THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. VI. OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. NO. 12.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.] [SATURDAY, MARCH 12, 1836.

THE LIBERATOR

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ISAAC KNAPP,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

TERMS.

, TWO DOLLARS per annum, always payable in advance. All letters and communications must be post paid. The rule is imperative, in order to shield us from the frequent impositions of our enemies.—Those, therefore, who wish their letters to be taken from the Post Office by us, will be careful to pay their postage.

, An advertisement making one square, or a space of equal length and breadth, will be inserted three times for one dollar.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

[From the Milledgeville (Ga.) Federal Union.]

$10,000 REWARD,

FOR A. A. PHELPS,

A NOTED ABOLITIONIST,

WHO is now spreading the detestable doctrine in the New-England States, and who is hired by the Tappanites, at the rate of $1200 per annum. The above reward will be paid on his delivery in Savannah, to the sheriff of Chatham county.

MANY CITIZENS.

February 1, 1836.—3t-32

, Editors at the North, opposed to the abolition incendiaries, are requested to give the above notice one insertion in their respective papers.

The same paper which contains the above has also numerous advertisements of *men and women for sale*. Among these is one advertising the sale together, of a MAN, two HORSES and a MULE! Here it is:

ADMINISTRATOR'S SALE.—On the first Tuesday in March next, will, within the legal hours, be sold, before the court house door in the town of Milledgeville, Baldwin county, one negro man, by the name of Stephen, two horses and one mule, belonging to the estate of Martin P. Smith, deceased, for the benefit of the heirs and creditors of said deceased. Terms made known on the day of sale.

WILLIAM F. SMITH,
December 14, 1835.—25 *Administrator.*

THE ABOLITION QUESTION IN VIRGINIA.

After a long debate in the Virginia House of Delegates in relation to the subject of Abolition, the annexed series of resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That this Commonwealth only has the right to control or interfere with the subject of domestic slavery, within its limits, and that this right will be maintained at all hazards.—(Unanimous.)

Resolved, That the State of Virginia has a right to claim prompt and efficient legislation by her co-States, to restrain as far as may be, and to punish those of her citizens, who in defiance of the obligations of social duty and those of the constitution, assail her safety and tranquillity, by forming associations for the abolition of slavery, or printing, publishing, or circulating through the mail or otherwise, seditious and incendiary publications; and that this right, founded as it is, on the principles of international law, is peculiarly fortified by a just consideration of the intimate and sacred relations that exist between the States of this Union.—(Ayes 108, Noes 7.)

Resolved, That the non-slaveholding States of the Union, are respectfully, but earnestly requested, promptly to adopt penal enactments, or such other measures, as will effectually suppress all associations within their respective limits, purporting to be or having the character of Abolition Societies; and that they will make it highly penal to print, publish, or distribute the newspapers, pamphlets, or other publications, calculated or having a tendency to excite the slaves of the Southern States to insurrection and revolt.—(Ayes 125, Noes 1.)

Resolved, That this General Assembly would regard any act of Congress, having for its object the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, or the Territories of the United States, as affording just cause of alarm to the slaveholding States, and bringing the Union into imminent peril.—(Ayes 122, Noes 4.)

Resolved, That it is highly expedient for the slaveholding States, to enact such laws and regulations as may be necessary to suppress and prevent the circulation of any incendiary publications, within their respective limits.—(Unanimous.)

Resolved, That confiding in the justice and loyalty of our Northern brethren in the principles of the Union, enforced by the sympathies of common dangers, sufferings and triumphs, which ought to bind us together in fraternal concord, we are warranted in the expectation, that the foregoing requests will be received in the spirit in which they are made, and complied with.—(Ayes 125, Noes 1.)

Resolved, That Congress has no constitutional power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, or in the Territories of the United States.—(Ayes 105, Noes 13.)

Resolved, That the Governor be, and he is hereby requested to forward a copy of these resolutions to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, and to the Executive of each of the States of the Union, and to request that the same may be submitted to their respective Legislatures.

ANOTHER BREEZE. The following article is copied from a New Orleans paper received this morning:—

The murderous designs of the fiend-like fanatics, who, to effect their diabolical purposes, would not only place the fire brand in our dwellings, but prepare their knives for the cutting of our throats, must be arrested, and that while in embryo. The strenuous efforts of our friends, and friends to humanity, friends to the safety of our Union, which ought to be held sacred to every American, I fear will little avail, unless the people in their majesty rise and set their foot on this hydra monster. The public are informed that by the ship Shakespeare, lately from New York, was brought a package claimed by *no one*, but which having been placed in the warehouse of the consignees, was accidentally opened, when, lo and behold! there were discovered the most vile and infamous libels against the southern section of the Union, books of the most incendiary character, and prints that would occasionly raise our hair to stand worse than bristles. The consignees will no doubt hand all these over to the Executive, or Mayor of our city, that they may be dealt with as they merit.

COMMUNICATIONS.

DR. BEECHER'S THANKSGIVING SERMON.

CINCINNATI, Dec. 10th, 1835.

BRO. GARRISON:

It was with surprise and pain, that I listened to the sermon of Dr. Beecher, preached in this city on the occasion of the recent public thanksgiving. Many things in the sermon merited and received my hearty approval, but others seemed to me to demand the most unqualified reprobation. Much of the sermon was apparently an effort to flatter our national pride, and gratify our vanity; and this, too, in the method adopted by every fourth of July declaimer—by condemning the government and institutions of other countries; by proclaiming aloud all that is favorable in our own, and remaining silent, or speaking in apology for faults and evils that exist among us. I rejoice, as much as Dr. Beecher, in our free institutions and republican government. But is it not time, at least for the ministers of religion, to stop the ridiculous practice of eulogizing American liberty, when there are two millions and a half now in bondage, and efforts fast making to deprive all our citizens, who will not join in enslaving their brethren, of their dearest rights—the liberty of opinion—of speech—and of the press. To do this, is to flatter our national pride at the expense of truth and justice. It is a desecration of the sacred desk; and the man who practices it becomes the pander to the vices of his countrymen, rivets faster the chains of slavery, and holds us up the laughing stock of the world.

But, that I may not condemn the Dr. unheard, I will give from memory a brief outline of the sermon, and your readers will then be able to judge of its merits for themselves.

Text, Psalm 147, 20th: 'He hath not dealt so with any nation.'

After an introduction, in which the Dr. pointed out the superiority of our national privileges to those of the Jews, and advocated the propriety of the annual observance of a day of public thanksgiving to God; he proceeded to lay down the following proposition, viz: That when we are acquainted with the laboring classes of any country, we may be said to possess a knowledge of that country—this class constituting by far the largest portion of every community. To prove the applicability of the text to our nation, and to make it apparent that we are superior to all others in the means and in the actual enjoyment of happiness, the Dr. instituted a comparison between the laboring classes of Europe and those of the United States. He selected as the subject of his comparison, on the one hand, the lowest peasantry of France, Norway, Austria, and Ireland, the operatives of England, and the serfs of Russia and Poland; and, on the other, the mechanics and farmers of our own country. (1) The Dr. descended to particulars. The poor of Europe have little political importance. In England, where most is enjoyed, it is exceedingly limited. France, with her 32,000,000, has but 170,000 voters. The laborers of Hungary, Russia and Poland are without any political representation. The land is held by the nobles, while the poor perform all the labor, pay all the taxes, and fight all the battles. England and Ireland have their starving thousands, who receive no adequate compensation for their labor. And cabbage and black bread are often dealt out to the poor of Norway and Russia, in measure so scant, as scarcely to keep soul and body together. Their stables and their dwellings are under the same roof. How much of neatness and comfort can exist under such circumstances, it is not difficult to determine. (2) In morals and education, the laborers of Europe, with some exceptions in favor of protestant countries, are utterly without the means of improvement. In fact, the serfs of Russia and Poland are slaves, and are bought and sold with the land, (3) like *negroes in the West Indies, or like horses among us!* (4) But with our laborers, the case is different. The poor man possesses the same political importance with the rich. (5) The cultivators of our soil are, in general, the owners of the land they till. The day laborer and mechanic receive a full compensation for their toil. Their houses are comfortable—their clothing rich and good. The necessaries, the comforts, and even the luxuries of life, are within the reach of all. The Dr. remembers perfectly well of eating, unannounced, with a washer-woman, and finding her table more richly spread than his own! Our schools and colleges throw open their doors for the reception of all. (6) The poorest may aspire to the highest walks of literature and science, and the senatorial bench and the presidential chair are the proffered boon of any one whose ambition and whose talents can soar so high. (7) God has given us these blessings, that we may diffuse freedom, education and christianity over the globe. But if we would accomplish the work, we must not hanker after family aristocracy. All our institutions tend to equality in wealth and political influence. Our true policy, therefore, is to educate the mass. (8) But we must not rush to the other extreme, and hasten to agrarian rantings. The assassin takes the life of an individual, but the demagogue, who would compel the rich to divide his property with the poor, stabs his country to the heart. We must pay deference to law. At present, every thing that does not meet popular favor excites a mob. But mobs should not be countenanced for a moment. They are symptoms of national dissolution. The liberty of speech and of the press must be held sacred. But that man, who, knowing the excitable state of public feeling, shall outrage it, and even in *the exercise of his rights* excite a mob, is responsible for the consequences, as much as the man who lights a match that leads to a magazine of powder. (9) Our country, it is true, has its evils, and slavery is one. But we cannot be perfect in a day. It is madness in the extreme to jeopardize all we hold dear, to cause its immediate abolition. The north must kindly and judiciously co-operate with the south, in removing this evil. England has no right to taunt us with the existence of slavery. I wish (10) that O'Connell, and those *novices* who have crossed the Atlantic to lecture us on slavery, would go home and free their own slaves. They have as many white *slaves* in their manufactories and fields, as we have blacks in the south. It is true, they have freed those who do not live near them, and over whom they exercised despotic control; but the laborers of their own island are now suffering under the weight of a most grievous oppression. Let what will be said of the doctrine of *expediency*, IT IS ALL THAT CAN SAVE US. To reject its aid here, is folly. Some say, the slavery question will destroy us. But I say, if we will only keep still, (11) and try to reconcile the south, and kindly and prudently co-operate (12) with our brethren there, in *two hundred years* slavery will cease from among us, and our nation will be prosperous and happy without a parallel. Let us, then, thank God, and take courage. I do not believe that God has brought us to this elevation, merely to cast us down. (13) Let us look to the Lord for aid, and pray for the influence of his Spirit. (14)

(1) The unfairness of selecting the European serf, and placing him beside the farmer and mechanic of our country, must be at once manifest to all. The Dr. selected the lowest of the people—the slaves, in one case—why not take the corresponding class in the other? But, perhaps this would not so well have answered his purpose.

(2) If Dr. Beecher will take the trouble to walk a quarter of a mile from his church, he can on almost any day 'determine how much of neatness and comfort there is in these circumstances.' He may see horses, sheep, hogs, poultry, and immortal men, crowded together on the same boat and the same deck, and going to the same market! Strange that there should be such an overflowing of sympathy for the European, who voluntarily associates with his swine, while the American, who is chained to their society by an 'iron-hearted despotism,' excites no tear—receives no word of sympathizing love. I do not blame the Dr. that he possesses sympathy for the laborer across the Atlantic, but that he has it not for his countrymen at home. This ought he to have done, and not have left the other undone. It is peculiarly strange that the Dr's sympathies should go abroad for objects on which to rest, when he is so very jealous of all foreign sympathy.

(3) True, the Russian serf is bought and sold with the soil—but *it is only with the soil*. He spends no sleepless nights and days of anguish, for fear that those he loves will be separated from him forever. Not so with the American slave.

(4) Are horses the only articles of merchandise among us? Has the Dr. never heard of a domestic traffic in the souls of men?

(5) The Dr. is silent as to the political influence of our southern laborers. True, they have a representation in our government, but their votes are given by their oppressors. Thus they are cruelly made, with their own hands, to draw tighter the bands that hold them in hopeless servitude. Has European despotism a worse feature than this?

(6) In proof, the Dr. might have quoted the proceedings of Canterbury and Canaan—the legislation of Connecticut, and the decisions of her courts.

(7) Had Dr. Beecher taken as much pains to ascertain and present the precise condition of some of the States of this Union, as he has that of some of the nations of Europe, the result would have shown, that our laboring classes are not '*all*' in quite so enviable a condition as here represented. Take, for example, the states of Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana—number their inhabitants—the landholders, and those who can read and write. Ascertain the quality and quantity of the food—the political importance—the morality—the prevalence of gengral intelligence, and the domestic enjoyments of their laboring population, and see how the statistics will compare with Sweden, Poland, and even Russia. This, picture of happy poverty is, to a great extent, fictitious. The Dr's description professes to embrace the laborers of *our country*, and yet he makes not the most distant allusion to the entire laboring community of at least *twelve* of our States. These representations are true, to some extent, of the farmers and mechanics of New England; but they are not the laborers, whose toils load the tables of our aristocracy with luxury. These luxuries are furnished by those who are far from being 'enlightened, free and happy.' They are not the possessors of their own bodies, and cannot control even their own limbs and muscles. 'They, too, have often their poor fare measured out to them in quantities so small, as scarcely to keep soul and body together'—and its quality perhaps, not much superior to 'the cabbage and black bread' of the Russian. Their intellectual and moral condition is what might be expected of men, deprived of all means of education by law. And as for their happiness, let an emancipated slave speak: 'Many a sleepless night have I spent in tears, because I was a slave. My heart ached to feel within me the life of liberty.' How, then, could the Dr. represent our whole laboring community as having 'peace, plenty, education and happiness?' Had a stranger, ignorant of American history, been present, he would not have dreamt but that such was the condition of our entire population. True, there was a subsequent allusion to slavery among us; and it was called an '*evil*'—but it was not represented as detracting from the happiness of the nation, or of the laboring classes. I can reconcile this representation with the Dr's general professions of universal benevolence, only on the supposition, that the slavery with the Dr's general professions *even in the exercise of his rights* excite a mob, is responsible for the consequences, as much as the man who lights a match that leads to a magazine of powder. (9) Our country, it is true, has its evils, and slavery is one. But we cannot be perfect in a day. It is madness in the extreme to jeopardize all we hold dear, to cause its immediate abolition. The north must kindly and judiciously co-operate with the south, in removing this evil. England has no right to taunt us with the existence of slavery. I wish (10) that O'Connell, and those *novices* who have crossed the Atlantic to lecture us on slavery, would go home and free their own slaves. They have as many white *slaves* in their manufactories and fields, as we have blacks in the south. It is true, they have freed those who do not live near them, and over whom they exercised despotic control; but the laborers of their own island are now suffering under the weight of a most grievous oppression. Let what will be said of the doctrine of *expediency*, IT IS ALL THAT CAN SAVE US. To reject its aid here, is folly. Some say, the slavery question will destroy us. But I say, if we will only keep still, (11) and try to reconcile the south, and kindly and prudently co-operate (12) with our brethren there, in *two hundred years* slavery will cease from among us, and our nation will be prosperous and happy without a parallel. Let us, then, thank God, and take courage. I do not believe that God has brought us to this elevation, merely to cast us down. (13) Let us look to the Lord for aid, and pray for the influence of his Spirit. (14)

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(8) Query. 'The mass' in Louisiana and Mississippi: can we, in so doing, 'co-operate with our brethren at the South?'

(9) This denunciation of mobs was utterly a waste of words, except as it may be useful to *save appearances*. True, 'we must regard law, and suppress mobs'—but what next? Why, the mob is not to be blamed. That man must bear the guilt, who excites the mob by the legitimate exercise of his inalienable rights, and in the performance of his imperative and appropriate duty. The mobs, then, are guiltless. Does the Dr. wish to perpetuate mobs? He could have said nothing more effectually to secure their action. Peter and Paul must have gone to the grave, laden with the guilt of almost innumerable mobs. Even Jesus Christ was not altogether guiltless: for, in the exercise of his rights in the performance of his duty, he sometimes excited the mob. Alas! Paul, that you had not learned this 'more excellent way,' and saved yourself from the *guilt of violence*.

(10) May not the priest of Vishnoo or Juggernaut '*wish*,' with equal propriety, that those novices in oriental theology, whom the Dr. has sent to India, would go home and correct the views of their own countrymen, before they attempt to lecture them upon theirs? Or the advocate of caste might require the return of the missionary, to break down the caste at home, before he presumed, by his 'foreign interference,' to meddle with their religion, and disturb their political and domestic relations.

(11) Is it not strange, that a minister of the gospel, who is set as a watchman, whose business it is to cry aloud and spare not, should give utterance to such a sentiment? a sentiment which destroys all necessity for the office he sustains. If it be true, then it would seem, that the more our watchmen merit the rebuke of the prophet, the better are they qualified for their station. Is. 56, 10: '*His* watchmen are blind; they are all ignorant; they are all dumb dogs; they cannot bark—sleeping—lying down—loving to slumber.' If 'keeping still' is the best way to remove evil, then surely those watchmen are to be preferred who are blind, dumb, loving to slumber, for such cannot, if they would, disturb the people, by warning them of their danger. This practice would, perhaps, be a part of this 'expediency' which is to save us. But the Dr. does not, on all subjects, carry out his principle of 'keeping still.' Why not be still for two hundred years on the subject of intemperance? Will it not then 'cease from among us?' Let us be still for 200 years about the abominations of heathenism, and the delusions of popery. I am unable to see why they should not then cease, as well as the 'evil' of slavery. We have followed the Dr's advice ever since the commencement of our national existence, but without any approximation to his predicted result. That we should 'keep still' is all the slaveholder asks, that he may perpetuate the evil. His continual cry, like that of all other sinners, is, 'Let me alone'—'keep still.'

(12) And in what are we to co-operate? Not, as the Dr. intimates, in removing slavery; for the united voice of the south is, 'We do not wish it removed—we esteem it a blessing. Slavery is an institution of heaven. It was practised by patriarchs, and sanctioned by apostles. And we design to perpetuate it.' 'Domestic slavery,' says Gov. McDuffie, and he speaks, we are told, the language of the whole south; 'is the corner-stone of our republican edifice. * * God forbid that my descendants should ever live in any other, than in a community having the institution of domestic slavery.' This, then, is the work in which the Dr. must co-operate, if he would labor with his 'brethren of the south.' *He must co-operate in perpetuating slavery.*

(13) See Luke 10, 15.

(14) How can the Dr. expect that his prayers can be heard, when he would 'keep still,' and let oppression alone for 200 years; and when, in opposition to the direction of Heaven, he declares, that 'expediency' (mere worldly wisdom) 'is all that can save us.' When the Jews were in danger of destruction for their sins, God directed them to return to him with repentance—to break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free. But Dr. Beecher would exercise a 'just expediency;' he would compound the matter with the rich sinner, whose iniquities are calling down God's vengeance. Is not this regarding iniquity in the heart? Will not God say to all such, 'Though you make many prayers unto me, I will not hear you?' MOSES.

THE GREAT QUESTION.

Whether slavery is to be abolished or perpetuated in these United States, is a question soon to be decided. The question is a momentous one, and should be met and examined, with a view to action, on the principle of man's inalienable rights. To suppose that Abolitionists can be put down and silenced by the sanguinary violence of *gentlemanly* mobs, is folly, is lamentable madness. The 'flattering unction' which the oppressor lays to his bosom, that the pioneers of Liberty will cease to utter their voices and succumb to an infamous despotism, is a delusion which forces the conviction, that 'whom the Gods would destroy, they first make mad.' Madly do those 'chivalrous' lynchers—those generous 'homicides' of the South strive to put down free discussion, by strangling and decapitation. Madly do their crouching spirited brethren of the North echo the voice, whose homicidal notes peal with threatenings and slaughter against the brave and the just. There is an exercise in the soil of humanity that reproduces like the fabled Hydra. When a defender of Liberty has fallen by the unnatural violence of the slaveholder's government, an hundred have sprung forth in his stead. The experience of the past is lost upon the persecutor. His brutal rage is the means of erecting the very edifice he would destroy, and abolitionism gains in the ratio of the intolerable cruelty and falsehood of its opponents.

The defence set up for slavery is that which characterizes every despotism that is, or ever was—and those who play into the hands of the despots, from the sordid interest of pecuniary gain, or from a subserviency to party spirit, are the vilest reptiles that crawl upon the earth. The slave-actor strikes the chord of service. He harps upon this string, and his sympathizing brother of the North dances to the tune while trampling freedom and humanity under foot! The strings of party are drawn, and the whole host of political cravens are down at the bidding, ready to barter their country's honor for some base preferment. Misplaced were the encomiums, upon New-England, by Edinburgh Reviewers, when they gave us credit for those dispositions to which recent events have proved we have no claim. The Reviewers have recorded in favor of our moral worth, that the voice of New-England is loud in its execrations of slavery, and for its abolition to the remotest bounds of the Union. But, alas! how unmerited is such a tribute to our republican injustice and inconsistency! The trump of our despicable hypocrisy shall be sounded through every nation of the globe; and our beautiful theory shall be contrasted with our practice, so foul, so hideous, so detestable!

The republican despot has the bold effrontery to claim domestic sanctity for the institution of slavery. He would have it a fire-side matter, whose sanctified Ægis should exempt it from all exposures or attacks—a matter, with which non-slaveholding neighbors have 'no concern,' and who should not be permitted to discuss it!

Let us scan this position. In the first place, no one contends that the non-slaveholding States have the right, to enact by law, that slavery shall cease to exist in those States which delight to have slavery as a part of their system,—seeing that no State has jurisdiction over another. Yet, not a few have been made to believe that such 'interference' constitutes the main part of abolitionism, when, in truth, it makes no part whatever. Those who examine not for themselves, but 'move as doth a puppet by its wire,' have only echoed the falsehood of their leaders who cry havoc and let slip the destructive mob.

Slavery is no more a domestic institution than any other State institution which other States may discuss, praise, or condemn, as they may see proper. This course has ever been pursued without question by every State or community, in regard to delinquents, however *domestic* the relations might be. Has the necessity of this course for the safety of individuals, communities, or states, ever been denied? Can it in justice be denied? When the right to discuss and publish acts of unworthy members of the social compact, whether residing in this, or that community, shall be destroyed, then shall we witness the departure of the tutelary deity of freedom, and the ferocious demon of despotism reigning in his stead. With shame and indignation be it recorded, the most tyrannical institution that ever disgraced this or any other country, relies on the shield of household sanctity for protection, and in murderous spirit exclaims against those sacrilegious Infidels who, by proclaiming the truth, exhibit those frightful enormities which no sanctified sophisms can conceal.

The school system of each state is a 'domestic institution,' and ever which no other state has jurisdiction. Does it *therefore* follow that a state shall not utter its sentiments concerning the school-system of another state? Suppose that Massachusetts should institute, or uphold an already instituted system of education for a portion of its subjects, so horribly revolting in its features as would be painful to contemplate by a southern community. Suppose that our southern neighbors should entreat their 'generous' brethren of the Bay State to abolish so institution, injurious, disgraceful, and mortifying to our national existence—should rebuke, should reproach them for persisting in sustaining an institution of terrible injustice—an institution impressing a deep stain not only upon herself, but infecting, with her pollution, every state in the Union; and justly subjecting us in a national point of view to the accusation of vile infamy. Suppose that Massachusetts should fly into a chivalrous rage against her southern rebukers, and should reply to them: 'This is a domestic question which does not concern you. If we see proper to flourish a despotism by reducing a portion of our subjects to the condition of brutes—to subject them to an infinitely worse than a Draconic code of laws—to lash, to bruise, to visit them with death—it is a matter exclusively our own—which we will not permit to be discussed; and we will lynch or hang any person who may be discovered in maintaining sentiments not in accordance with our institutions.' Under this view of the case, could the South be commanded by crouching and silence, because of such threats? Should she desist from proclaiming truths, because a tyrant's peace is disturbed? Truth is terrible only to those who 'choose darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil.' Truth fears no reproaches, and shuns no discussions. If the unjust fear the consequences of exposure, let them abolish the wrong, or the consequences must rest upon their own heads.

The miserable sophistry of the slave dealer—the shameful presumption in maintaining that the institution of slavery is a domestic and hallowed one, which,

It were impiety to question, is the veriest insult that could be offered to the understandings of free men. Great that slavery is a domestic institution in the most private sense of the word, the position is not tenable a moment. If my neighbor has a filthy sewer which stains and corrupts my premises, and engenders sickness and death in my family, must I be silent under the desolating blight, because it proceeds from my neighbor's 'domestic' economy? My neighbor begets, lacerates, or murders his wife, or his children, or those in his employ—but not a word must I lisp against the act—no complaint must I make, but at the peril of my life—my deep abhorrence of the actions be known only to my own bosom. *Wherefore? because* it is the domestic affair of my neighbor! Impudence more outrageously arrogant and vile, the wisest ingenuity could not devise. The United States, is one great family, or as many families, have a national reputation at stake. As a native-born citizen, as a citizen of the United States, the character of my country does concern me—its acts do interest me, and deeply too. The foul and loathsome stain of slavery frightfully mars our national features. This stain is painful to me. I cannot contemplate it without deep emotions of sorrow for the oppressed, and indignation for the oppressor.

I have spent a brief season of my existence in a slaveholding state. I have there witnessed scenes which, I hope, I may never witness again. So far as my own positive knowledge goes, I can solemnly declare that I have found nothing in what little I have read in the writings of Abolitionists, that exaggerates the enormities which I, with my own eyes, have beheld; and much more I could have witnessed, in this domestic institution of slavery, had I subjected myself to the painful endurance. It is beyond the power of man to portray the naked realities of the scene which is presented when a 'speculator' is purchasing slaves for a distant market—when all the social ties are being forcibly rent asunder—when humanity is being drawn and quartered—*there* is presented to the view a living scene so infernal as to be utterly beyond parallel. Never can I forget the scene which no description in romance has ever equalled. It was nature herself struggling with her own mountainous agony, and no secondary power could ever exhibit more than a faint outline of the unnatural tragedy. Yet I have seen northern men look upon this scene—have observed them stand upon the vessel's deck, while the victims, men, women, and children, were being thrust beneath it, and rending the air in distraction and bitter agony. I have seen, I repeat it, northern beings standing side by side with their southern brethren, looking upon this scene, and jeering at the calamities of the down-trodden slave!

[To be continued.]

LETTER FROM H. B. STANTON.

UTICA, N. Y., March 2, 1836.

DEAR BROTHER GARRISON,

In company with our beloved brother, CHARLES STEARNS, I arrived here from Albany yesterday. Brother WELD has been lecturing here for the last three weeks. His success has been overwhelming. He has lectured 15 times to promiscuous assemblies, and once to an auditory of ladies. The audiences have constantly been large, the house being filled to overflowing, and much of the time large numbers have been unable to get a spot to sit or stand upon. I am told that last Sunday evening, when brother W. lectured on the Bible view of the subject, many hundreds were compelled to go away, being unable, on account of the throng, to gain admission. He has taken up the subject of free discussion, the Constitutional and moral right of northern interference, the right and duty of Congress to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia immediately, the rending of the Union, and handled them in a masterly manner. The rest of the time has been devoted to defining and fully elucidating American Slavery, illustrating and defending the doctrine of immediate Emancipation, and answering the prominent objections to it,—rescuing the Bible from the ranks of the apologists of slavery, vindicating the measures of Abolitionists from the aspersions cast upon them by their opponents;—in short, bringing out, in their majesty and strength, those great moral truths, which form the basis of our glorious cause,—flashing upon them a sunlight of illustration,—sustaining them by facts gathered from innumerable sources, and enforcing them by warm and eloquent appeals to the reason, humanity, manliness, sympathy, patriotism, conscience, benevolence and religion of his hearers. As the first fruits of his labors, rising SIX HUNDRED new members have already joined the Utica Anti-Slavery Society. No particular effort has been made to obtain names. Several hundred more will join as soon as they have an opportunity. A majority of those who have joined are *men*. They constitute the genuine nobility of the city,—the moral bone and marrow of Utica. Nearly TWELVE HUNDRED have signed petitions to Congress since brother Weld has been lecturing here, a considerable majority of whom are men. I am told they constitute a *majority of the legal voters of the city.*

This, you will recollect, is done in UTICA! Shade of the October mob, whither hast thou fled! Where is Beardsley? Where Judge Hayden? Where Senator Wagner? Where the other 'gentlemen of property and standing' who composed 'the committee of twenty-five?' And more especially, where are the *sans culottes?* What base desertion of their 'southern brethren' in their utmost need! What disingenuous betrayal of 'southern interests and southern rights!' What will Hammond of South Carolina say? And Wise, and Glascock, and Jarvis of Maine? And the UNION too,—ah, the UNION! What can save it from the dread spasms of a speedy dissolution? *But seriously, is it not a glorious triumph?*

Our brethren here are awake, and moving onward nobly. They are now establishing a press, to be located in Utica. Our friend GOUSLER is to be its editor. From this, brother WELD goes to Rochester. He will remain in New-York during the year.

As ever, yours truly,

H. B. STANTON.

THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

'It is hard to say of men professedly benevolent and externally respectable, that they are in reality hypocritical and cruel. Yet the great enlightener and healer of man, did sometimes use that sharp style of rebuke.

'We know very well that great schemes of injustice and selfishness may shelter themselves under benevolent shows. Indeed this is essential to their success. Who puts on the mask or wraps himself in the garments of his victim? Is it not the hungry wolf? Is it not the thief, the assassin and the robber? Who scatters around her the rarest perfumes as she takes her promenade? What is it to elite scriptures and roll upwards the eyes? Cannot the Devil do even so?

'The Inquisition was called Holy.' The crusades were, which ever stained the historic page, hurrying to Palestine in the sign of the cross, and the pretence of christianizing heathen, and rectifying heretics. And there things have been done, approved and applauded by men of great respectability and figure in the world.

The Colonization Society professes to stand ready to receive into its charitable bosom poor colored men and women, just fleeing from the fires of persecution. This is the idea and nearly the language which I heard at Congress Hall sometime ago.* What a beautiful picture! What an angelic agency! Nevertheless, I charge that Society with putting the torch to the combustibles, which make those fires.

Suppose abolitionists should form a society for colonizing slaves, and should have vessels hovering on the American 'slave coast,' and boats in their creeks and harbors, to convey away as many slaves as could be got for the purpose; what would slaveholding colonizationists say of such a society? Why, they would say that! There is no need of imagining an answer to it. To offer these facilities to slaves is *death* in all the Southern States. To offer to carry away in a boat or vessel the fugitives from the law and the chain, is hanging 'without benefit of clergy.' This is where the estimation in which the *effect* of affording such means is held. If such an association of Abolitionists would in the opinion of slaveholding and southern colonizationists *create* or *increase* a *runaway* disposition in the *slaves*, how can they have a face to deny that the Colonization Society creates and increases a *driving* disposition in the same respect in free colored men, in the *masters?* Do not the masters tell us that the existence of the free colored race among them renders their *property* insecure; that is, their property is so attracted by the sight of freedom, that it takes to itself,—not wings—but legs and runs away after it! The motive therefore is precisely the same in both cases—the same for *making off the colored freemen* into the colonization boat, and *putting to death* white *freemen* for receiving the fugitive slave into his boat.

I have always felt that it was a difficult matter to develope a more perfectly clear and conclusive statistic, the true character of the Colonization Society. Impartial history, or perhaps the day of judgment can alone unfold it all. It is a great and complicated machine. Many of its wheels are out of sight. We see and our colored friends feel its effects. It is a mighty rack, worse than any other, because it adds mental to corporeal suffering.

A few years ago, a Paris boot-black established himself on the Pont Neuf, with the materials for ameliorating the condition of dirty boots and shoes. He had an active, meddlesome little poodle dog. Whenever a genteel pedestrian was seen to approach, it so fell out that the dog would fall into the river, and drag his shaggy, good-for-nothing sides through the mire; he would then make it his business to sit by and lick the dirt from the boots of gentlemen with an air as unsophisticated as Mr. ——, and shake his nasty collection upon boots, which, like our famous president's, might have served for mirrors. Of course the owners of them apply to the boot-black; and there he stood, smiling and bowing, always ready to brush the mud off, which his dog had brushed on. In this manner a profitable business was driven for some time, without the slight est suspicion on the part of the gentlemen, who were *paying their money to have the filth taken off.*

But murder will out. A sagacious citizen, having had his own boots dirtied and polished for several days by these associates, at length had his suspicions aroused, and investigated their doings. To the astonishment of all Paris, he found that the knave boot-black *sent out* his scoundrel poodle to soil, *by system*, the best *boots* in the city, and by that saucy trick to *force* customers to come to him.

The boot-black was sent to the galleys for ten years, and the poodle was given to an Englishman, who carried him to Sierra Leone. Since that time a gentleman can go to a dinner over Pont Neuf with his *black* leather shoes, as *clean* and *respectable* as any lady's *white* satin slippers. L'AMI.

* Dispute between Messrs. May and Gurley.

THE BARD OF HAVERHILL.

BY WILLIAM CONSTOCK.

I sing the Bard whose startling strains,
Ere yet I knew his noble name,
Drove swift the current through my veins,
And wrapt my wondering soul in flame.

To please no smiling tyrant knave,
In tinsel gauds his numbers roll—
The iron fetter of the slave
Attracts the lightning of his soul!

His reed wastes not its melody
To lull to sleep a guilty land—
He flings his withering laurels by,
To grasp the patriot's naked brand.

He climbed Parnassus' utmost height,
To thunder on a tyrant world,
And on that high and glorious site,
The FLAG OF LIBERTY unfurled.

Flash out again, thou orb of fire,
Which lately launched its scorching ray
Where 'knapsack' priests preach Christ for hire—
For office barter him away.

[From the Glasgow Chronicle of Dec. 8.]

AMERICAN SLAVERY AND MR. THOMPSON.

Some of the English journals are not ashamed of pandering to the vices and prejudices of the Slaveholders in America, by questioning the expediency of Mr. Thompson's mission, and the immediate Emancipation of the Slaves. In the midst of such conduct, we are gratified to find an honorable and praiseworthy exception in the London *Patriot*. This Journal, so distinguished for its advocacy of the entire separation between Church and State, after taking blame to itself for not having at an earlier period, called the attention of its readers to a work which has lately left the American press, entitled 'Slavery in America,' by the Hon. Judge Jay, in noticing this volume, has the following excellent remarks, relative to the slave question in general, and to our Correspondent, Mr. Thompson:—

'Judge Jay stands deservedly high in the estimation of his countrymen, as a scholar, a jurist, and a Christian Patriot; the worthy son of an illustrious father, the late Hon. John Jay, L. L. D., the second President of the American Bible Society. The work itself has produced, as might be expected, a strong impression in America. It completely unmasks the American Colonization Society, and shows what the *American Press is laboring to conceal*, that the Anti-Slavery cause is gradually gathering round it in the United States, as it did in England, all that is estimable in Society, and separating, as a moral test, the precious from the vile; that, instead of being supported only by a few hair-brained zealots, it is making a *rapid and tremendous progress*. An idea has gone abroad, (and we regret to find our respectable contemporary, the *Globe*, falling into the mistake,) that 'the interference of Mr. Thompson' and his 'party' has done more harm than good, and that it has not advanced the cause of Negro Emancipation by a single step.' Professor Cox, of Auburn College, who has furnished an introductory letter to this edition of Mr. Jay's work, gives a very different representation. 'Your George Thompson,' he says, 'is doing good here on a great scale. He is well fitted for his work, invincible in argument, *cool in every emergency*, and very convincing, *gaining as he goes*; and will, I think, *be both more powerful and more successful*. He is hated, denounced, (threatened by many; to whose wicked prejudices the Abolitionists are also generally subservient.' Mr. THOMPSON's own letter (inserted in our paper of Nov. 4,) gives a sad and true account of the violent, and even savage feeling which has been excited by mooting the Abolition question in the North, where the prejudice against the Free blacks is the most inveterate, as well as among the Slaveholders of the South. But this gentleman's mild and firm feeling already excited; and he has only succeeded to the latest date, in the long pursued Garrison and his noble compeers. For a long time the Colonizationists had had it all their own way; and their eyes were awakened at the selection and exposure of the absurdity and wickedness of the scheme for perpetuating Slavery, by exporting the surplus increase of the Slave population, and getting rid, as far as possible, of the Free blacks. Judge Jay fixes upon the Colonizationists the promotion of the disgraceful mobs and tumults by which it has been attempted to put down discussion. But his work will show that a spirit has been awakened which will not be so put down; and though Mr. Thompson may act wisely in retiring from the storm, such men as Judge Jay, Dr. Cox, and their colleagues are not to be silenced. Lynch law is not yet the law of the United States.'

In addition to these observations of our esteemed contemporary, we have to inform our readers, that the press so ridiculously about 'interference' on the part of Mr. Thompson, and about his being a 'foreigner,' has he did not volunteer his services to the American Anti-Slavery Cause; that he was specially invited to enter on the field, by the New England Anti-Slavery Society, which ranks among its members some of the most pious and able men in the American Continent. This society expressly deputed one of its number, Mr. Wm. Lloyd Garrison, one of the most devoted champions the slaves ever had, to engage Mr. Thompson to come to America, and to devote the assistance of his commanding talents in furthering the freedom of the Negro. The American National Anti-Slavery Society also warmly constituted him their Agent, and he continues to act in that capacity, so long as the Minority of the Emancipation Societies in Britain. So much for the senseless rant about 'interference.' Oh! but Mr. Thompson is a 'foreigner.' A foreigner—this is an awful crime to be sure. Why, are not the Americans annually sending to this country, as Deputies to the great May meetings in London, the most eminent men in the various Christian denominations? Were any of these ever assailed with the absurd cry that they were 'foreigners?' Was even the notorious Elliot Cresson, when in this country as the agent of the Colonization—rather the Expulsion Society, ever met with the contemptible taunt of being a 'foreigner,'—not to say an 'exiliary?' So far from that, he was received by the Philanthropists of Britain, from whom he managed to deceive, with the utmost cordiality, and carried off to the United States, as we believe, the good round sum of £8,000—to assist, as is now abundantly understood, not in the Abolition of Slavery, but in perpetuating the curse of the African Caste. Had the true nature of his Mission even been apparent while he travelled in this country, will any man venture to say that a hand would have been lifted against him in the way of violence? We well remember the indignation we felt at seeing this pseudo-missionary of benevolence, surrounded on the platform by the Established Clergy of our city, while not a man of them rallied around Mr. Thompson, during his memorable and triumphant debate with Borthwick, or at any of his subsequent appearances before a Glasgow audience. The Dissenting Clergy acted a more noble and Christian part; and yet it is attempted to be made out in the Scottish Guardian, and by other detractors of Establishments, that the existence of Slavery in the United States is to be ascribed to the presence of an Established sect!! Again—what would the Republicans of America have said had the prejudices of this Monarchy induced their lecturers to take tenpence in the fashion they have done Mr. Thompson. Did the distillers or spirit dealers attempt any violence towards the persons of the Rev. Mr. Fraser, or Dr. Heville, or Dr. Cox—all Americans—when they came hither to school us on the subject of temperance? No; there were neither brickbats hurled at their heads, nor were they menaced in any shape whatever. The truth is, there appears now to be greater freedom of discussion, and more certain protection of life and property in this tax-oppressed country, than in the cheaply governed 'boasted Republic of modern times.' The treatment of our Correspondent has not left, is a disgrace to the people of the United States.

[From the Glasgow Chronicle of Dec. 18.]

TO THE MEMBERS AND FRIENDS OF

THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

The foregoing letter from Mr. Thompson to Mr. Patrick Lethem, has just been received; and we have presented it our duty, on behalf of the Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, to lose no time in submitting it to your attention. Its contents are of such a nature, that, at first sight, comment upon them would seem superfluous; yet we cannot avoid remarking, that the state of things which it discloses, in reference to the cause of Emancipation in the United States, is such as to occasion emotions of the most opposite description.

The spirit of Abolition, it is obvious, has, to a great extent, leavened the American community; and, we have no doubt, will continue to operate, till the foul clot of slavery shall for ever be wiped away from the otherwise fair fame of the United States. On the other hand, when we think, that amongst a people whose professed regard to the principles of civil liberty is so unbounded, an inoffensive and defenceless stranger should, after being invited to land on their shores, for the purpose of aiding them in the advocacy of a cause, sanctioned alike by humanity, justice, and Religion, not only find it impossible to prosecute with safety the object of his Mission, but be absolutely compelled to fly from the 'assassin's knife,'—truly the narration produces feelings of sorrow, indignation, and regret. The impression which such a fact must excite on the mind of every genuine friend of Liberty, cannot fail to be highly prejudicial to the American character. Still it is cause of devout thankfulness, that Mr. Thompson has escaped with his life; and we know that while Providence graciously continues to him the blessings of health and strength, that life will be unceasingly devoted to the advancement of human liberty. As the friends of that Cause, everywhere, imitate his ardent zeal; in the assured conviction, that their efforts will be ultimately crowned with success.

Mr. Thompson's last public appearance on this side of the Atlantic, as the Advocate of the Slave, was, we believe, in our own City; and it will, we feel convinced, be highly gratifying to the Members and Friends of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, to see him again safe amongst them. They will receive him with open arms, and with wonted delight, listen to the detail from his own lips, of his perils and his labors. We know that a most cordial welcome awaits him, at his former hospitable quarters.

JAMES JOHNSTON, Treasurer.
JOHN MUNN, } Secretaries.
WM. SHEAL, JR., }
JAMES SHEAL, }

BOSTON:

SATURDAY, MARCH 12, 1836.

LETTERS FROM MR. THOMPSON.

No. II.

LIVERPOOL, January 14, 1836.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

MY DEAR FRIEND—Since I wrote you last, a watchful and protecting Providence has restored to me my dear wife and infants, who arrived safely at this port on the 11th, having been twenty-six days accomplishing their voyage. They were all in good health, except our little boy, who remains in a very delicate state. Mrs. Thompson has given me a very long account of the unexpected and overwhelming kindness of our many friends in Boston, New-York and Philadelphia. Out of a full heart we thank and bless them, and pray God to reward them abundantly, both here and at the resurrection of the just. Through you, I beg to present my special acknowledgments to the ladies of the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society, for their Resolution of Dec. 10th, 1835, expressing their deep sympathy with us, and my beloved wife and children. If possible, I shall write them by the packet which will take this; if not, by the earliest opportunity. I beg also to express my thanks for the interesting and encouraging communications of the Rev. S. J. May and Rev A. A. Phelps—Messrs. Joshua Coffin and B. C. Bacon of Philadelphia—and also, and particularly, to Mr. Thomas Paul of your city. The letter of the last mentioned dear friend was peculiarly acceptable. I trust he will favor me with many such. He will oblige me, and promote the cause, by sending me, *from his own pen*, as full and circumstantial an account as possible of the removal of the Colored School at Cannan, N. H. Let him not fail in this. That outrage, (than which, one more cruel and diabolical, has not disgraced modern times in any country,) with all its attendant circumstances, shall be known throughout Great Britain. Already have I seen the blush of indignation mantle on the cheeks of many, at the account I have given, but hundreds of thousands more have yet to learn to what extent of madness and impiety the love of slavery, and the cultivated abhorrence of the colored man, will carry the inhabitants of a professedly christian land.

I have hastily glanced over the work of Dr. Channing on Slavery. I intend, in some future communication, to state my opinions respecting it at length. In the mean time, permit me to say, that to me it appears Dr. Channing has done little more than re-publish the PRIMER of the Abolitionists, appending thereto certain remarks which show his lamentable ignorance of the nature of public sentiment around him, and, as a natural consequence, of the means necessary to carry on and complete the reformation which is to purify and bless your country.

Dr. Channing, in his introduction, laments over '*a singular want of well-defined principles*' on the subject of slavery, and wisely and beautifully observes, that, '*to wise and GREAT PRINCIPLES will men generally rally, and in the spirit of unfeigned and universal good-will, are the instruments of this deeply and durably on men's minds, is to do more for the world, than, open mines of wealth*, OR TO FRAME THE MOST SUCCESSFUL SCHEMES OF POLICY.' After reading these passages, I looked anxiously for the development of those 'great' and 'well-defined principles,' the 'want' of which had been deplored, and with which, for the first time, Dr. Channing seemed to think the slaves and the world.' After looking through five chapters, I could scarcely suppress a smile at the simplicity of Dr. Channing, in formally enunciating as *new*, principles which have been stated with equal clearness and often with equal eloquence, a thousand times by American Abolitionists—principles which stand prominently out on every page of the Liberator—in the Reports of the New England Anti-Slavery Society—the Declaration of Sentiments published at Philadelphia—the Ohio Declaration, &c. &c. &c. If, instead of keeping from all abolition meetings and addresses, and relying for his 'views of abolitionism,' chiefly on the testimony of '*others*,' Dr. Channing had condescended to attend the sittings of the Anti-Slavery Convention in May last, in his own city, he would, I think, have listened to statements of principles as 'great,' and as 'well-defined,' as any set forth in his own book, and uttered, too, 'without passion,' and in 'the spirit of unfeigned and universal good will.'

If I am disposed at one moment to smile at the simplicity of Dr. Channing, I am, at the next, rather disposed to lament over what appears to me a wide, and (in a minister of religion) an awful dereliction of duty, during a long series of years. Why have the views now uttered by Dr. Channing not been published with more frequency, or been withheld until the present time? Are these views recently acquired, or are they not? If they are, '*where did he acquire them?* What impelled him to investigate the subject, and give the result to the world? If the views now before me have been always his, or, for many years his, *why has he kept them back?*' Why did he leave it to those, whom he charitably brands as '*fanatics*,' to do the work, and to bear the unbroken brunt of 'cry aloud' on behalf of captive millions? How did he manage so long to conceal the evidence acquired in his journeys to the south? How, with the knowledge, that 'in no other part of the country had his writings found a more gratifying reception than at the south,' could he refrain from the exertion of his influence as an author over those, whom he regards as the only persons who can efficiently operate for the emancipation of the slaves? Would not a faithful answer to these interrogatories tell of 'mines of wealth,' and 'successful schemes of POLICY,' which have sealed the lips and controlled the pen, until it was no longer possible to remain silent—and it became 'policy' to proclaim the great principles which the work before me contains? As far as I am connected with the Abolition Societies of the United States, I give Dr. Channing no thanks for his 'defence;' for, until he tells the world why the men whom he has proclaimed the abolitionists as 'fanatics' and 'wrong doers,' why he has withheld, till now, his views of American Slavery, can I regard his book as aught else than a work to which he has been driven by the course of events, and the unequivocal signs of the times:—a work which, notwithstanding its '*great*' and '*well-defined principles*,' which are to render such service to the world, would never have been seen the light of the world, had not the despised abolitionists been the honored instruments, in the hand of God, of preparing the minds of a large portion of the American public for the eager and grateful reception of those views and principles, which it needs not the vision of a prophet to perceive, are ordained to become the views and principles of the majority of the American people. When you print this communication, please to add, in the form of a note, the letter of the Rev. Amos A. Phelps, addressed to me from Farmington, Conn., dated Nov. 2, 1835. It may possibly illustrate the following passage in Dr. Channing's work—viz:

'The orator who was chiefly employed in addressing their meetings, and forming societies, was distinguished by his violence and passionate invective. *On one occasion, there is* STRONG PROOF *of his having given an opinion in favor of* CRUEL VENGEANCE *on the part of the slaves.*'

To-morrow evening, I start by the Ailsa Gray steam vessel for Glasgow. The friends of Emancipation in Scotland are very urgent for my speedy appearance amongst them. There is an intense anxiety pervading all classes, to see and hear me. I will send you papers, with full accounts of the meetings. I lecture in Glasgow on the 20th and 22d inst.; thence proceed to Edinburgh.

There is yet much to do, in reference to our own Colonies. The most immediate proof of an extensive illicit slave trade at Mauritius. If we can get a parliamentary enquiry, there is little doubt of our being able to show, that the planters of the island are without any valid title to compensation—and the great majority, if not *all* the negroes, entitled to immediate freedom—in other words, that they are, *de jure*, FREE, having been imported contrary to the law, and retained in opposition to the legislative act of 1815. The apprenticeship system of the West Indies also requires attention. Unceasing vigilance must be exercised, in order that the emancipated slaves may derive the benefit of 'the bill,' such as it is.

Remember your promise to write me regularly. Regard this matter as a solemn duty, and discharge it punctually. My kindest remembrances to all.

Ever most truly, your affectionate friend,

GEO. THOMPSON.

FARMINGTON, Nov. 2, 1835.

DEAR BROTHER THOMPSON:—

Yours of the 17th ult., directed to me at Utica, is now before me. Did I deem it necessary I would state in detail, so far as I can recollect it, the conversation between yourself and Mr. Kaufman, at Andover. It took place while we were lecturing there, and in the house of Rev. S. W. Wilson. Mr. Kaufman was brought to the house and introduced to our acquaintance by Mr. Gregory, formerly a tutor at Andover, who was also present at the conversation.

Mr. Kaufman declares that you said, '*if we preached what we ought, or if we taught the slaves to do what they ought, WE WOULD TELL EVERY ONE OF THEM TO CUT THEIR MASTERS' THROATS.*'

I say unhesitatingly, that you did not utter any such words, or any such sentiment on that occasion; and that I believe you did not do so on any other occasion, in public or private, though I have labored with you weeks together in the cause of emancipation.

I do not like this mode of phraseology, that 'every slaveholder ought (or deserves) to have his throat cut,' Mr. Kaufman affirms that you employed this or very nearly the same language on this occasion. '*Unqualified unconditional* declaration,' and moreover that he repeated the question three or four times, and you uniformly answered in the same manner; and still further that the passage—'Whoso sleaveth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.'—was not quoted by you in this connexion.

I affirm, that this passage was quoted in this connexion, and in reply to a demand for a Scripture passage which declares slaveholding to be a sin—that the propriety of the question in the case was the repetition of an opponent endeavoring to push you on to a literal application of the passage, and then make you say something which you could take advantage against you—and finally that in your answers you did not employ these '*very words*,' nor '*make use of the naked, unqualified, unconditional* declaration, that every slaveholder ought (or deserved) to have his throat cut.' So far from it, your answer was *qualified* by its connexion, and was entirely destitute of the throat-cutting part of this phraseology.

That I am correct in the above statement, I am quite sure from the fact, that Mr. Kaufman reported the same story at the time, and in substantially the same words, and *before persons, where the whole conversation was fresh in my mind. I declared it to* BE FALSE. You are at liberty to make what use you please of this statement.

Yours truly,

AMOS A. PHELPS.

'A DANIEL COME TO JUDGMENT!'

A correspondent of the United States Gazette is vitile with the conceit, (how novel!) that all the colored people may be easily and speedily removed from the United States to the coast of Africa! His signature is 'Q.' What a Q. this calculator! Q. stands for quack, and 'to quack,' WALKER tells us, is to cry like a duck; to act the part of a boasting pretender to physic, or any other art. Again—Q. stands for quackeries, and he is one, the same authority assures us, who brags of medicines or salves—a *charlatan*. A very proper signature. The writer sounds an alarm to the Southern States, and 'cry aloud and spare not!' 'they must take colonization now or never! either the country south of North Carolina and Tennessee will soon be a Negro Empire, or a war of extermination will decide who shall occupy it.' Into what mazes, what quandaries, what quakings, must such a questionable, quaint announcition throw our queasy quatercousin, or the queerimonious South! Shame on such a questmonger! Q. quits, by commencing his essay in the following soothing strain:—'With an utter condemnation of the rash measures of the Abolitionists,' &c. &c. 'Unless the South is taught 'by brambles,' there never will be found a man there to advocate immediate emancipation. Yet, far indeed, are we from recommending it.' Then he dodges epistolically, and says—'Colonization in Africa!—Here a door is opened, and a way is provided, large enough to receive *the whole population*,' and the appropriation of five millions of dollars a year will remove them all in less than 30 years.' What! *all* be colonized in thirty years, for so small a sum annually! As there is one large surplus revenue, why not ask Congress to appropriate $30,000,000 a year, and have the work done in three years? Despatch is the life of business. Besides, it is so palpably a brotherly, republican, christian act to banish men, women and children from one continent to another, on account of the complexion which God has seen fit to bestow upon them, that the more rapidly they are shipped off, the stronger will be the evidences of American liberality, disinterestedness, and piety to a gazing world. Can any sight be more beautiful, more consistent, or more *transporting*, than to behold one portion of a democratic nation, busy in expatriating another portion, for not having skins colored like their own? Q gives the encouraging information, that 'all the North are ready to act with the South in favor of African Colonization. They will unite in voting the requisite funds, and will cooperate heart and hand in the noble enterprise of delivering their country—but it must be done at once.' Such being the unanimity and liberality of the North, such the need of despatch, and such the *nobility* of the object—namely, to transport and pay the sable *nobility*, (for they will go, of course, 'with their coronets on,') we propose that the job shall be done even more expeditiously. Let $150,000,000 (the nation will scarcely demur) be appropriated at this very session of Congress, to accomplish this delicate and discriminating scheme. See what glorious consequences would almost immediately follow! Before July 4th, 1837, could come round, all the free colored and slave population would be expelled from our shores, and the incendiary abolitionists put down, and the Union maintained, and the throats of the planters preserved, and the 'vexed question' of slavery in the District of Columbia be forever at an end! Q tells his readers who ought to make the first move in Congress:—'If Congress are to act upon it, the measure must be approved, and brought forward, and advocated by the members from the South' Ay, let the South have precedence, and if her representatives will not act, why, let the consequences be upon her head.

Let us suppose that this exploded scheme is revived, and 'in the full tide of successful experiment'—and that one of our transports, in crossing the Atlantic, is met by a British ship, which runs along side, and holds the following colloquy:

B. Ship-ahoy! What's your name?

A. Equal-Rights, Capt. Love-all commander.

B. Where are you from?

A. The land of the free, and the asylum of the oppressed—America.

B. Where are you bound?

A. To Edina, Port Cresson, and Liberia.

B. What's your cargo?

A. Niggers! (emphatically.)

B. Do they belong to you?

A. No, they were born in America;—but they will be native Africans in a few days.

B. Indeed!—But why do you transport them?

A. Why? For the best of all reasons. Because they have a sable skin and crisp hair.

B. Not *all* black, I suppose. How many of them are the sons and daughters, or were the concubines, of southern planters?

A. O, we never count them, you blackguard!

B. Pardon me. How were they regarded in America?

A. As a curse and contagion—nuisances—vagabonds—dolts—slaves—beyond the reach of Christianity.

B. Why do you carry them to Africa?

A. You're skull is almost as thick as a nigger's, Mr. Bull. Our object is, to be sure, to stop the slave-trade—purify, civilize, evangelize, emancipate all Africa—establish schools, academies, colleges, temples of worship, (for we are a pious people, you know,)—light up the fires of civil and religious liberty throughout that benighted continent—and achieve such marvellous exploits, both physical and moral, as shall not merely 'astonish the natives,' but the world!

B. Bear with my obtuseness. Pray, by what incantation, charm, or device, do you expect to make that which is corruption, degradation, heathenism in the United States, purity, moral grandeur, christianity in Africa?

A. Easily enough, Mr. Bull. As soon as the niggers (for they are nothing but niggers in our estimation, until they are landed in Africa; then we call them respectable, intelligent, highminded colored ladies and gentlemen)—I say, as soon as the niggers are put into one of our marvellous steamships, their intellectual and moral powers are instantly developed, which continue to expand almost miraculously as we recede from the United States, so that they are qualified for teachers, missionaries, merchants, lawyers, judges, governors, &c. as soon as they step on shore at Edina, (not *Dinah*, Mr. Bull,) or Liberia. (!) The

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(1) 'That class of the community to whom this Society affords succor, though nominally free, yet, in fact, never be so in this country. The black hangs over them through which they can never hope to penetrate, and they groan under a weight of prejudice from which they can never expect to rise.'—'Yes, my dear sir, to the Colony itself, and the prospect is equally encouraging and cheering. We there behold a class of beings, who, in their lives, and settled in their families in the blessings of well-ordered society. . . Schools are established, churches are erected, the mechanic arts are cultivated, commerce is introduced, and commerce even with foreign nations has already been embarked in; and by whom, sir? By a class of beings who, *while here*, HUNG AS A DEAD WEIGHT UPON THE BOSOM OF THE COUNTRY. Sir, with the *humility and grandeur* of the spectacle and prospect before us, *calculation itself can hardly keep pace!!!*'—[Speech of Rev. Mr. Hammet, 16th Annual Report of the American Colonization Society.]

'The success of this Society has been wonderful—I had almost said *miraculous*.'—[Speech of Hon. Mr. Taylor, same Report.]

'The colonial monuments, the wonder of after ages, will bear an inscription, gratitude to endless generations—to this Society; on their collosal fronts be inscribed AMERICA. . . But it may be said, it is cruel to take these people from their native country, across the Atlantic waves. Have they not a right to stay here? Sir, they have no *right to the white man's country*. They, they have been deeply wronged, and let us restore them to the land *from whence they came!!* There they may be happy. Here they can be happy, but the government will be there. Let them go. Shall ocean, till the soil, or explore the forest. Be free to enjoy out, (!) but rather rejoice in their prosperity [[illegible]

burning heat of Africa purges them at once of all dross, and they become equal to the most fine gold, and glisten accordingly. [*Aside*—Hold your sides, Mr. Bull. This is the way in which we bombug a prejudiced, silly, credulous, mint-and-dube-taking people. To speak truly, the niggers were getting to be so numerous in our country, that we found it would be impracticable to hold them much longer in bondage,—(a curse upon England for emancipating her slaves in the colonies! I beg your pardon, sir, no personal insult was intended)—and so, having abused, plundered, debased, ruined them, we are glad at last to kick them out of the country.] What do you think of American justice and philanthropy? Was ever so extraordinary a specimen presented before to the world?

B. Never! It is almost a match for the tenderness and piety of the Inquisition.

The foregoing is no caricature. Its severity consists in being true. Read the African Repository and the Reports of the Colonization Society.

In Q aiming to be facetious or prophetic when he says —Time is rolling rapidly on; and just as rapidly the black population is getting like a *snow-ball.*' A *black* snow-ball would make a strange *baste*, as a discriminating son of Erin might humorously remark. O, but Q has reference to size, not to color. After all, however, the figure may properly include both color and bulk; for the fiery amalgamators at the South are rapidly making this white snow-ball a white one!

ous man;]—But *here there is no footing for the colored man.*—[Speech of G. W. P. Custis, same Report.]

The language of the American Colonization Society is clear: We seek not the elevation of the blacks at home. We care not a rush for the improvement of our two million of slaves amongst us. We rather wish that they should remain wretched and debased, that we may the more securely rivet upon them the chains of a soul-degrading, man-dishonoring, God-defying despotism. Show us a dishonored negro, and away he goes to Liberia! Show us an unknown and noble sight of a black man struggling for political existence, and away he goes to these Liberia! Show us the spectacle of one who looks around upon his colored brethren bands, with a burning desire to be their liberator, and away with him to the regions of Liberia!—This is not the land for illuminated minds, *unless they tender white bodies!* This is not the land for struggles in the cause of liberty, *unless it be liberty for the whites!* This is not the land for burning desires, and paintings after deeds of resistless fame, *unless felt and performed by white, skinned men!* Away with all such colored men to Africa! There let them burn, and shine, and struggle, and conquer; for here they shall have no abiding place. We will cast into their cup the bitterness of scorn, and persecution, and calumny, and reproach, until nature recoils at the gall-it drinks, and they cry in the anguish of their spirits—'*We are willing to go to Liberia!*'?—[Speech of Geo. Thompson in Exeter Hall, London, 1833.]

The American Colonization Society has been branded with many names already. There is, however, one which it has not yet received, but which it richly deserves. I have a gentleman of an imaginative mind, who went out to Sierra Leone, and on his return, he told a friend of mine, that a cargo of bars of iron, which had been sent to that colony, was found, after it had lain in a store two months, to be completely *worm-eaten!* (Laughter.) 'Why,' said my friend, 'what kind of worms eat iron?' 'Oh,' said he, 'they were as like bugs as any worms you can see.' My friend, who had a little Irish drollery about him, remarked, 'We have bugs of that kind in Ireland, but we call them *ham-bugs*.' (Loud cheers.) Now, the American Colonization Society is a bug of that description—it is a ham-bug. (Renewed and long continued cheers.) It will not sou like any thing—it will digest it like an ostrich; there is nothing too hard for the stomach of the American Colonization Society. (Cheers.) *It is the most odious Society that ever got one dreaming of.*—[Speech of Daniel O'Connell, at the same meeting.]

ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

At the Anti-Slavery Fair which was held in this city, in December, among other things which female ingenuity, benevolence and talent contrived to make serviceable to the cause of the manacled slaves, were twelve small plaster casts of the Apostles, from paintings by the old masters, upon the back of each of which was the following appropriate inscription, penciled by a lady of rare endowments:

JOHN.

The mild and gentle St. John falls under the censure of those who object to the Liberator, on account of the 'violence and harshness of its language.' Hear what he says:—'Little children, let no man deceive you: he that *doeth righteousness, is righteous.* He that *committeth sin is of the devil.* In this, the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil: Whosoever *doeth not righteousness, is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother.* Marvel not if the *world* hate you. Whosoever hateth his brother, is *a murderer.* If any man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a *liar.*'

BARTHOLOMEW.

Are we, or are we *not*, in our 'proper sphere,' when engaged in prayer and effort for the highest interests of our race? What we find recorded of Bartholomew, and the rest of the Apostles, (Acts i. 14,) will help us to decide. 'These all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication *with the women.*' Also Acts xvi. 13, it is written, 'And on the sabbath, we went out of the city by a river side, where prayer was wont to be made; and we spake unto the women which resorted thither.' Shortly after, when Paul cast out an evil spirit which possessed a female slave, and 'her masters saw that the hope of their gains was gone,' they presented the apostles as nuisances before the magistrates. Thus the spirit of the world appears equally at enmity with the spirit of God, in all ages.

PHILIP.

An Example of Candor and Liberality.—When a man who occupied the important appointment of Prime Lord of the Treasury to the queen of Ethiopia, was sitting reading in his chariot, as he journeyed, what did he say to the despised preacher of a despised faith, who joined-him? Did he complain of the interruption? No. Did he say, 'The Jews have banished you; therefore, you *must* be a wretch'? No. Did he say, 'You are, *unfortunately*, of a different color from myself'? No. He said, '*Come up*, and sit with me!'

SIMON.

I find nothing recorded in Scripture of this disciple; but his name is in itself an admonition—especially to those who refuse, even when Wisdom utters her voice in the streets, to listen to what she utters.

'SIMON—one who *hears.*'

Have you *heard*, that the abolitionists are acknowledged, even by their enemies, to be wise and good men? Have you *heard*, that, so far from advocating insurrection, they advocate the doctrine of non-resistance to the extent? Have you, *heard*, that their much abused *measures* are the very same our Savior enjoined on his disciples? 'No, I am no Simon; I have listened only to the pro-slavery editors.'

ANDREW.

The conduct of Andrew, with regard to Jesus, is worthy of notice. He no sooner heard him speak, that he followed him. Being assured that he had found the Christ, he instantly strove to convince the mind of Peter, his brother. Only in this way can the principles of Christ, which are the principles of abolition, prevail. They must be zealously propagated. The sinners whom the gospel of Christ condemns, will instantly raise a furious outcry, 'Down with the propagandist! Remember the French revolution!' It is their policy to confound us believers and nonresisting, with a set of blood-shedding atheists, who have been an age in their graves. It is not easy to do.

JUDAS THADDEUS.

The abolitionists are often called to discuss the principles with those who justify slavery from the Mosaic dispensation. The advocates of this iniquity cannot apprehend the *spirit* of Moses, because the veils upon their *hearts.*' In disputing with them about the *body* of Moses, let us be mindful of the example held up to us by St. Jude, of 'Michael the archangel, when contending with the devil, he disputed about it. He durst not bring a railing accusation;' but said, The LORD rebuke thee!' What answer *Satan* made, we know not; but *our* opponents, when we say 'The LORD rebuke thee!' cry, 'Down with the fanatics! Put a stop to it, at all events!'

MATTHEW.

The Gospel according to St. Matthew.—'Blessed are they that do hunger and thirst after righteousness.—Blessed are the peacemakers.—Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake.—Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad! for great is your reward in heaven!'—[SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

PETER.

First Epistle general of Peter. Chapter 2d.

18. Servants, be subject to your masters, with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward.

19. For this is thankworthy, if a man, for conscience toward God, endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if, when ye be buffeted for your *faults*, ye shall take it patiently? but if, when ye do *well*, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, *this* is acceptable with God.

21. For even hereunto were ye called.

Chap. 3d.

14. But and if ye suffer for righteousness' sake, happy are ye: and be not afraid of their terror, neither be troubled.

Chap. 4th.

16. If any man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed.

JAMES—(the son of Alpheus.)

'My brethren,' says St. James, 'have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, with *respect of persons.* For if there come into your assembly, a man with a gold ring, in goodly apparel, and there come in also a poor man in vile raiment; and ye have respect unto him that weareth the gay clothing, and say unto him, Sit thou here in a good place; and say to the poor, Stand thou there, or sit here under my footstool: are ye not then partial in yourselves?'

JAMES—(the son of Zebedee.)

Leonardo da Vinci has well imagined the piercing glance and determined countenance which must, one would think, belong to him, who, with his brother, asked of Christ, that he might sit on his right hand and on his left in his kingdom. *Christ* did not rebuke them, though the *disciples* were moved with indignation. He explained to them the nature of true greatness and dominion—that it consisted in ministering to others; saying, 'Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant.' This is the true republican principle.

THOMAS.

'Be not faithless, but believing. Blessed are they which have not seen, and yet have believed,' are the words of Jesus to St. Thomas.

They are also his words to *us*, when the demon of unbelief would fain persuade us, that men will never repent of the sin of holding their brethren as property.

JUDAS ISCARIOT.

He who says slavery is a dreadful evil, while he at the same time, either by thought, word or deed, would prevent its being discussed, is not far unlike him who said, 'Hail, master!' with the price of blood in his possession.

PROGRESS OF LIGHT AND TRUTH.

On Wednesday evening last Mr. May and Mr. Lee Row addressed a large audience in the meeting-house at East Abington. Every evidence was given of a lively interest in the purpose of the meeting. After the addresses, which occupied more than two hours, a proposal was made to form an association, auxiliary to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. It was cordially received, and a Society was formed, consisting of upwards of 40 members. The meeting-house at East Abington will long be remembered as the place where the generous Thompson pleaded, for the last time, the cause of freedom and humanity against the public despotism and private cruelty of the American People.

'FEMALE SAMARITAN ASYLUM FOR COLORED CHILDREN.' We are happy at last to report, that this most benevolent institution has found an advocate among the ministers of this vicinity, and a place where its claims might be presented to the public.—On Sunday evening last, the Rev. Mr. Abbott of Roxbury, delivered a highly appropriate discourse in the Salem-street meeting-house, in which, as one who deeply feels for the sufferings of his fellow beings, whatever be their color, he exhibited the scenes of wretchedness from which the patrons of this Asylum would rescue the objects of their charity, who are wholly overlooked by the friends of other institutions in our city, avowing a similar purpose. After the sermon, there was a contribution taken, which amounted to $125,00.

TWO PARAGRAPHS. The two following items are from the Atlas. It is really amusing to find a member of Congress so tenacious of the dignity of *his state*, and at the same time evincing such a remarkable degree of respect for the head of one of the popular branches of our government. Such are the men that propose to our legislatures the enactment of gag laws. He will undoubtedly receive the thanks of his constituents for the bold stand which he has taken for the support of *their* dignity, for the protection of their rights, and for the supremacy of *decency.*

'Mr. Wise seems to have a great aversion to any half-way mode of doing things. After the adjournment of the House on Tuesday, he encountered the Speaker in the Lobby, and addressed him after the following complimentary fashion—'You're a d——d tyrant, and I wish you to consider this remark as personal, which you may pocket in silence if you choose.' Mr. Polk did so he was directed.'

'The Chair decided that the resolutions might be read, and that Mr. Wise was in order; after which Mr. Wise put the resolutions into his pocket, saying *that he would not disgrace the resolutions of his State by sending them to the committee, to which the abolition memorials were referred.*'

DECENCY!—The editor of the Boston Commercial Gazette applies to Prof. FOLLEN, the noble, the generous, the patriot FOLLEN—and, for many years, an exile among us from his own country on a LIBERTY'S SAKE,—the following scurrilous language:—'*Poor dreivelling fool!*' The same mobocratic paper modestly affirms that Rev. Mr. May and Samuel E. Sewall, Esq. ('a Mr. Sewell,'—one John Milton, a poet,) knew that they were uttering '*falsehoods*,' when they were addressing the Legislative Committee on Tuesday last!—N. B. The Commercial Gazette highly approves of the inflated and despotic course pursued by Mr. Senator Lunt on that occasion. Let this not be forgotten.

DESPOTISM.

Mr. GARRISON:—As an individual, I ask the favor of being permitted through your columns, to express my sentiments and opinions relative to the extraordinary scene which took place in the Representatives Hall on Tuesday last. The Chairman of the Legislative Committee, (Hon. Mr. Lunt of Essex,) is entitled to our thanks; for the universal indignation excited throughout a numerous audience by his supercilious and tyrannical conduct, has given to the cause of Anti-Slavery an impulse which our own efforts could not have accomplished by any means, in so short a time. Let it be remembered that the gentlemen who appeared on behalf of the Anti-Slavery Society were before the Committee as a matter of right, not as a matter of favor, and were legally entitled to a full hearing, and the course of argument and of remark was a matter of choice with the speakers, provided they avoided expressions disrespectful to the Committee or the Legislature, which (as a legislative committee is a sort of judicial tribunal) would have been a contempt of Court. Dr. Follen, in the course of his remarks, deprecated any censure on the part of the Legislature, because he said that any such censure would sanction popular violence against the members of the Anti-Slavery Society, and was proceeding to illustrate his position by shewing the connexion between the proceedings at Faneuil Hall last summer and the outrages by the 'gentlemen of property and standing' in October last, when he was interrupted in the most flippant manner by the Chairman, who said that he considered this train of remarks disrespectful. Dr. Follen, in a quiet way asked, if an argument against mobs was any disrespect to the Committee. The smile which this question excited, stung the Chairman (who seems to be as little provided with good temper as sound views or accurate knowledge,) who required Dr. F. to stop. Dr. F. said that if he was prevented from speaking to that point, he had nothing more to say. Mr. Mosely, one of the committee, here interposed, and in a few words which did much honor to his head and heart, expressed his desire that Dr. Follen should proceed. The chairman, after consulting with his colleagues, retracted his decision with a somewhat ill grace, and permitted Dr. Follen to finish his remarks. The rude manner in which the chairman treated a man so infinitely his superior, as well as the dignity and serenity with which the treatment was received, were alike conspicuous.

Mr. Goodell next addressed the Committee. After he had spoken a few words, the audience slightly applauded his remarks. The chairman (as was his duty) repressed this disorder, though with rather unnecessary warmth, and said that the hall must be cleared if it were repeated. Mr. Goodell, in the most natural way in the world, stated that he hoped the applause would not be repeated, as it did not belong to him. The chairman here interrupted him with an indecent warmth, and charged him with presuming to take upon himself the duties of the committee. Mr. Goodell protested that he had no such intention. To judge from the countenances of the audience, there was a general sentiment of indignation at the unwarrantable, even ungentlemanly attack of the chairman.

Mr. Goodell proceeded, and said in a few moments, that the requisitions of the Southern Governors were a conspiracy against the liberties of the Union, or words to that effect. The chairman interrupted him, and said that there was no such thing in the Constitution of the United States, requiring that full faith should be given to the official acts of other States. Mr. Goodell said that he meant to do so, and did give them full faith and argued accordingly, and adverted to the resolutions of the State of South Carolina, and to Mr. Calhoun's Post Office bill. Here the chairman in a very peremptory manner, ordered Mr. Goodell to sit down, on having made a sneering allusion to the Constitution. Nothing could be more unjust, more unreasonable, or more absurd than this decision. The truth was, that the remark of the chairman was a weak one, as the clause in the Constitution, which was referred to, had no application to the case, and Mr. Goodell's observations made this palpable to the audience, which so wounded his self-love, (of which he appears to have an ample share,) that he vented his mortification upon Mr. Goodell's head, and in the plenitude of his power, commanded him to be seated. The gag-law having been thus applied, the gentlemen of the Anti-Slavery Society, very properly declined saying anything more.

Dr. Gamaliel Bradford then requested to say a few words to the committee, as a citizen of Massachusetts, and he was permitted to speak. His remarks were very apt and appropriate—full of spirit and eloquence—seasoned with wit, and pungent with satire. He was heard with marked attention and evident pleasure.

Mr. George Bond, in some manly and sensible remarks, which were characterized by a high-toned independence, remonstrated with the committee upon their course, reminded them of their great responsibility, and urged them to give the Remonstrants a full hearing. But it was all in vain. The meeting was dissolved.

I do not regret the above occurrences, outrageous as they were. It was a practical exemplification of the muzzling and gagging principle, pressed upon us by the South. Here were our fellow-citizens, openly deprived of one of the most obvious rights of freemen—the right of being heard in defence of themselves and of remonstrating against the enactment of laws, and the passage of resolves, directly effecting their characters and their persons. There is no law or precedent for the conduct of the committee, and a more daring and high-handed contempt of the rights of citizens of this Commonwealth was never witnessed, and if there be any sense of justice and wholesomeness of feeling in the community, it will meet with due reprobation. The dose was mixed a little too strong for New-England lips. The length and breadth and depth of Southern insolence were revealed in a palpable shape—it was slavery made flesh. To judge by the lowering brows and muttering lips we every where witnessed in the hall, a strong tower of defence was built up for us by the hands of our enemies. Blessed be God, who makes tyranny, and oppression, and arrogance, and self-conceit, and snarling ill-nature, and flippant shallowness of understanding, instruments to aid the progress of truth and liberty.

H.

[From the Boston Daily Advocate.]

APPLICATION OF GAG LAW.

An extraordinary scene was exhibited yesterday, before a Committee, in the Representatives' Hall, which, if sanctioned by the Legislature, establishes a precedent trampling on the Bill of Rights, on freedom of discussion and petition, and makes the people of Massachusetts meaner slaves than the serfs of Russia. We never witnessed a deeper, though respectfully suppressed, feeling of smouldering moral indignation, than that which fell upon Mr. Senator Lunt, a very young man, and an inconsiderable lawyer, who, as Chairman of the Committee, assumed a tyrannical dictation, which would have disgraced a Pacha with three tails, in his treatment of christian dogs, if summoned before him for the bastinado.

This Committee, of whom were present yesterday, Senator Lunt, Messrs. Mosely, Lucas, and Corbett, of the House, have had referred to them that part of Gov. Everett's Address relating to Abolition, and also the Resolutions from South Carolina, insolently demanding of this sovereign state, the passage of a gag law against our citizens. The Anti-Slavery Society presented a Memorial to the Legislature, desiring to be heard in full before that Committee, which was granted, and the Memorial referred to the Committee of which young Senator Lunt is Chairman. Yesterday afternoon, the Hall was filled with ladies and gentlemen, to hear the Abolitionists address the Committee. Among those present, were Dr. Channing, T. H. Perkins, Francis Jackson, George Bond, George Odiorne, Col. Swett, George Blake, and many other prominent citizens. The Committee were addressed, with pungent eloquence, and in the most rational, respectful, and orderly manner, by Rev. Mr. May, Mr. Sewall, Professor Follen of Harvard University, and Mr. Goodell, exhibiting the views and acts of the Abolitionists, and the reasons why no act should be passed by the Legislature, either to stop their mouths, or censure them as citizens.

The Chairman, Mr. Lunt, exhibited a paltry spirit of captiousness throughout, and when Professor Follen, who spoke in the mildest and most gentlemanly manner, made an allusion to mobs where Judge Lynch presided—he was called to order by the Chairman. Professor F. inquired if it was considered disrespectful to the Committee to speak disrespectfully of mobs. Senator Lunt gravely decided that it was. The Professor very properly declined going on, if he could not speak of the tendency of any action by the Legislature to incite mobs against the Abolitionists. Mr. Mosely of Newburyport, one of the Committee, protested against this decision of Mr. Lunt, who finally was obliged to back out, and let Mr. Follen go on. Mr. Goodell spoke next, and alluded to a conspiracy at the South against the freedom of speech and the working men of the North. Mr. Lunt called him to order. Mr. Goodell produced Gov. McDuffie's Message to prove what he had said. Mr. Lunt decided that it was disrespectful to allude to an official document of another state, in this way, because full faith and credit must be given to the records of another state. Mr. Goodell replied that he meant to give to it just the credit it deserved. He then alluded to Senator Calhoun's gag-law report in Congress, upon which Mr. Lunt, with immense dignity, said, stop, sir, and decided that the Committee would hear no more of this, "disrespectful" report, but the keen eyed Mr. Lunt, could see nought improper or disrespectful in the language of Mr. Goodell. The Abolitionists here took the ground that the Committee denied them the right to be heard. Mr. Lunt intimated, that

Mr. May said they came there freemen, and they would depart as freemen should, when their rights were denied. An intense feeling was excited in the audience, by the unheard of conduct of Mr. Senator Lunt, which it was difficult to repress, though no disorder broke out. Dr. Gamaliel Bradford, not an abolitionist, addressed the Committee most eloquently, for freedom of speech. He said every man would be willing to fall with the Abolitionists, if freedom of speech was to be put down through them.

Mr. Geo. Bond (of the firm of Whitwell, Bond & Co.) came forward, and besought the Committee to re-consider the decision. He said he was no Abolitionist, but had joined in the Faneuil Hall meeting against them, but that such proceedings as this would make every body who valued liberty, friends to the Abolitionists. The constitution was to be reached through them. He had seen and heard nothing which he thought the Committee might not have listened to without infringing their dignity, and it did seem to him that the Committee were rather too fastidious.

Here he was interrupted by the dignified Chairman, who exclaimed, 'Be careful what you say, or the Committee will not submit to it.' When Mr. Bond closed, voices from the Gallery said 'Amen,' very audibly.

The Committee then broke up in much admired disorder. Mr. Mosely said to Mr. Lunt.—You have been wrong from the beginning. I will not sit in such a Committee. I entirely disapprove of your conduct. Mr. Lucas, we understand, also dissented, and Mr. Lunt retired amidst the smothered indignation of the whole assembly.

Members of the Legislature present, avowed anti-abolitionists, declared they were ready to take the subject from this Committee and give it to one who would treat citizens with decency. All present felt that Mr. Lunt had made more abolitionists in an hour than Thompson or Garrison could in a year.

FURTHER INTELLIGENCE FROM MR. THOMPSON.

The news of the safe arrival of this distinguished philanthropist in England, has diffused gladness throughout our land among the honest and consistent friends of the colored race. We have the happiness to present to our numerous readers, another letter which we have just received from him, by which the pleasing intelligence is communicated, of the arrival of his wife and children at Liverpool, all in good health, except the little infant who was born in this country. It appears that Mr. T. had made arrangements to visit Glasgow and Edinburgh without delay, at the earnest request of the friends of his mission in those great cities. In the former place, he contemplated giving two public addresses, one on the 20th, and the other on the 22d of January. The next packet from England will probably bring a particular account of his meetings. We are sure he will be received by the people with the highest demonstrations of regard, admiration and sympathy.

Mr. Thompson's present letter is chiefly filled with animadversions upon Dr. Channing's self-subversive work upon Slavery—a work which is so unfortunate as to receive the censure alike of *anti*-slavery and *pro*-slavery readers, notwithstanding the extreme solicitude of its author to make it unexceptionable to all parties. Mr. Thompson very properly inquires, if Dr. C. has obtained no new light from the writings of the abolitionists, but has for many years cherished his present views of slavery, why he has so long withheld the publication of those views; and he thinks that the Doctor is justly blameworthy for his protracted silence. The Doctor has certainly done great injustice—not wilfully but hastily and severely—to the abolitionists, and particularly to Mr. Thompson, and thereby wounded the cause of emancipation: yet a very large portion of his work is as true and as powerful as the truth of God, because it IS truth.—Abolitionists, however, must reject the book *as a whole*, because it compromises principle, repudiates their associations, and defeats its own purposes; although we are confident that the Dr.'s motives are spotless, and his intentions praiseworthy. We readily grant, that it required an effort of moral courage on the part of Dr. Channing to publish such a book, even with all its faults, surrounded as he is by a powerful combination of aristocratical influences, and in view of his peculiar relations. Dr. Beecher stands far, very far below him, in moral dignity, in relation to the great question of slavery. Lane Seminary is a black monument of oppression, decorated with gags and padlocks. Since the withdrawal of its students, for freedom of speech, and as the Lord's freemen, 'ICHABOD' has been written upon its shattered column.—Lyman Beecher has ceased to be Lyman Beecher.—He is now only the President of Lane Seminary! O, most unenviable station! The grim monster SLAVERY scares him, and he prostrates himself to the earth in fear. Read an abstract of his Thanksgiving Sermon, as communicated by our correspondent 'MOSES' in another column, and lament over it, ye who were once his ardent admirers. The remedy which he prescribes for the removal of the accursed system is—*silence!* 'Cry aloud,' says Jehovah of hosts. 'Hush—be silent!' says Dr. Beecher; 'or, if you must speak, why indulge in fulsome adulations of your country, and tell her how free, how beautiful, how matchless she is, in the perfection of her wickedness!'

A great fire occurred at Canton on the 21st of November, which consumed from fifteen hundred to two thousand houses, in that part of the city occupied by the wool manufacturers. Several lives were lost. A number of foreigners were allowed to enter the city next morning.

FREEMEN OF MASSACHUSETTS!

Are you ready for a gag law?

☞ Certain southern Executives and Legislatures have transmitted their DEMANDS to the Governor of this State, that A GAG shall be put into the mouth of every citizen who says that slavery ought to cease in our country *before the end of the world!* These insolent requirements are now in the hands of a legislative committee of this State; and from the despotic manner in which this committee (Mr. Mosely of Newburyport most honorably excepted) has treated an abolition delegation duly appointed to go before it in vindication of the rights of freemen, it is seriously apprehended, not that such a law will be reported to the Legislature, (for there is no man, yet, we are confident, who would dare so to insult the Representatives of the people of this Commonwealth,) but that certain *resolutions* will be reported, and perhaps adopted, denouncing the discussion of slavery in our midst, and subservient to the designs of the south, which are nothing less than the subjugation of northern freemen to a yoke of bondage.

☞ A full report of all the proceedings referred to between the legislative committee and the abolitionists, will probably be published in the next number of the Liberator. Our readers are referred to the article extracted from the Daily Advocate, and to the communication of our correspondent 'H.' to-day, for further information upon this subject.

ADVANTAGES OF SECTARIANISM! The 'PRESBYTERIAN,' a religious paper (so called) printed in Philadelphia, says—'While other denominations are harmonious from a love to their *peculiarities*, the Presbyterian church is in an alienated and divided state. . . . To regain its *respectability (!) and moral influence (!!)* it must become more SECTARIAN'(!!!) We have used a few points of exclamation, in quoting this humble, disinterested, and pious advice; but we ought not to feel any surprise, as it emanates from a paper which is scarcely exceeded in bitterness towards the friends of immediate emancipation, even by the New-York Courier and Enquirer; which is the reviler of distinguished philanthropists and christians; and which, being implacable in its spirit against the colored population of this country, goes all lengths with Slavery, and its old handmaid, the Colonization Society. In this enlightened age, it sounds queerly to be told, that the amount of 'respectability' and 'moral influence' of a church depends upon, and is augmented by the excess of its *sectarianism!* We should think the editor of that paper possessed enough of the article to supply the whole Presbyterian church. Truly, he must be a *very* respectable man, and have a great moral influence!

WASHINGTON, March 4th, 1836.

In the Senate, to-day, Mr. Preston submitted a resolution, declaring the expediency of retroceding the District of Columbia to the States of Virginia and Maryland,—those States assenting thereto, with such reservations as may be deemed necessary by the government. Mr. Preston did not state his views in regard to this measure and the proposition is probably thrown out with a view to test the sense of Congress and the feelings of the District, and States concerned, on the subject. The resolution is the same notice hitherto taken of the penultimate paragraph of the President's message, in which he earnestly recommends the extension of every political right to the citizens of the District which their true interests require, and which does not conflict with the provisions of the constitution. I do not know how the proposition will be received by the 'citizens of the District,' but I have no doubt that their 'true interests' would be promoted by the measure suggested by Mr. Preston. The city of Georgetown, in case of such retrocession, would, very probably, be made the seat of government of the State of Maryland, as it is much nearer the centre of the population and territory of the State than Annapolis.—*Cor. of Jour. of Com.*

NOTICE.

An adjourned meeting of the Young Men's Anti-Slavery Association will be holden at No. 46 Washington-street, on Thursday evening, March 17, at 7 o'clock. The following question will be discussed:—Ought the powers that be at the North to deliver up fugitive slaves to the South, when claimed by their former masters?'

MARRIED—In this city on Wednesday evening, 2d inst. by Rev. W. WISELOW, Mr. JOHN S. KINBALL to Miss FRANCES M. EATON.

DIED—In this city on Wednesday of last week, very suddenly, Mrs. Mary H. H. wife of Mr. Hiram Sewall, aged 21.

In Lynn, on the 4th inst. Mr. JOHN WISELOW of Portland, aged 33, a member of the Society of Friends—one of the most pure-minded, benevolent and estimable men among mankind, and an early and efficient advocate of the immediate abolition of slavery.

In Holden, 23d ult. Mr. BENJAMIN HUBBARD, aged 55.

☞ LIST *of Letters received at the office of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society since our last number was issued.*

MASSACHUSETTS—L. B. Capron, Uxbridge; C. P. Grosvenor, Rutland; C. Whipple, Newburyport; J. Hale, Salem; John Nelson, Worcester. R. I.—Geo. W. Benson, Providence; Wm. M. Chase, do. CONN.—W. Smith, New-Haven. NEW-YORK—R. G. Williams, New-York city; H. B. Stanton, Utica; Prof. C. Stern, Whitesboro'; Geo. Hogarth, Brooklyn. PENN.—Thos. Hambleton, Oxford; Joseph Fulton, Sadsbury. D. C.—Daniel Webster, M. C., Washington.

JUST RECEIVED, at the office of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, Nos. 9 and 10 of the Slaves' Friend, and the February number of the Emancipator, Human Rights and Record. Also, 'The Fountain—for every day in the year' and a beautiful steel engraving of British W. I. Emancipation, from the English. The 'Slave Market of America' is also just published on a royal sheet and contains sketches of the Slave Houses, and the public and private jails in the District of Columbia appropriated to the domestic traffic.

The prices of the above may be found in our standing list of publications in this paper.

March 9. HENRY E. BENSON, *Agent.*

PROVIDENCE SUBSCRIBERS.

THOSE who do not hereafter receive their Liberator at the Post Office are requested to call for them at the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 78, (third story) of the Arcade.

GEORGE W. BENSON, Agent.
Providence, March 4, 1836.

WANTED,

A NUMBER of colored Boys, to learn the Book and Shoe making business. Apply at the Anti-Slavery Rooms. 3t March 6.

☞ PHILADELPHIA SUBSCRIBERS—

TAKE NOTICE.

THOSE who wish to receive the Liberator the present year must call on one of the subscribers and *pay in advance.* The publisher having adopted this rule, and finding it receives very general approbation, is determined to adhere to it strictly. Old subscribers who have not received any papers this year, will probably find the reason by referring to their last receipt.

JAMES McCRUMMELL,
266, North 2d St.
JOHN P. BURR,
113, South 5th St.
Philadelphia, Feb. 1, 1836.

LITERARY.

[For the Liberator.]

FALSEHOOD—THE SPIRIT OF COLONIZATION.

Being a concise History in measured lines.

New TRUTH awakes—uncompromising TRUTH!
She watch from her leaden, stony trance—
A trance so much like death—so long—so deep—
That by familiar friends she was forgot:
And FALSEHOOD stole her garments, and want forth,
With hood, and mask, and mantle long and wide,
That nicely mimicked TRUTH, and her attire.
Her boisterous voice straight took a gentler tone,
And her harsh mien became so soft and fair,
Arrayed in such a shrinking modesty,
That even weak-eyed PITY was charmed;
And stern-browed WISDOM bent his silvery head
To whisper in the ear of ardent youth,
That her mild words, though never understood,
Or blessed with fellowship among themselves,
Contained a mystic charm, whence sudden light
Would *some time* radiate—*when*, they could not guess!

Strange contradictions labored in her speech;
And quibbles filled the flaws that REASON left.
The golden bribe of AVARICE in her hand,
She spoke—and anxious listened and believed.
She spoke—and vanishing PRIDE and PREJUDICE
Made kingdoms echo with their wild applause!
Then first the long-hid mystery was revealed,
(A wondrous revelation sealed till then,)
How God had formed a race of *human brutes*,
With just so much of reason as might serve
To make the perfect slave—a consciousness
Of one—and but one—elevating grade
Above the passive beast, to make the chain
Gall with a deeper anguish to the souls,
And more than brutalize the abject mind!

Then MAMMON from his long *ennui* woke;
And LUCRE shot the lid upon his gold,
And stretched his hard, unstained hand for more—
For gold—corroded by the Negro's sweat;
For gold—discolored by the Negro's blood;
For gold—which, as it met the iron chest,
Clanked like the echo of the Negro's chain!

Three centuries passed on—and still that voice,
The voice of FALSEHOOD in the guise of TRUTH,
Beguiled the listening nations; till, at last,
INVENTION'S self could frame no other lie
Without some new resources. Then she snatched
The downy mantle from sweet CHARITY,
And quick harangued of obligations vast
To send the Negro to his native land—
HIS NATIVE LAND!—Atlantic's thousand leagues
Between it and *the land that gave him birth!*
She held discourses long—and grey-haired sires,
With the wild ardor of impetuous youth,
Conceived the scheme of CHRISTIANIZING lands
Of more than heathen darkness, by the help
Of hordes of men, who hardly knew that Christ
Had ever suffered upon Calvary!
A people their own words had named 'the dregs,'
'The refuse,' and 'the scum' of human kind!

Then FALSEHOOD drew her borrowed mantle close,
And put the hood about her brazen face,
To hide the smile of bitter irony
That mocked, while she allored, her willing dupes,
Their weakness doubting half—and half secure—
Is her *peculiar* way she reasoned thus—
'The BRUTE—when he hath crossed some thousand leagues
Of foaming ocean—will become a MAN;
He will have caught the light of christian grace,
By some strange action of the elements!
And, therefore—'tis a noble work and good,
To place him on some hospitable strand,
Where WE, his TEACHERS, may protect him no more;
For while the cruel prejudice exists
Against the Negro's color, there can be
No common union between his caste and ours:
And all experience is an evidence
That two distinct, two separate tribes of men,
Cannot exist together in one state.
Therefore, as we, ourselves, are not inclined
To leave our country for a foreign shore,
'Tis justice—mercy—christian charity,
To place the Negro far beyond the reach
Of this strong prejudice, which ever tempts
Our spirits to injustice. He may rise
On Africa's burning sands. The very heat
That quickens in the desert waves will stir
A piety within his ardent breast,
That never could have been excited here.
Fair KNOWLEDGE, here, may ope her stores in vain;
And pure RELIGION spread her heaven-lit page?
For, since the little Negroes sport in sand,
So heated that 'twould crisp the white man's shoe,
'Tis evident their faculties of soul
Are local—and they must abortive be
In this cold country never meant for them!
As well the ostrich-egg from polar snows
Might rise to life and motion, as the mind
That ever feels a strange affinity
For foreign deserts, burning 'neath the sun
Of unknown countries, be developed here.'
Her hearers doubted—listened—and believed.

Time passed—and FALSEHOOD plied her thousand tongues
With good effect—and all extremes she met.
To him who bought and sold the flesh, and blood,
And sinews of his brother, she would say:
'Remove th' unfostered, and you make the slave
Of two-fold value.' AVARICE was convinced—
The enterprise was good—and had his seal.
To PIETY she spoke of christian faith,
Bursting spontaneous from a mass of sin,
As from corruption living phosphorus,—
Of happy Africa evangelized;
And PIETY, sweet innocent! was pleased;
And, credulous, she gave her opulence name.

Then laden ships went forth. And straight arose
'A second Eden!' was Afric's shore;
And, very soon, to'ard dint of scoff and scourge,
The '*free consent*' of pilgrims was obtained:
And wondering Africa was colonized!

At length, a band of strange FANATICS rose,
And prated wild of INSTANT LIBERTY!
Then FALSEHOOD honored even her very self.
With brazen forehead, and unquailing eye,
She met her new opponents—'Let us be
Friends and co-workers in the glorious cause!
But 'tis' expedient' that our work should be
A '*gradual* one.' *Some few short centuries hence,*
Our children's children's children may perfect
The work it is our glory to begin.
The slave must be prepared for liberty:
And *preparation is a serious work.*
'Tis true, some millions will have lived and died,
With all their burning wrongs upon their head,
In helpless, hopeless bondage—what of that?
The common weal, most certainly, requires
That they be kept in bondage; and, besides,
For freedom they have never been prepared!
Though chains are cumbrous, and may somewhat gall,
'Tis 'inexpedient' we should cast them off;
Because, forsooth, the liberated hands
Will cut our throats, and tear us limb from limb:
For all philosophy will clearly prove
That *love and kindness would cooperate,*
And every wild and cruel passion wake
In the unfostered breasts of savage men!
'Tis true, the blood of injured innocence
May cry for vengeance from the thirsty ground—
(Ah! slavery is, indeed, an odious thing!)
Yet, after all, 'tis not so very bad!
The slave is happier than he would be free,
And he must be prepared for liberty!
They let us not offend by word, or deed;
But 'INDIRECTLY' teach our southern friends,
May try for vengeance from the thirsty ground—
Release their slaves—when they—are quite—prepared.
We'll find a softer term for Robbery,
And call the murderer by a gentler name:
So, deep and strong, we lay the solid base,
Whereon the charity of other years
May rear a noble superstructure.'

Slow—
She turned her shrinking gaze, in hope to find
Her late opposers changed to proselytes.
Suffice it that her argument were lost—
Her sorcery failed at last. A keener eye
Had pierced her shrewd disguise. Then, shrinking back,
She strove to find some cell within herself,
Where she might hide from that all-searching eye—
The eye of TRUTH—her oldest, deadliest foe.

But TRUTH is waking! Ay! she is awake!
And see! her old, hereditary foe
Fleeth like darkness from the rising sun!
TRUTH is awake! Her footsteps may be traced
By lake and sea—o'er mountain and o'er plain!
Her spirit has gone out upon the winds;
Nor will it stay, or pause, or hesitate,
Till earth's remotest bounds have felt her power!
She breathes upon the Negro, and he feels
He is, indeed, a MAN, and should be free!
Hark! hark! her voice is swollen to thunder now!
And every hill and mountain, lake and dale,
Is instinct with its spirit! 'LIBERTY'
On the gigantic features of our land
Is deeply graven. Our mighty rivers flow
In freedom to the ocean; but their tide
Is swollen by the captive's burning tears!
Our lofty mountains lift their cloud-wreathed brows,
As if to drink the wind that's nearest Heaven—
That high-born wind, whose voice, instinctive, chants
The spirit-stirring anthem of THE FREE!
Hush! a wild cry, agonan, a dismal screech,
Disturbs the breathing Sabbath! And see!
That victim in the valley writhing now
Beneath the torture of the coiling lash!
The chorus of our anthem—'LIBERTY!'
Is the wild cry of injured millions! Hark,
The interlude is filled with clanking chains!
Shall we delay, or pause, or hesitate,
While wrongs like these are crying from the ground,
For mere pretext from the merciful, and yet
We lear not—think not—feel not! Shall we stay,
While MURDER wears the sanction of our name,
And worse than ROBBERY bears our nation's seal!
The voice of outraged JUSTICE thunders 'NO!'
Reverberating mountains echo 'NO!'
And 'NO!' pale conscience answers. The poor slave
Lifts heavily his weak and helpless hands,
And, almost hopeless, faintly murmurs 'NO!'

F. H. W.

Providence, Feb. 15, 1836.

MISCELLANEOUS.

ABOLITION DEBATE IN CONGRESS.

[From the New-York Journal of Commerce.]

SENATE, Monday, Feb. 29.

There being no reports from committees, the Senate proceeded to consider the petition of the Friends in Pennsylvania, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

Mr. Wall spoke for about an hour in opposition to the pending motion by Mr. Calhoun, that the petition be not received. His remarks were principally on the right of petition, which he considered to be assailed by the motion, and which would be abridged by its success.

Mr. Blake made remarks of a contrary tendency, and animadverted with great severity on the conduct of the abolitionists, and the language they used, and the practices to which they resorted, the effect of which was to stir up a spirit of insurrection in the Southern States, which must result in insurrection and assassination. He spoke of Arthur Tappan and others as having exhibited disregard for the interests of the South, and for the lives and property of Southern citizens, which would recoil upon these individuals, and they would, in their turn, have no right to expect any mercy at the hands of the community against whose tranquillity and happiness those efforts had been directed.

Mr. King, of Georgia, said the motion ought to be rejected, as he wished every petition to be received, and afterwards to be treated according to its merits. He complained of the impatient spirit manifested by the South, and the ungenerous manner in which the forbearance and friendship which had been tendered by the North had been received. He read some extracts from Thompson's letters, as published in an English paper, merely to shew that he treated the statements in those letters with contempt, and alleged that the great danger to be apprehended was from the intemperance of the Southern men, which might have the effect of changing the issue. He concluded with expressing his desire to possess the sympathies of the North, and asked where sympathy was to be looked for if not from their Northern brethren. Certainly it was not to be expected from foreigners.

Mr. Porter replied with some warmth and much earnestness to the remarks of Mr. King, as calculated to impress on the North the belief that the South was divided on this question. He deprecated the creation of such an impression as pregnant with the utmost danger to the South. He denied that the right of petition could be affected by any particular action of Congress on any of the petitions, after they came here, and asserted that abolitionism was increasing in the North, and, unless checked, would produce fatal consequences. He appealed to the Senator from Vermont (Mr. Swift) to say whether in the State he represented, these societies had not increased.

Mr. Swift replied that the subject was scarcely mentioned when he left home, but since then there had been five or six societies established in his district; he had now five or six petitions in his drawer to present, and from letters he had received expected many more.

After Mr. Porter had concluded his remarks,

Mr. Leigh presented some resolutions of the General Assembly of Virginia on the subject of slavery, and

The Senate adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FEBRUARY 29th.

The House resumed the consideration of the question which arose, on Tuesday last, on the presentation of an abolition petition by Mr. Adams, as the unfinished business of that day.

The Chair stated the question, as follows:—The gentleman from Massachusetts presented a petition on the subject of abolition. The question arose whether it was referred, of course, by the resolution adopted previously by the House on the subject, and the Chair decided that the resolution did not necessarily embrace petitions presented subsequently to its adoption. An appeal was taken from this decision, and the House reversed the decision of the Chair by a decided majority. By that decision, the Chair was bound to consider the petition as having been committed to the Select Committee, under the resolution. The gentleman from Alabama, (Mr. Lawler,) then moved that the petition be referred, with instructions to the Select Committee to report a resolution declaring that Congress has not the constitutional power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. The Chair pronounced this motion to be out of order, inasmuch as the petition had, according to the House, been already referred. From this decision the gentleman from Alabama had appealed, and the question now was—shall the decision of the Speaker stand as the judgment of the House?

After a debate, in which Messrs. Lawler, Mercer, Vinton, and Wm. A. Shepard participated,

Mr. Lawler withdrew his appeal, though at the same time protesting against the decision.

The Chair then proceeded to call the States, in order, for petitions, commencing with Massachusetts, where the call was suspended on Tuesday. Many petitions on the subject of abolition were then presented, and referred, without question, to the Select Committee on that subject.

When the State of Virginia was called,

Mr. Patton presented a letter from the Governor of the State of Virginia, transmitting certain resolutions on the subject of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and moved that they be referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, with instructions to report forthwith, that Congress has not, under the Constitution, the power to interfere with the institution of slavery as it exists in the District of Columbia, or in any of the territories of the United States.

The Chair decided that, insomuch as the resolution of the House previously adopted referred 'every paper and proposition' on the subject of slavery to the Select Committee on that subject, and, as the House had decided that the resolution embraced every paper on the subject, at whatever time presented, the motion of the gentleman could not be entertained, and that the letter and resolutions presented by him were referred to the Select Committee on Abolition.

Mr. Patton appealed from this decision, and sustained the appeal at length.

Mr. Wise followed on the same side, and went into some views of the character and effect of the resolution by which the subject of abolition had been referred to a Select Committee.

The Chair, after several ineffectual attempts to confine the gentleman's remarks to the question, called him to order, and stated that he could not proceed further, without the leave of the house.

Mr. Mann, of Va. moved, that the gentleman have leave to proceed.

Mr. Calhoun, of Ky. called for the yeas and nays on this question, and they were ordered. The question being taken, it was declared in the negative, yeas 78, nays 100.

Mr. Halsey spake in opposition to the decision of the Chair.

Mr. French moved, that the subject be postponed till Monday next.

Before this question was taken, Mr. Pinckney demanded the previous question, which was ordered.

Mr. Patton called for the yeas and nays on ordering the main question to be put, and it was decided in the affirmative, yeas 110, nays 76.

The main question, 'shall the decision of the Chair stand?' was taken and determined in the affirmative, yeas 143, nays 40.

Mr. Patton asked whether it was in order for him to withdraw the communication from the Governor of Virginia.

The Chair replied, that he supposed the gentleman might withdraw it.

Mr. Patton said that, in that case, he withdrew the letter transmitting the resolutions.

Mr. Mann, of Va., was about to propose to his colleagues, he said, to the Speaker of the House to give the documents the usual direction; that is, to lay them on the table and order them to be printed.

Mr. Adams said the documents had, under a resolution of the House, been referred to the Select Committee; and to withdraw them would be to counteract an order of the House. He objected to their withdrawal.

The Chair stated that, if there was an objection to the withdrawal, he was compelled to say that they could not be withdrawn, without the leave of the House.

Mr. Patton moved that the rules be suspended, in order to enable him to withdraw the letter and give it the direction suggested by his colleague. Pending this motion, the House, at 5 o'clock, adjourned.

THE REV. MR. CHEEVER.—The mass of the public will we have no doubt, be surprised to learn that there is no law in this State, making *criminal* publications of the kind for which Mr. Cheever has been indicted, convicted and sentenced to an infamous punishment, and of course no law prescribing any punishment; it all rests on the will of the Judge. There is no law making such a publication a *public* offence—and the court and the prosecuting officers are challenged to contradict this statement and to produce the law. There can be no such law passed, without as great a disregard of the Constitution by the legislature, as there has been of law and justice by the courts, in sustaining this prosecution. There is not only no law against the libel publication, for which Mr Cheever has been most illegally punished, but the right to publish, 'unrestrained' liberty of the press, is expressly and amply guaranteed in our Bill of Rights.

The 16th Article of the Bill of Rights, a part of the Constitution of the State, is as follows: 'The liberty of the Press is essential to the security of freedom in a State; IT OUGHT NOT THEREFORE TO BE RESTRAINED IN THIS COMMONWEALTH.'

Can language be more full and ample than this? When the Constitution guarantees, as it does here, the *unrestrained* liberty of the press, it is not competent for all or any of the departments of the government, to make the exercise of that right a PUBLIC CRIME. The Constitution says that it is not expedient to make the publication of any thing *criminal*, or to restrain in any way, so far as the *public* is concerned, the absolute and entire freedom of the press. The Judiciary, by their acts say, we care not for your constitutional guarantees, we will punish by mild or infamous inflictions, as suits our pleasure, those who publish matter offensive to us. This, they say, is not restraining the liberty of the press, but only curbing its licentiousness! But this is a legal quibble, worthy only of a narrow mind and a depraved heart.—Suppose the constitution should have said—'That the right of the farmer to sell his hay is essential to the public welfare; it ought not therefore to be restrained in this Commonwealth.' Suppose that the Judiciary should decide that this meant that the farmer should sell hay of such a quality only, in such sized loads only; that he must make his bargains on such days of the week only; that he must travel only prescribed roads to market; and sell it only in such and such places; and that if he deviated from these rules of *theirs*, they would fine and imprison him. Would not such an assumption of power shock the moral feeling of every man of common sense and common honesty in the community? Yet their course on the law of libel is as great an outrage on the constitutional rights and common sense of the citizens, as the supposed case would be, and vastly more dangerous to the general liberties of the people.

We have stated, and we repeat it, that there is no law, neither statute law, common law, nor constitutional law, by which a man in our State can be punished for publishing what Mr. Cheever published, except in a civil suit for damages. His rights are trampled upon by Judicial power, and he is imprisoned, in our opinion, by arbitrary and undelegated authority. The criminal law of libel never existed in this State until it was interpolated upon our code by Judge Parsons, some thirty years ago, without any authority of law, but in direct violation of the express constitutional provisions of the Constitution. His libel law is not the common libel law of England but of his own manufacture; besides, the common law on libels never has gained a foot-hold here. The Constitution of our state was adopted in 1782. It was intended by it to secure the rights of the citizens, and to give to them, a code of laws with the provision of which they were familiar; for, to punish a man for the violation of an obsolete or an unknown law is downright tyranny; it is like punishing men under an ex post facto law—. Hence in the eighth section, of Chapter 6th of the Constitution is this provision—'All the laws which have heretofore been adopted, used and approved, in the Province, Colony, or State of Massachusetts Bay; and usually practiced upon in the courts of law, shall still remain and be in full force, until altered or repealed, by the legislature, such parts only excepted as are repugnant to the rights and liberties contained in this constitution.'

By this clause, all obsolete statute laws, and all the common law, except such as was usually practiced on in the courts, and of public notoriety, were cut off. No common law, except what was then in general use in the courts, could ever be legally introduced by the judiciary. And in regard to the common law of libel, if it had existed at that time and were known as part of our CRIMINAL code, the provisions contained in the Constitution, for the unrestrained liberty of the press, would have cut it off.

But in fact the common law for *criminal* libels, had then not been known here, and could not have been usually practiced on in the courts, and it could not subsequently be introduced by the Judiciary, except they disregarded the first principles of constitutional law. Yet it was interpolated upon our code such as we find it, as we before remarked, neither English common law, statute law, nor constitutional law, by Judge Parsons, and subsequent Judges have sanctioned the interpolation. Time can never consecrate wrong, and the repetition of injustice will never make injustice right. Judge Parsons deserved impeachment for this licentious stretch of Judicial authority. Can those who sustain this encroachment deserve less? We hold them to be equally guilty, and we hope the time is not far distant, when the infliction of exemplary punishments shall deter the court and its prosecuting attornies from such palpable infractions of the law, such wilton invasions upon the constitutional rights of the citizen.

This is a matter of personal interest to every PRINTER, and every CITIZEN, without distinction of sect or party; and we hope the press will investigate the subject, and fearlessly cry aloud and spare not.—*Boston Post.*

TYRE.—This city, at present called Sour by the Arabs, is situated at the further extremity of the above mentioned peninsula, and seems to rise out of the waves. At a distance you would still imagine it to be a new, beautiful, white and animated city; but it is nothing more than a fine shadow, which vanishes on approaching it. A few hundreds of falling houses, in which the Arabs fold large flocks of sheep and black goats with long hanging ears, which defiled before us in the plain, are all that remains of Tyre! She has no longer a port on the sea, no longer roads around land, the prophecies respecting her have been long since accomplished.

We travelled on in silence occupied by the thoughts of this desolation, and of the dust of empire which we trod under our feet. Passing along a path, between the ruins and the grey and naked hills of Lebanon, which here descend to the plain, we arrived at the city, now flanked by a sand bank, which seems its only existing rampart, but which will doubtless ere long, bury the town under its mass. I thought of the prophecies, and endeavored to bring to my recollection some of those eloquent warnings with which the divine spirit inspired Ezekiel. I could not recall the words, but I discovered the meaning in the deplorable reality before my eyes. A few lines which I had traced at random on my departure for the East came fresh into my mind.

I have not heard, beneath the cedars old,
Resounding cries from busy nations rolled:
We been, where Lebanon's black heights inspire,
God's mischiefs eagle dart from thence on Tyre.

I had now before me the 'black' Lebanon; but I said to myself, my imagination has deceived me: I see neither the eagles nor the vultures, which, according to the prophecies, are to descend unceasingly from the mountains, to despoil even the remains of the city, accused of God and the enemy of his people.

At the moment I made these reflections, something huge, grotesque, and motionless, appeared at our left on the summit of a pointed rock, which advanced into the sea, and formed a distant, circular route of the caravans. It looked to me like five statues of black stone placed on a pedestal; but from certain motions almost imperceptible, of these colossal figures, we fancied, on approaching nearer, that they were five Bedouin Arabs, clothed in their sacks of black goat's hair, who were looking at us as we passed.

When, however, we came at the distance of fifty paces from the rock, we saw one of the five figures display a pair of immense wings, which it flapped with the noise resembling that of a sail shaking in the breeze, and it now became clear that the figures were those of five eagles, of the largest kind I had ever seen in the Alps, or in the menageries of our cities. They did not take flight, but remained motionless as we approached. Seated like kings of the desert, they seemed to regard Tyre as their proper prey, wherewnto they were going to return. They appeared conscious of possessing it by divine right; as if they were willing insensible to the prophetic vengeance, which they were determined to execute upon man, and in spite of man.

I could not cease from contemplating this prophecy in action—this wonderful fulfilment of the divine menace, of which chance had rendered us witnesses. Never had any thing more supernatural struck my eyes, or riveted my mind; and it required an effort of reason not to see behind these five gigantic eagles, the great and terrible angel of the Apocalypse, or prophet Ezekiel—rising above them, and pointing out to them with eye and hand, the city which God had given them as a prey—while the wind of divine wrath agitated the flowing snowy beard of the prophet, and the fire of celestial indignation sparkled in his eyes.

We halted at the distance of forty paces; the eagles merely turned their heads, as if disdainfully regardless of us. Two individuals belonging to the caravan galloped to the foot of the rock, armed with their guns. The eagles paid no attention to this; the guns were loaded with ball, and several shots were fired, which made them fly heavily away for a moment, but they voluntarily returned to the fire, and hovered long over our heads, without being struck by either of the balls, as if they meant to say, 'your efforts against us are powerless; we are the eagles of God.'

I now found that my poetical imagination had exhibited to me the eagles of Tyre less faithfully less impressively, less supernatually, than the fact warranted; and that there is ever in the most obscure rays of the mens divinior of poets, something of divining and prophetic instinct, which utters the truth without knowing it.—*Martine's pilgrimage.*

THE SLAVE QUESTION.

When our Southern friends declaim against the agitation of this question at the North, we are at a least willing to hear the arguments they adduce against the impolicy of such a course; but when they demand as a matter of right that we should not speak upon this subject, because their rights acknowledged in the Constitution, we reply to them, that if their rights are acknowledged, so are ours. We are no more ready to surrender up the liberty of the press and of speech, than they are to surrender up their claim to the services of the slave. Whatever benefits they may discover in the system, we can discover none in it in the North. We behold in it deformity and cruelty, and we have no disposition to change condition with the slaves of the South. We have been taught by one of the most celebrated moralists, that 'he who will not reason is a dogmatist, he who cannot is a fool, and he who dare not is a slave.' If then we are to be terrified into silence upon this subject, if our minds are to be enslaved, or if our tongues are not at liberty to utter what our minds conceive, then we become slaves. This the liberty of which we boast is but a shadow, and though we may not be made 'hewers of wood and drawers of water,' to any man, yet we liken the intellectual dignity which distinguishes freemen, and are made at least a laughing stock for the world. No, the right to think and speak upon the subject of slavery and the condition of slaves in the South, is a right which the North will never relinquish. No one will ever see northern legislation passing laws either to prevent speaking or thinking upon this subject, or to restrain those who do think and speak upon it from meeting together. They cannot do it. The respective State Constitution guarantees to the citizens the invaluable right of liberty of speech and of the press, and if these barriers should be broken down by legislators, the people would soon discharge them from their service. 'The price of liberty is eternal vigilance,' and if the right to think and speak upon the above subject is to be taken away, where shallwe stop? There would be no reason existing for this, that might not exist to stop a debate upon other exciting topics. The consequence would be, then that all our rights as freemen, would fade away before this dangerous precedent. When then our southern friends ask us to pass laws restraining debate upon this subject, they ask us to surrender into their hands our dearest rights. They ask us to come into a state of mental vassalage to them. When they demand it, we place ourselves upon our rights. We are willing, however, to hear any arguments which they can bring against the impolicy of the course that has been pursued by the anti-slavery societies; but when they ask that they should be restained either from printing or speaking upon the subject for which they are associated together, there are none at the North, however much they may be opposed to their proceedings, who will consent to it, because they know that by so doing they must sell their own liberty.—*Worcester Patriot.*

Bibles for Slaves.—A correspondent in the St. Louis Observer, uses the following language on this subject.

'The heathen are in the midst of us, and we regard them not. While our philanthropic brethren are raising thousands upon thousands to supply the destitute places of the earth with the bible, they overlook the destitution of their own land. They forget the benighted heathen who are in the midst of our households. Suppose a project should be started to supply every decent slave in the U. S. above the age of twenty with the 'word of life.'—And why not?—Have they not as good a right to the Bible as the Indians and Negroes of the Eastern Continent and the South Sea Islands?'

A Society to operate against the Abolitionists has been formed in New Orleans. The postmaster gave notice that he should heartily concurate with the association, and that he had already taken measures to prevent the circulation of incendiary publications through his office.

The Difference. A northen man at the south *suspected* of being an abolitionist, is immediately arrested, and hung without judge or jury.

In France, an assassin deliberately attempts to to assassinate the King, and in so doing, kills seventeen persons, and wounds himself—he is taken, his wounds humanely dressed, and he is secured to have a fair trial.

The former is a *republican* government—the latter a *monarchical.* What a commentary!—*Worcester Intelligencer.*

Crime punishable with Death.—In the United States there are 9 crimes punishable with death. The first is treason; the second murder; the third rape; the fourth arson; the fifth burning a ship of war of the United States; the sixth the robbery of the mail: this is not usually capital, but a second offence, or an attack upon the conductors of the mail with dangerous weapons, subjects the criminal to death, and the penalty has been in numerous instances inflicted: the seventh, casting away ships with intent to defraud the owners; the eighth, rescuing a prisoner, while going to, or during the execution; and the ninth and last, is the crime of piracy.

ECONOMY. The expenses of the Government of this Commonwealth are equal to those of the other five New England States taken together. Two thirds of this expenditure are paid for by taxation; the other third goes to pay the executive officers, judges, office clerks, &c. But more than a hundred thousand dollars a year, are paid for legislation alone. Our population is less than one third, our territory is less than seven-eighths that of New England. 'Throughout New England the blessings of good government, security of liberty and property are about equally enjoyed.' Why, then, should these blessings cost so much? The reason is, simply, that the people in those towns will persist in sending demagogue spouters to the Legislature, who spend their time in pretty declamation, at an expense to the State of about *a thousand dollars an hour.*

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OF THE

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CURE FOR CANCER.—Dr. Comstock of Lebanon, (Ct.) in a letter to the editor of the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, says that there is not in the whole Materia Medica a more specific remedy for *Cancer* than the juice of the *Garget* berry. *Oxycocus vulgaris* made into an ointment with sulphate of iron, finely pulverized.