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The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz: - FRANCIS JACKSON, ELIAS GAY LORING, EDWARD QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

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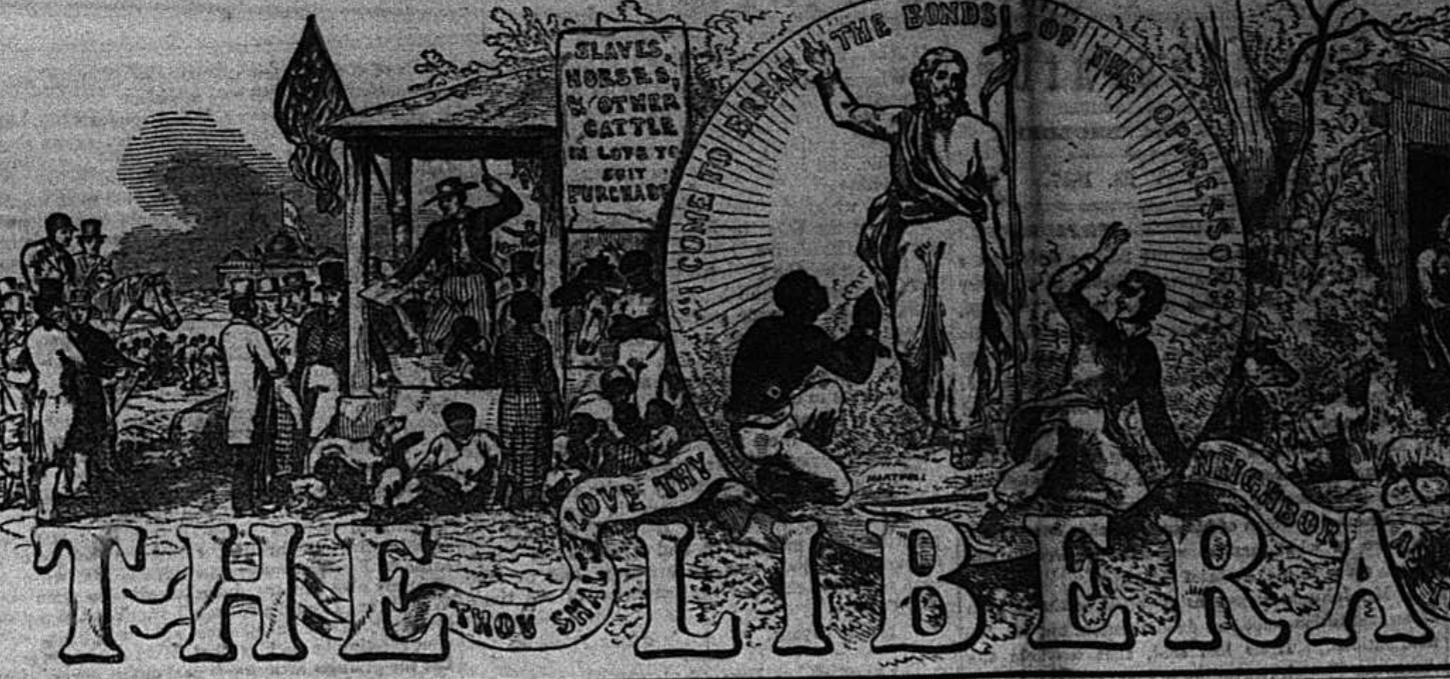
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NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.
The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.'
The free States are the guardians and essential support of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without cause in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our FATHERS, in FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWEARED FROM THE MOUTH We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending. - WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.
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Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.
BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 28, 1857.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.
WHOLE NUMBER, 1390.

REFUGES OF OPPRESSION.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BAPTIST STATE CONVENTION.

The Thirty-seventh Anniversary of the Baptist State Convention of South Carolina was held at Greenwood, beginning on the 25th, and ending on the 28th.

REPORT.

The Committee to whom it was referred to consider and report on the course proper to be pursued by this body, in regard to the subject of Slavery, at its Anniversary, in May, 1857, beg leave to report.

whom we thought we had a right to confide. We ourselves are not afraid of the conflict with abolition arguments; we know how to answer them. But shall we discuss these questions with our negroes? Shall we allow doubly-dyed abolitionists to open a door, at which they would presently enter with what they have approved, and not see. We have no resource but to lay an absolute interdict on everything connected with the subject, as coming from that quarter. Even the modified co-operation proposed by the S. C. Branch of the American Tract Society, in view of all the facts, comes short; it fails to express sufficient decision and absolute-ness, that we are inaccessible to Northern people on that subject. We do not ask them to approve or apologize for slaveholding. They may surely be willing to say nothing at all about it; for if there be any responsibility, duty, or sin in respect of it, that responsibility, duty, or sin is theirs. If we approve of slaveholding, and think we can defend it to our satisfaction, that is exclusively our concern. We shall not disturb them with our arguments; nor shall we ask them to publish our approval or disapproval. Can they not agree to attend to their own Constitutional business, and let our slaveholding alone? If not, then the case is plainly this; we cannot work with them; neither can we permit them to carry on their work in the sphere that we occupy, if we have any means to prevent it.

touches, and has eaten out almost all the humanity of the nominally free-made slaves of thousands of them. It has specially corrupted the government, commerce, politics, and the church. And how very few individuals are to be found who manifest an understanding and practical love of freedom, as a universal principle! Hardly one in a hundred. The star of despotism is in the ascendant, and whence are coming to us any rays of light for our encouragement? What are the instrumentalities on which we can rely for the overthrow of the giant institution against which we war? It is often said that God is on our side; and this is certainly true, and good in itself to make one brave and hopeful; for if God be with us, no matter who is against us, we are in the majority, small as our number may be. But are we to leave this work to God, trusting that he will accomplish it in his own due time, as the scribes and pharisees tell us? No. His manner of performing any such work is by entering into the hearts and speaking to the world through the voices and acts of his faithful servants. It is not God enthroned in the heavens, and putting forth his miraculous powers, that is to accomplish the desired redemption, but God incarnated in human flesh, as the spirit of holiness, and truth, and justice, and philanthropy. The spirit of freedom, of love, in our hearts, is God with us. As God thus enters into mankind will he work out the destiny hoped for. We shall look in vain to the popular God to save us after the popular church methods. God within must be our reliance.

the future harvests of freedom. It has always been the fate of all truly reform parties to do more for the world than for themselves; and they have ceased to do their work when they have become large and popular. So must it be with this party; and no one who understands the philosophy of reform is discouraged by its smallness. I see around me to-day many brother ministers, and I would say to them, let us preach an uncompromising gospel or no gospel, and stand in free pulpits or none; and if ministers are driven out of their pulpits for their faithfulness in applying Christian truth to slavery and all corrupt institutions and customs, they will undoubtedly find themselves endowed with a new moral and spiritual power, and exerting a mightier influence for good than ever before upon society. I believe they would soon witness a revival of religion, under their devoted labors, worthy the name—a humane religion, that would bless the world. And many of the common people are waiting for such a movement on the part of ministers; and it is the only thing that can save multitudes of thinking and humane men and women from entire skepticism in religious matters. Pro-slavery religion necessarily makes 'infidels' for it is worse than no religion. A few words more, and I will leave you. We have been charmed to-day and also morally thrilled by the earnest and eloquent manner in which our sister (Miss Watkins) has addressed us. Now, to understand what slavery is, let us remember that it would take her, so nobly endowed, so finely cultivated, and with such a persuasive voice, and rob her of her womanhood and humanity, and reduce her to the condition of a chattel, a beast! Were this attempted here to-day, we would, indeed, protect her at the hazard of our lives—all of us would, stirred by a humane and generous impulse. But we ought to have within us a principle of philanthropy, of Christianity, which would move us to do in all cases what some would do from impulse in a case like the one supposed. To-day, we would sooner unite with a body of horse thieves than to unite with men who would reduce Miss Watkins to bondage. But there are undoubtedly many in slavery who are even her equals by nature, if not by culture. The government keeps such in their chains by its army and navy, and the church sanctions and sanctifies this great iniquity! The true doctrine, then, to preach and to practice, in reference to these bodies, is the coming out of them, that we be not partakers of their sins. If we have any political and religious organizations, let us have such as are thoroughly and uncompromisingly anti-slavery. The blessings of those ready to perish, and the blessing of God, will surely be upon us. God is a good paymaster. No matter if it cost us office, pulpits, and pleasant positions in society, to be true to the slave and to freedom—it is better to be in the right with a handful, than to go with the multitude to do evil.

could be taken here, with reference to the abolition of slavery, that was adopted by the British government. I believe that if this government would take the subject in hand, the institution of slavery might soon be removed. A portion of the vast revenue of our country might be annually appropriated for the purchase of our slaves, and by this means, slavery would soon be removed from our midst. But we want a sentiment to induce the people to take this step. Where is this sentiment to come from? First of all, it is to come from a just education of the youth. Fathers and mothers, every child God has given you should be consecrated to God and the cause of universal liberty. Let the same baptismal vow go with it, and let the same water that sprinkles its forehead, consecrating it to the service of God, devote it also to the cause of freedom. This, then, is the idea: There should be an anti-slavery sentiment incorporated into the hearts of the people. I tell you, friends, that this sentiment is becoming stronger and more active every day we live. Look about us! Fifteen years ago, and I am glad our friends have been so hopeful—fifteen years ago, and where were anti-slavery gatherings like this? Where was this great Anti-Slavery or Republican party? In 1840, they polled only two or three thousand votes, while in the last presidential campaign, more than a million votes were cast. Thus we see the anti-slavery sentiment gradually increasing. Let fifteen years roll over our heads, and if the progress of the cause is as rapid as during the last fifteen or twenty-five years, since the time Mr. Garrison began to agitate the subject—I ask, where will the anti-slavery sentiment be? With all the corruption in our government, and all the means of continued corruption, it would not be strange if even in twenty-five years, the shout of universal liberty should go up from the thousands of crushed and down-trodden in our land.

SELECTIONS.

THE AWFUL GUILT OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH IN REGARD TO SLAVERY.

The following 'infidel' speech was delivered before the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, May 28 1836, by Rev. JAMES T. WOODBURY, (brother of the late Hon. LEVI WOODBURY,) then of Acton, now of Milford, (Mass.) As the position of the American Church remains essentially the same in its relations to slavery, this speech is as fearfully applicable now as it was at the time it was made. How thoroughly it unchristianizes that Church, and demonstrates it to be an apostate body!

Rev. JAMES T. WOODBURY, of Acton, offered the following resolutions:—

- Resolved, That this Convention do approve of the resolutions which have been adopted by the Free-Will Society of Chillicothe, and do also, urgently recommend their practical enforcement of them, universally, and without further delay:—
1. Resolved, That the buying, selling, or holding a slave for the sake of gain, is a heinous sin and scandal, and requires the cognizance of the judicatories of the church.
2. That giving or bequeathing slaves to children or others, as property, is a great sin, and is to be censured by church members, ought to subject them to censure.
3. That to sell a slave his own liberty, except when the slave was purchased at his own request, and has failed to remunerate his master for the price paid, is a great injustice, and ought to exclude from our communion.
4. That to offer a slave his freedom, only on condition that he will leave his country, and go into a foreign land, is unjust, and ought to subject a church member to censure.
5. That when a slave is emancipated, whose services have been of much value to his master, refusing to give him a reasonable compensation for his labor, when his master is able to do it; or turning him out into the world, when he wishes to stay as a tenant or hiring, is a grievous sin, and when committed by a member of the church, ought to subject him to suspension until he repent.
6. That when a master advertises a reward for a runaway slave, against the violation of the divine law, and when escaping from slavery, he is guilty of a scandalous sin, and forfeits his right to the sealing ordinances of God's house.
7. That to apprehend a slave, who is endeavoring to escape from slavery, with a view to restore him to his master, is a direct violation of the divine law, and when committed by a church member, ought to subject him to censure.
8. That any member of our church, who shall advocate, or speak in favor of such laws as have been, or may be enacted for the purpose of keeping the slaves in ignorance, or preventing them from learning to read the word of God, or from exercising the rights of the citizen, or from doing any duty. It is in the power of the Church to do this. They will not put their lips to the cup, nor break bread with the slaveholder, while his hands are stained with a brother's blood. The work done by this Presbytery is rightfully done. They have not meddled with that which was 'none of their business.' It belonged to them to feel deeply, and speak and act decidedly on this matter. It is not merely the cause of suffering humanity, but pre-eminently the cause of the suffering children of God. Among the members of the Church, they are those who believe in Jesus Christ—those whom he deigns to call his brethren—and concerning whom he said, 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto me.' The Church has a peculiar duty to perform in this matter, the duty of protecting their own members, not against the world, but against one another—the duty of preventing church members from selling one another, from robbing one another of the Bible, and from compelling one another to work without wages. What is the Church doing? Selling individuals for sin—the worst of sins—the sin of man-stealing—yes, the sin of stealing and selling a brother in the Church! What do they do? The hammer is lifted over the head of the Christian—yes, the Christian, the child of God—and the cry is, who bids? Brother sells his brother, and the Church says, 'It is all right!' while the watchmen on the walls of Zion pass the word, 'All's well!' Though the auctioneer, a church member, is selling to the buyer, and the Church does not censure the deed. It is all right! Here is the first stone to be turned, and it must be turned in the Church. If the Church does not interfere, if it does not promptly and faithfully exercise its right of correcting such abuses, then it is dead while it has a name to live. It has been well said, by a member of the Presbyterian church, distinguished as much for his profound learning as for his sound piety, that, 'if the Church would do its duty, it would sell the members of the Church, yes, the Presbytery, I can testify to it, can see that this great moral malfeasance is fast dragging down into its vortex, not the ark of our political safety only

POETRY.

The Liberator.

SIGMA ON THE SABBATH.

Oh, what a noble destiny were thine, America! hadst thou been just and brave!

Chancing to look into the Transcript of the 8th inst., we found that Sigma, who is to that paper what the Old Man of the Sea formerly was to Sinbad,

ing or acuteness. So it has always been, and so it will continue to be, probably, for some time to come.

But, oh, young State! thou hadst in thee the germ of foul disease, tainting thy else strong life!

As to the running of the horse-cars on Sunday, there are, of course, two sides to the question, and two classes of opinions as to the advantage of it.

We never read a Sabbatarian argument without feeling that the author, or those who represent the cause, are in no better relation to the Sabbath

TERENDER, (Eng.)

It is as follows:—

God made the Hebrew Sabbath a thing of positive command, both in regard to time and observance.

BEAUGER'S 'ENTENTE CORDIALE'.

It is as follows:—

Now we hold that the limits of God's moral government are best defined, and its necessities best understood by himself; and when men, in his name,

From the Waverley Magazine.

Remember that thou keep the Sabbath day, Six days shalt thou labor, and do all that thou hast to do;

There are many who appear to receive real enjoyment in painting to themselves and others the awful consequences that would ensue were the legal obligation

LIVE FOR SOMETHING.

Equally puzzling is his reference to the two laws above quoted, one from the Jewish Decalogue, and the other from the Revised Statutes of Massachusetts,

It is a fact that the question, whether or not the world is turned topsy-turvy, society torn up by the roots, and humanity checked in its progress upward,

From the Home Journal.

THE SABBATH—AN ERROR AND AN ATONEMENT.

We are informed that we have 'lost caste,' not exactly with pious people, but with professing Christians—members of the Church—by our articles on the Sabbath.

Honor thee! yes, if thou wilt live A life of truth and purity;

THE SABBATH—AN ERROR AND AN ATONEMENT.

It is a fact that the question, whether or not the world is turned topsy-turvy, society torn up by the roots, and humanity checked in its progress upward,

ness gives Piety a wide berth on the Sabbath, and Piety chuckles over the excellence of this, or some other, of the kind that it is producing, and really thinks that Naughtiness is in a fair way of becoming converted, while all this time the reprobate is only making use of the constraints of the day to be a little more wicked than usual.

LETTER FROM REV. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE.

In your paper of Thursday last, you noticed some remarks made by me at the celebration at Abington of the 1st of August.

It is an honor to be invited by such men to their meetings, and a privilege to go; for they give full scope to the spirit of the age, and they are willing to be criticised as to criticism.

When one part breaks, the whole will fly, And wisps are cracked to find out why.

It is because the slaveholders find they can frighten us more easily by threatening to dissolve the Union, than they can by objecting to the Union, that they can always gain their object in this way, they would be foolish not to do it.

Do you remember, Messrs. Editors, those fine old lines? 'I should not love thee, dear, so much, Loved I not honor more.'

Slavery is the one dark, deep, poisonous plague-spot of the land. The Abolitionists, in their way, are trying to do something to remove it. You think their way a bad one. Why then do you not show them a better way? But you prefer to do nothing, and find fault with those who are at work.

It is said that Bunker Hill Monument may be seen on a clear day, with a good glass, from the top of Monument Hill in Jeffrey and Fitzwilliam, N.H., about eighty miles distant.

NATIONAL EMANCIPATION CONVENTION.

We have recently received a printed copy of what purports to be a Call for a National Emancipation Convention, to which are attached the signatures of gentlemen belonging to different political parties, and embracing in their number many of the highest respectability and intelligence.

Without presuming to question the philanthropic purpose of those who have embarked in this enterprise, we must take the liberty, in consistency with our long-established habit and convictions, of declining to give a place in our columns to this new, if in theory and aim more benign, form of anti-slavery agitation, which proposes to devise some practicable and equitable plan of emancipation, by which the people of the North may co-operate in a general and brotherly movement has existed in all sections and among all parties.

When the slaveholders themselves shall issue a 'call' to their countrymen of the North, similar in its aim and spirit to that now before us, we shall be ready to give it our attention and our respect.

While, therefore, we respect the purity of the motives which have prompted this philanthropic tender on the part of those who united in a 'call for a National Emancipation Convention,' to be assembled in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, on the 25th of the present month, we must, for the reasons thus assigned, forbear to aid in the furtherance of a movement which we regard as ill-timed in its inception, and as proceeding from a source liable to subject its friendly purpose to misconceptions, which, even if the purposes were proved to be feasible, would retard rather than advance its accomplishment.

THE NEW YORK DAY BOOK is a strong Buchanan and Democratic paper, published in N. Y. city. Like the pro-slavery organs of that party in Virginia, South Carolina and Louisiana, it boldly advocates the enslavement of all the colored race, and 'all poor white people.' Of the latter class it recently said: 'Sell the parents of these children into SLAVERY. Let our Legislature pass a law that whoever will take these parents, and take care of them and their offspring, in sickness and health—clothe them, feed them, and house them—shall be legally entitled to their services; and let the same Legislature decree that whoever receives these parents and their children, and obtains their services, shall take care of them as long as they live.'

How do our Irish citizens relish this benevolent offer of their Democratic pro-slavery leaders? These 'leaders' assert that as there must of necessity be two great classes in community, those who are rich and not dependent on labor, and those who are poor and dependent on their labor, so there naturally arises the relation of master and slave. Do the Irish laborers of the North, who are the backbone of this Democratic pro-slavery party, and without whose votes that party would have been buried years ago, propose much longer tamely and pliantly to uphold a party whose very principles recognize honest labor as a capacity for servitude? A party whose organs brazenly propose to a Republican nation, to enslave them and their children forever?

A mulatto slave named John Massenburn put out from Petersburg, (Va.) lately, and 'with the assistance of some Abolition sounder,' says the Daily Express, of Petersburg, found his way to Wheeling. His owners, McEmery & McCulloch, telegraphed to Wheeling, describing him, and offering \$200 for his apprehension, but to no purpose; for, says the Express—

'This dispatch arrived too late, as the parties had full time to have passed over into Ohio or Pennsylvania, where neither party would have been so successful in their apprehension. This is but another instance of Northern honesty and Yankee influence, which sundry snobbish jackanapes, interested doubtless, persist in screening to the defence of the thieves, tricking, detestable "Yankee" character.'

Eagleswood School, PERTH AMBOY, NEW JERSEY.

THIS School opens on the 1st of October, and closes on the 21st of July. The School consists of four quarters, of ten weeks each. There are three vacations—a week at Christmas, a week at the end of the third quarter, and a week at the close of the School year on the 1st of October.

The general design of this School is to combine the advantages of home nurture, in physical, mental, and moral training, with instruction in Literature, Science and Art.

The intellectual and moral training and instruction of the pupils is conducted, and their out-of-school life, amusements and general behavior regulated by the Principal, assisted by competent teachers.

When the mind receives its appropriate nutriment, at the natural crisis of its intellectual attainment, artificial stimulus is a hindrance to true development, such as is excited by exciting to unnatural action, not only defeat, in their own object, but with, with distorting force, upon the whole mind and character.

Since there is in the constitution of the sexes a law of reciprocal action, involving the highest each sex to the exclusive of the other, subverts the essential to its best conditions of a ministerial testimony to this truth, we institute our educational processes upon the basis of God's model school, the family, and receive, as pupils, children and youth of both sexes.

EXTRA CHARGES. Languages, each, \$3.00 a quarter. Music—Piano, \$10.00 and \$15.00. Use of Instrument, \$2.50. Violin, \$3.00. Terms regulated by number of Drawing and Painting, \$1.00 of pupil.

IT IS NOT A DYE! PRESIDENT J. H. EATON, L. L. D., Union University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee. Says: 'Notwithstanding the irregular use of Mr. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer, &c., the falling off of my hair ceased, and my grey locks were restored to their original color.'

PROSPECTUS. 'INDIAN ARCANNA,' an Illustrated Monthly, published by the 'Indian Medical Institute,' 626 Broadway Street, Boston, Mass. Edited by Rev. G. B. BANCROFT, formerly of the New York and late of the Providence, of reading and speaking. Miss G. has permission to refer to the following Gentlemen:

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

VOL. XXVII. NO. 36.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

SPIRIT OF THE BOSTON COURIER.

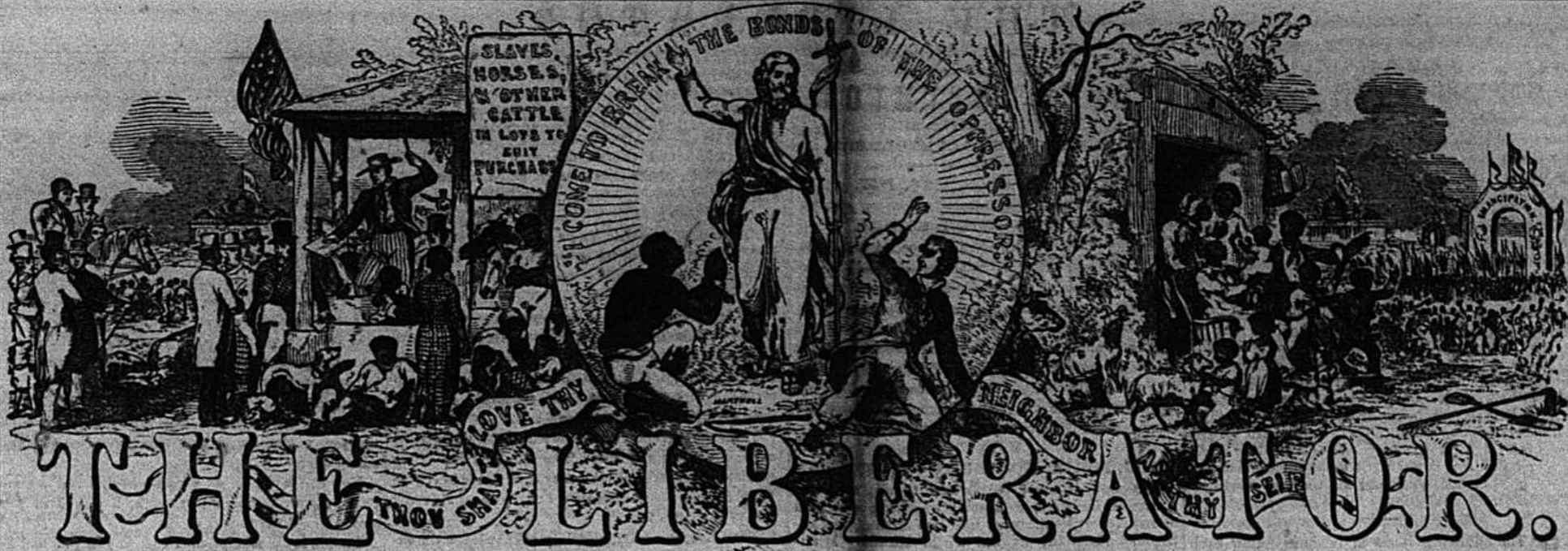
In last week's *Liberator*, we published a spirited and cogent letter from Rev. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, in reply to some important criticisms of the Boston *Courier* upon his speech at the Abington celebration, on the 1st of August. The *Courier* has made a long rejoinder — characterised, as usual, by moral infidelity, contemptible sophistry, and personal defamation — from which we take the following extracts: —
What is the Christian charity of these men [the abolitionists]? They do not even pretend to love the black man particularly, as such — if they did, their conduct towards him, as individuals, would contradict them at every step. His best friends, those who render him the most substantial service, who afford him support and relieve his necessities, are not generally of their way of thinking. Neither do they love white men in general more than those who are not of their way of thinking — those who hold slaves, being, according to them, the chief of sinners, are their chief aversion, in object of Christian compassion and kindly sympathy. In what, then, does their philanthropy, their Christian charity consist? We can only answer, in hating slaveholders — in doing their best to irritate their feelings, interfere with their rights, and despoil them of that, be it property or privilege, which the laws of the country protect. Is this too strong a statement? Let candid friends of every age, and of every clime, of those to the possession of universal benevolence, who make it their constant business to denounce slaveholders and the personal friends of slaveholders, often in language of unparalleled rancor and vituperation; and who declare the very civil compact, which guards the legal rights of them as well as others, is nothing less than 'a covenant with hell!'

If the people of all the free States should become fully convinced to conceive that liberty means nothing but negro-emancipation, and acting upon this narrow doctrine, should determine to dissolve the Union, in the only way they could effect it, that is, by separating themselves from the South — then slavery, so far from being abolished, would be more concentrated and fixed, probably forever; and the new Northern nation would retain no longer a decent pretext of moral influence, for its amelioration even, much less for its eventual extinction. But we sincerely hope and believe that the day is very far distant when Mr. Clarke will see reason to amend his doctrine, which is so deeply based upon the contingency so naively and so illogically suggested by him. It will be a dark day indeed, for this country and the world, when the people of the North become so mad as to break in pieces the temple of their own freedom, with the delusive expectation of erecting on its ruins a peculiar and exclusive sanctuary for another race, unfit to be the depositories of the ark of civil liberty, and inferior, by the order of nature and of Providence, to the more favored and favored of the free world.

Indeed, the talk of all this class of persons, on the subject of the Union, is always arrant nonsense. Besides their prejudices, their ill-trained reason, their immoderate zeal — on general grounds, they are out of their element on questions of State. They seem to have got the megrim somehow into their heads, that those who cling the most devotedly to the idea of the Union — that stable foundation of our national power, glory and honor — that pledge to future generations of the preservation of the national liberty and of substantial human improvement — are altogether in the wrong! That the most generous and noble patriots of our country, and the wisest statesmen — from Washington and Hamilton to Webster and Clay — that the great body of our soundest divines, from the settlement of the Constitution, and our worthiest citizens, from the earliest time till now — who have anxiously watched the growing strength of this country and the increasing stability of its institutions, and have toiled and toiled for the preservation of the Union, and all the blessings it entails — that all these men would have rendered much more aid in securing its maintenance, if they would only have been willing to be entirely careless and indifferent as to the object or the means! Mr. Clarke and his friends have the indecency and the hardihood rarely to sneer at such persons as 'Union-savers,' and assure us they would point out a much better way — at least to provide for their own objects. We need not say, that these objects, and not to save the Union, but to glory and glory in the midst of the confusion of all things, an abstract idea, which they call 'liberty,' meaning an equalization of the negro race, which can never be realized, and which they declare is of more value than the Union! This is the reasoning of madmen, if reasoning it can be called; and under the guidance of such men, the fairest country upon which true Liberty, attended by her restraining handmaid, Reason, ever smiled, would be quickly converted into a pandemonium. We, too, do not think the Union should be dissolved — not for want of danger, but because of care and resolution, and a reviving public spirit, which we are glad to see and welcome; not because similar civil calamities have not often occurred in the history of mankind, but because, for the first time in the annals of the race, this country has the advantage of a wise and just Constitution, which is the security of reasonable and liberty-loving men; and because of these, and other, people enough are there, on the North and the South, who are of an entirely different spirit, and, as we believe, not only wiser, but of a far more enlightened and generous charity, than Mr. Clarke and his valiant associates at Abington.

It is safe to apply the metaphorical language of Scripture, as Mr. Clarke does, and as many others do, to the passage which he quotes. The people of the South, if by no means would admit that their slaves, in any degree, could be included under the head of the 'oppressed,' are the same men who allow that the expression, 'to break every yoke,' noble and cheering as it is in spirit and in its appropriate application, is to be literally taken? The Scriptures declare it is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth — is this to be broken? We put necessarily restraint upon the inmates of various asylums, and of establishments for the punishment, correction and discipline of irregular and vicious members of society — shall their yokes be broken? It is well known, therefore, that multiplied considerations of propriety, expediency, necessity, and even of benevolence and philanthropy itself, come up, and inevitably come up, to modify the individual application of a doctrine in itself so humane and Christian-like.

The conduct of those with whom Mr. Clarke acts, he admits to be 'extravagant'; but he tells us, 'if twenty years ago, when the anti-slavery movement commenced, all classes at the North had taken hold of it, they might have saved it from much evil criticism.' Twenty years ago, the same men held the same opinions, — they were just as extravagant then as they are now, — the same Utopian dreamers, the same bigoted fanatics, the same furious zealots,



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1857. WHOLE NUMBER, 1391.

SELECTIONS.

A TERRIBLE STATEMENT.

THE CHURCH MASTER PROTECTED BY THE CHURCH — THE MINISTER WHO EXPOSED HIM EXPELLED FROM THE PULPIT.
The following is a portion of a Circular, lately published at the office of *The Presbyterian Witness*, Knoxville, Tennessee, by the Rev. SAMUEL SAWYER, a graduate (in 1848) of the Union Theological Seminary in New York, and subsequently pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Rogersville, Tenn. —
A member of our church, connected with an influential family, the members of which I had always esteemed and loved, was understood to be concerned in the extreme whipping of a slave he had sold to a negro-trader, but respecting which sale, a suit was to be or had been instituted by the trader. The servant had belonged to the abolitionist, E. A. Ross, D.D., and his claims to him having been relinquished, he was sold to meet a claim of \$1,000 or more, which this church member had against his esteemed father. The negro had been sold to be sent to Mississippi, and rather than be separated from his wife and children, with no prospect of seeing them again, he escaped to the woods, and lay hid for more than a year. He was found by some hunters, brought in, and delivered to the trader. It was supposed that he would be sent without any parade to the cotton-fields of a more southern State. But the church member agreed that he should be openly and publicly whipped. With his chains on, he was taken by the parsonage, the minister's house, to a field just back of the church, where he was stripped naked, tied to four saplings, each arm and each foot tied to a sapling, blindfolded, so that he could not see when the blows were coming, and pinned to the earth. It was said he needed but the yoke, or a two-lined fork over his neck, to finish his Mississippi scene. A bystander, from motives of humanity, spread his cloak over his stomach, to keep him from the rocks and the bare ground. A leather strap had been nailed to a wooden handle for the occasion. Thus far, there had been various spectators. The crowd was now requested to stand some distance off, as they wanted to get some confession from the boy as to who harbored him, &c. They retired a little distance, but where they could still hear the blows, and witness the scene, and hear the negro's cries. It was understood that the trader told him he would not strike him a blow if he would tell who fed and harbored him; if not, that he would give him nine hundred lashes, or whip him till Saturday night, to make him tell. The whipping commenced. It was currently reported in the community that it was administered by a man too often under the influence of intoxication, with revenged feeling because the negro had escaped him once before, and with profane words; that the negro cried in vain for mercy; that he whipped on till he gave him rashes underneath his arms, and that he probably had given him more, had not the male come loose from the strap. All this, too, was public — witnessed by a number of the citizens, and a number of the college students. Some counted the blows, and waited about two hours, till the whole was over, and then went up and looked at the body, and the bloody strap with which he had been beaten. Others, sick at heart, turned away from the revolting scene, and went to their homes.

DESPAIR OF THE UNION.

The Charleston *Mercury* thus gives vent to its agonized feelings on the continuance of the Union: —
'We have never anticipated a dissolution of the Union "as a thing lovely in itself." We are not so ignorant of the position of the United States in the world as not to understand its external grandeur, its prospective glory, its mighty example for good among the despots of the old world. Give us the Union of the Constitution in its plain, simple truthfulness, with the rights and protection it would afford — just and equal in its taxation and its expenditure, observing the limitations the Constitution prescribes — letting us alone with our institutions, excepting to fulfill its plain duty in regard to them — securing us equality with our confederated States, in Washington, in our Territories — everywhere, as our rights and their obligations demand, and there is none in the broad expanse of the broad lands which stretch from ocean to ocean beneath the Union, which will more devoutly pray and fight for its continuance. Since we have seen the Union, which they had bequeathed to us. Is this the Union which now prevails over the South?
Turn to the North, and see the angry sectionalism which lifts its stern and deadly menace of our institutions. Listen to their pulpits, proscribing us as unworthy of Christian fellowship and association. Read their papers, pouring out bitterness and scorn upon our pretensions of equality with them. Look at the General Government — cheated, stripped of a common participation in our Territories — plundered by tariff and their exorbitant tariff, filled, hated, degraded. We are no longer equal with the North. We are no longer one people. The people of the slave and free States are as distinct and separate peoples as exist on the globe. It is not possible, in our judgment, to keep them together, under one government, on terms of equality. One of them must be the master. The inevitable course of things proclaims that the mastery must be with the North. The mastery of the North in the Union must be the ruin of the South. Not only every principle of liberty and of manhood, but the brute instinct of self-preservation, places before the South the stern alternative — reform the Union, or dissolve it.
For ourselves, we have despaired of reforming it. For thirty years, this paper has struggled to make its reformation consistent with the rights of the South. The Constitution is now weaker, and sectionalism more potent and furious than ever. The fate of the Union, in our judgment, is sealed. It must be dissolved. We bow to the necessity, and mourn the catastrophe, but cannot prevent a certainty as inevitable as the rolling of the seasons. It is only a question of time. We have not done it. When impartial history comes to write its epitaph, it will say: 'Killed by the aggressive injustice of the North, and the ignoble submission of the South!' Although the injustice of the North did beat upon its proud barriers, they would never have fallen but for the base delinquency of the South in not using her power to protect her rights and enforce the Constitution until it was too late — do, late for the Union, but not too late, we trust, for her salvation. Upon which section of the Union will rest the deepest scorn of future generations, it is not for us to anticipate.'

THE BEGINNING OF THE END.

It is now very generally conceded that Rollins, the Emancipation candidate, has been elected Governor of Missouri. This result was by no means unexpected. It had been foreseen and indicated by the public sentiment as gathered from previous Congressional and State elections, the spirit of the press, and outspoken opinions of leading politicians. But notwithstanding the event was foreseen as very likely to happen, it is not on that account invested with less significance in the eyes of southern men. It is well calculated to inspire them with the deepest solicitude and concern for the permanent welfare and security of their great domestic institution. We regard the election of Rollins to be the most serious blow which has been given to the southern cause since the formation of the Federal Union. The question of the perpetuity of African slavery in the state of Missouri has been thereby determined. It is now no longer debatable. A considerable majority of the people are violently opposed to the system, and it cannot long survive the terrible shock of an adverse public sentiment. There is no danger of immediate and unconditional abolition. That is decided to be impracticable. But that a plan of gradual emancipation will be adopted, and that the next Legislature will be given to the southern cause since the formation of the Federal Union. The question of the perpetuity of African slavery in the state of Missouri has been thereby determined. It is now no longer debatable. A considerable majority of the people are violently opposed to the system, and it cannot long survive the terrible shock of an adverse public sentiment. There is no danger of immediate and unconditional abolition. That is decided to be impracticable. But that a plan of gradual emancipation will be adopted, and that the next Legislature will be given to the southern cause since the formation of the Federal Union.

THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.

No one has witnessed with greater pain than ourselves the gradual lapsing of the great religious organization of the Northern United States, that were formerly national, the abolitionism, which, by its has been strictly *pari passu* with the spread of infidelity and the growth of the defilement of our passions and prejudices among the 'new light' or very progressive Christians at the North. One by one, church after church, and society after society, has taken such positions on the slavery question as to form a sectional division in its organization. We have mourned in our own heart over this state of popular 'Christian' sentiment at the North, as doing more than ought, else in the work of making the people of the United States two nations in feeling — towards producing that state of mind between the two great sections of the confederacy, which must sooner or later bring about its dissolution. For as religious ties are stronger than all others, so religious antipathies are more enduring, bitter, unreasoning, cruel, vindictive, and unresponsive, or there is no truth in the written history of civilization since the fall of the Roman Empire. Great glad are we, therefore, that at length one great Christian association at the North appears to be able to withstand the tendency of the times there. We refer to the American Tract Society: the only great organization with which up to this time every branch of the American Protestant Church has been identified, directly or indirectly. It seems about to be able to rival the Catholic Churches of the United States in withstanding the pressure of demagogues which so distinguishing the era in which we live, in all countries claiming to be free.
'We believe the negro is human — he has a soul — he has an intellect — and as far as the right of suffrage, or any other right of citizens is concerned, he should be placed on an EQUALITY with the rest of mankind.' — *State Journal*.
We believe a Jackson is a Jackson the world over. He has long ears in common with his species, and should be permitted to bray and exercise all singular the rights and immunities pertaining to Jackson, without molestation from any source. We presume the *Journal* will agree with us in this truly noble sentiment. — *Sunday Democrat*.

SELECTIONS.

A TERRIBLE STATEMENT.

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