



The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, APRIL 8, 1859.

W. L. GARRISON, Esq., Editor of the Liberator.

It is with great pleasure that I like every friend of freedom, continue to notice your vigorous and consistent defence of the rights of colored men. But, allow me to utter my astonishment at your passing over in silence a violation of the rights of white men, that goes on before your eyes. Might it not be a worthy task for your pen to characterize, and expose to a deserved criticism, that Resolution of the Legislature of Massachusetts which introduces a difference between native and foreign-born citizens, as to their rights? If an emancipated slave settles in Massachusetts, he is permitted to vote a short time after, like every citizen of Boston; but Mazzini, Ledru Rollin, even Humboldt, Liebig, &c., &c., would not have such right, except after seven years of residence here. I am decidedly of opinion that a colored man has as many rights as a white man; but are you, perhaps, of opinion that a white man, if he is not born in this slaveholding country, ought to have less rights than a colored man?

The German Liberals all over the Union, would, in a body, declare openly their adherence to the Abolitionist party, if they could hope for any success of that party. They are, therefore, greatly interested to hear from you, a noble advocate of human rights of blacks, a word on the rights of the Immigrant.

Respectfully yours, K. HEINZEN, Editor of the "Pioneer."

REPLY. While we do not go to the polls ourselves, (having long since withdrawn from them as a matter of conscience), we nevertheless, strongly condemn an act of political injustice like that referred to by the editor of the "Pioneer;" and we have scarcely a doubt that the proposed amendment to the Constitution of Massachusetts, should it be submitted to the people, will be rejected by a decided majority. "Know-Nothingism" has had its day, and this is its last expiring effort. It is but justice to say that, outside of this Commonwealth, no countenance is given by the Republican journals to this proscription.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

The following highly gratifying announcement has appeared for the last two or three numbers under the editorial head of the Anti-Slavery Standard:

"With the increase in general estimation of the importance of the great enterprise to which our lives have been devoted grows a new responsibility—the duty of making known, on both sides of the sea, whatever in relation to it may concern the two great nations that speak the English language."

"To do this effectually requires the trained power of thought and observation, the political intuition and accomplishment, the historic faculty and knowledge, which it is the standing difficulty on either side of the Atlantic to combine, and the common desire to find united. The great anti-slavery enterprise of this century demands, in addition, a universal and impartial sympathy, and a proved power to forego all things else for the opportunity of usefulness to the world."

"The ability to offer such an opportunity has enabled the Executive Committee of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to obtain such cooperation."

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THE MODEL PASTOR.

Oh! where shall rest be found? Rest for the weary soul!

An answer has been found to this important question. The problem is solved, and the solution published to the world. Rest is obtainable, if sought at the right time and in the right place. And we are assured of this, not by a person in the first warm flush of discovery, exaggerating in his enthusiasm, and hastily generalizing from a very few facts, but by a patient investigator, who, having observed, compared and listened to—found and made note of—marked, learned, and inwardly digested the matter in question for nearly a quarter of a century, now speaks with the confidence engendered by patient perseverance in his method, and unvarying uniformity in his result. Not to keep our readers in suspense, rest, a delicious repose for soul and body at once, is to be found on Sundays (the secular days are not touched for) in a pew of Essex Street church in Boston; the shepherd who leads his sheep among green pastures is the Rev. South-side Adams; and the fortunate discoverer and announcer of this place of weekly refuge is the Hon. Rufus Choate.

The place where this announcement was first made was chosen in the most judicious manner to extend this soothing influence, and increase the number of such cases in this vale of tears. Nearly a hundred clergymen (if we may trust the estimate of the Courier) had assembled with the church and congregation of Dr. Adams, to honor and congratulate him on the completion of twenty-five years of pastoral service, on the evening of March 28th. These clergymen gathered rather more than they bargained for. They went merely to a festivity, but found a sermon thrown in, with a special and pointed application to themselves. It happened on this wise.

Mr. Choate, having regularly attended the ministry of South-side Adams nearly the whole of the period thus celebrated, had been specially invited to make the principal rhetorical demonstration at the festival in question. He, of course, bestowed the expected praise, honor and glory, with the expected thoroughness, upon the hero of the evening. But there was one feature of his speech which must have taken every hearer by surprise. Instead of using merely "glittering generalities" in praise of Dr. Adams, he stated, elaborately, minutely, and with delicious frankness, the very actual reason which makes that gentleman's preaching acceptable to him—namely, this: avowing that he went into his pew on Sunday "as a man goes into his house at night time, for rest"—he distinctly, emphatically, repeatedly declares that, throughout the twenty-five years, "never in an introductory prayer, never in a hymn, occasionally or in the ordinary course of public worship selected, never by an illustration in any sermon, by any train of association right or wrong," did he find himself carried back into the world that he had left; through the whole of this time, the sermons and prayers, and the selections from Bible and psalm-book, had so precisely answered his particular purpose in going there, that never in a single case did he find himself assailed or attacked by any thing which he had done, any thing for which he had voted or acted in the political world without. Admitting, incidentally, that this "heated, leaving political world" is not a very good world, and that the action of himself and his associates in it is not particularly praiseworthy, he yet triumphs in the recollection that no sin committed, no duty neglected there, has ever, for a moment, been brought to his recollection by the manner or matter of the South-side ministrations, and that they have never reduced in him one single impulse even to attempt to make the next six days' work more worthy than the last.

Now Mr. Choate, though widely and accurately known in the community, and made the subject of much comment for his action in law and politics, has never been reckoned an eminent saint. He has probably submitted, without wincing, to be represented in prayer, hymn and sermon, (in a general way, and as one of a congregation collectively so stigmatized,) as a "miserable sinner." He does not reckon this sort of classification as disturbance or annoyance, does not connect it with the acts which he does as a lawyer or a politician, and does not consider the weekly rest in his pew, so much desired and so intensely enjoyed, to be prejudiced by it. We infer, therefore, that other miserable sinners in the congregation, perhaps the entire body of them, enjoy the Sunday rest graphically described by Mr. Choate, having their repose disturbed by no application or applicability of the sermon and prayer to their actual daily life—no self-comparison of its past, no aspiration for its future—no approach of it with a better earthly life—no reference of it to a higher standard, either ideal or Scriptural.

This does not answer our idea of a "preacher of righteousness," or a "preacher of the Gospel." But it so exactly fulfills Mr. Choate's idea and necessity, that he not only exults and glories in it as a credit to the Essex street minister and a blessing to his congregation, but he preaches a short sermon upon that text to the hundred brother ministers of Dr. Adams, who, having come as mere participants in a festive occasion, must have been somewhat astonished at being singled out for special admonition and warning before the crowded congregation; singled out for public instruction, by a lawyer, as to the proper manner of performing their clerical duties, and in a place where they could make neither defence nor reply.

Mr. Choate earnestly appealed to these Reverend clergymen to follow the example of his venerated pastor, and give to their flocks the inestimable blessing of rest, by taking a South-side view of those things generally, which would interfere with their repose, and particularly by abstaining from politics, and from any element which has been connected, in any way, with active party politics, on the Lord's day.

This request, if understood according to its terms, must be considered a somewhat unreasonable one, since compliance with it would deprive these ministers of a large part of their stock in trade. Adhering to it, they could not preach upon, or allude to, any one of the ten commandments, nor any one of the seven deadly sins, since the violation of all the former, and the commission of all the latter, have formed a part, either of the system of slavery, or of the action of the United States government in defence of slavery; and opposition to these two is manifestly what Mr. Choate means by politics. But setting aside this consideration, and setting aside also the hardened effrontery of a request, made by a layman, in behalf of miserable sinners generally, that clergymen, in tender consideration for the feelings of those miserable sinners, abstain from the rebuke of one great and spreading department of sin—if any of those clergymen were gifted with a perception of the ludicrous, it must have been difficult for them to preserve the requisite sobriety of countenance, while Mr. Choate seriously elaborated the following double blunder, sufficient, of itself, to cause a presumption of Hibernian descent on his part: a layman, speaking to clergymen, and to clergymen assembled for a purpose altogether different from the reception of criticism or admonition, he urged these two reasons, among others, for their professional incompetency to treat the subject in question, as being less acquainted with it than their hearers!—and next, that it was unfair to take advantage of those hearers, by giving them an unlooked for rebuke, in a place where they could neither escape nor reply! Yes, the usually acute and wide-awake Mr. Choate actually committed himself, in these circumstances, by quoting the proverb—*Suum cuique sua in arte erudendum est*—Every man is to be presumed to understand his own trade—and by uttering the following tragico-pathetic appeal:

Let me ask my clerical friends—again speaking for laymen—whether they think it to be quite fair

PLAY BETWEEN MAN AND MAN, TO CATCH A PARISHIONER.

In his pew, silent and still, by custom, decorum, and the manners of New England, and turn upon him every eye in the congregation, and expect to see him practice, and for the partition, for the politics he attacked himself? Is it quite right—as a clerical friend now in my eye expressed it in a sermon some time ago, in every word of which it gives me pleasure to agree—that he should find himself suddenly plunged—as a man finds himself in a snow bank—into a caucus? I put it to you, is it fair, manly, moral, honest? Is it not cruel, and cowardly, so to treat an individual man?

Poor David, King of Israel! How unlucky that he lived before the modern code of honor was invented! Could he have heard Mr. Choate's sermon in Essex street church, he need not have hung his head, like a blubbering school-boy, before the coarse personalities of Nathan. He might then have had either of two kinds of defence. He might have uttered, majestically, the Hebrew for *Suum cuique sua in arte erudendum est*, adding, with a frown—*Quis tu, mere prophet, pretend to understand the prerogatives of princes?*—or, descending to the level of reason, he might calmly have asked—Thinkest thou, O Nathan, that it is quite fair play between man and man, to catch a monarch in his retirement, with neither his courtier nor court chaplain at hand to speak for him, and put him out of countenance as thou hast done? Is it quite right thus to throw a wet blanket upon a fellow-creature? I put it to thee if it is fair, manly, moral, honest? Nay, O Nathan, is it not cruel and cowardly thus to treat an individual man?

Had Mr. Choate been familiar with the history and literature of the class of men whom he thus undertook to instruct, he might have found abundant authorities among themselves upon the point in question. For instance, he might have quoted Rev. Cyrus Byington, missionary at Stockbridge station among the Choctaws, and still retained in the service of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in spite of his expressed determination to admit slaveholders to his church, and to avoid, not only "the abolition movement," but any train of measures aiming even "in the end" to undermine the system of slavery! Mr. Byington says, in answer to the question what ministerial instruction he gives to his slaveholding church-members about slavery—"We give such instructions to masters and servants as are contained in the epistles, and yet not in a way to give the subject a personal prominence. For then it would seem to be personal, as there are usually but one or two slaveholders at our meetings!"

Mr. Choate had formerly, on an occasion of merely secular interest, intimated, by an expressive epithet, his opinion that the truths of the Declaration of Independence should not be too minutely reduced to practice. Excellent to make a show with on the fourth of July, and to wave abroad, like the star-spangled banner, on other public occasions, he decided that they were, after all, only "glittering generalities," and that they should be used merely as such. He now informs us that certain truths in the Bible are the same in kind with these, only different in degree; the doctrines "that the race of man is of kindred blood, all of it," and "that all men stand on an equality of right, and responsibility, and duty before God," he declares to be GLORIOUS GENERALITIES! He admits that these glorious generalities are, and implies that they appropriately may be, "modified and controlled by civil society." But how far God's glorious generalities are to be modified and controlled by man—how far, for example, he says, touching the kernel of the nut with the point of his needle, "the acquisition of a territory, a new fact, by the common blood and common treasure, makes it proper to lay it open to all or shut it up against some,"—these things, he tells his reverend hearers, they do not understand, and had better not attempt to inquire into or report.

In contrast with this cant about the unfitness of the clergy to preach upon those truths which political parties have chosen to pervert or deny—and because the truths in question are perverted or denied, a reason the force of which goes in the opposite direction—how sensible, manly and Christian seem the following sentiments from the pen of Dr. Arnold; Life, p. 169:

"I think that the clergy as a body might do much, if they were steadily to observe the evils of the times, and preach fearlessly against them. I cannot understand what is the good of a national Church if it be not to Christianize the nation, and introduce the principles of Christianity into men's social and civil relations, and expose the wickedness of that spirit which maintains the game laws."

The people who, living at a distance from Boston, are unacquainted with the relation sustained by its clergymen to slavery and to anti-slavery, must not suppose that the hundred ministers who assembled to honor Dr. Adams did



TO VERMONT.

For the Liberator. On hearing of the passage of the Personal Liberty Bill. Brave and noble-hearted sister! our thanks to thee are due!

THE AUCTION SALE.

See! 'tis an auction sale: We follow the gaping crowd, And we look on the precious human goods That the crier is crying so loud.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVREURE.

Sleep calmly in thy dungeon-tomb, Beneath Beaumont's alien sky, Dark Haysen!—for the time shall come, Yes, even now is nigh—

OUTWARD LIFE.

Though outward life is dark with dreams Of want and care and scolding, Thank God! it ends with Angel beams Of sunrise in the morning.

The Liberator.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE IN NEW YORK.

POTOMAC, (N. Y.) March 27, 1859. FRIEND GARRISON—It has been my wish, for a long time, to receive the Liberator regularly, and I now hope to gratify it.

ments, greater than all Unions. Only the right is acceptable with God. And he who yields a high principle to any Constitution, who sacrifices human freedom upon the altar of the Union, must yield his hollow pretence of being governed by any law higher than that document; and practically secede at the Infinito.

Our acquaintance with 'infidels' has been very limited, and the few whom we have known did not seem very intelligent or very wise. But the depth of folly and the density of ignorance reported by tract distributors as existing among this class are enough to excite one's pity.

CHILD MURDER. At the meeting in Warrington, (England,) which welcomed Miss S. P. Remond, of Salem, Mr. Robson made the following remarks on the fallen national character of the Americans:

master in several of the battles of the Revolution, and showing noble scars received in the bloody conflicts of that day. It was also with the army of the last war with Great Britain, at the time of Hall's surrender. He was at the time of the surrender driving a team, and when ordered to drive to a certain point, positively said he would not drive back to this country.