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related to us by Rev. Mr.

SSION.

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VE NIGHTS' DISCUS-
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ES, in particular, between
N, Esq. and Rev. R. J.
Baltimore, U. S. Holden
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WARDLAW in the Chair,
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1837!!

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VERY.

OF PASSAGES FROM
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THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. VI. OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. NO. 89.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, [SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1836.

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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

TERMS.

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ENGLAND.

GREAT ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING IN BRADFORD, ENG.

The Bradford Observer contains a full account of a great meeting held in the Friend's Meeting House in that town, Sept. 6th, to consider the propriety of transmitting a remonstrance to the American nation, on the subject of slavery. Rev. G. S. Ball presided. The first resolution, expressing the deep regret of the meeting at the continuance of slavery and the slave trade, was moved by the Rev. B. Godwin, whose work on Atheism has been so highly commended in this country. He referred to George Thompson, as one who had visited the bosses land of freedom, and been compelled by that liberty-loving people to quit her shores; and who, however his fair *fame* may have been traduced, is received at home with open arms, and held dearer than ever by the friends of humanity. He spoke also of Mr. Breckinridge's letter to Dr. Wardlaw, and said he did not admire the spirit of recrimination with which Mr. B. had taunted Great Britain with her own inconsistencies; yet he pledged his *friends to unite with that gentleman*, with all their energy and resources, *to put a period to the evils he enumerated!* [When will the American clergy make a response equally noble to Dr. Wardlaw's rebukes?—Ed. Evan.] At the same time he would not be prevented from making known the oppression and inconsistencies of the American. *Such* interference were the legitimate means of influencing the American people, of assisting the oppressed slave, of encouraging the abolitionists. The motion was seconded by John Hustler, Esq. of the Society of Friends, and supported by Henry Forbes, Esq., and passed unanimously.

The motion to send a remonstrance was made by Rev. Philip Garret, *Wesleyan* minister, seconded by Thomas Beaumont, Esq., and supported by Rev. Walter Scott, president of Airedale college. The meeting was then addressed, in an eloquent manner, by George Thompson.

The Chairman then read the following

REMONSTRANCE.

To such of the citizens of the United States of America as are now holding their fellow creatures in personal bondage and slavery.

'Men and Brethren:—Connected as we are with America by many ties; descended from the same stock, speaking the same language, and, in general professing the same truth, we trust it will not be deemed an unkind act, or an officious interference, if with fidelity and earnestness, we remonstrate with you on the subject of negro slavery. We abhor slavery in every shape, and oppression under every form; and it has been, and shall be, our anxious endeavor to abolish every species of injustice and hardship from among ourselves.

'Through the blessing of heaven, we have succeeded, after many and great efforts, in breaking, to a great extent, the fetters of slavery in the British colonies; but the joy we felt in this triumph of humanity and justice, was succeeded by the depressing recollection, that, in the United States, the nation from which we had reason to expect so different an example, the same unhappy children of oppression, whose only crime is the color of their skin, are still retained in cruel and degrading bonds.

'Deplorable as slavery must be in every state, and in all circumstances, there are two things, which in the eyes of all Europe, and of Britain in particular, give to this system in the United States a peculiar character of enormity. The one is, that a solemn declaration, in the face of the world, of the equal rights of all men to life and liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, forms the very basis of your constitution, the superior liberty of which is the constant theme of all your writers, your orators, your poets, while a sixth part of your whole population is held in a condition of brutal degradation, as goods and chattels belonging to others. The other is, that, while your efforts are so laudably great in spreading the knowledge of Christianity at home and abroad you tolerate a system which violates, in the most flagrant manner, the essential principles of the religion of Christ.

'*Citizens of America!* we address you in sorrow, not in anger, when we say that this glaring inconsistency of yours does more to injure the cause of freedom in the world at large, than all the efforts of despotism; that it furnishes a pretext and a plea to all who are hostile to the emancipation of the body or the mind. 'Look,' is the taunt we frequently hear, 'Look at America, and see what her boasted free institutions have done!'

'*Professors of Christianity!* you give to irreligion an increase of prejudice, and to infidelity one of the most formidable objections to the religion which you profess. Can there, say they, be any reality in a religion, the principle and practice of whose most zealous professors are so contradictory? Or can that religion, asks the sceptic, be an emanation from a Being infinitely just and benevolent, the possession of which is compatible with a violation of every principle of equity, and may co-exist with the ruthless sacrifice of the dearest rights and best happiness of others, to our own selfishness? We also deeply deplore the almost universal prejudice against people of color which exists among you, which is so wickedly carried, even into the sanctuary of God. 'Hath not the Almighty made of one blood all nations that dwell upon the face of the earth?'

'While we deeply deplore the disastrous consequences of the present state of things, we feel cheered by the exertions which are so generously made by a gallant and increasing band of devoted men, in the face of prejudice and persecution, to put a stop to this crying evil. We cannot but regard them as the best friends to America, the real benefactors to their beloved country, and to the world at large. Allow us to intreat you to repress the force of passion and the power of prejudice, and to meet them in the field of fair discussion; to permit, in your own hearts, the charities of our native free play, and Christian principle its full operation; to reduce to practice, in this case, the maxim of our Lord—'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them;' and we are fully persuaded that you will feel convinced that justice, humanity, consistency, religion, all unite in calling on you to adopt prompt and immediate measures to undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke.'

The adoption of the memorial was moved by Rev. J. Acworth, classical tutor in the Baptist academy, and seconded by Rev. William Thompson, Presbyterian minister, and carried unanimously.

The following resolutions were also adopted unanimously:

Resolved 1. 'That this Meeting deeply regrets to learn that in the United States of America, upwards of two millions of our fellow creatures are subjected to the degradation of personal Slavery, and the miseries of a domestic slave trade.

Moved by the Rev. Benjamin Godwin, Baptist Minister, and author of 'Lectures on Slavery,'

Seconded by John Hustler, Esq. of the Society of Friends, of Undercliffe, and

Supported by Henry Forbes, Esq.

Resolved 2. 'That a Remonstrance, signed on behalf of this town and neighborhood, by the Chairman of the meeting, be addressed to the American nation, and that it be forwarded to the American Anti-Slavery Society for publication.'

Moved by the Rev. Philip Garrett, Wesleyan Minister,

Seconded by Thomas Beaumont, Esq., Surgeon, and

Supported by the Rev. Walter Scott, President of Airedale College.

The Bradford (Eng.) Observer contains the following notice of the above meeting:

As most of our readers are aware, the meeting announced in our last number, on the subject of American Slavery, took place on Tuesday evening in the Friends' Meeting House. The unexpected presence of George Thompson gave additional interest to the meeting, and a numerous and respectable audience testified by their attendance, despite the inclemency of the weather, that to them at least the cause of the slave was as dear as ever. Deplorable indeed is the fact, that America, with all her boasted freedom and love of freedom, with all her religious institutions, and colleges, and churches, is now the strongest hold of slavery—where the demon has most firmly entrenched himself—and where the decisive battle between him and the heaven born genius of freedom is to be fought. So that when the monster is vanquished here, he will soon be banished from the world; when this strong hold is demolished, he has not another on the face of the earth that will protect him for a few years. It is an appalling fact, five millions of our fellow creatures are still slaves to America, France, Brazil and Spain. Yes; in America, slave-men, rational creatures, some of them Christians, the purchase of the blood of the Son of God—are sold like cattle, are worked like cattle, are treated like cattle—with only one exception, that very generally cattle are better treated than they. Yes; the account of the way in which they are frequently used, presents deeds of injustice, of cruelty, of cold-hearted, wanton barbarity, which are scarcely to be paralleled in the annals of oppression and crime. For the proof of this, only too ample and satisfactory, we have but to refer to the speeches of Mr. Thompson, and amongst others to that which he delivered on Tuesday night; while we must say, that we cannot condescend to notice—after his triumphant refutation of the calumny, the most formidable advocate of America in relation to slavery that ever pleaded on behalf of the bad cause—the charges of exaggeration or high coloring that have been brought against him. He has come out of the fiery ordeal through which he has passed, like gold seven times purified. We rejoice that the meeting to which we have referred has been held, that it was so well attended, that Mr. Thompson was there, and that his reception was so cordial and enthusiastic. This we think he has merited. It is a sacred duty to strengthen his hands and encourage the heart of such a man. It is one way of supporting the cause to which he is devoted. Let none imagine that they can do nothing to support this cause. They can think, they can talk, they can contribute something to enlighten the public mind, and give effect to the force of public opinion; and it is by the force of public opinion that slavery is to be abolished. We are glad that Bradford has been among the foremost of English boroughs to dispatch a sensible and spirited Remonstrance to the American nation on this subject. We are not among those who conceive a proceeding of this kind to be destitute of utility. We can add our testimony to that of the speakers on Tuesday night, that Americans are exceedingly sensitive on the point; they cannot bear the taunt, which their inconsistencies provoke. And, we feel sure, if the example of Bradford be generally followed in other towns, these Remonstrances will have such an effect on the minds and conduct of our Trans-Atlantic brethren as is little contemplated. They are one way, fully sanctioned by reason and religion for carrying on the warfare against slavery. We wish to use none but the weapons of argument and truth, and appeals to the feelings and sympathies and right principles of human nature. Immediate, unconditional, universal emancipation is the duty of the slaveholder, and the sacred, indefeasible right of the slave; and what we ought, in the name of justice, of humanity, of religion and of God, to demand for all who are yet wearing the shackles of captivity.

It was mentioned with great emphasis by the Chairman of the meeting, to guard against misrepresentations, that Mr. Thompson had no share in the convening of the meeting, that it was the spontaneous, the original idea of gentlemen connected with Bradford, and no one else whatsoever. Mr. Thompson kindly came at the invitation of Mr. Ball, and the fact of his coming was not known till the day of the meeting.

We make the following extract from Mr. Thompson's speech, as reported in the Observer:

You are very likely aware that since I went to America, I have been called by a great number of hard names. I have been called an incendiary—an agitator—a firebrand—a officious intermeddler—a disorganiser—a distinionist—and other such names. And yet, incendiary as I am, firebrand as I am, I never yet uttered sentiments more strong, or so strong as those which I have listened to to-night. And I rejoice that I have on my right hand and on my left, gentlemen who are necessarily committed in my defence, inasmuch as they have themselves expressed sentiments which transcend for incendiary character anything that I ever uttered in my life. (Cheers.) I have often been accused of being the enemy of America. I have been accused of traducing America. I can plead not guilty to these charges. No man who is the enemy of America would seek to annihilate slavery. No man who is an enemy to her greatness, an enemy to her reputation, an enemy to her usefulness, an enemy to her permanence, would seek to put an end to slavery in America. No; but we tell America the truth, and if ever she be saved from impending ruin, it will be by the power of the truth. I have indeed said strong things to America. And I cannot say stronger things on this side of the water than those which I have said again and again on the other side of the water. But I say again that no man who is an enemy to America would seek to liberate her captives. America cannot continue the United States of America—she cannot maintain her reputation, if she continue to hold two millions of her fellow creatures in bondage. She can neither be great nor glorious, nor strong, nor reputable, whilst she continues, in defiance of the laws of God and man—in defiance of the principles, the precepts, the examples, the injunctions of Christianity, to hold in captivity nearly one-fifth of her home-born population. Ah, no! he is no friend to America who bids her go on in the way of unrighteousness—he is no friend who seeks in colleges and churches to find scriptural apologies for slavery—not he who strews her pathway to perdition with passages of holy writ, but he who honestly and boldly tells her her duty, points out to her her danger, reminds her of her responsibilities, tells her of her privileges, entreats, implores and conjures her, now, for man's sake and for God's, to open the prison doors and let the oppressed go free. (Tremendous cheering.) I love America for many reasons; but principally because there I have become acquainted with hundreds of the very best and noblest men and women who are to be found on the face of the earth—I refer to the abolitionists of that country. (Cheers.) If you have read (as I doubt not many of you have,) the account of the public discussion lately held in Glasgow, between the Rev. Mr. Breckinridge and myself, you might be led to suppose they were a set of the most contemptible creatures in the world, that they were firebrands, incendiaries—nay, very fiends incarnate (he said once that they came from the infernal regions.) But they are not small—nor contemptible—either in numbers, or in influence, or in talent, or in wealth, or in moral energy and zeal, least of all in ardent piety, and the hold which they have on heaven by the fervent prayers which daily they present before the throne of the Heavenly Father. If the reformation now going on in America be distinguished by anything, it is distinguished by its extraordinary religious character. (Hear.) Had the abolitionists of America been actuated by principles less strong than they would never have made the sacrifices which multitudes of them have made, of reputation, and honor, and wealth, and commercial prosperity, in order that they might become the advocates of a cause which is held in contempt and utter execration by a large majority of the people of that country. (Loud applause.) Mr. Thompson here, at great length, detailed the state of matters in the United States, in relation to slavery. He spoke with much force on the sufficiency of moral power alone to accomplish the end they had in view; and, deprecated, in eloquent terms, a resort to physical force, either on the part of the slaves themselves, or on that of their defenders—as being opposed alike to the benevolent precepts of Scripture, and the dictates of sound policy.

Do not suppose that you have no influence in America. It would be the merest affectation to suppose this. This meeting will be known in America as soon as a packet can carry the news of it across the Atlantic. Let your literature become thoroughly impregnated with the principles of freedom. Continue in your plans and proceedings. Every remonstrance you send will carry terror to the slaveholder, and comfort and encouragement to those who are now engaged in waging war with the demon of despotism. The struggle will continue to agitate America. Great principles cannot be thrown into society without creating some commotion. They have not yet been recognized by the Americans. Practically they have despised these doctrines. They have acted upon opposite principles. And when you tell them that mere sound, that they apply it to the slave, they have no recognition of the principle. But the time will come when it will be universally acknowledged and acted upon, when it will begin to be a blessing to the whole world. It is as though some giant hand had tossed a mountain into the waste of waters; there is the spluttering and the foam, and the tempest, and the billows wait for a little while, and soon all shall be calm, and pellucid, and serene; and the mountain which but now was lashed by the waves shall rear its verdant head in majesty and beauty to the skies. (Cheers.)

Mr. Thompson concluded his speech amidst the most rapturous applause.

COLORED SCHOOL-IN NANTUCKET.

A correspondent of the National Inquirer, says: 'There is some interest awakened here on this subject, (abolition,) and our School committee have, for the last two years, continued the African School to good satisfaction. The first year that I was on the committee, the school was kept but six months, when it fell to my lot to direct its dismissal. I proceeded, and found, on my arrival at the house, that the teacher had anticipated the call, and had invited the parents to be present and witness their last exercises. I was interested, and for the first time, reflected on the distinction we were making between their children and ours; and I could not reconcile it to my mind, without reporting their case to the general committee. This was done, and they were unanimous in resolving to continue the school through the season.'

The writer, a member of the school committee, concludes by saying:—

'The school has been better attended, the last year, than it ever was before; and the examination, about a month since, was very satisfactory. The house was *crowded* with visitors on the occasion.'

"The Sondra is not farther separated from the Brahmin, in regard to all his privileges, civil, intellectual, and moral, than the negro is from the white man, by the prejudices which result from the difference made between them by the God of nature. A barrier more difficult to be surmounted than the institutions of the Cæsar, cast off, and while the present state of society continues, must always rent off, the negro from all that is valuable in citizenship." —*Rev. Lemuel Bacon.*

COMMUNICATIONS.

FUGITIVE SLAVES.

It seems to me that there is an evident inconsistency in *principle* between the law as it has recently been decided by the Supreme Court in this State, in relation to slaves brought here *voluntarily* by their masters, and the law under the U. S. constitution in relation to slaves who are *fugitives* from other States. In the former case they are held to be entitled to their liberty immediately, and in the latter case to be returned back again to a state of slavery. To reconcile this inconsistency, in principle, we must examine the grounds upon which they are declared to be free when coming with the consent of their master, and see if these grounds do not equally apply when they are fugitives from another State. The court, in giving their opinion in the recent case, say, 'Without pursuing this inquiry farther, it is sufficient for the purpose before us, that by the constitution adopted in 1780, slavery was abolished in Massachusetts upon the ground that it is contrary to natural right and the plain principle of justice. The court in the first article of the declaration of rights are plain and explicit. 'All men are born free and equal and have certain natural, essential and unalienable rights, among which are the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberty, that of acquiring, possessing and protecting property. It would be difficult to select words more precisely adopted to the abolition of negro slavery.'

Now if these are the grounds upon which slavery was abolished in this State, and can no longer exist here, why do they not apply as well to fugitive slaves as to any others? Why is it not as contrary to natural right and the plain principles of justice to hold them in bondage or return them to bondage, as slaves who have come here by the consent of their masters? These principles apply to the system of slavery in toto, and not to the mode by which they come into this State. The rights of the slave must be the same in both cases.

But in reply to this it may be said, in the case of *fugitive* slaves, the State of Massachusetts have, by adopting the national constitution, bound themselves to recognize slavery in the southern States so far as to deliver up *fugitive* slaves when claimed by their masters, but have not bound themselves to deliver up slaves who come here under any other circumstances. But the question recurs again, what right have they thus to bind themselves by adopting a constitution containing such a provision, 'against natural right and the plain principles of justice?' What right have they to assume dominion over the lives and liberty and welfare of a race of men who were not parties to this constitution, and had no voice either fixing its provisions or making the laws under these provisions—who were not represented in the convention which framed it, or in Congress who make laws under it? What right have they to bind themselves by an instrument which, under certain circumstances, requires them to rob a fellow man of all his rights, personal, domestic and civil, and to reduce him to the condition of a brute or chattel? If they have no right by the constitution and laws of Massachusetts, grounded upon 'natural right and the plain principles of justice,' to deprive a fellow being of all his rights, and treat him as a slave, they have no right to become parties to a *national* constitution or laws which is intended to produce this effect. The principle is as broad as it is long.

If is said by the court, in this case, that the constitution of the U. S. pertains of the nature of a *treaty* between foreign powers, and that it would be perfectly competent for one foreign power to stipulate by a treaty to deliver up the *fugitive* slaves of another foreign power. This I deny. It is never competent for one foreign power to bind themselves by a treaty to do that to another foreign power which the party stipulating confesses is 'against natural right and the plain principles of justice.' If it were competent, it would be competent for a nation to do what is no acknowledged wrong and a violation of justice. The case of conscripts which might make their escape from one country to another, and which it is said the latter might stipulate by treaty to deliver up, will not justify such a conclusion. If the system of slavery, as it is admitted to be, 'against natural right and the plain principles of justice,' by the Supreme Court of this State, it cannot be a proper subject of a treaty stipulation. If it is not admitted to be such, the case is not in point, and loses all its force by way of illustration. Suppose that any of the Barbary powers should make slaves of American citizens, (and they have the same right to do it that the people of the U. States have to make slaves of the Africans,) and should make a *treaty* with France, or any other power, that in case any of those American slaves should make their escape to such a country they should be delivered up to the government from which they fled, would our government recognize the power of making such a *treaty*, and suffer it to be executed? Or would they consider it a flagrant violation of their national rights, and a good cause of war? Such a case would fairly test the principle advanced by the court in this case, for if it be a wrong in the one case, it would be a wrong in the other.

The plain distinction in the case seems to me to be this, that though a government has no right, forcibly, to interfere with the institutions or laws of another State *within* that State, though such institutions may be unjust or oppressive, yet it ought not, in any way, to co-operate with the other State within *its own* jurisdiction and territory, in the support of such institutions and laws. It is not bound to reform or purify the laws or institutions of another state of their injustice and evils except by the exercise of a moral influence—but it is bound to refuse in any way to execute these laws or uphold these institutions within *its own* dominions. It is not obliged to make other nations do right, but it is obliged itself not to do wrong.

Again, see the absurdity which follows from considering a man a slave, who comes into Massachusetts as a fugitive, and a freeman when brought here by his master. In the former case, he is considered a mere chattel, a moveable, personal property attached to his master, which may be reclaimed as a stray horse. In the latter case, he is considered a *freeman*, entitled to all the rights of a freeman. Yes, the same individual, possessing the same natural rights, which he cannot lose, or be transferred, is to depend for the consideration in which he shall be treated, whether as a horse or a man, upon the mere *mode* in which he shall have found his way into this State—a circumstance not at all affecting the fact whether he is a *human being*, endowed with all the faculties of a human being, and entitled to all the rights of a human being. If such a doctrine is not absurd and destitute of sense, and such as never would enter the heads of any body but those who are wedded to the artificial principles of law, I do not know what would be such.

I have often thought that the effect of studying the law has an effect in obscuring the mind to the clear principles of common sense and common justice which are so readily felt and understood by people in other occupations. Lawyers often make artificial distinctions where no one else would think of making them, and carry the subtleties of special pleading into the decision of the great and fundamental principles of justice. A man may make a good lawyer and a miserable statesman. The one allows his reason to be shackled by the rigid and often arbitrary rules and principles of law in all the views he takes of great national questions. The other takes a broad and expanded view of these questions in reference to their influence upon the welfare of society, and the great principles of justice and humanity. No other circumstances than this will explain the illiberal and irrational views which often pervade the speeches of our legislators in Congress, and which, in such a remarkable degree, were apparent in the speeches made last winter, upon all questions where the subject of slavery was in any way brought into the discussion.—There were views expressed in many of these speeches, which were totally abhorrent to all the first principles of justice, and even to the plain principles of common sense. Men talked with great flippancy about the rights of individuals to hold property in slaves, and the political rights of States to determine their own institutions and laws, while they seemed to treat with the utmost contempt the doctrine that there slaves have any property in their own bodies and souls, and the same right to make use of their faculties for the acquisition of other kinds of property as they themselves have. They can prate about *civil* rights, which are the mere creatures of a political frame of government, but disregard totally these natural and inalienable rights which belong to the whole human family, whether black or white, which are the gift of God, and inherent in our nature. W. S. A.

A VOICE FROM MAINE.

Mr. Garrison:

Dear Brother—I had the honor to receive a letter from a gentleman in Maine, who has been the Secretary of a prominent Anti-Slavery Society, and I take the liberty to make an extract, which, I think, will not be uninteresting to your readers. Would that there were more of such men devoted to the cause of bleeding and suffering humanity. He thus writes:—

'On account of my time of life and feeble health, I in our last meeting resigned my office as Secretary, and we made choice of Mr. —. We have some friends here, who have embarked for life, live or die, sink or swim, their course is onward. My advanced age and state of health add weight to my words, that my pen must soon drop, and the heart which has been so often pained for my suffering brethren at the south, must soon cease to beat: but I pray God, that their blood may not be found in my skirts. The vengeance of heaven fell accordingly on that great city Babylon, and I believe her greatest crime, among all her heavens darling sins, was her merchandize in *slaves* and souls of men. Let us all remember, that the same just and holy God is on the throne: Rev. xviii: 18, 19. Finally, my brother, let us all work while the day lasts; let us work abundantly, pray fervently, and wait patiently, and let no one forget the *Slaveholder*, that God who made him would ask his heart and he be willing to let the oppressed go free.'

REV. J. BRECKINRIGE'S LETTER TO DR. WARDLAW.

To the Rev. Ralph Wardlaw, D. D., of Glasgow:

SIR,—I observed in the London Patriot, of last week, an abstract of the proceedings of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, on the 1st of this month, at a public meeting held 'for the purpose of expressing the sentiments of the society in reference to the recent discussion on American slavery, between the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge and Mr. George Thompson.' The greater portion of the report before me, is occupied by a speech made by you on that occasion, in proposing to the meeting the following resolution, viz.: 'That in the deliberate judgment of this meeting, the wish announced by Mr. George Thompson, to meet publicly any antagonist, especially any minister of the gospel from the United States, on the subject of American slavery, or on any one of the branches of that subject, was dictated by a well founded consciousness of the integrity of his purpose, and assurance of the correctness of his facts; and that the recent discussion in this city between him and the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, of Baltimore, has left, not merely unshaken, but confirmed and augmented their confidence in the rectitude of his principles, the purity of his motives, the propriety of his measures, the fidelity of his statements, and the straightforward honesty and undaunted intrepidity of his zeal.' This motion was seconded by the venerable and respected Dr. Kidstone; whose speech on the occasion is but briefly reported. Other resolutions—some of similar import, some of a general character—were offered and seconded by Dr. Heugh, and Messrs. Eadie, King, M'Laren, and Kettle. But above all, the proceedings bear the signature of Robert Grahame of Whitehill—whose venerable name is dear to every good man.

These proceedings, sir, have relieved me from a state of great and painful anxiety, as to the view my countrymen might take of the propriety of my taking any notice, more or less, of Mr. George Thompson. For, while nothing is further from my purpose than to wound the feelings of any friend of that individual, it is necessary to say, that in America, every one who is not an abolitionist, or, in other words, ninety-nine hundredths of the people consider him, not only unworthy of credit, but unworthy of notice. At length, I have a tangible proof, by which to make my countrymen feel, that persons of the utmost respectability, excellence, and piety, in Britain, not only concur in all the principles and proceedings, but partake of all the prejudices and ignorance of that individual, and openly defend his flagitious conduct. From this day forth I deem myself fully acquitted on the only part of the subject which filled me with personal anxiety. For, although you have not hesitated to speak in terms sufficiently disparaging of my humble efforts to defend the truth; yet, as you have given no reasons for the judgment you have delivered, those who read for themselves may escape the influence even of your authority. And as you have been pleased to decide on the whole merits of the case, as well as on the merits of the parties involved in it, I escape, of course, from the whole blame of having damaged the truth by feeble advocacy.

In this state of the case, it cannot surprise you, that I turn with delight from those who have hitherto assailed me, and address myself to you: that I avail myself of the right arising from your free and repeated use of my name, and your judgments both upon my character and acts, to speak freely in return. Let us forget the miserable trifling of Mr. Robert Bernard Hall. Let us pass over poor Moses Roper, who, it is but just to say, has written the most modest and sensible attack yet made on me. Let us even be moderate, in having absolutely silenced the garrulity of Mr. Thompson, who begs off in his last note, which has just reached me, in the Patriot of the 17th instant. I have that to say which you have not only invited, but challenged me to utter, and to which I ask your serious regard.

I have manifested my deference to the judgment of a christian people, by discussing at its bar, questions purely national and personal, into which, under erroneous pretexts, they had interfered in a manner the most vexatious. I believed they were in great error,—I presumed they were sincerely disposed to do good,—I knew they were really doing us, and themselves, and the world harm;—and challenged and forced into the matter, I have discussed it on its mere merits—admitting you and your people to be all you professed to be—and only endeavoring to prove that we were not so evil as you made us out. So far as you and those whom you can influence are concerned, you have declared that you remain more firmly than ever settled in your harsh judgments of us, and your fixed purpose to follow out all your offensive courses. Nay, you plainly declare, that rather than alter a tittle of your conduct, principles, opinions, or demands on this subject, you prefer that all fellowship between us and you should terminate. That argument and conclusion, then, being complete and final, we need say no more. I am content to wait and see, whether the American people will, at your suggestion, change their national constitution; or whether, in the event of the adequate majority for that purpose not being attainable, they will, as the inference of your argument, break up the confederacy—to regain your good opinion.

There is, as I have said, quite another view of the whole case. You say in the course of your speech: 'If our American brethren saw anything in us, which they thought, and justly thought, was an evil of sufficient magnitude to induce their kind offices for its suppression, we ought to feel obliged by their using their endeavors to stir us up to a due consideration of it, and to practical efforts for its removal.' And in the context you are somewhat pointed in enforcing this idea, as containing in it a great rule of duty. In general, we have considered the ill-doing of this delicate office more hurtful than its omission. In particular, it has appeared to us as a pretext liable to infinite abuse, and practically resorted to most by those who had least ground and least right to display it. But, sir, I can hardly, either in faithfulness or honor, abstain any longer from its use. And the main object of this communication is, to point out, in the actual condition of considerable portions of the British Empire, evils, which really are, or which your party has declared to be, of so palpable and so monstrous a description, that decency would seem to require you to repress them, or be very modest in rebuking others while they exist.

1. To come at once to the grand cause of outcry against us—the unhappy and indefensible existence of slavery, in many of the States. Will you be so good as to turn your eyes to the map of Africa, and fix them on a spot longer than half of Western Europe? At its southern extremity find Cape Town. Then find the speech of Dr. Phillip, delivered in Exeter Hall ten days after you delivered yours. In that town and neighborhood are 9000 British slaves! Scattered over that vast peninsula are many thousand more of British slaves!! And yet the ear of day is dull with being told that in the British Empire there were no slaves; and the very speech that has elicited these remarks was made at a meeting on the anniversary devoted to a glorious fact that never occurred, namely, 'Slave Emancipation in the British Colonies.'

2. Turn, now, I pray you, to the map of Asia, and find the vast dominions which God has lent to you there, embracing a population of one hundred and thirty millions of souls. Then look over a file of papers, and read a conversation that occurred in the Commons House of Parliament, but a short time back, between the honorable Mr. Buxton and Sir J. Hobhouse, on the subject of British slavery in India! There you will find it admitted that 'domestic slavery prevails to a great extent' in India, 'especially in Bengal.' There you will find proof that no direct effort was ever made to abolish it,—and reasons urged by the government why it cannot now be abolished—and why treaties now existing seem to render its future abolition impossible!

3. Turn your attention next to the Western side of the Atlantic Ocean, and see nearly a million of apprentices in the West India Islands; and then remember what you have yourself said and written on the subject of this system; and call to mind the innumerable declarations made weekly, up and down the country, by those who belong to your party, and who (at the Handsworth Anti-Slavery Society, on the 3d of this month) denounced it 'as aggravated Slavery, under the delusive name of apprenticeship,' and denounce every 'proposal of government' as only calculated to excite suspicion.

Do I draw an inference at all strained, when I say, that the subjects of a monarch, whose dominions in three quarters of the globe are, by their own showing and irrefragable proofs, covered with slaves, should deal somewhat gently with other nations, who may chance to be in the same unhappy condition? Do I say too much, when I caution such people to be more guarded in boastful assertions, which are contradicted by the fact and the record of the case? Do I give needless offence, when I beg you to remember, that your Parliament is omnipotent over this subject, and is, therefore, responsible for all the evils which exist, either through their negligence or by their consent? Alas! sir, it is an ancient habit, to be bitter against our brother for a mote, when a beam is in our own eye.

But I have more to add. We have been spoken against with great severity for neglect of the spiritual welfare of the colored population of the United States: and you have, in an unhappy hour, said you believed and approved these hard sayings. I have, in vain, denied; in vain, disproved them. My object now is, to show the condition of the country, whose people bring and credit them; still keeping the line of duty indicated by your suggestion.

4. Let me beg you then to look at the condition of Lower Canada, where the Roman Catholic religion is established by treaty and by law, where annual grants of public money are made to support it, and where it has had free course, until the people are so ignorant that by statute law the grand jurors and the school commissioners are allowed the privilege of making their marks instead of signing their names, and where, according to the belief of the whole universe, except papists, a system of idolatrous worship is guaranteed by the power of the British realm.

5. Then look over the votes in the Committee of Supply in the present Parliament, and you will see 8,928 pounds 'for the Roman Catholic College at Maynooth,' (which is just about the sum the villified Americans pay annually to promote the religion of Jesus Christ in Western Africa, through the Colonization Society,) and I ask you, as a Christian, to resolve the questions, which of these enterprises you deem most injurious to true religion? which you and your party have most actively opposed? and which is most under your eye and control? Heaven and earth are moved to prevent the spread of the gospel in Africa, through the Colonization Society; and not a whisper is heard to prevent the increase of idolatry in your own land, through governmental patronage.

6. But a more frightful case remains. Remember, that you have above one hundred millions of heathen in your Indian possessions;—then read the noble speech of the Rev. W. Campbell, a missionary from Bengalore, delivered at Exeter Hall, at the annual meeting of the London Missionary Society. There, sir, you will find positive proof that the horrid system of Hindoo idolatry, in all its cruelty and corruption, is upheld, partaken of, and made a source of gain by the British authorities in India! Temples are supported by the government; priests and dancing women are paid a monthly allowance out of the publice revenue; magistrates are present and aiding officially at their brutal ceremonies; military officers do their peculiar honors to the abominable thing; and British functionaries collect the wages of iniquity. And now, sir, what can the eagerness of party zeal find, in all its false allegations against us, equal to the naked deformity of these facts?

7. But pass again to another portion of your wide empire. In multitudes of publications I have seen our alleged neglect of the religious instruction of the colored population of America, made the basis of insinuations against the sincerity of our religious profession. If you will read the speech of Dr. Phillip, already alluded to, you will find the following sentence: 'Boteman, a Caffre chief, and others, have been petitioning me for missionaries, by every messenger through whom they could convey to me a verbal communication, for the last twelve years; and I have not yet been able to send them one.' Gracious Heaven! what an account will the twenty thousand protestant ministers of Great Britain have to render for the souls of these poor Caffres, whom so many of them have forgotten, to abuse their brethren in America for neglecting a population amongst whom a larger proportion hear the gospel, than of the inhabitants of the capital of the British empire.

Let us look at London, the seat of your wealth, power, and civilization; the abode of your Sovereign; the seat of your Parliament; the see of a bishop, whose income would support a hundred missionaries. Listen to what the bishop says of so much of his diocese, as is contained in the metropolis: 'There are,' says he, 'thirty-four parishes, containing above 10,000 souls each, (omitting all notice of those which contain less,) and in the aggregate 1,137,000 souls: but there is church room for only 101,682—less than one-tenth of the whole! Allow one church for every 3,000 souls, and 379 churches would be required; while in fact there are but 69; or, if consecrated chapels be added, only 100.' This is, above 1,000,000 souls, in a single city, and that city the seat of your glory, utterly unprovided for by the nation, and the Established Church. Now, if we should add what is done by dissenters of all classes, and add also the destitute of the small parishes, the result might be varied a little; but still, make the best of it you can, and you are left with more people destitute of the means of grace in London alone, than in all the United States! If you doubt these statements of the Lord Bishop of London, consult the proceedings of the last annual meeting of the city mission; and then ponder, whether the hundreds of pounds squandered on Mr. Thompson's trip to the United States—and in printing his slanders of that country—and the additional hundreds, which I see Dr. Heugh urging the people of Glasgow to give him by way of 'Testimonial Fund'—might not have been fully as well laid out in sending the gospel to the British capital!

Besides, the accusations now made your own, on the general subjects of slavery, in itself considered, and neglect of the religious instruction of the natives—the remaining charges which we have been arraigned upon, may, to a certain extent, fall under the general head of severity, injustice, and deep-rooted prejudice against the blacks. These things may be true, or they may be false. The statements and evidence on both sides are in reach of the public. You have vouched for their truth, and it is not now my design to show the contrary; but to show who they are that are so ready to magnify real errors, and to allege false crimes upon their neighbors.

Pray, sir, were you ever in Ireland? If you were, you saw a land fertile and beautiful; a people, handsome, intelligent, and active; a climate more genial than any other in so high a northern latitude; in short, every thing that should make its teeming population rich, happy, and powerful. I was there. I saw hundreds of people who had no fixed abodes. I saw the majority of the houses of the lower classes, worse than the stables and cow-houses in England; I saw thousands in rags; hundreds naked; and hundreds more naked, except a piece of a single old garment. I looked at the third report on the expediency of a poor law for Ireland, made by order of Parliament, and I found that 2,385,000 souls are out of work, have nothing to depend on, and are in distress for thirty weeks every year. It is a settled, indisputable truth, that one-third of the Irish people beg their bread two-thirds of every year. And yet enormous quantities of grain and live stock, and all sorts of provision, are exported from Ireland. And yet, in defiance of all this tremendous, long-continued, and periodical suffering, there is no poor law, nor any sort of general provision by law for the poor of that island. But there are forty-nine regiments of horse and foot, and a constabulary force of about equal magnitude—ready to stay the people's stomachs with lead at night, and steel in the morning. This is the happy consummation of six hundred years of British authority!—And how can you, sir, look any human being in the face, and charge his country with wrong, till you have strained every effort to redress this vast hereditary guilt! Or if you fail, how can you speak, *nationally*, in the hearing of earth, or heaven, about human wrongs?

10. Look, for the last time, to the vast plains of South Africa, wet with the blood of murdered nations. Read the clear and masterly speech of Dr. Phillip, already twice referred to. 'If a traveller who had visited that country twenty-five years ago, were to take his stand on the banks of the Keiskamma river, and ask what had become of the natives whom he saw there on his former visit; if he took his stand on the rocks of the Sondags river, and looked towards a country seventy miles in breadth before him, he might ask the same question; if he were to take his stand again on the Fish river, and then extend his views to Caffraria, he might ask the same question; and were he to take his stand on the Snow mountain, called Graaf Reinet, (he would have before him a country containing 40,000 square miles,) and ask where was the immense concourse he saw there twenty-five years ago; no man could tell him where they were!' Ask Lord Glenelg, his Majesty's principal Secretary for the colonies, and he will admit that the system of treachery, plunder, and butchery, by which these brave and upright savages have been wasted in exterminating oppression, constitutes perhaps the most degrading of all the chapters of the history of mankind! It is a chapter written in the tears and blood of slaughtered tribes—and is hardly yet dry upon the paper that records it for the execration of posterity! It is a chapter that had not been fully enacted when you were concocting plans and arranging agencies, by which to make illustrious the benign sway of universal freedom, justice, and benevolence in your *Monarchy*—and to brand upon our *Republic* reproaches which all coming generations could not efface.

But why need I multiply particulars? When these things are set right, and you seek from us another list, we will say to you concerning your polity, in nearly all its parts, things which you will then be better able to bear. We will point out how you may establish real freedom amongst yourselves, and thereby show your acquaintance with its sacred principles; how you can make your laws just, equal and humane, and thereby manifest in practice your devotion to principles commended for others. At present such a proceeding could only irritate; and is the more readily forborne, because it is not as an American or a republican, but as a christian, my mission brought me to you. The assurance, too, that the party with which you act is, in point of numbers, a very small minority of the British nation, makes me the more willing to adhere to this view of my duty. Indeed it is chiefly because your party has much of its strength in that sect to which I was more particularly sent, that it seemed clearly necessary for me to take part at all in these discussions.

I readily admit that time, patience, sacrifices, and much labor, are needful for the redress of the evils I have pointed out. I know that the present generation is not responsible in such a sense, for most of them, as past generations have been. I am convinced that multitudes of Englishmen deplore, and would gladly remove them. I am satisfied that it is by the silent influence of example, and the kind and clear exposition of general principles, rather than rude and harsh personal or national assaults, that we can do you good, in these or similar cases. And I gladly declare my belief, that the christians of America, as such, can and ought to hold christian intercourse and sympathy with the christians of Britain—notwithstanding the British nation may be responsible in the matters alleged; and that we can and ought to do it—without perpetual vituperation and insult, even for what is true—not to say without gross perversions of the facts and merits of the case. Such, sir, are my views of the subject. I deeply regret that yours are so widely different. And I humbly beseech you to imagine the whole course of your proceedings and arguments—embracing of course the mission of Mr. Thompson, and his conduct since his return—made ours, and our case made yours; and then decide what would by this time have been the feelings of your people towards us, if we had treated you as you have treated us? I declare, in the presence of God, [illegible] longer as they have [illegible] will not be found [illegible] other than the [illegible] I have already [illegible] ligious press in England, [illegible] of the country to an [illegible] against the progress of liberty in Texas, [illegible] and ignorant pretext that the government of the United States, unless prevented by force, would possess itself of that country, and introduce slavery there! The people generally of America are long ago roused to the highest pitch of indignation against your proceedings in this whole business. You have now reduced the christians of that country to a position, where, if they act with you or admit your previous statements or principles—they become, on your own showing, infamous! You may now behold, in the preceding statement, the posture in which all the world, but yourselves, have viewed you during all this terrible affair!

Was it ignorance of your real condition, or was it ignorance still more gross of ours, or was it national vanity and prejudice, or was it all these unitedly, that impelled the abolition party in Britain to pursue the course they have adopted? It is not my desire to give offence, and I will not, therefore, attempt to decide. Your party profess to have full and accurate information about us; though it is very odd that at your meeting, Dr. Heugh moved, and Mr. Eadie seconded, and your 'very numerous and highly respectable meeting' unanimously voted, that our national constitution contained a very important principle, which is not only not in it at all, but which the very discussion you were pronouncing on *ex cathedra*, proved not to be in it! Well informed gentlemen, not to say just judges, should be more cautious. It does not become me to say that your party are ignorant of the condition of their own country; but if they knew the facts now commended to their notice, it is not easy to reconcile their singular disregard of them, with their rampant benevolence on the other side of the water; and if they were unacquainted with them, they had better stay at Jericho till their beards be grown. Upon the delicate and painful subject of national prejudice, it is difficult to speak properly at all; but especially so to gentlemen whose passion lies in surmounting all prejudice whatever. The John Bull newspaper is said to represent the views and feelings of the extreme High Church and Tory party; the Record is the reputed vehicle for Low Church sentiments; the Patriot, I am told, stands in the same relations to the Congregational Dissenters, embracing both Baptists and Independents, who are generally Whigs and Radicals. The Times, which from its great ability, must always wield a vast influence, is considered the organ of the Independent Conservative interest. I am very likely to be mistaken; but I have tried to inform myself of your condition—and that is what I learn. Be so good, sir, as to read any editorial article in either of these papers, for the last four months, in which it was necessary to express opinions or feelings in regard to the United States, and you will at once catch my present drift. But to aid such as have neither time nor opportunity for such a review, excuse the following sample from a late number of the last named paper: 'In short, this is just the wretched 'colonization scheme,' to which those pious slave-owners, the Baptists, Independents, and Presbyterians of the United States have betaken themselves, as a plaster to their consciences, rank and rotten with hypocrisy; and though that holy American humbug may command a congenial support from the canting zealots of liberty and lashes, hallelujahs and horse-whippings, Bibles and brutality, missions and murders, religious revivals merging in slave auctions, and love-feasts terminating in Lynch law,' &c. &c. It is but justice to say, that I have seen equal grossness only in the John Bull, and in Mr. Thompson's speeches, to some of which latter this has a most suspicious resemblance. It is my duty also to declare, which I do with sincere pleasure, that the present Foreign Secretary of the King (Lord Palmerston,) and the journals which speak the sentiments of the government, are by far better informed, and more candid in regard to American affairs in general, than any others whose published views have come to my knowledge.

I may, in the end, be permitted to suggest, that perhaps too much has been said in relation to the existing and prospective intercourse between the churches of the two countries; and possibly too much consequence attached to it by myself, as well as others. I have uttered the sentiments of those who sent me, in their name; and endeavored to enforce them by such considerations as appeared to me just and appropriate. But I am not aware of any thing having transpired which would justify the supposition that America, or her churches, looked for any advantage which was not likely to be reciprocal, in being permitted to hold this intercourse. Still less can I conceive that any one can be justified in demanding of our churches, as conditions of it, not only adhesion to moral principles which we reject, but the procurement of political changes which are impossible. Yet, if I comprehend the drift of all British abolitionism, it stops not a whit short of this.

It was the world, more than America, we sought to benefit. We had no purpose of attempting a revolution in Britain, nor did it enter into our conceptions that a revolution in America, of the most terrible extent, would be dictated to us, in terms hardly supportable. It was the benighted heathen for whose good we were laying plans; and the thought of personal advantage, or honor, or enjoyment, to any portion of ourselves, had never place for a moment, nor even ground for exercise; and, therefore, we must needs be proof against all discriminating threats. It is quite gratuitous for the sects in England to decline receiving our delegates, except they be abolitionists—which many individuals, and some public meetings have recommended—which the Baptists, if I am rightly informed, have virtually done—and which seems nothing beyond the compass of your argument.

Indeed, this aspect of the case is so very far from the one which the facts exhibit, that I am greatly surprised that wisdom, if not kindness, did not prevent its presentation. For, I believe no delegate who has gone from Britain to America, has been assailed, in public and in private, on any of the great evils at which I have hinted in this communication, as every delegate who has come from America to Britain has been assailed on the subject of slavery. I believe, too, you would search in vain, in America, for any man, who had received from any sect or institution in Britain, any token of respect or esteem—while it will be equally hard to find in Britain, any man amongst any sect to which any delegate from America has ever come, who is not indebted to us for all the consequence he has derived from literary and theological distinctions denied to him at home, but bestowed by the kinder or more discerning spirit of strangers!

For my own part, without intending to commit the folly of depreciating a great nation, I am obliged to say, that the thing which surprised me most in England, was the universal ignorance which prevails in regard to America, while the thing which grieved me most, was the almost equally universal prejudice against us.

You do not know us. You have little sympathy with us. You do us wrong in all your thoughts. In regard to all these points, I believe there is but one mind amongst all Americans, not being abolitionists, who have been in England. And if you have been pleased to express the hope that I would return to America materially changed in many of my views and principles, I have only to say in reply, that so profound is my sense of the false estimate you put on every thing *national*, as between us and you, that my visit to England has opened a new source of devotion, in gratitude to God, that he permitted your ancestors to persecute ours out of it. So little impression of the kind you expect, has all that I have been forced to hear in England against my country and my brethren produced, that when I return again to embrace those beloved men, I shall revere them more, as I measure them by all I have known elsewhere; and when my weary feet touch that sacred land, I shall rejoice in the very 'dust and stones thereof'—as more precious than the pearls of all lands beside!

If I may not call myself your fellow-christian, without offence, I can at least sign myself your fellow-sinner,

R. J. BRECKINRIDGE.

Paris, Aug. 20, 1836.

C. STUART'S REMARKS ON THE ABOVE LETTER.

[From the Friend of Man.]

MR. EDITOR—In the New York Observer, of Saturday, 15th October, I find a letter from the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge to Rev. R. Wardlaw, introduced with high encomia, by the editor of the Observer; and as a personal friend of Dr. Wardlaw and of Mr. Thompson—as a British subject—as a lover of holy and impartial liberty everywhere; and an uncompromising enemy to *the forced servitude of the guiltless poor*, I beg to offer through you to the public, the following observations on that letter: and this I do, not to assail Mr. Breckinridge, but to defend the truth, which he appears to me to have assailed, as well as to admit the truth, where he appears to me to have asserted it.

Mr. B.'s letter contains several prominent propositions, viz.:

1st. Various items respecting the crimes of England.
2nd. Mr. B.'s views respecting British ignorance of the actual condition and character of the people of the United States.
3rd. His estimate of Mr. G. Thompson.
4th. His views of Texas.
5th. His views of church fellowship.
6th. His views of the revolution contemplated, as he says, in the United States by the Abolitionists.
7th. His appreciation of the views of the British abolitionists respecting the United States.
8th. His patriotism.
9th. His views of United States' slavery.

1. Various items respecting the crimes of England. These are introduced apparently at Dr. Wardlaw's instance, as quoted by Dr. Breckinridge; and as far as [illegible] facts, I thank him for them, whatever may have been the object with which he has introduced them. I deeply feel, and fully acknowledge, that the crimes of my country are her *deadliest foes*; and that the man who exposes her crimes the most strikingly, so as most effectually to [illegible] all complacency or rest in them, is, in that respect, my country's greatest benefactor. But [illegible] not be misunderstood. The crimes which Mr. Breckinridge enumerates, are, *slavery* as it yet exists at the Cape of Good Hope, in the British West Indies, and he might have added in the Mauritius; 2d. Domestic slavery in the East Indies, especially in Bengal; 3d. The existence of Popery in Lower Canada, and grants of public money made to support it; 4th. The grant of £8928 for the Roman Catholic College at Maynooth; 5th. The nefarious gain drawn from the horrid system of Hindoo Idolatry, by the British authorities in India; 6th. The neglect of the Caffre population in South Africa, by the Churches of England; 7th. The religious destitution of London; 8th. The want of Poor Laws in Ireland; 9th. The base and bloody slaughter of the Caffre tribes in the South. With whoever else deprecates and abhors them, I deprecate and abhor these things: the act of proclaiming and exposing them is love, not enmity to Britain. Of all these things, my country, as far as she is guilty of them, must repent or perish. When I contemplate these things *only*, I blush and hang my head to think myself an Englishman; and the more, the common sense of unperverted nature, and the better and brighter example of other nations, can be boldly and frankly held up to shame, or to allure us to repentance, the more will I bless God. But, in stating them, it should be stated, that slavery, *miscalled apprenticeship*, as it yet exists at the Cape of Good Hope, the Mauritius, and the British West Indies, though as criminal as ever in *its principle*,* is importantly mitigated in practice, the slaves by *law* being allowed one quarter of their time to themselves, being secured from being sold away from their abodes—being secured from personal abuse at the discretion of the master—having their wives and children secured to them—being secured in their right to moral and intellectual cultivation, and to worship God according to their own consciences, &c.; and the dregs of slavery, by which they are yet so insanely and wickedly insulted and oppressed, being condemned to final dissolution on the 1st August, 1838, for the domestic, and on the 1st August, 1840, for the field hands. Besides, it should be remembered, that Antigua and Bermudas, slave colonies like the others, until 1st August, 1834, on that blessed day, became the theatres of *immediate and thorough emancipation, at home, under law by the lawful authorities*, the slaveholders themselves; and have since held, and continue to hold up to the fair eye of the world, one of those bright and beautiful refutations, with which history is graced, of the cruel, the crazy, and the guilty plea of danger, of difficulty, or of loss, should tyrants repent; immediately abolish their nefarious system; and at once substitute laws and practices worthy of free and generous minds, for laws and practices worthy only of felons and pirates.

In relation to the East Indies, it should be known, that when any such outrage is perpetrated against a slave, as to induce him to complain, *the British courts make no distinction between him and his master*; and if he choose to leave his master, they allow *of no compulsion* in causing him to return. No white man can hold a slave.

The existence of the Catholic Church in Canada, Ireland, &c., is beyond the control of the government, as it is in the United States; the public money given for her support is a vice of the government. The neglect of the heathen, both at home and abroad, is a giant sin of the church in all its denominations. The want of poor laws in Ireland, involves a question of which I am not master; but I do not, I cannot doubt, that we are under great guilt in relation to the Irish poor. The slaughter of the frontive tribes by us, the Bushmen, Caffres, &c., in South Africa, is, beyond expression, infamous and criminal; and bears a strict resemblance to the conduct of the United States in Georgia, Alabama, Florida, &c., towards the Indian nations.

Great Britain's crimes, however, will not sanctify the crimes of the United States. Eve did not do wisely in striving to throw the blame off herself, by accusing the serpent—nor Adam, by stating his wife's transgression—nor Mr. B., by detailing England's crimes. What would be the result, if sinners, instead of laying the rebukes and warnings of the Gospel to heart, should speak peace to themselves by exposing the faults of the church. We see it. I say not this to cover up England's guilt. I have acknowledged, and do with shame and pain acknowledge it, for it is great—it is inexcusable—it threatens the country of my allegiance, and of my heart with destruction. Blessed be the voice, even though it were an enemy's, which shall waken my country to repentance. But Oh, that Grace may forbid, that another people, less dear to me only than my own, should sooth itself to destruction by my country's crimes.

2. Mr. B.'s views respecting British ignorance of the actual condition and character of the people of the United States. Strange ignorance! when *that condition* and *that character* are revealed to the world by the horrible fact that one sixth part of the whole native population of the United States are outlawed without even the imputation of a crime, and when such men as Mr. Breckinridge can stand up in England and deny or excuse this their country's guilt. 'Dr. Heugh moved,' says Mr. B., 'that our constitution contains a very important principle, which is not in it at all,' &c. What is this principle? why, that liberty is the inalienable right of all men. What a spectacle! The patriotic Mr. B. denying that the constitution of the country of his idolatry embraces this glorious principle; and Dr. Heugh, against whom he inveighs, as stigmatizing his country, imputing this glorious principle to the constitution of the United States. Believe Mr. B., and the constitution of the United States, boasting of republicanism and liberty, is destitute of the fundamental principle of all true liberty and republicanism, viz., the equal right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Believe Mr. H. and the constitution of the United States is rich with this glorious gem of eternal truth and love. Yet, Mr. B. dreams that he is glorifying his country, and that Dr. H. is slandering her. How often, alas! do such friends become our worst foes. The constitution of the United States is a public document and may be read by every body. Taken in connection with the declaration of independence, as the Glasgow Society doubtlessly took it, and as the people of the United States used to take it, until slavery taught them that the glorious boon of holy and impartial liberty, was a *rhetorical flourish*, nothing can be more clearly a fact than Dr. Heugh's proposition. Taken by itself, the evidence, though less palpable, is not materially less plain. Give me, said Archimides, a fulcrum, and I will lift the world. In the constitution of the United States, we have a fulcrum. Liberty needs none other for the peaceful triumph of her glorious cause. All that is wanted, is what Britain wanted 70 years ago, the cleansing of her laws from the sophistries of opinion, the blindness of prejudice and the abuses of precedent.

The fact is, that until lately the United States had imposed upon the world and herself, under the veil of her Constitution and her pride, and that England, at an impartial distance, judging fairly according to irresistable evidence, has been rescued by the practice of the United States, extensively from the delusion; while the majority of the people of the U. States, with such as Mr. B. among them, still cling to their idol—shutting their ears and spurning every one who will not bow down with them and cry 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians.' 'Glorious and happy is our slaveholding republic, the land of the brave and the home of the slave!' Lovely and holy are her slaveholding churches, 'the very dust and stones thereof,' more precious to us *republican and Christian slaveholders*, than the pearls of the whole land beside!'

3. Mr. B.'s views of Mr. G. Thompson. Mr. B. speaks of Mr. T.'s flagitious conduct. What was it apart from the base and shameless slanders which ignorance, prejudice and wickedness have propagated? In the United States it was, in connection with many of the noblest minds in the United States, and sustained by 'persons' as Mr. B. declares, and most justly declares them 'of the utmost respectability, excellence and piety in Britain' with a hero's boldness and a Christian's love, showing to his sister land her sin, and calling her to repentance, not in order to destroy, but to save; and in England, treating one of the proudest and most insolent of his enemies, as a gentleman and a man.—Strange flagitiousness! But the clue to all this is, that the man whose moral sense is perverted by slavery and by its chivalrous sympathies, can see beauty only in his horrible idol; and virtue only in those who bow down and worship with him.

4. Mr. B.'s views of Texas. He speaks of the progress of liberty in Texas, apparently as connected with the revolution now attempting there—but the only liberty sought by that revolution, is rebellion the most nefarious, and liberty to keep slaves—to restore the curse of slavery to a land where slavery had been abolished; and to open a new market for the enslaved inhabitants of the United States.

5. Mr. B.'s views of church fellowship. They have indeed all the chivalry of slavery in them. If I mistake not, Mr. B. thinks that the slaveholders of the United States, if professing Christianity, without ceasing to be slaveholders should be received and retained in the communion of the Christian church; and of course, as a generous man, that he would be equally magnanimous towards foreign slaveholders. But what are slaveholders? I speak generally: They are a body of men, the most jealous on earth of *their own* rights; living in the midst of republican principles, and with no external fetters on them. Yet they are willfully plunderers of the most sacred of all properties; so that he who steals a thousand bags of gold is innocent compared to them. They are deliberately and systematically plunderers of the liberty, the personal security, the time the labor, the domestic, social, moral and religious rights, by law, by themselves devised, enacted and perpetrated, of the guiltless poor around them, their fellow citizens, and their fellow men; as much and as loyal Americans as they are; and far less guilty than they, towards God and their country. Yet Mr. B. thinks, that these men ought to be retained in Christian communion. I cannot wonder, indeed that a consistent member of a slaveholding republic, and a slaveholding church, should think so—but the church must tear like a most venomous serpent from her bosom, all such sentiments, before she can in *truth* and in *deed* become the church of Him, who came to preach 'liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound,' who cries, 'Wash you—make you clean—put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes—cease to do evil—learn to do well—seek judgment—relieve the oppressed—judge the fatherless—plead for the widow'—who asks, 'Is not this the fast that I have chosen; to loose the bands of wickedness; to undo the heavy burdens; and to let the oppressed go free; and that ye break every yoke?' who proclaims, 'Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong—who useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work'—who comprises all his holy and blessed law in two great commandments—'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and mind, and soul, and strength, and thy neighbor as thyself.' Were the church, *the church*; that is, were the church what it ought to be, she might less inconsistently cherish in her bosom an impenitent drunkard, or an impenitent thief, than an impenitent slaveholder of any nation or of any kind; but especially an impenitent *republican* and *Christian* slaveholder! In Young's strong language, such a church may be called, 'Guilt's blunder and the loudest laugh of hell'; not until light shall be changed into darkness, liberty into licentiousness, justice into injustice, the pure and impartial love of Christ into the supercilious and insolent benevolence of tyrants, and universal and holy love to man into a proud and partial idolatry of one class, mingled with insane and atrocious iniquity towards another, distinguished from the first only by being less guilty—not till then, can any man, in whom the spirit of God lives and reigns, harmonize with such sympathies; and it is only in so far as the church of Christ rejects such sympathies altogether, holding them up to the contempt and indignation of the world, that I can see in her any thing better than a whited sepulchre; beauteous indeed, when viewed at a distance, 'but when fairly examined, found to be full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness.' There is nothing for which I bless the God of all grace and mercy more, than for the resolutions to which Mr. B. adverts, of the Christians in England to hold communion no longer with the abominations of prejudice and slavery; nor can I see in any other feature of His glorious providence, a ground of hope so rich and full of approaching salvation to this still unbrotherly and ungodly world.

6. Mr. B.'s views of the revolution, contemplated, as he says, in the United States, by the Abolitionists. Mr. B. says, 'Nor did it enter into our conceptions, that a revolution in America, of the most fearful extent, would be dictated to us, in terms hardly supportable.' He is here speaking, I know, directly of the British churches; but the scope of his argument seems to me to include all the friends of impartial liberty; and I therefore take them as applying to the anti-slavery society at large. If wrong, he will correct me.

If taken in relation to the British churches, what is this terrible revolution, which Mr. B. abhors? It is the purifying of the American churches, from the guilt and curse of slavery!!! And what are the *scarcely supportable terms*, in which this *terrible* revolution is dictated? A frank and solemn warning, in brotherly love, that impenitent perseverance in this atrocious system of all possible iniquity, must exclude from church fellowship!!!

If taken in relation to the A. S. Society at large, the enlightened friends of impartial liberty and law, what is the revolution which they seek and desire? It is, *simply* the substitution by the *lawful authorities*, of *liberty under law* for *slavery by law*—of justice for injustice—of undissembling and impartial love, for the insolent, supercilious, and hypocritical condescensions of pride—it is the expunging of *bad* laws, and the universal extension of *good* laws—it is the treating of innocent men, like innocent men, and of *culprits like culprits, after fair trial and conviction*—it is securing to every American citizen, *liberty, personal protection*, and *the pursuit of happiness*, by laws worthy of a great, free and magnanimous people, instead of the present legalized system of shameless violence and fraud. And this, by the lawful authorities. By Congress, in the District of Columbia; by the Legislature of Virginia, in Virginia; by the Legislature of N. Carolina, in N. Carolina, &c. &c. &c. And by what means do the enlightened friends of impartial law and liberty, the A. S. Society, seek this noble object? *Simply by the truth*, urged and reiterated, and urged again, and again, and again, in love, without fear or favor, without compromise or hesitancy; shunning in declaring it, no part of the counsel of God: the principle of immediate and cordial duty, which God has laid as an extirpating axe at the root of all evil, their principle; and the love of Christ shed abroad in their hearts, and emanating in all active, holy, generous, impartial and enlightened benevolence to their fellow men, *their companion* and their *spur* all the way. And by what means do they thus urge the truth in love? Clandestinely? No! Riotously? No! Illegally? No! Unlawfully? No! How, then? *Openly—Peaceably—Legally—Lawfully*. By the pulpit, the press, the mail, the lecture room! In steamboats, canal boats, hotels! On the rail road, in the stage, at the bar, in courts of justice, at home and abroad, every where, with decorum, patience, firmness, kindness and decision, watching opportunities to 'open their mouths for the dumb, to judge righteously, and to plead the cause of the oppressed and poor;' bearing insults, meeting danger, and braving death with prayerful equanimity; unawed by slander and unseduced by smiles! This, in fact, is terrible to Satan and his minions only. Why should it be terrible to Mr. B., of whom, notwithstanding his present deep and fearful delusion, much evidence testifies better things! Or, is it unreasonable that a Christian church should cut from its communion the oppressors of the guiltless poor? or that free and Christian men, under the ægis of the Constitution of the United States, should frankly and earnestly plead for impartial liberty and law? yet this is the whole of the offence of the abolitionists. And what if they do it, at times, in uncourteous terms! When felons set a house on fire; when a man is trampling on my brother, enslaving his body, and as far as he can, putting out the light of his soul; when an enlightened republic is hugging slavery in its bosom; and a Christian church is using its neighbor's service without wages, giving him no fair equivalent for his work, but building its house by unrighteousness, and its churches by wrong—must we smile sweetly upon the aggressors, and beg them for very gentility's sake, to be so good, if they please, as to desist from their chivalric iniquity!! or, with all the pungency of God's eternal truth, gushing out from hearts of love, uncover the sin and cry 'thou art the man?'

Let the revolution which abolitionists desire be accomplished, and what shall we have? A nation of freemen, instead of a nation of tyrants and slaves. A church doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly with God, instead of a church practicing and excusing the most enormous iniquity. We shall have safety, instead of danger; all interests being harmonized, by the extension over all, of just and impartial laws, instead of the most momentous interests of two great classes of the people being kept at drawn daggers, by the continuance of laws the most iniquitous and base. We shall have the undissembling love of manly affection, instead of the supercilious condescension of lordly benevolence. We shall have admiration, gratitude, and affection, instead of contempt, indignation, and revenge. We shall have *willing* labor instead of *forced* labor; industry instead of indolence, and honesty instead of theft. And by what medium? By the medim of the lawful authority, the slaveholders themselves; then no longer slaveholders! no longer idolizing their own rights, and trampling upon the equally sacred rights of others, sacred like their own! What a horrible revolution, to be sure, when the oppressors of the poor, repenting and doing works meet for repentance, shall become the benefactors of the poor! and to remonstrate with them frankly in love, to warn them of their guilt and danger, and to call them to immediate and cordial repentance, oh, how bitterly insulting! More seriously; at the great day of final decision, oh, how will the impenitent slaveholder curse the friends as he deemed them, and as they called themselves, who smoothed his way to the oppressor's grave!

7. Mr. B's approbation of the views of the British abolitionists respecting the United States, Mr. B. says 'the thing which surprised me most was the universal ignorance which prevails with regard to America—while the thing which grieved me most, was the almost equally universal prejudice against us.' Now, omitting other topics, as not being relevant to our present subject, let us enquire into the truth of these affirmatives, in relation to *slavery* and *prejudice*, as they now exist in the United States.

It is unquestionably true, that a great part of the British population know nothing of either. Some of the noblest of the yeomanry of New England are in the same predicament. They have heard of the people of the United States, as being a free people, and they believe them free! They have heard that the United States is a real republic, and they believe that it is a real republic. They may have read its Constitution, and they find not a word in it even hinting at slavery. They know that it is a great mixture of many nations and of *all colors*, but they know nothing of the aristocracy of color which characterises it. They know that it is the home of foreigners of all descriptions; and they have never heard of the desperate oppression wherewith it is grinding to destruction one-sixth part of its own native, guiltless population. But this is plainly not the ignorance to which Mr. B. alludes.

It is unquestionably true, that the anti-reform aristocracy of England, though well-informed of these things, ye[illegible]

* All gradualism, or mitigation of sin, is as directly a breach of the Divine law, as the most atrocious disobedience. The amount differs, but the spirit is the same. God sanctions no condescension of transgression even for a moment. He commands us not to mitigate iniquity, but utterly to abolish it.

are extensively ignorant of them. How? Why, as the man is darkness, who keeps his eyes firmly closed, even though the sun is pouring all his light around him! Even as churchmen can defend slavery from scripture! Even as republicans can boast of republicanism and liberty, yet keep slaves! Even as law can be perverted to purposes of oppression! even as love can be pleaded against immediately treating man like man! Even as Mr. B. can be ignorant of the two prominent features which distinguishes his country above all other lands, viz.: slavery in its peculiarly concentrated atrociousness,—and the prejudice of one skin against another skin! It is truly said, that none are so blind, as they that will not see! But this plainly is not the ignorance to which Mr. B. refers.

And what does he refer to? Why, the blindness and prejudice, as he deems them, of the enlightened reform and anti-slavery spirit of Great Britain—blind, because it will not see through the medium of an apologist for oppression! prejudiced, because it cannot think *white* a more honorable color than black or brown, or yellow or red; and the lineage of the wrong-doers, a more virtuous parentage than the lineage of the sufferers of wrong! If this be ignorance and prejudice—and this is apparently what Mr. B. means—then Great Britain, as far as it knows any thing truly of the real condition of the United States, is full of it. Yes—multitudes in Great Britain have read, and ever-increasing multitudes are reading the Constitution of the United States, together with the dreadful commentary upon it of the practice of the United States, and in this *light* they are *learning* that what seems to *sing* of liberty, *wails* with oppression. They have learned with wonder and with horror, that one-sixth of the whole native population of the United States are slaves, in the most abject condition of legalized despotism. They have learned that the churches of the United States, excepting the Quaker and the Covenanter, are slaveholding churches. They have learned of Mr. B., being one of their most forward teachers, that the ministers of the United States as a body, sustain or excuse it. They have been told, that the Constitution of the United States must not be read, as it reads, but must be so read, as to make it, as bad as the practice of the United States; the Constitution clandestinely, and the practice openly, supporting the most insolent and intolerable oppression. They have found that there is an aristocracy of color in the U. States more base and brutal, than the aristocracy of hereditary rank in Europe—and they have not been able to shut their ears, or their eyes, or their hearts, to these tremendous facts—such is their ignorance! such is their prejudice! Mr. B. and his coadjutors, would call them wise and impartial, if with him they could excuse the Juggernauts of the U. States, *slavery* and *prejudice!!* if they could trample without remorse upon their brother, because they have wronged him! and genteely assent to the dogma, that 'might makes right;' that civilized, republican and Christian people, without crime, may continue perpetrating crimes, which, when perpetrated by heathen nations or by kingly governments, justly cover them with reproach and guilt.

8. Mr. B.'s patriotism. 'Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart: thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbor, and not suffer sin upon him.' Lev. xix, 17.—Why, it is my very love for my country, says Mr. B., that forbids me to rebuke her—or, if I rebuke her, it commands me to rebuke her in terms so civil or so unmeaning, and with excuses so pretty and plausible, that my rebukes shall be free from all offence—and as to not suffering sin upon her, that's out of the question—I cannot help it—besides her sin is so inveterate, although it is not her fault, that her Union-loving sons will tear the Union to pieces, unless I either let her idol sins alone, or sweetly excuse them.

9. Mr. B.'s views of United States' slavery.

As far as I can understand him, he thinks there is crime in it, but that there are no criminals; or if criminals, that they deserve our compassion and not our reprobation; that they are rather unfortunate than guilty; that our tender and respectful sympathies are due to them; our contempt to the sufferers on whom they are trampling; and our indignation, to those alone who are boldly, in love, warning them of their sin and danger, and calling them to repentance without delay or reserve.

But can there be crime, without criminals? Can tender and respectful sympathies be due to the doers of wrong! contempt to the sufferers of wrong! and indignation to the advocates of righteousness and love?

What are the facts?

More than 200 years ago, a Pirate brought a cargo of slaves into James River, and offered them for sale; some Virginian farmers bought them. Was there any *moral* difference between the seller and the buyer? Both alike were sanctioned, *not commanded*, by the laws of the country, and both alike were breaches of the law of God. This piratical traffic continued until the revolution; some of the States, remonstrating against its *external* branch, but internally, practicing without shame, the same abomination. In 1783, the Independence of the United States was acknowledged by Great Britain. The present Constitution was adopted in 1787, and ratified the ensuing year. The first session of General Government, or of the Congress, was held in New York, in 1789.

At the acknowledgment of their Independence, the States were free to form separate Governments, or to unite in one; and to adopt, without restraint, whatever kind of Government they chose. The number of slaves bore about the same proportion to the whole population, as it does still; that is, about 1-6. Slaves and freemen alike had fought for Independence; and no barrier beyond the will of the people, existed to the extension of impartial liberty. Slavery was deliberately retained! But why? Of necessity? No! What is morally wrong, as the oppression of the guiltless poor, never can be *necessary!* Why, then? For power! Apparent strength or moral rectitude; union and power, or impartial liberty and law, were offered to the now sovereign people! With avidity by some; with various reluctance by others; (most reluctantly of the original 13 States, by Rhode Island,) union and power, were preferred to liberty and law; apparent strength to moral rectitude! and the United States, of their own free, deliberate choice, settled down into a slaveholding Republic! They have since enjoyed nearly fifty years of uncontrolled legislation; and they deliberately keep themselves a slaveholding Republic, still. Is this a crime? Undoubtedly; and of the highest stamp! or, rather, a combination of the worst crimes—Hypocrisy, selfishness, avarice, lust of power, ingratitude and injustice combining to form a system, full of incest, adultery, fornication, robbery, impatience, pride, insolence, riot, insubordination and murder!

Here we have the crime. But, says the observer, lauding Mr. B., there are no criminals, because 'at the time of the formation of the constitution of the U. States, we were 13 distinct and independent sovereignties, each having a perfect government of its own;' because 'the constitution of the U. States is very little more than a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive, with a permanent commercial treaty superadded—the objects of the framers being to leave the original governments with their powers as nearly perfect as possible,' and 'this feature of the constitution gives universal satisfaction,' &c. &c. ! ! ! Admirable logic! that is, when 13 robbers, each distinct and independent, with a distinct government of his own, form a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with a permanent commercial treaty superadded, their object being to leave each other's power of robbing as nearly perfect as possible; and where this feature of their union gives universal satisfaction; then, though robbery continues wrong, the robbers who commit robbery are guiltless! ! ! 'Pray spare the person but expose the vice,' says Mr. B. and his party. 'What,' indignantly reply Geo. Thompson and his, 'not expose the sharper, but the dice!'

There are two or three glaring and tremendous errors on this subject, in the U. States. Slavery, they say, is a crime; but no body is guilty of it; except, perhaps, the abolitionists who are doing their best to pull it down.—The Congress is not guilty of it; for it has no legislation on this subject in the District of Columbia, where the constitution gives it exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever!! The nation is not guilty of it; for although the nation stands pledged with its money and its blood to sustain it, and actually and powerfully does sustain it, yet it is not a national, but a State affair!! The present generation is not guilty of it, for it is the crime of their forefathers; of the pirate felon perhaps, who first brought slaves from Africa into Virginia, and of the *felon farmers* of Virginia who first purchased them! The present republic is not guilty of it, for it was introduced under the dominion of Great Britain; and when the present republic arose in her youthful power independent of Britain, 'a compromise was made with slavery for *the sake of the union;*' the present generation and the present republic, having the curse 'nolens volens' entailed upon them. The Legislature of New York is not guilty of it, (although the Legislature of New York sustains it, as far as it deems prudent,) because New York is not a slave State. The Legislature of Virginia is not guilty of it, (although Virginia is a slave-breeder, a slave-trader, and a slaveholder,) because Virginia is only one of twenty-five. The government of the United States or of either State is not guilty of it, because the government is not the people; and the people are not guilty of it, because the people are not the government. The church is not guilty of it, (although the church is a slaveholding church in almost all its branches,) because 'using your neighbor's labor without wages;' giving him no fair equivalent for his work; depriving him of personal security, so that he has reason to tremble at every leaf that falls; grinding the faces of the poor; annulling amongst them the marriage contract; forbidding them to them to learn to read the Bible, or to worship God according to their own consciences; regarding and treating them, not like men, but like cattle, breeding them, buying them, selling them, (with or without regard to their feelings and interests,) is all a *political concern*, and the church has nothing to do with politics! lo! The great body of the people is not guilty of it, because the great body of the people regard the compromise which sustains it with universal satisfaction; and individuals are not guilty of it, because individuals are not the nation.

I know not a better illustration of this mode of reasoning, than the manner in which we commonly treat our stomachs, as Mr. Combe in his excellent little work on digestion and dietetics Ch. 3d, 2d part, Page 217 has it. 'If they feel uneasy after a heavy meal, it is not we who are to blame for having eaten it—no it is the *fish* which lies heavy on the stomach, or the stomach which is at war with soup, or potatoes, or some other well relished article. *We* have nothing to do with the mischief, except as meek and resigned sufferers. *We* never eat more than enough! *We* never devour lobsters, or oysters, or salmon, or cheese, or any thing which experience has told us our enfeebled stomachs can not digest. *We* are too prudent and self-denying for that. But some how or other, our stomachs got hold of all these things in spite of us; and we must pay the same penalty, as if we had eaten them deliberately, and with malice prepense!! Oh, what naughty things our stomachs are!! It is all their fault, or the fault of the fish, or the lobsters, or the potatoes, or something else! but *we*, poor sufferers, what generous mind is there, which would not sympathize with us! and who, but ill mannered fanatics, could think of calling us gluttons or intemperate! Oh, what a wicked thing slavery is! it is wrong—it is both a moral and a political evil—it ought not to last forever! who does not abhor slavery in the abstract!! it is all the fault of slavery, or of our forefathers, or of the British, or of the African slave trade, or of the slaves, or of the Abolitionists, or of somebody, or of something else! but *we*, poor, suffering, slave-breeding, slave-trading, slave-holding republicans and Christians, it has been entailed on *us*. Surely all just and generous minds, must bewail our misfortune and sympathize in our affliction. And who but ignorant incendiaries could pity our slaves, whom all the world knows we love so much, and treat so kindly—or blame us for our patriarchal system of breeding and working, and buying and selling men and women, and boys and girls, and little infants too, like beasts! especially since there is no one over us to control us, or to prevent our giving them the curse of lawful liberty, whenever we please!! Is it not as clear as mud, that we have nothing to do with it, except as meek and resigned sufferers!! For who does not know that it is love, not selfishness; humility, not pride; irresistable necessity, not choice; benevolence not avarice, their good, not our profit, their happiness, not our own gratification, that we seek—we never flog them, buffet them, confine them, wound them, hunt them, tree them, shoot or otherwise kill them. We never force them to labor for our emolument or pleasure upon sugar or cotton plantations; in tobacco or rice or cornfields. We place no drivers over them. We keep not the Bible from them. We never impede the cultivation of their minds. We hamper not their fair liberty to work when they please, and to rest when they please; to stay where they please, and to go where they please; to serve whom they please, or to refuse to serve whom they please not. We take not away the sacred securities of wise and impartial law from their connubial connections. We never interfere with their family government. We breed them not for the market; we buy them not; we sell them not; we put no fetters on their limbs or on their souls. 'We never do any of these things which our philosophy tells us are wrong in the abstract and which experience tells us, are disgraceful and dangerous. We are too prudent and benevolent for that.' But some how or other, slavery does them all, in spite of us; and we, poor, meek, suffering creatures are obliged to bear the penalty, as if *we* had done them, and were doing them deliberately, and with malice prepense!!

Oh, who does not pity the miserable slave masters and their unhappy advocates! Who does not detest the ingratitude and impatience of the humored, cherished, happy slaves! Who does not spurn, and above all, who does not abhor *slavery in the abstract!* and what good son or daughter of the United States (the slave-holding church or the slave-holding republic) is there, who does not love *slavery in the practice*, as the brighest gem and the most sacred safeguard of their country's security and peace! The G. Thompsons of England, and the W. L. Garrisons of America may attack what else they please; but slavery is a *delicate* subject—it is the apple of the eye of the Union. No power must pretend to limit the freedom of speech or of the press amongst us, or any other subject—but on the subject of slavery, all must be mum; freemen as well as slaves, in the United States as well as in China, must close their mouths and silence their pens and crush their hearts even till they wither within them, on this subject; for 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians!' Immaculate, and not even to be whispered against with reproach, are the slave-holders of the United States. The dice are in fault—the sharpers are innocent! Hail Columbia! happy land! the land of the brave, and the home of the slave!!

Seriously, whatever G. Thompson or R. J. Breckinridge, with the N. Y. Observer at his tail, may say, one sixth part of the population of the United States, are slaves; without even the imputation of a crime, outlawed in their own country, which yet claims their allegiance! Subjected to the most cruel and ignominious deaths, if they resist oppression, however intolerable, but treated, at least generally speaking, only like favored beasts, when most loyal and praiseworthy. The idea of there being crime without criminals is but the opiate of the sinner. Who are the criminals? They who frame the iniquity by law, together with all who excuse or sustain it! The Legislatures and people of the United States! The power of Britain has long since ceased to coerce them. The continuance for a day, or the immediate abolition of slavery, is as purely and strictly a question of *will* with them, as it is with the robber, to continue to rob till to-morrow! or cease from robbing to-day! If they choose to continue it, none can hinder them; if they choose to abolish it, none can say to them, nay! If they are deterred from 'loosing the bands of wickedness, undoing the heavy burdens and letting the oppressed go free,' by the apprehension of danger, it is a dastardly fear, unworthy of them as men; if by apprehensions of loss, their apprehensions are as chimerical as they are sordid and selfish. The sin, such as it is, is all their own; God has graciously awakened them from their dreadful sleep which was rapidly merging into death! G. Thompson is an evidence, that he has not yet pronounced the most dire of curses upon them,—'*let them alone!*' their own madness proves that their consciences still have life. Yes, it can not be, that a people like the people of the United States, should continue guilty of such a giant system of all shameless and filthy and furious iniquity.—Carried to the very verge of moral death, though they have been, by slavery, there yet remains too much of manhood amongst them for so base a result. They are too well informed respecting their own rights, to be incapable of awakening to the equally dear and sacred rights of others. They have too lively a regard for the virtuous opinions of the world, to continue to despise its awakening scorn against them as slave-breeders, slave-traders and slaveholders; its awakening exhortation to them to repent, that all men may learn to admire and love them. They have too many abolitionists among them, from the infant who lisps '*I abolition*,' then falls asleep in the arms of Jesus, to the hoary headed men, who, after a separation of half a century, first meet in the midst of mobs and in the face of death, to combine the means most lawful and most Christian, for purifying their country from its foulest stain and deepest curse! There are too many Englishmen and Scotchmen and true-hearted Americans amongst them, ever to let the subject of slavery sleep again. There is too much prayer amongst them, to allow of their again relapsing into peace in this great sin. The electric storm of truth has awakened them, dispersing the miasma in which they were dying. The voice of love is wooing them to return to God and their brother. And shall they not hearken? Yes, they will hearken. The last hour of the winter's night is the coldest: the hour which precedes the rising day is the darkest. Yes, the dawn, even now, is heralded and I see the day at hand—'bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless His holy name,' when the 'despotism of freedom' shall be banished from our land and the song of love and joy, shall go up to heaven from her millions at last, in truth, proclaiming the United States to be 'the land of the brave and the home of the free,' and joining in one melodious anthem of gushing gratitude and love to Him, who died to redeem them from all iniquity and to purify them unto himself, a peculiar people, zealous of good works; when G. Thompson and R. Wardlaw and R. J. Breckinridge, amidst the ransomed myriads shall unite in resolving abstract into practical righteousness; gradual into immediate obedience; policy into honesty; and the fear of man into the fear of God! Amen. C. STUART.

Whitesboro' 24th October, 1836.

The Persecuted Kitchell.—Three of the ruffians who were engaged in the outrage on this man, have come out with an address to the public, in which they undertake to make it out that he was an abolitionist, and also guilty of "swindling, forgery, and perjury." Their names are *Ira E. Dupree, H. H. Tarver, Henry Bunn.* In the course of their statement, they say:

"He was frequently heard of many miles from his place of abode, amongst the black population; and was, in one of his nocturnal and secret excursions, with no doubt the fiendish intent to excite an insurrection, discovered in the negro yard of a gentleman residing five miles from his residence, and actually refused to discover himself until CHASED DOWN BY DOGS."

We suspect the poor negroes could tell us of some other exploits of these "dogs!"—*Emancipator.*

Extract of a letter from James G. Birney to the editor of the Emancipator.—After giving a detailed account of his recent lectures, before many large and attentive audiences, during an excursion up the Miami Valley, Mr. B., says:

'Every day gives me fresh evidence that the cause of emancipation is soon to predominate. Every effort of our opponents is spasmodic, and whilst God has not, as yet, permitted any of us to be destroyed, they are constantly weakened. If I mistake not, they are now more faint-hearted in this place than they were before the recent attempt and failure to put us down. I do not believe we will have another *open* mob—though it may be that we may suffer from *midnight* depredators.

The crisis of our cause is much nearer than brother Goodell, and many others, expect. I take it to be, the *conviction on the mind of the South is that the abolitionists cannot be stopped.* When this is produced, and that will be before another year, you will see how gentle slaveholders will become!'

[From Lundy's Advocate of Universal Liberty.]

THE WASHINGTON RIOTERS.

It will be recollected, by our friends, that a mob collected in Washington, Pennsylvania, last summer, to prevent the delivery of a lecture by S. L. Gould, agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society; and also that the rioters were prosecuted for their outrageous conduct. We now learn that they were indicted; but on the eve of the trial they proposed a compromise, which was fully agreed to. The following paper was entered on record, and a *nolle prosequi* was executed. The spirit of mobism seems to be flagging, and it is hoped that the *Laws* may, at length, resume their supremacy.

Commonwealth, vs. *James Ruple jr. H. W. Sample, Joseph Dillow, Jas. O. Wilson, Wm. Sloan.* } We, the undersigned, defendants in this case, being now sensible of the gross impropriety of our conduct in the breach of the peace, and in any and all the acts of violence which were perpetrated towards the members of the Washington Anti-Slavery Society, and the audience assembled at the Cumberland Presbyterian meeting house, on the evening of the 21st of June last, thus publicly express our sorrow and regret, for any participation which either of us may have had in the transactions on that occasion. We also hold as true in every instance, that the laws of the land ought not, and cannot be violated with impunity. If the prosecution be withdrawn, we agree to repair all damages to the meeting house, and pay the costs of prosecution.

H. W. Sample,
James B. Ruple,
Joseph Dillow,
James Orr Wilson,
William Sloan.

Outrage and Kidnapping.—We have learnt from Mr. Gilbert Lyon, of Rye, the particulars of a most infamous outrage which was perpetrated in that town night before last. An industrious and worthy colored man (name not recollected) who has been for some months in the employ of Seth Lyon Esq., a justice of the peace, living in Buyrum village, Greenwich, Conn., situated opposite Rye, N. Y., on a small stream which there divides the states of New York and Connecticut. This colored man had been employed for several years in that neighborhood—sometimes working at Rye, and then again at Buyrum. Night before last, he was induced by an acquaintance at Rye, to come over the bridge, under some pretence; when he was immediately seized by ten or a dozen ruffians, bound, and thrown into a wagon, which was then driven at great speed for New York. Great excitement prevails, both at Rye and at Buyrum in consequence of this outrage; and both Justice Lyon, of the latter place, (in whose employ the negro was,) and Justice Brown, of Rye, have written to the Mayor of this city on the subject. It is said that the individual who enticed the negro over the line, was paid $1,50 for so doing.

Mr. G. Lyon also informs us that he has ascertained, since coming to this city, that the negro in question was arrested (probably as a runaway slave) by Mr. John Lyon, one of our city marshals, and associates, and has already been put on board a vessel for the south. If this be true, we hope Mr. John Lyon will forthwith give us some light on the subject; for, as the case now appears, it is nothing more nor less than one of bare-faced kidnapping, and a daring outrage and insult upon the laws of this community.—*N. Y. Sun.*

[From the Emancipator.]

Wringing a Man's nose to the Glory of God.—A letter was written to the editors of the Christian Advocate and Journal, by a Mr. True, a member of the New York Methodist Conference, and it fell into the hand of Rev. J. A. Collins, assistant editor of that paper.

Mr. Collins is a southern man, and it so happened that he did not like the contents of said letter, as it said something about abolitionism. On reading it, Mr. Collins expressed himself thus:

"If I had that fellow here, *I could wring his nose to the glory of God.*"

Light and Truth, from ancient sacred history; by Robert B. Lewis; Portland; D. C. Colesworthy. The author is a colored man—has consulted history extensively, both sacred and profane—and his object seems to be to state who, among the distinguished men of past ages, have been of Ethiopian descent. The reader will find some facts in it that will probably surprise him.—*Emancipator.*

An Election in Texas.—The author of a recent work, 'A Visit to Texas,' gives us some incidents during an election which he attended, as a specimen of the character and manners of the patriots who live in that new republic. The election was held on a Sunday. A barrel of whiskey was mounted on a cart, from the spiggot of which all drew, and refreshed themselves as often as they pleased. The alcade, or magistrate, of another place near by, was elected a member. *He was a fugitive from the United States for murder!*

The last stage of human misery.—The Nashua Gazette gives the following shocking detail of a lunatic case in New Hampshire:

'An insane pauper in this town is now confined in a dungeon built in the cellar of his keeper from whom he formerly escaped, was pursued, brought back and placed there for safe keeping. Shut up in darkness, he became frantic, as well he might, and no one dared approach him. They fastened up every outlet of escape, and here for two years has he been imprisoned without fire, without clothing, and no human eye has once seen him! A trough is placed to receive his food, and here he is fed daily like the very swine! Is not such a picture too painful even for imagination?'

BOSTON.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1836.

☞ The Editor is still absent.

The sixth volume of the Liberator will be completed on the 31st of December. At the commencement of the present volume, the publisher assumed the whole expenses of the publication, and agreed to pay the editor a salary of $800.—This he did with the belief that the friends of the Liberator would sustain him. Many have done well, but there is still *one thousand dollars* due on this year's account. At the expiration of the year a list of delinquents will be published. All, therefore, who are in arrears will please to remit the money forthwith,—$2,50 is expected from all who have neglected payment until the present time.

Agents are earnestly requested to forward the money due from them.

MEETING AT BRADFORD, ENG.—DR. GODWIN'S SPEECH.

By the very interesting account of the great Anti-Slavery meeting in Bradford, England, on the first page of this paper, it appears that *Dr. Godwin*, whose reputation as a writer, a Christian, and a philanthropist, are so well known and so highly appreciated in the United States, made an address to the meeting. We hope his speech will be published at length, and it will, with great pleasure, be transferred to the columns of the Liberator. His vindication of the character of George Thompson, which has been so abominably traduced in this country, will be received with great satisfaction by his friends in the United States, and ought to silence forever the lips and pens of those who gave utterance to the vile calumnies against this noble philanthropist and benefactor of his race, while here—a man as much above them in intellectual power and moral greatness, as the sun is above the dog that bayes at it. When such a man as Dr. Godwin steps forward to express his affection and esteem for the victim of persecution, it is like the shield of Achilles extended before the object of popular hate and infuriate rage—and then their arrows fall pointless upon it, or rebound to fix their poisoned barb into their own hearts.

Dr. Godwin alludes to Mr. Breckinridge's letter to Dr. Wardlaw, which we also publish to-day, together with the forcible and christian-like remarks of C. Stuart. Never was there a more weak defence of a bad cause than is contained in that letter—taunting Great Britain with the moral and political evils under which portions of the population of that empire are suffering. If the position assumed by Mr. B. were a sound one, that no country should labor for the extinction of any evil in another country, until every evil had ceased to exist within its own borders, and it had purified itself of every moral corruption, it would confine all the benevolent and moral enterprises of the day within the boundaries of the land where they originated. The *foreign* missionary, bible, and tract societies of the United States, should immediately cease their operations, and not renew them again until evil and sin in every form was extirpated in our own country. The reply from Scripture would be opposite to this point, 'These (latter) ought ye to have done and not to have left the other undone.' When it can be shown that domestic evils will stand a better chance of being removed, when foreign ones are neglected, Mr. Breckinridge's invectives will have some force and application, and not before. But if the fact be directly the reverse, that those who try to remove one evil, though a foreign one, will be more likely to try to remove another, a domestic one, Mr. B.'s reasoning will appear altogether unsound.

Suppose a drunkard should say to a gambler who attempted to reform him, 'You had better reform yourself than attempt to reform me;' the gambler might reply, 'So far as I am endeavoring to reform you, I am doing you a good service, for which you ought to be grateful to me—so far as I am in the practice of gambling, I am doing myself an injury, and should feel much obliged to you or any one else who will induce me to relinquish it.' So that instead of bandying recriminations upon each other, if each would endeavor to reform the other, the one might cease to be a drunkard and the other a gambler, and both would be benefitted by these mutual good offices. This is much the most sensible view of the subject, and we wonder so *sensible* a man as Mr. Breckinridge did not perceive it.

'Never was there a subject so entirely perverted and abused as that of the right of *interference* of one political community with the affairs of another. It is not only the right but the duty both of individuals and communities to endeavor, by *moral* influences, to remove evils of every description under which others may be suffering—and particularly *moral* evils, which are within the reach of appeals to the understanding and the heart. All public reformations proceed upon this principle, whether in opinion or conduct, and whether relating to religion, morals or government—and all are produced in this way, and can be in no other. What, have not people, whether as individuals or associated, a right to endeavor to put an end to cruelty, oppression, and wrong? Who is it that is guilty of an improper *interference*—the man who is *interfering* with the rights and the welfare of others in every possible way—who is *interfering* with the right which others have to their own lives, liberty, and limbs—the right to exercise the faculties of their minds and bodies for their own benefit—the right to security and inviolability in their domestic relations—the right to acquire knowledge and property,—or the man who *interferes* to restore to this oppressed and wronged race of men their rights so cruelly wrested from them, by argument, by persuasion, and by entreaty? What, shall a man who has his foot upon the neck of another, and crushing the very life out of him, say to a person endeavoring to rescue his victim from death, 'This person is my child, or my apprentice, or my servant, and I have the right to inflict any cruelty upon him I choose, and you have no right to *interfere?* Let the reply be we *will* interfere till we can get the victim out of your clutches, and then settle the *right* of interference afterwards.

W. S. A.

'THE SEVENTY.'

The Agents who are to take the field for the Am. Anti-Slavery Society have been for the last fortnight engaged in New York, investigating and discussing the subjects connected with their agencies. They will in a week or two commence their winter campaign in various parts of the country. We presume this will be considered a 'death struggle.' L.

Jesse Raymond, who has a white wife, was arrested in New York by an accredited agent of Mr. John Turlington, of Accomack county, Va., as a fugitive slave, who had fled in 1823. On Saturday, Raymond was brought up before Judge Ulshoeffer for a hearing—he was attended by his white wife and several other females. Proving that he had been here since 1822, he was discharged. Mr. Raymond was not satisfied with thus escaping, but has brought an action against the Agent for false imprisonment.

Probably the kidnapper here mentioned, who was the 'accredited agent' of John Turlington, man thief, expected to have his claim to this man settled before *Hon.* Richard Riker, who has been so long engaged in not only restoring but sending men to slavery. L.

[From the Glasgow Chronicle.]

PUBLIC BREAKFAST AT GREENOCK TO MR. GEORGE THOMPSON.

Agreeably to public intimation by handbills, from 50 to 60 gentlemen met in Greenock on Friday morning last, to express their respect for Mr. Thompson, by giving him a public breakfast in the Whitehart inn.

At about half-past nine o'clock, Mr. Thompson entered the large hall amid the hearty cheers of the large and respectable company. John Dunlop, Esq., the staunch advocate of Temperance, was called to the chair, and a blessing was asked by the Rev. Mr. Auld. The excellent breakfast provided having been partaken of, and thanks returned by the Rev. Mr. Sinclair, the chairman announced that in prosecution of the object of the meeting, which was at once to do honor to Mr. Thompson, and promote the cause of Slave Emancipation—Mr. Thompson would address the meeting, which he did in his usual clear, energetic and eloquent style, showing that the people of this country had a right to interfere in promoting the moral interests and happiness of men every where on the face of the earth, and that it was also the duty of all, but especially of the religious and liberal-minded people of this country so to interfere for their oppressed fellow-men; that America, high claim as she had to stand conspicuous among the free governments, had no right to claim exemption from this interference: and he would encourage the gentlemen present, and through them the inhabitants of Greenock, thus to interfere for their down trodden fellow men, he stated the vast progress of the abolition cause in the United States since he went out there, and the daily rapidly accelerating progress of the good work by the increase of societies and lecturers in the United States.

He then explained the nature and object of the war in Texas, and showed that, as it obviously was to extend the evils of Slavery by settling it as a Slave State, for which and the Slave Trade it afforded many facilities, it was the duty of the people of this country to use every constitutional means agreeable to national policy and moral principle to oppose such a project.

It was then suggested by several of the gentlemen present, that a Provisional Committee should be formed, to arrange for some future public meetings in Greenock, to receive addresses from Mr. Thompson on the subject, and when they would form an Emancipation Society; accordingly the Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council, and all the Ministers of the Gospel in Greenock, ex-officios, and also several other gentlemen were appointed members of the Committee.

Thanks were then voted to Mr. Thompson for his very excellent address, and to the Chairman. The meeting was informed to their great satisfaction by a gentleman of the press present, that they would have the press on their side. And a hope was held out that some time or other after Mr. Thompson had fulfilled some engagements in England, he would again be with them to assist in promoting the object they all had so much at heart.

NOTICE.

A Meeting will be held at the Hall, 46 Washington Street, on Monday Evening, 28th inst., at which Mr. Henry Vanmeter, who was once a Slave, will be present and state some interesting facts in reference to the means made use of to induce him to leave his quiet, happy home and farm, in the State of Maine, and colonize himself and family to Africa; and the consequent results of his yielding, in part, to their solicitations.

Nov. 26.

NOTICE.

The public are respectfully informed that a discussion will take place at the Baptist meeting-house, or the old school-room in Belknap street on the evening of the 29th inst. at 6 o'clock, between Rev. H. Easton, of Hartford, Conn. and Mr. C. V. Caples, of this city.

Question.—Is the prejudice of the white population of the United States, as it is wrongfully exercised towards the colored people of this country, on account of their color?

Gentlemen present will be invited to take part in the discussion. The friends of the oppressed are respectfully invited to attend.

Boston, Nov. 25, 1836.

STATISTICS.

THE subscriber is about to compile a work for the press, giving a statistical account of the colored people in New-England. The number of churches and their denomination,—Temperance, Moral Reform, Literary and other Societies, with the number of members, and a list of their officers. Also, the number of colored inhabitants in the cities, towns or villages where these societies exist.

Clerks of Churches and Secretaries of the above named Societies, are respectfully requested to forward to the subscriber, by mail, as soon as may be convenient, the desired information.

JOHN W. LEWIS,
Nov. 26. *Providence, R. I.*

THE AMERICAN
ANTI-SLAVERY ALMANAC, FOR 1837!!

THIS DAY PUBLISHED, the American Anti-Slavery Almanac for 1837, which contains the usual astronomical calculations and chronological tables used in Almanacs, which have been prepared with great care. There is also much interesting and useful information on the subject of slavery, which it is believed will do much to throw light upon the question of immediate abolition. Great care has been taken to gather all interesting events and occurrences, and no labor has been withheld in obtaining valuable articles from distinguished writers. The Almanac is also embellished with several appropriate engravings, &c.

Among the articles are 'Free Discussion; Am. A. S. Society; $100,000 Reward; Emancipation in the West Indies; Principles of Anti-Slavery Societies; the Slave Father; Produce of Slave Labor; Children's Department; Temptation Resisted; a Mother's Anguish; Slave Population in the United States; Emigrants to Liberia; Objections Considered; Oneida Institute; Anti-Slavery Publications.

Price 6 1-4 cents single, 50 cents a dozen, $3,50 a hundred, $30 a thousand.

All orders for the above work will be promptly answered. Address N. SOUTHARD or D. K. HITCHCOCK, 9, Cornhill, Boston.

Boston, July 30, 1836.

LITERARY.

THE DYING WIDOW,

BY THOMAS HILLER, THE BASKET MAKER.

Those cold white curtain folds displease,
That form I would no longer see;
They have assumed my husband's face,
And all night long it looked at me;
I wished it not to go away,
Yet trembled while it did remain;
I closed my eyes and tried to pray—
Alas! I dried in vain.

I know my head is very weak,
I've seen what fancy can create;
I long have felt too low to speak,—
Oh! I have thought too much of late,
I have a few requests to make:
Just wipe these blinding tears away:—
I know your love, and for my sake
You will them all obey.

My child has scarce a month been dead,
My husband has been dead but five;
What dreary hours since then have fled!
I wonder I am yet alive.
My child! oh! him death aimed the blow,
And from that hour I did decline;
His coffin, when my head lies low,
I would have placed as mine.

Those letters which my husband sent
Before he perished in the deep;—
What hours in reading them I've spent!
Whole nights in which I could not sleep!
Oh! they are warm with many a tear,
Scarce fit for other eyes to see;
But oft when sad they did me cheer—
Pray bury them with me.

This little cap my Henry wore,
The very day before he died;
And I shall never kiss it more—
When dead you'll place it by my side.
I know these thoughts are weak, but oh!
What will a vacant heart not crave?
And, as none else can love them so,
I'll bear them to my grave.

The miniature that still I wear,
When dead I would not have removed:
'Tis on my heart—oh! leave it there,
To find its way to where I loved;
My husband threw it round my neck,
Long, long before he called me bride;
And I was told that, 'midst the wreck
He kissed mine ere he died.

There's little I care for now,
Except this simple wedding ring;
I faithfully have kept my vow,
And feel not the accusing sting:
I never yet have laid it by
A moment since my bridal day;
Where he first placed it let it lie:
Oh! take it not away!

Now wrap me in my wedding gown,
You scarce can think how cold I feel:
And smooth my ruffled pillow down:
Oh! how my clouded senses reel!
Great God! support me to the last:
Oh! let more air into the room:
The struggling now is nearly past,
Husband and child! I come!

[From the Pawtucket Record.]

THE DELUGE.

"The fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened."—GEN. vii. 11, 17—23.

The sun as brightly rose that morn;
The sky gave forth as clear a hue
As ever on that green earth smiled
The world before the flood.

Men dreamt not, in those early days,
Of hidden woe's calamity;
They lifted high the festal cup,
And gave a loose to joy.

The wonder-rearing ark in vain
Its ceaseless note of warning struck;
It died upon the winds, nor mar'd
Their hearts' festivity.

There was a curse upon the earth,
That came in terror's fearful form!
Dire presage of calamity
To its inhabitants.

The muttering of an unknown sound
Came on the terror-startled ear,
Precursor of the tempest's wrath
And its destructiveness.

Things that had life, in earth or air,
Seem'd conscious of a coming doom;
All turned a piteous eye to heaven,
As fearing some dread change.

A hideous darkness on the earth
Came hovering o'er with raven wings;
Man, too, beheld, with look aghast,
The desolating scene.

For lo! heaven's casements open'd wide,
And the great deep was broken up,
Whose swelling waters now had girt
The earth's circumference.

Commingling with the storm, earth, sky,
All, all seemed one vast element—
A mighty deluge that involved
The living and the dead.

A world of waters unconfined,
Where swam the monsters of the deep,
Tust now another ocean found;
And depths before unknown.

The floods prevail'd upon the earth,
All living things were swept away,
And not a vestige then remained
Of what was busy life.

Some few unhappy souls were seen
Fast clinging to the mountain tops,
But there the envious flood o'ertook them,
The mother and her child.

The drowning shriek of agony,
That, that had pass'd, and all was still,
Save the unfathomable deep
That ever booming swept.

The only thing that looked like life,
Seen dimly floating was the ark;
All else, was one wide watery waste,
The shadow of a world.

HUMANITY.

A kind regard for others woes
Is assure's just behest,
And pity pleads her tender claims
In every human breast;
He, then, whose cold, relenting heart
Delivers her gentle power,
Nor sympathizing tears shall know
To relieve a troubled hour.

MISCELLANEOUS.

[From the London Patriot.]

SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

Sir,—Your paper of the 20th inst. contains a long letter subscribed 'R. J. Breckinridge,' which so frequently refers to me that I deem it necessary to make some reply thereto, lest my silence should be misconstrued either by him or the public. Allow me to say, however, that regard for the great cause of humanity is the *sole* motive that prompts me again to obtrude myself on the notice of your readers. Under other circumstances than those in which I find myself at present thrown, I should probably be very doubtful whether a proper self-respect would not command me to silence; but situated as I am, I see no other alternative but to resume my pen:

In the outset, then, I think it necessary indignantly to repel the charges made or insinuated against me in this letter; and also to complain of the coarse and contemptuous manner in which the writer has seen fit to speak of one of whom he confesses he knows nothing. This very fact, it would seem, entitles one to courtesy, and with a high-minded and honorable man ought to be a sufficient reason for a different line of conduct. "The individual who signs himself "Robert Bernard Hall," says he, 'is a total stranger to me.' Now this fact would seem to be quite unimportant, but as Mr. Breckinridge has thought proper to give publicity to it, I have taken it into consideration, and in consequence have deemed it to be either my misfortune or my fault. If it is my fault, I hope Mr. Breckinridge will agree with me in esteeming it quite a venial one; and if it is my misfortune, perhaps there may be some opportunity to repair it. In either case, however, I am not without some consolations; and a chief one is, that it is much better to be 'a total stranger,' even to Mr. Breckinridge, than to be *too well known* either at home or abroad. *Verbum sat, &c.*

But Mr. Breckinridge says further, 'He is a mere volunteer in this controversy.' This is exceedingly cutting. A 'mere volunteer,' indeed! Am I to be called a 'mere volunteer' in a controversy in which I am myself attacked, when together with those who are associated with me I am called to account for a public act? —when together with theirs my motives are impugned, and principles and practices the most scandalous are imputed both to my brethren and to me? A 'mere volunteer' in a controversy in which the bitterest effusions of the bitterest spleen are copiously poured out on a body of men with whom I am most intimately associated, and when there is no other one of their number present to answer for them, and to vindicate their fair fame? A 'mere volunteer,' forsooth! Shame, shame, on the disingenuous accusation!

Next, I am charged with being an enemy to my country, and with suffering my personal partiality to influence me so far, and so unworthily, as to lead me to 'uphold my friend though the churches and people of America be unjustly and falsely convicted in consequence.' I am charged too with being so 'deeply devoted to truth,' that the bear fear that 'Mr. Breckinridge 'might delude our British people and churches into too good an opinion of their brethren in' my 'own home, forces' me 'to step forth, unknown and uncalled, to establish in a foreign land, against light and reason, the infamy of' my 'country!' I do hope that my love of truth is a stronger feeling with me than that of mere love of country. If it were not, I should be unworthy of the name of Christian, nay, even of American. And so is he, whoever he is, who claims those privileged names, even though the highest honors of the Church or State are entwined around his brow. But in my affection for my native land I yield to no one, however high his pretensions, and whatever professions he may make, though he exceed the vociferous vauntings of Mr. Breckinridge himself. I love that land. I love her sea-girt shores, I love her mountains and her vales—her history and her scene. I love her free institutions—the freest upon earth. In heart, in soul, in feeling, I am all an American. But I pity her weaknesses, I lament her inconsistencies, and I abhor her crimes. I esteem him, and him only, as her real friend, who, in the spirit of filial affection, rebukes those crimes, points out her inconsistencies, and warns her of her weaknesses. And when I see a deep and damning plague-spot on her very vitals, threatening to consume her energies and to accomplish her destruction, my bleeding heart constrains me to cry out for her relief, and impels me to put forth every exertion to marshal assistance to her succor. In my anti-slavery efforts, therefore, in this country, instead of endeavoring 'against light and reason to establish her infamy,' I seek to redeem the character she has almost lost, and which once she so proudly boasted, of being free and happy. Perish the thought of partial animosity! Perish the idea of slandering my home—my too dear native land! Perish the parricidal arm which could be raised against her! Let that tongue be paralyzed which could blame her beloved name!

Having thus disposed of the introductory, I pass now to notice the argumentative part of this remarkable epistle.

To my first letter, Mr. Breckinridge deigns to make no further reply than merely to refer those who are interested in this controversy to his speeches at Glasgow. If Mr. B. has displeased me in any other part of his letter, he pleases me equally here; for if this is the only reply to be offered, I am most ready on my part to abide the verdict, which, upon this reference, will be rendered by any impartial mind. Certain am I that Mr. Breckinridge did then and there prove the negative of his own proposition, that 'slavery is not an American question *at all*;' and wherever he failed, Mr. Thompson's valuable assistance relieved the difficulty, and triumphantly established the fact denied by Mr. B. In respect to the system of Colonization and Gradualism, also, sufficient light was shed upon Mr. Breckinridge's principles and their rottenness, to satisfy even the stoutest of their advocates. Mr. B., therefore, will most cheerfully be 'discharged' from the necessity of taking any further notice of the subject.'

Mr. Breckinridge, in consequence, avows his intention of confining himself to the examination of the facts and arguments contained in my second letter, and announces his expectation of being able 'to prove' all the charges he had made 'out of my own mouth.' To this work he addresses himself with characteristic ardor and confidence. Eventually we shall see how well he has performed it.

The first charge is, 'that this Declaration (the paper quoted above, and so often mentioned,) whenever tried, has been more effectual to raise a mob, than ever witch's enchantment was to raise the wind.' The question on this charge, says Mr. Breckinridge, is one of 'mere opinion;' and he therefore opposes his 'fact' to mine. But this is not a fair way of meeting the question. If it were a matter of 'mere opinion,' a reasonable and candid man is bound to give some reason for a charge so grave as that which Mr. B. has made. But I affirm that this is not a matter of 'mere opinion' in such a sense as to enable Mr. Breckinridge from responsibility to those whom he has accused of such flagrant violations of order and decency, and such fiendish conduct as he has imputed to the abolitionists of the United States. It may be, forsooth, that Mr. Breckinridge is unable to produce his 'tremendous testimony' one clause or sentence in that document which would justify his weighty allegation. The fact is, I tell you, that the document complained of all through and through, is perfectly innocent of all the charges which Mr. Breckinridge has so confidently made against it. It does not contain a single word, and, in its tone, it is as calm and dispassionate as any document that ever issued from the pen of man. It does not even mention slavery, much less denounce it. It does not even mention the United States. But this document, which contains not a single word, and in its tone is as calm and dispassionate as any document that ever issued from the pen of man, Mr. Breckinridge, though pressed to produce his 'tremendous testimony' in support of his charge, has failed to produce it, and yet he has the impudence to tell us that it contains 'the most violent and contemptuous manner in which the writer has seen fit to speak of one of whom he confesses he knows nothing.' This very fact, it would seem, entitles one to courtesy, and with a high-minded and honorable man ought to be a sufficient reason for a different line of conduct. "The individual who signs himself "Robert Bernard Hall," says he, 'is a total stranger to me.' Now this fact would seem to be quite unimportant, but as Mr. Breckinridge has thought proper to give publicity to it, I have taken it into consideration, and in consequence have deemed it to be either my misfortune or my fault. If it is my fault, I hope Mr. Breckinridge will agree with me in esteeming it quite a venial one; and if it is my misfortune, perhaps there may be some opportunity to repair it. In either case, however, I am not without some consolations; and a chief one is, that it is much better to be 'a total stranger,' even to Mr. Breckinridge, than to be *too well known* either at home or abroad. *Verbum sat, &c.*

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Oct. 22.

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'But as my whole object is to get before the British churches certain views and suggestions on slavery, which I firmly believe are indispensable, to prevent the total alienation of British and American christians from each other; I shall not consider it necessary to connect the discussion at all, unless such arrangements are previously made, as will secure the publication, in a cheap and permanent form, of all that is said and done on the occasion.'

☞ NOTE.—The Speeches and Documents in this Pamphlet having been submitted to the correction of the Speakers, the Report may be relied on as an accurate and full account of the important proceedings. tf Sept. 24.

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