the authority of the Gospel, without undermining man's reverence for the Scriptures.

And here the upholders and advocates of slavery take their stand. And here they are strong. It is impossible, in my opinion, to dislodge them, without assailing the prevailing and false notions respecting the authority of the Scriptures.

You may tell them that the general tenor and spirit of the law and gospel are against them; but that is nothing. It is only your interference. It is merely a deduction of your imperfect reason; your carnal rea-

son. They may answer, 'The tenor and spirit of the Scriptures cannot be against slavery, for plain and literal passages sanction slavery. The tenor and spirit of the Scriptures must be in harmony with the letter of the Scriptures, if the Scriptures are supernatural and divine. It is only the abuses of slavery, and not slavery itself; it is only the sins sometimes connected with slaveholding, and not slaveholding itself, that the tenor and spirit of the Scriptures condemn.'

I venture to say, that any one who regards the Bible as the word of God, as a collection of heavenly oracles, as the perfect rule of duty, is inconsistent in condemning slavery, or denouncing slaveholders as necessarily sinners. And I am greatly mistaken, if any man can keep his position in denouncing slavery as necessarily sinful in a discussion on scriptural grounds.

If I were a slaveholder, or a slaveholder's priest, I should feel no fear whatever of meeting the ablest abolitionists in the country on scriptural grounds. I should feel no fear whatever in proving, that, if the Scriptures are divine, slavery is a tolerable, an excusable thing, and that slaveholders may be as virtuous, as religious, as good, as the best and holiest men that ever lived. I am not about to quote passages to prove all this, but I should feel no fears of a discomfiture in a discussion on this subject.

My own opinion then is, that the prevailing notions respecting the supernatural origin and divine authority of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, are one of the strongest supports of American slavery, and one of the greatest obstacles in the way of abolitionism. My opinion is, that the exposure of the falseness of those opinions is essential to the annihilation, not only of American slavery, but of tyranny and servility of every kind, both in America and Europe. It has often been said, and has often been proved, that the American churches are the bulwarks of American slavery. But what is the bulwark of the churches in their protection of slavery? We answer, the Bible, and the prevailing notions respecting the supernatural origin and the divine authority of the Bible. The Bible, while regarded as a book of divine authority, gives the priests and churches a power which is all but infinite.

If the Bible were generally regarded as a collection of books of human origin, and as having none but human authority, the priests and the churches would find no force in them. Their reference to the example of Abraham and Isaac, of Jacob and Joseph, of Moses and Joshua, of Jesus and Paul, would be of no avail. The people would say, 'The books you quote are no authority. The men you refer to are no examples to us. They lived in dark and savage ages, and they might be faithful to the light they had; their conduct in holding men as slaves, and using their female slaves as concubines, is no authority for people in our day to do such things. You might as well attempt to justify lying, adultery, incest and murder by their example, as slaveholding. The book which represents slaveholders as the friends and favorites of God, represents liars and traitors, freebooters and highwaymen, fornicators and adulterers, thieves and murderers, in the same light. The Bible abounds with errors. It abounds in geographical, astronomical, geological, historical, zoological, biographical, moral, and theological errors. It contains many things good and true and beautiful; but it also contains an abundance of things foolish and false and injurious. It tells impossible stories. It contains indecent, obscene, and revolting fables. It gives false views of God. It gives false accounts of the origin and history of man. It blasphemes God; it libels man. It represents God as doing what the worst of men would not do; and it represents men and nations as sinking to a state of unnatural filthiness, to which men and nations are not capable of sinking. It contradicts itself on matters of the greatest importance. Regarded as a collection of human writings, it may be read with interest, and studied without danger; but regarded as the word of God, as the perfection of truth, as the rule of duty, it cannot be read without danger, or studied without injury. Your book is no authority, therefore. If you would prove to us that slavery is right, you must give us other arguments. You must prove that the slaves are happy. You must prove that the masters are pure. You must prove that the slaves have no desire to run away. You must prove that those who do run away, soon return to their place of bondage. You must prove that the owners have no need of overseers to drive them to work, or of watchers or patrols to prevent them from escaping. You must prove, that slavery tends to develop the intellectual and moral faculties of the slaves,—that the slaves excel in knowledge and virtue. You must prove, that there is no need of fugitive slave laws to assist the slaveholders in recouping runaway slaves. You must prove that free men, acquainted with slavery, are as forward to run into bondage, as the slaves are to run for liberty. You must prove, that the slaveholders are friendly to free discussion,—that they invite the inspection and animadversions of their neighbors,—that they give encouragement to those who differ from them to preach and lecture, to write, and print, and publish their views, both among the bond and the free. You must prove, that abolitionists are treated with respect by the slaveholders, and made to feel themselves safe and at home in the land of slavery. You must prove, that agriculture, mechanics, manufactures, commerce, all useful sciences and all profitable arts, flourish most in countries where slavery prevails. You must prove, that slaveholders and their supporters and advocates, have no fears of the result of a free press, of free speech, of free discussion on the subject of slavery. You must prove, that slaveholders never call abolitionists hard names; that they never belibe and slander them; that they never attribute to them false and wicked motives, and that they never show any desire to prevent them from speaking and writing as their judgments and consciences prompt them. You must prove, that there is greater freedom of speech, and more freedom of the press, allowed in the slave States than in the free States. You must prove, that the manufacturers and farmers of the free States are as frightened of their work-people, neighbors and children running into perpetual slavery, as the planters and aristocrats of the South are of their slaves running off in search of liberty.

It is in vain to tell us what Jewish or Christian books say about slavery; they are no authorities with us. Tell us what your slaves say. Tell us what they do. Tell us how they look. Prove to us that they like

avery. Prove to us that they have reason to like it, prove to us that they excel in knowledge, in learning, in the fine and useful arts, in the virtues and ornaments of humanity. Prove to us that in envying your brother, you are doing to others as you would that others should do unto you. Prove to us that slavery is consistent with the free and full exercise of our domestic affections; with the fullest and happiest development of our intellectual, moral and physical natures. Prove to us that in wishing to preserve ourselves, our wives, our sons, our daughters on slavery, we are foolish, mad, or wicked. Prove to us, that our horror of bondage, our eager and impatient longing to freedom, is natural depravity, born sin, infernal and damnable iniquity. Prove to us that tyranny and oppression are good. Prove to us that the men who lift up their voices, or rise up in arms against tyrants and oppressors, against the wholesale plunderers and destroyers of their brethren, are the greatest sinners; are impious rebels against God, and the heartless foes of men. Prove to us that Cromwell, and Hampden, and Milton, and Pym, and Washington, and Franklin, and Kosciuszko, and Mazzini, are accused of God, and loathed and abhorred by all good men. Prove to us that the American Revolution was an atrocious crime,—that the Declaration of independence was an enormous blunder; and, in a word, prove to us that the feeling of pure, uncorrupted humanity is in favor of oppression and tyranny, of whips and scorpions, of whipping women and selling children, of hunting human beings with blood-hounds, and shooting them down with rifles for attempting to gain their freedom; and that we will acknowledge the goodness of slavery, and the innocency of kidnapping and slave-holding.

But you have no such proofs to give. Your slaves are happy. They are, in general, exceedingly miserable, and the little enjoyment they have, they owe, not to their situation as slaves, but to the law of their nature, the will of their Maker, which will not allow any man being to live long in unmixed and unmitigated misery. Your slaves are not happy. They are content. They groan, they pine for liberty. And the more they have of manhood in them, the more they hate their chains; the more eagerly and anxiously do they long for freedom. When they can, your slaves escape. They run all risks in order to escape. You know they are not content. You now they are watchful for opportunities to escape. And you also know, that when once your slaves escape, they are in no great hurry to return. You know, that the fugitives from bondage, prefer either the cold of Canada, or the heat of the tropics, or their native abodes of slavery. You know, that they regard slavery as the greatest curse, as the deepest degradation, as the most grievous torture to which humanity can be subjected; and that rather than be returned to it, the fugitive, in many cases, prefers the most cruel death. You prove, yourselves, that slavery is a tremendous evil, by your watchings and patrols; by your blood-hounds and your Fugitive Slave Laws. You prove that slavery is unnatural, inhuman, ungodly, by your hatred of free discussion, by your horror of free speech and a free press, by your persecution of those who dissent from you; by your tarring and feathering, your ducking and lynching the men who express an opinion unfavorable to slavery; by your abuse of the abolitionists; by your offer of a price for their heads; by your groundless, unconvincible and outrageous slanders of the advocates of freedom; by your endeavors to prevent your poor bondmen from learning to read and write by the unequal severities of your laws against men who emigrate, persuade or encourage your slaves to escape; by your dread of free people of color; by your chains and fetters; by your manacles and iron collars; by your whips and branding irons; by your bloodhounds and your rifles; by your bow-knives and your revolvers. And you, the masters of the slaves, are not remarkably pure. The color of your slaves convicts you of the grossest licentiousness. Your unusual irritability, your eager rage, your readiness to shed the blood of the man who crosses you, all tell us that slavery is undoing you.

Nor does slavery promote the intellectual and moral development of the slaves. It checks their development. It denies them schools and books. It treats intellectual development as a crime. It stupefies and brutalizes the slave.

And where do you find men, born and reared in freedom, eager to escape into bondage? When did you find it necessary to pass laws to prevent the mechanics and merchants, the farmers and laborers from flooding your plantations and auction rooms, anxious to consign themselves to slavery? Even the wretched Irish do not crowd to your States to crave your honors to accept them as slaves. Even your advocates of slavery do not choose to be slaves themselves. Your advocates of slavery give evidence that they prize it, not for any good they see in it, but for the gain they receive for it. It is selfishness, not patriotism or humanity, that preaches and writes in favor of slavery.

But it is unnecessary to proceed. Your peculiar institution is condemned by the heart, the soul, and instincts of universal humanity. Every one shrinks from it. Every one seeks to flee from it. It is an unutterable, an immeasurable curse. The arguments employed in its favor are the grossest shams. They are not the suggestions of nature, but the fabrications of crime and depravity. They are not the utterances of truth, but the mutterings of a dark antiquity or the inventions of modern deceit and hypocrisy.

Well may you go back to the benighted ages of the world's first history for proofs that slavery is allowable; for the light and the virtue of the present age are all against you. Well may you have recourse to documents in Greek and Hebrew, in Syriac and Chaldee; for the literature, the science, the politics, the morals, and even the new theology of the present day, are all in favor of freedom. The testimony of antiquity in favor of slavery, if it gives its testimony in favor of slavery, proves, not that slavery is good, but that antiquity deserves not our credit. The testimony of the Bible in favor of slavery,—if it gives such testimony,—proves, not that the abolitionists are wrong, but only that some of the authors of the Bible were ignorant and erring mortals.

It may, however, be assumed, that the portions of the Bible to which we have referred, do not speak favorably of slavery;—they only fail to condemn it. The authors of those portions of Scripture did not think slavery a blessing; they only failed to discover or to denounce its iniquity and inhumanity. No Scripture writer says that slavery is of God, and that it is designed for the good of his creatures. No Scripture writer speaks of abolitionism as a crime, or of abolitionists as fanatics, or madmen, or villains. This manifestation of folly or depravity was reserved for the unfortunate dupes, and the unprincipled deceivers of later ages and of other lands.

Still, the Bible, or portions of the Bible, speak in such a way of slavery and slaveholders, as to satisfy those who are interested in slavery, and who regard the Bible as a full revelation of God's will, and a perfect rule of life, that the doctrine of the abolitionists is false,—that the position of the slaveholder is not a sinful or unnatural one,—that a man may be a slaveholder and yet be a good, a great, a godly man; an eminent saint, a blessed patriarch, an example of righteousness, a special favorite of Jehovah, and an infinite blessing to mankind.

And on this account, as well as on other accounts, I would discard the Bible as an authority, and endeavor to bring others to do the same. I would endeavor to show men, that the Bible is a collection of purely human books,—that its authors were erring and imperfect men,—that on many subjects, they were exceedingly ignorant,—that the books of the Bible bore about them all the evidences of imperfection that are to be found in other writings,—that the

doctrine of the perfection of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, or the doctrine that they are a revelation of God's will respecting man, or a perfect rule of duty, is a groundless, a foolish, a mischievous notion,—in short, that the translations, the Greek and Hebrew texts, the Greek and Hebrew manuscripts, are all imperfect, all contradictory, all calculated to mislead the man that regards them as an infallible guide to truth and righteousness.

I would not treat the Scriptures as an unmixed mass of error and impurity. I would not denounce the authors of its various books as a herd of conspirators against the peace and virtue, or against the freedom and happiness of mankind. I would treat both the Bible and its authors justly and honorably. I would commend what I found to be true, and good and beautiful; and I would acknowledge the piety, the virtue, the talents of many of its authors. I would not wage war with the book; but only with the false and injurious notions respecting its origin and authority. I would not treat its authors with contempt or spite, but test their merits by fair and honorable criticism. In short, I would aim in all my remarks on the Scriptures, at the exposure of error, and the prevention of crime, and at nothing further.

I knew that by writing in this way about the Scriptures, I should shock a number of your friends and fellow-workers; and this would be a pain and grief to me; but I would still go on. The best and wisest of them would consider my remarks, when the first harsh shock was over, and, in time, would see and acknowledge their justice. They would read the Scriptures with new or awakened minds, and would be shocked to find what horrible things they say of God, and what dreadful crimes they tolerate or sanction in man. I might find myself in a fearful minority; I might even, to appearance, sacrifice much of my influence as an abolitionist; but I would keep to the truth, and leave results with God.

Besides, if but few abolitionists co-operated with me, great numbers would co-operate with others. I should not lessen their numbers, but only divide them. And I should only divide them in appearance. They would still all labor for one great end. They might not choose to work with me; but I would work with them. Whenever they uttered a word or struck a blow for the slave, I would do what I could to second them.

And I am not sure, if the leading abolitionists were to take the ground I take, that they would not greatly and rapidly increase the number of abolitionists. Once attempt to prove, first, that slavery is an enormous evil, and then that the scriptures sanction it; once attempt to prove, first, that fornication, concubinage, adultery, injustice, cruelty, murder, are inseparable from slavery,—and secondly, that the scriptures, notwithstanding, connive at slavery, make no effort to abolish it, represent it as a matter of little importance whether men be slaves or freemen, and even speak of fornicating, adulterous and inhuman slaveholders as the friends of God and as examples of faith and righteousness, and you will soon find your Gannets and Deweys, your Sturts and Springs, your Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Congregationalist, Unitarian, Quaker and Popish Priesthood, turning round to oppose you. What! Our blessed book the abettor and shield of the slaveholder, the fornicator, the adulterer, the thief and the murderer! Horror of horrors! What will become of religion,—what will become of the church,—what will become of ourselves, if we allow such a doctrine to go uncontradicted or unrefuted? It must not be.

Yes, my friends, it is rather probable, that by undertaking to prove that portions of the scriptures give countenance to slavery and its vices, and even to political tyranny and its enormities,—you will convert even Dr. Dewey into an anti-slavery man. When the piously advocates of slavery hear the abolitionists echoing their own doctrine, that the Bible sanctions slavery, and even all its attendant horrors and abominations,—when they find the abolitionists going a little further, and proving that the scriptures, or portions of the scriptures, sanction political tyranny and despotism, forbid rebellion against tyrants, sentence to damnation all who resist existing authorities, requiring men to be subject both to ecclesiastical and political rulers, on pain of eternal ruin, and when they find you proving that the scriptures even require you to obey every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, without regard to its character, you may depend upon it they will tremble. The hypocrites will tremble for their calling and their hire; and the honest but deluded will tremble for the honor of their religion, and the salvation of men's souls.

But I must draw towards a close. I am glad to see that correcter views respecting the scriptures, and respecting authority in general, are making their way among the leading abolitionists. I am glad to find H. C. Wright and others, declaring that it is the scriptures do sanction slavery, the scriptures must be wrong. Let them declare their opinion as to whether the scriptures do sanction slavery, and proceed in their argument accordingly.

The more freely we declare what we believe to be the truth, the better it will be both for us and for the world. The world will have to hear the truth, and the sooner it hears it the better. True, the free and faithful declaration of the truth is attended with inconveniences; but it is attended with infinite blessedness. I have lost thousands of friends and heaps of honors. I have subjected myself to pecuniary losses and to infinite insults and slanders. I have even exposed myself to want, and brought myself into a dangerous illness, by my free and faithful declaration of what I believed to be the truth; but I have earned or secured a thousand thousand blessings by so doing. The consciousness I have, that neither in Europe or America, that neither on political nor theological subjects, have I withheld from the world what I believed to be the truth, is an infinite comfort to me. On the other hand, the most painful recollection that haunts me is, the recollection that I once was too weak, too timid, too prudent, too regardful of the feelings of my friends, too apprehensive of the interests of the church, too much concerned for my own influence, to publish with freedom the first faint whispers of truth to my soul. I partly excuse myself, I almost forgive myself those errors of my early apostolic childhood; but I could never excuse or forgive myself now, if I were to be guilty of such errors again. No, no. It is not necessary that I should be honored or flattered by the multitude; nor is it necessary that I should ever be able to obtain the hearing of the majority; it is not even necessary that I should live; but it is necessary, if I do live, that I should speak what prevents itself to my mind as truth. It is necessary that my tongue and my heart should agree; that my words should be the voice of my thoughts; that in advocating virtue and warning with vice, I should plant myself on the surest ground, and use the choicest instruments.

Farewell: God grant that if you cannot obtain from me such help as you wish or need, you may obtain it elsewhere. Aguin, Isry, far well.

JOSEPH BARKER.

LIQUOR BILL.—In the Massachusetts House of Representatives, on the 7th inst., another vote was taken on the 'Liquor Bill.' The House had adopted the recommendations of the Committee of Conference, and the bill had passed to be engrossed without objection. On Thursday, however, a motion was made to reconsider recent action, which motion was made in the order of the day on Friday, when the vote stood, affirmative 93, negative 217; the House refusing to reconsider by a majority of 124. The strength of the House was thus brought out in favor of sustaining the Bill. The majority on the report of the Committee was smaller, because some who voted in the negative did not like the Report, and some who voted in the affirmative had an opportunity to vote on the merits of the bill afterwards.

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