Rev H. C. Wright

THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. VII. — OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. — NO. 49.

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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

TERMS.

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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the New-England Spectator.

RESPONSE TO THE CLERICAL APPEAL.

MR. EDITOR,—I am extremely gratified that some of our clerical abolitionists have feeling and decision enough to speak out, relative to the evils from which our cause has so long suffered. I refer to the denunciatory spirit with which the Liberator has long been conducted, and to the Appeal, which Brother Towne and others have made in view of it. The evils of which the Appeal complains had, in my apprehension, become insufferable more than two years ago;—and my only surprise is, that ministers of Christ, and Christians generally, have so long countenanced and patronized its editor, in his reckless course,—especially after he commenced open hostilities upon the Sabbath and the Christian ministry. (!!)

I have never believed that we could expect or should receive the blessing of Heaven upon our efforts in the cause of freedom, so as to be instrumental in bringing slavery, in this country, to a *peaceful* termination, unless our spirit and our measures were such as Heaven would approve. Has the Liberator exhibited such a spirit and pursued such measures? So far as I know, it is directly the reverse. Its tone has been bitter, uncharitable and denunciatory in the extreme towards every one, without the least reference to his character, or moral worth in other respects, who did not approve of all which appeared in its columns, and huzzah for its editor! Hence I have, for two years, spoken against that paper, and exerted my influence to prevent any of my friends or people from taking it. I believed, if its spirit were generally diffused in society, and its sentiments embraced, it would be far worse for our country than to have slavery perpetual!

I have been equally dissatisfied with the spirit of many of the resolutions, which were probably drafted by Mr. G. or by those whose sympathies cluster around him, and who move in his wake, which have been discussed at several of the N. E. anti-slavery conventions. I wish not to detract any thing from any man's character, or labors, which is praise-worthy. With Mr. G's *sentiments* upon *abolition merely*;—the right of the slave to *immediate* freedom, without *expatriation*, I have no controversy. I held these views, before I knew any thing about Mr. G. But with his manner, his spirit, in advocating these sentiments, and especially his treatment of those who are not sycophant to his will, I have no sympathy, no fellowship. I have long felt, that so far as Mr. G. and those who belong to his school was concerned, the remark of Mr. Kirk is true,—'abolitionists first knock a man down, and then convert him'—*if they can*, he should have added.

These views are not hastily imbibed, nor are they derived from the 'clerical appeal.' If any one will look at the printed proceedings of the N. E. A. S. S. held at Salem St. Church, Boston, 1836, he will see an imperfect report of a few remarks I made in opposition to a resolution presented by Mr Stuart:—and while making those remarks, there were clamorous calls of 'order, order,' from the stage, which was occupied of course by 'leading abolitionists.' I then felt if that convention was the bulwark of free discussion, I must give up my last hope of seeing it maintained. I was happy, however, to find that I was sustained in my remarks by the more unassuming and temperate portion of the convention, who were seated in the slips. I then learned that the self-styled doctors of the cause would have no medicine administered, unless it were taken from the T——— dispensary;—and as I have never become a convert to that system of practice, I would not give my name as a member of the convention, held in Boston last May.

It was also my present views of Garrisonism, which influenced me to propose, in the N. E. Spectator of July 20th, 1836, over the signature of Adelphos, an ecclesiastical anti-slavery convention, in which communication I gave my reasons for wishing such a convention held. These reasons elicited some very severe strictures, while little was said or done by any one to carry my proposals into effect. Another communication from myself was inserted in the Spectator of Sept. 14th, 1836, in which I renounced Garrison, and said, every pious abolitionist *ought* to do the same. For this I met with little sympathy from the Spectator. I mention these things to show that I have not been influenced in my present course by the Appeal.

I ask, where were our Fitches and Townes, and our Woodburys, that they did not come forward and sustain my appeal, form a new association from which the spirit and the anti-Christian measures of Mr. G. might be excluded? But I am happy they seem prepared to do it now—'better late than never.'

I have no confidence in any measures to bring slavery in this country to a peaceable termination, except those which are in accordance with the institutions of the Bible, and those which will commend themselves to men's consciences. A violation of the 9th commandment, a sacrifice of all charity, and trampling upon all the ordinances and institutions of the gospel, are more heinous sins in the sight of God, and will be more repulsive to every good man's conscience, than the sin of oppression, or slavery. Hence those who write and speak upon this subject, should always do it in the words that the Holy Ghost teaches,—should do it with the temper and spirit of the gospel of Christ, and be cautious not to shock the moral sense of men, and thus prevent them from looking at it, and closing every avenue by which truth can gain access to their minds and hearts. The practice of using so many hard names and severe epithets, of calling men by name in public journals, of accusing them on slight and insufficient testimony, and of making war upon every one who is opposed to slavery, 'because he followeth not us,' is calculated to do an immense injury to the cause,—is utterly hostile to the spirit of Christianity, crucifies all charity, and should never be practised nor tolerated by any professed disciple of Jesus Christ.

I shall be asked, probably, why I did not try private expostulation, before expressing these views publicly? What could I expect by this course, when an attempt was made to silence me in a convention, because my remarks did not suit the *leaders?* Further, a most humble and pious minister, a few days since, read me a letter, that was kind, tender and Christian in its spirit and language, which he sent Mr. Garrison, expostulating with him for the very evils of which I complain, and he informed me that Mr. G. took no notice whatever of his communication. All who know the man are convinced that private remonstrance will produce no effect; and it is to be feared no other will reform his errors. Under it he will either maintain a dignified silence, or open the vials of his wrath, and pour out a flood of abuse!

It is painful to me to say these things of one whose general doctrines upon *slavery* I believe to be correct; but the good of the cause requires it. If Mr. G. is not too self-conceited to see his *errors*, nor too elated with pride to confess them, he owes humble concessions to an injured public, and to many abused individuals, for the course he has pursued. And if such concessions are not made, and his course essentially altered, I do hope immediate measures will be taken by pious abolitionists to separate themselves entirely from his paper and his influence, and form an association, into which his peculiar spirit will never be infused.

SAMUEL H. PECKHAM.

Haverhill, Sept. 7, 1837.

P. S. Nov. 9. After writing the above, I perceived others were discussing the subject, and I concluded to withhold it a few weeks. Since receiving the call for a new convention, I concluded to forward it. S. H. P.

COMMUNICATIONS.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A FREE LABORER AND A SLAVE.

To the Free Laboring Men and Women of the United States.

BRETHREN AND SISTERS—A fellow-laborer begs permission to address to you a few words on the subject of slavery.

The commercial world is at present in a state of complete anarchy and confusion, on account of what people call a derangement of the currency.—The minds of most men are engaged in this one absorbing question. They are striving to seek out some way to free the community from the enormous load of debt, which that extravagant rake Speculation, aided by that winning, deceitful jade Credit, has brought upon them. The general cry is, not as in former times, 'who will show us any good?' but 'who will show us any *gold?*' But this is not what I wish to call your attention to at this time.—I wish to call you *from* this question, to one of far higher import—a question as much superior to this, as mind is superior to matter, or as the man is superior to his money. It overlooks the paltry considerations of pecuniary loss and gain, and takes right hold of the man himself.

John C. Calhoun, Benjamin Watkins Leigh, Geo. McDuffie, and the other disciples of the slave school, have laid it down as an axiom in political affairs, that the laborer is not, and cannot be an active member of the body politic, nor hold any other relation to society than that of property, in a well-regulated community. He is, and should be, say they, 'a fixture of the soil; one whose supposed rights and interests, are all merged in the rights and interests of some master.' This, to an intelligent, unprejudiced mind, is a monstrous doctrine; and yet it is becoming extensively prevalent in the free States. Even the free laborers, who are thus ranked with four-footed beasts and creeping things, strenuously maintain, some of them at least, that such is their condition. They even go so far as to mob and lynch those who are urging them to uphold their rights, and the rights of their oppressed laboring brethren at the South. If ever the doctrine of the slave school is carried out in the free States, it will be in consequence of the stupid ignorance, or the wilful neglect of those whose liberties are sought to be destroyed. The truth is, there is a wide, and irreconcilable difference between the free laborer, in the worst possible circumstances, and the most highly favored slave ever written down as property, on the statute books of any people—a difference which places the laborer almost infinitely above the slave, in every thing which relates to humanity. I believe this acquiescence of the laborer in this vital blow at his rights, arises from a total misapprehension of the connexion which unites the laborer to his employer. The relation which subsists between them is one of mutual service, and carries with it an idea of mutual benefit. For instance; a person employs me to do a piece of work, for a certain price: I do the work, and this is an act of service to him; he pays me, and by so doing reciprocates the action,—in other words, he serves me in return. It will not alter the case to say that he dictates the price, for this is not necessarily the case by any means. It may happen that I shall dictate to him the terms of compensation; and this only shows a relative change of circumstances. The connexion of mutual service is still the same; and this no change of circumstances can alter.

It might have been true, as was stated by Mr. Page in his debate with the Misses Grimke at Amesbury, that the factory laborers of that and other places, are sometimes obliged to 'crouch and cringe to obtain a day's labor,' and I *know* it to be a fact, that these same employers are frequently obliged to beg, and that *humbly*, too for the service of these very people; and to submit to all their whims and caprices without a murmur. But this does not alter the relation subsisting between them. There is a continual change of circumstances, of which each, in turn, may take the advantage. It may be said here, that if the employer always has the power to dictate the terms of laborers, it will materially change the aspect of the question; but I say it does not in the least. The same relations subsist between them as before. When Alexander Selkirk was on the island of Juan Fernandez, he might well break out in strains like the following:

> I am monarch of all I survey,
> My right there is none to dispute;
> From the centre, all round to the sea,
> I am lord of the fowl and the brute.

But according to the doctrine of the McDuffie school, he was the most abject slave in existence. For he was not only confined by 'hungry ocean,' to the one particular spot of ground he there occupied, but he was obliged to follow one particular employment in order to sustain life. There was no escape from it. Stern and uncontrolable necessity compelled him to remain in that particular situation, and to follow that particular employment. Was he a slave? If so, to whom or what? He alone dwelt on the island; and he had the absolute control over every thing on it. And yet he was in the same condition with the free laborer, who is obliged by necessity to perform a piece of work, for the precise compensation which the employer sees fit to give. But I cannot perceive that either can be considered a slave. In truth, I affirm that the poor operative who labors in the mills of Manchester, the colleries of Sheffield, for sixpence a day, or even the miserable tenant of an Irish mud cottage, who labors day by day in his native bogs, for his scanty meal of potatoes, is not more a slave in the proper acceptation of the term, than Daniel Webster, or Martin Van Buren, when compelled to employ a particular individual, to do a particular piece of work, at whatever price he may see fit to ask. In neither case is there any claim of service without rendering an equivalent therefor. It is true, there is an ever-varying chain of circumstances between them, but the connexion of mutual service is indissoluble. But this can never be true with regard to the slave. This will plainly appear, if we carefully define what the term slave means.

A slave, by law, is a thing; he is property—a fixture of the soil. His powers and faculties are entirely subservient to the will of another, who uses him as he does any other piece of property; that is, just as interest or caprice shall dictate. He has no more rights than a horse, or even a stone, which the owner uses in such a manner as he thinks best, without having any idea that it was made to answer any other end in its existence, than to contribute to his wants and his comforts. This is the condition of the slave. His wants, his happiness, his feelings, his existence even, are merged in the will and happiness of his owner. I am aware that I shall meet the objection here, that slaves are not always regarded in this light by their owners. This may be true; but it does not touch the question. I am to look at the law which makes him a slave, and by the authority of which he is held in bondage. That law writes him down as 'goods and chattels, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.' The master claims to hold him by virtue of that law, or he has no claim on him whatever. The slave is in the condition of a person who is condemned to a severe punishment, in consequence of having violated a law. The person appointed to inflict the penalty, may, through sympathy with the culprit, or from some other cause, materially modify the punishment, or even inflict none at all. But would this affect the law? What would be thought of a person, who should urge this fact as an argument for the continuance of this law?—who should urge a plain and palpable violation of the law by its agent, as a practical operation of it, and appeal to the community to sustain the law, because in that particular instance, its penalty had not been inflicted? Such a person would be laughed to scorn; and if he lived in a certain part of this land of manacles and rights, he would be brought to feel the laws of Judge Lynch. The slaveholder is in the light of an agent of the law, and he exercises authority over his slave, on just the same principle that the common executioner of law does over the person upon whom the law commands him to inflict a certain punishment. Both may, from native kindness of disposition, or from some real or fancied interest, utterly neglect to inflict the penalty, or in other words to carry out its principles to their full extent. You will easily perceive that this does not touch the character of the law. If a person were in a community of strangers, and wished to study their character and the measure of freedom enjoyed, he would, of course, look at the basis on which the society was formed, and the laws by which it was governed. And if he should find on examination, that a fundamental principle of the government, or the laws of the government, declared a certain portion of the community to exist only as property, he would certainly be justified in treating the subject in this light. And if he were to report that this portion of the people were deprived of moral and political existence, there would surely not be many, who would so far jeopard their title to common sense as to dispute him. Well, the slave is deprived by law of moral and political existence; and yet people among us go so far as to say that the manner in which this law is administered forms a just criterion of judgment for the law itself, and an unanswerable reason for its continuance. Do they act the part of wisdom in so doing? Is there the shadow of a foundation for such a decision. The man who holds a slave, holds him under a law which defines the precise relation which is to subsist between them; and that relation is made without the slightest regard for the welfare of the slave, and whose interests are no more to be regarded than those of any other piece of property.

The oppressed free laborer, and I grant they are frequently oppressed as far as they can be and retain the essential characteristics of humanity, may, without any radical change in his relations to the society in which he lives, by a fortunate change of circumstances, absolutely and entirely change conditions with his oppressor, and become, in his turn, the dictator and oppressor too. But not so the slave. He is like a man who is dead and buried. His body then becomes part of the soil,

> ——'Which the rude swain
> Turns with his share and treads upon.'

This will be property in its most absolute sense, and is a fit subject of [illegible]; and it is moulded just to suit the inclinations of its owner. This is the condition of the slave. The vital principle of humanity is destroyed by law; and he stands before the world as one, though still possessing animal life, bereft of all the essential attributes of a moral and accountable being; and, like the soil formed from the body of a person whose physical existence has literally ceased, he becomes perfect merchandise. Here must be a radical change; here must be a moral and political resurrection before this property can become a man in the eye of the community in which he lives; and I may safely say, there is as much difference between a free laborer and a slave, as there is between existence and non-existence. For while one of them is held to be goods and chattels in every sense, the other is acknowledged to be an independent member of the community, and as having a perfect right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Then just so much difference as there is between life and death, is there between the slave and the freeman. A person's existence may be so far curtailed, that you will hardly be able to perceive the presence of life; but you cannot assimilate life and death together. Where one is, the other cannot be also. While there is life, there is hope; and, I may add, there is always the possession of the rights of a living being. But when life ceases, hope not only dies, but there is an instantaneous change of relation; and where was formerly a living, moving spirit, there is now only a lump of clay, which is to 'mix forever with the elements,' and to contribute, as its owner shall please, to the wants of 'another race of beings.'

To sum up the whole matter, the essential difference between a free laborer and the slave, is this; that one of them is regarded as a man, and as possessing the attributes of humanity, the other is a thing, is a chattel. He may be said to live in an atmosphere of chattelism, and the life he draws from it is but the life of a chattel; and every attempt to regard him as a moral and accountable being, by a person who holds him as a chattel, is as much a mockery of, and blasphemy against God, as it would be for me to treat a horse as one of his moral creatures. The relation of a slave is exactly that of the horse. Both are property; and if one piece of property is accountable to God's moral government, why may not another be likewise? Can any good reason be given, by those people who regard the slaves as things, and yet are seeking to instruct them as men? I pause for a reply.

Fellow laborers! Is it true that we are goods and chattels? Are we indeed a fixture of the soil? Are we morally and politically dead? Or are we willing to become so? For one I answer NEITHER. And would that I could hear a voice coming over the tops of the Alleghanies, from the pine forests of Maine, the granite hills of New Hampshire, the green mountains of Vermont, from the fisherman of Marblehead, the cordwainers of Lynn, the rugged hills of Berkshire, 'wherever the foot of a freeman hath pressed,' which, gathering into one burning focus, shall be onward over hill and dale,

> Startling the haughty South,
> With a deep murmur,
> God and our Charter's rights,
> Freedom forever.

And would that the same voice, with the same irresistible force, might appeal to the conscience of the slaveholder, and urge upon him by the ties of brotherhood, by the relation to a common God, by every principle of justice and humanity, by the blood of a crucified Redeemer, by every thing pure and holy, to let his oppressed bondman go free,—to restore to him the privileges of humanity, which have been unrighteously withheld from him. Tell him he is not only taking his brother's service without wages, and giving him not for his work, but he is usurping the prerogatives of Deity; destroying his image, and substituting a piece of property for blood-bought and immortal man. Tell him he is not only guilty of robbing God's poor, but of robbing God himself, by treating as a thing to be bought and sold, the immortal mind, destined to live forever, and for the salvation of which, he gave his only begotten Son to suffer the ignominious death of the cross. Speak out, oh! speak out with a burning emphasis, against this monstrous iniquity. Call up to your assistance the utmost stretch of thought, and the whole vocabulary of language, to portray to the slaveholder the awful nature of the crime of which he is guilty. For never yet has the tongue of man expressed, nor the heart of man conceived, the perfect and utter abomination of human slavery. Come up to the work then, fellow laborers, now while it is day; for the night of oppression cometh when no laborer can work. You have a double motive to act; for not only are you called to plead for your colored brethren and sisters in bonds; but your own rights, your own liberties, your own moral and political existence, are at stake; and it has pleased God so to order it, that our liberty is identified with that of the slaves at the South; and if we fail to speak out fully and freely on this subject, it would be but the righteous retribution of an insulted God if we are in reality reduced to the condition of slaves.

But I do not wish merely to arouse your selfish fears, nor selfish interests, to induce you to engage in this work. I want you to feel for your fellow man because he is a man—a brother too, emanating from the same Father, and destined to the same immortality with ourselves. Humanity is outraged, insulted, murdered; and shall humanity be silent, dumb? Who is there that has one drop of the milk of human kindness in his bosom, who will refuse to feel, and speak, and act for his brother of every name, and grade, and complexion, when wantonly and deliberately deprived of that charter of freedom and personal ownership, which God gave to all his moral creatures? If there are any such, I may well say to them in the beautiful language of the poet,

> 'Who scoffs these sympathies,
> Makes mock of the divinity within;
> Nor feels he gently breathing through his soul,
> The universal spirit—Hear it cry,
> How does thy pride abase thee, man, vain man!
> How deaden thee to universal love,
> And joy of kindred, with all humble things—
> God's creatures all!'

Brethren and sisters! I have done. I beseech you to study this subject with that candor and earnestness which its importance demands. And, that God may lead you to a right understanding of the same, is the sincere prayer of one, who, as he does not wish to eat the bread of idleness, glories in being a laborer, and who feels and knows that he is not a slave, and who never means to be through any negligence of his own; and who entreats you to resist every attempt to take away our freedom, whether made by southern slaveholders or their northern apologists and abettors. And not only to resist all aggressions on our rights, but use all laudable means to restore to the wrong and outraged southern slave, that freedom of which he has been robbed.

Marshfield. TRUTH TELLER.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WOOD'S HOLE, Oct. 10th, 1837.

Alanson St Clair:

Being at the village of Falmouth on Saturday, the 7th inst. I was informed by a friend, that there was a piece in the Liberator addressed to me. I engaged a friend to procure the said paper, that I might see it the next day.

Accordingly, the next day I saw a letter from you, calling on me for a statement respecting Gould's testimony of what passed in Falmouth; observing, at the same time, that I should receive the two papers.

As eleven days have now elapsed since the 29th inst. and neither of the papers have been received, I must presume you had not any intention that I should see that paper, as it must have been received ere this, as the mail arrives every day (Sunday [illegible] certificate from [illegible] as Secretary of the Anti-Abolition meeting, [illegible] Mr. Hooker had no hand in getting up said meeting.

J. C. PARKER.

I hereby certify, that the Rev. H. B. Hooker, of Falmouth, had no hand or influence in the anti-abolition meeting held in July last, in Falmouth, or any connexion with it in any way whatever.

SILVANUS HATCH, Jr. *Sec'ry said meeting.*

Falmouth, Oct. 11, 1837.

REPLY.

TO MR. J. C. PARKER.

Dear Sir,—A letter from you, dated the 16th ult. and directed to West Boylston, has just been put into my hand. I sincerely regret the delinquency it complains of. The papers you speak of ought to have been, and I supposed were, at least the one containing my article to you, forwarded long ago. And I will write the conductor of it by the mail which carries this, and see that you have without delay, both numbers promised in that note, and I hope you will accept this as the only amends I can now make for past neglect—which is chargeable, perhaps, partly to myself, and partly to the one I had desired to forward you those papers.

My object in that article, you seem to have totally misapprehended. Mr. Gould had published certain charges, (not very creditable, if true, to the character of a clergyman or gentleman,) against Rev. Mr. Hooker. These charges you declared to be false, and pronounced him a liar and base calumniator. I intended to clear him, if he were innocent, of the foul and slanderous imputation thrown upon him by you, which would be effectually done by your remaining silent; or to give you an opportunity to make good your allegation, and those in your vicinity, whom he professed to have espoused, to show his accusations unfounded, provided the account he had given was inaccurate. For my own part, I was not at a loss what to believe. I never supposed a man of Mr. Gould's character and standing would come out and risk his reputation, (to say nothing of conscience and religious principle,) by publishing a string of falsehoods, when he knew those about whom they were told, had it in their power to ruin his character by just showing the truth of the matter. But as you complained that the conduct of Mr. Hooker and others had been misrepresented to the public, and that 'Gould had lied about them,' (notwithstanding your statement that he had better not go to Falmouth again, if he knew when he was well off, an insinuation that he might not get away if he should go thither, evinced too much interest in slavery and malignity of heart to leave any room to expect a candid statement of the case,) still I was disposed for the sake of you and your friends, as well as Brother Gould and those before whom you had accused him of falsehood, to give you the opportunity of 'publishing on the house-top, what you had spoken in the ear.'

With a view to this, what have you done? You have published nothing; but have procured and sent me a certificate from the person, who, (if there was guilt in that riot) is second to no one concerned in the iniquity in which they are implicated. If you have no better testimony to put before the public than the certificate of the Mob's scribe, which you have sent me, you will make out but a poor case. As to the part Mr. Hooker acted in exciting the riot, or the influence he might have had over the Assembly while together, the certificate of a leading fellow in that mob, I do assure you, is by no means satisfactory, were we to pass over the great objection and suspiciousness always resting on testimony which directly affirms a negative. It would, I apprehend, satisfy no disinterested jury, even though it had come from Major Jack Downing himself.

Sir, it is a very difficult thing to prove a negative by direct testimony, unless you can prove an alibi which you do not attempt. A certificate from all the 'gentlemen of property and standing' together, who have furnished rum and rotten eggs for every 'anti-abolition meeting' in the United States, backed up by a declaration from all the Union servitors who have composed the assemblies; if brought forward to prove a negative to show that Joseph Tracy and R. R. Gurley 'had no hand or influence in' exciting and getting up mobs for the last five years, 'or any connexion with them, in any way whatever,' would not be sufficient to invalidate the testimony of one man, whose character is good for truth and veracity, if he had seen and known them to be thus engaged.

Now, sir, were you, or Major Hatch, in company with Mr. Hooker all the time Mr. Gould was in and about Falmouth? How, pray, does Major Hatch know what this Rev. champion of chains and whips was about, while he made records for the anti-abolition meeting? How does he or you know what 'hand, or influence' he had in exciting or getting up that mob, when you were not present with him? As well might Saul of Tarsus undertake to certify what the chief priests in Jerusalem were doing, while he was holding the clothes of those who stoned Stephen. Why did that gentleman desire Mr. G. not to expose him, if he had done nothing he was ashamed of, or for which the public would hold him guilty? Why was his whole conduct, while Brother G. was in that place, just what it would have been, if he had resolved on having him mobbed out of it? 'Those things look as if he had some hand and influence in that anti-abolition meeting'—and unless Mr. H. was in company with him during the whole of Brother G's visit there, he knows not what or how much he did towards getting it up.

Perhaps the gentleman is clear of the whole matter, and can make the fact appear. If so, I shall rejoice to see it done. And I will now furnish another occasion for that purpose, by sending your letter and this to the Liberator for publication, assuring you that its columns will be open to you for reply—and desiring you to expose all Mr. Gould's 'falsehoods,' through that medium.

A. ST. CLAIR.

Ipswich, Oct. 17, 1837.

PETITIONS—PETITIONS—PETITIONS.

ABOLITIONISTS OF MASSACHUSETTS!

It is time that petitions for the state legislature were in circulation. The legislature did well last year, but if you do your duty, it will do better this. Four points must be carried, if possible, the coming session—viz.

1. Resolutions against the annexation of Texas to the Union.
2. Resolutions in favor of the *immediate* abolition of the inter-state slave trade.
3. Resolutions in favor of the *immediate* abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.
4. Resolutions remonstrating against the unconstitutional laws of some of the slaveholding states, by which citizens of this state, on their entrance into them, are robbed of the right of a safe locomotion, and of other essential rights of citizenship.

These points can all be carried, if THE PEOPLE speak as they should, by petition, *and they cannot be carried without.* Let it be well understood, that if Massachusetts does not retreat from her noble position of last year, she certainly will not advance another step in the career of freedom, unless THE PEOPLE petition; and let every abolitionist, therefore—☞ you, reader! ☜—see to it, that the requisite petitions are circulated in his town, forthwith. Attend to this matter *now*—TO-DAY—THE FIRST THING YOU DO. Blanks have been sent to nearly all the towns in the State, and that there may be no excuse for neglect, they are republished below. Let them be circulated at once, and forwarded by the representative from each town, so that at the very opening of the session, the voice of thousands and tens of thousands may be heard in our legislature, praying for relief to the slave, protection to the free, and the removal of crime and disgrace from the nation.

1. *To the Honorable, the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts.*

The undersigned of in the county of

Respectfully pray your honorable body, to adopt resolutions, declaring:

1. That Congress has the constitutional power to abolish slavery and the slave trade, in the District of Columbia.
2. That it has the constitutional power to abolish them in the several Territories of the Union, where they exist.
3. That it has the constitutional power to prohibit the slave trade between the several States of the Union.
4. That, in regard to all these particulars, Congress ought *immediately* to exercise that power.

We also pray your honorable body, to send a copy of said resolutions to each of the Senators and Representatives of this State, in Congress, to be by them laid before that body;—to the Governors of the several States, to be by them laid before their respective legislatures; and to the President of the United States.

We further pray your honorable body, to instruct or request the Senators, and Representatives, of this State, in Congress, to use their utmost influence for the *immediate* abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia; and in those Territories of the Union where they exist;—and also for the *immediate* prohibition of the slave trade between the several States.

2. *To the Honorable, the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts.*

The undersigned of in the County of

Respectfully pray your honorable body, immediately to repeal all laws in this State, which make any distinction among its inhabitants, on account of COLOR.

3. *To the Honorable, the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts.*

The undersigned, of in the County of

Respectfully pray your honorable body, to protest against the admission of any new State to this Union, whose Constitution tolerates domestic slavery;—and to forward a copy of such protest, to each of the Senators and Representatives of this State, in Congress, to be by them laid before that body,—to the Governors of the several States, to be by them laid before their respective legislatures; and to the President of the United States.

We also pray you, to instruct or request the Senators, and Representatives, of this State, in Congress, to use their utmost influence to prevent the admission of any new State to the Union, whose Constitution tolerates domestic slavery.

4. *To the Honorable, the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts.*

The undersigned of in the County of

Respectfully pray your honorable body, to protest, without delay, against the annexation of Texas to this Union;—and to forward a copy of said protest to each of the Senators, and Representatives, of this State, in Congress, to be by them laid before that body,—to the Governors of the several States, to be by them laid before their respective legislatures; and to the President of the United States.

We also pray you, to instruct or request the Senators and Representatives of this State, in Congress, to use their utmost influence to prevent the annexation of Texas *to this* Union.

Further:

We ask particular attention to the subject of the following memorial. The Constitution of the United States secures to every citizen of every State, the right of a safe locomotion in every other State.—Yet there are laws in South Carolina, and some of the other slaveholding States, which trample the Constitution in this respect in the dust, and laugh its provisions to scorn. Shall such laws go unprotested against? Never! unless the yeomanry of Massachusetts are slaves.

To the Honorable the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts:

The undersigned of in the county of Respectfully represent, that there are certain laws in several of the states of this confederacy, which operate to deprive a portion of the citizens of this commonwealth of the privileges and rights guaranteed to them by our federal constitution; and which are [illegible]

[illegible]

The laws in question are—

1. Those of Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and others of the southern states, which provide, that if any free colored person shall be found on board any vessel, coming into any port of those states, he shall be seized by the proper officers, and lodged in jail until the vessel shall depart [illegible]. Under these laws, it is well known, and can be proved, that several worthy citizens of this Commonwealth have been seized in southern ports, and for no other reason than the color of their skin, have been thrown into jail, there kept for weeks and months, subject to inconvenience, loss and injury to health.

2. Those laws in the southern states by which it is provided, that any colored persons, going into those states, [illegible] sold as slaves [illegible]. In some instances, they have been [illegible] hurried off beyond the reach of [illegible] their relatives and friends. There was recently the case of one Mary Smith, a free colored woman, a citizen of this Commonwealth, who being on her return from N. Orleans, whither she had been as a servant, was cast away upon the coast of North Carolina, and was immediately seized, and soon after sold to slavery, under the law of which we complain.

3. Those laws of the southern states, which provide, that in case a slave be found secreted on board a vessel in any port of those states, the said vessel [illegible] said port—the captain and crew of said vessel shall be seized; and if it be proved, that any of them were privy to the secreting of the slave—they shall be put to death! And in case it be proved, that the slave secreted himself without the knowledge of the captain, even then, the captain shall pay a fine of five hundred dollars!

Under the operation of these laws it is known, and can be proved, that worthy citizens of this commonwealth have been seized, imprisoned, and fined.

4. There have been special acts of some of the southern legislatures, by which the persons, and even lives of some of the citizens of this Commonwealth have been subjected to the danger of abduction or assassination.

A law enacted by the Legislature of Georgia, and not yet repealed, is as follows:

IN SENATE, Nov. 30, 1831.

'*Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, in General Assembly met,* That the sum of five thousand dollars be, and that the same is hereby appropriated, to be paid to any person or persons, who shall arrest, bring to trial, and prosecute to conviction, under the laws of this state, the editor or publisher of a certain paper called the Liberator, published in the town of Boston, and state of Massachusetts; or who shall bring to trial, and prosecute to conviction, under the laws of this state, any other person, or persons who shall utter, publish or circulate within the limits of this state, said paper, called the Liberator, or any other paper, circular, pamphlet, letter, or address of a seditious character.

And, that His Excellency, the Governor, is hereby authorized and requested to issue his warrant upon the Treasurer, for said sum of five thousand dollars, in favor of any person or persons, who shall have arrested, and brought to trial, and prosecuted to conviction, under the laws of this state, the editor or publisher of the Liberator; or who shall have arrested and brought to trial, and prosecuted to conviction, under the laws of this state, any other person or persons [illegible] Liberator, or any other paper [illegible] address of a seditious character.

And that these resolutions be inserted in the appropriation act.

And, resolved further, That His Excellency the Governor, cause the foregoing resolution to be published in the public journals of this State, and such other papers as he may think proper, and pay for the publication thereof out of the contingent fund.

Read and agreed to by both branches of the Legislature, and approved by the Governor.

In view of these facts, and others of a similar character that might be presented, [illegible] to give his name to the above memorial? What, is it not enough that slavery tramples on the bleeding slave? Shall it trample on the federal constitution, and the violence also to the free? Never! Let the voice of remonstrance be heard, [illegible] be heard, not from the abolitionists merely, but from all the free in Massachusetts. This memorial was signed the last year by some, who were not abolitionists, nor connected with any anti-slavery society. It should be so this year. The question here is one on which all can and should unite. On this point, then, let us have the voice of the PEOPLE—THE WHOLE PEOPLE.

A. A. PHELPS.

For Mass. A. S. Society.

SLAVE PRODUCE.

'*When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him.*' —HOLY WRIT.

FRIEND GARRISON:

The criminality which attaches to those who become involved in the sin of slavery, by partaking of its fruits, has recently claimed my serious consideration; and I have been led to inquire, whether the language at the head of this communication may not be applicable to many who profess to be consistent abolitionists, myself included in the number.

May I be permitted, then, through thy valuable paper, to propound the following queries, viz.

1st. Is it not universally conceded, that '*the receiver is as bad as the thief,*' and that, by purchasing or receiving stolen property, knowing it to be such, we become participators in the *crime of theft*, and equally guilty with the thief?

2nd. Is it not an acknowledged truth among abolitionists, that *slavery is a system of robbery*—that slaveholders are thieves and robbers?

3rd. The productions of slavery being obtained by robbing the laborer of his hire, does it not follow that the products of his unrequited toil, are dishonestly obtained, and are, in effect, stolen goods?

4th. Do we not, then, by dealing in and partaking of the products of slavery, become involved in the guilt of the iniquitous system; and, inasmuch as it is our duty to avoid even the appearance of evil, should we not scrupulously abstain from all connexion with this heaven-daring sin?

That eminent Christian philanthropist, JOHN WOOLMAN, was much engaged in holding up to view the importance of keeping clear from 'the gain of oppression.' He says—'The oppression of slaves, which I have seen in several journeys southward, on this continent, and the report of their treatment in the West Indies, hath deeply affected me; and a care to live in the spirit of peace, and minister just cause of offence to none of my fellow creatures, hath from time to time livingly revived in my mind; and under this exercise, I have, for some years past, [illegible]

I do not censure my brethren in these things, but believe the Father of mercies, to whom all mankind by creation are equally related, hath heard the groans of these oppressed people, and that he is preparing some to have a tender feeling of their condition; and the trading in, or frequent use of, any produce known to be raised by the labor of those who are under such lamentable oppression, hath appeared to be a subject which may yet more require the serious consideration of the humble followers of Christ, the Prince of peace.'

[illegible]

WM. BASSETT.

Lynn, 10th mo. 31st.

COMMUNICATIONS.

FAMILY GOVERNMENT.

Dear Brother:

The family institution is of God's own appointment, and is the most powerful of all means to mould the character of man, and fit him for the duties and enjoyments of his whole existence. This is a *heaven*-appointed *school*, to which we are all sent by our heavenly Father, to be trained to meet all that is before us in the progress of our endless being. All other institutions together, the Church, Schools and Governments, have not so much influence in forming the character, for good or evil, of individuals and nations, as this. No wise man, who is engaged in a work of moral reform, and is seeking instrumentalities to regenerate and save the world, will overlook the family institution. It has been supposed that certain opinions advanced by me in the Liberator, tend to prostrate all order and government in families! As I look to the family institution as the great instrument of establishing the empire of truth and holiness over the earth, I would not willingly be accessary to weakening its energies, or diminishing its influence; but I would do what I can so to direct its power, as to make it subservient to a world's redemption. Can it injure the cause of Anti-Slavery to discuss this subject in connexion with it, when the most appalling feature of our slave system is, the annihilation of the family institution? The following are my views.

First, and above all, the DIVINE WILL is the supreme and *only* law of life to man. By this Will are the opinions, words and actions of all to be tested; and as they are conformed or not to this standard, will they be accounted right or wrong. When men submit to this Will, and think, speak and act with *sole* reference to pleasing God, then it may be said of them, 'the kingdom of God is within them'—they do his will as it is done in heaven. This Will may be known to every rational, moral being—for God hath not left himself without witness to any. It is inscribed on the heart of every accountable, moral agent; it is written in characters of light on the external world; it may be read in the dealings of Providence, and may be most fully discerned in the Holy Scriptures. Every individual, every family and every nation, should be guided by this Divine Will, this infallible standard.

THE OBJECT OF FAMILY GOVERNMENT.

Not to train children to follow their own wills and passions. Children should not be left to do as *they* please—to get an impression that their own will is to be the law of life to themselves or others. No—never. As they are now trained, most children early imbibe the notion, that their will is the rule of action, not only to themselves but to all around them. How many parents are completely under the dominion of their children! See the children of slaveholders. From very infancy, they are tyrants of the most odious stamp, being educated to consider the poor victims of lust and avarice as mere tools to administer to their pleasure; as beings who are to think, speak and move in obedience to their will. The children of the rich are generally trained to follow the bent of their own wills, and to act the petty tyrant over domestics—as though riches entitled them to exercise dominion over themselves and others. It is a wonder to me that most of our children are not atheists and infidels; for they are accustomed to regard their own pleasure as the paramount law of their being, and to consider every opinion and motive right that accords with their will, and every thing wrong that opposes it—thus making their own will their great standard of right and wrong, and their only rule of action. Children thus habituated to think and act, become practical atheists. To educate children to act with reference to such a standard, and to bring them under such a law, cannot be the proper object of family govern-

of the parent. God never designed that the will of one man should be made the law of life to another; that one man should think, speak and act with reference to the will of another man, and thus become an abject slave. No matter whether it be embodied in ecclesiastical creeds, or civil laws and constitutions—in religious or political courts—*if it be the will of man*, it should never be made the law of life. Parents should never set up their own will as the rule of thought and action for children, and children should never be taught to embrace any opinion, or pursue any course of conduct, because it is the will of their parents. A right principle or action is not right, because in accordance with the will of man; therefore children should never be taught to refer a principle or action to any created will, to ascertain whether it be right or wrong—never to look to the will of any created being as a standard of duty. Their immortal minds, accountable *only* to God, should never be brought into servitude to the capricious will of man.

But children should be trained to yield a prompt, cheerful obedience to the Divine Will. They should be so trained, that regardless of all consequences to themselves or others, come life or death, they will follow the leadings of the Divine mind in all things—that they will inquire, 'Lord, what wilt thou have me believe, speak and do?'—and when they know the mind of the Lord, do it. It is the solemn duty of parents to instruct their children *how* to ascertain the will of the Lord, and how to please him and obtain his favor. For this purpose, God instituted the family, that there immortal spirits might be educated for his kingdom, to render an entire obedience to his will; and the institution is perverted when made the means of subjecting them to any other rule—and from being a means to elevate the soul, and bring it into the light and liberty of the children of God, it is made an instrument of degrading and enslaving it.

To establish, then, the empire of Jehovah, the dominion of Truth and Righteousness, over the minds of children, should be the sole object of all family government. Whatever course of discipline parents pursue, the great, the *only* object should be, to establish the authority of a holy, all-wise and omnipotent God over their tender hearts. This should be the high and holy object of *all* the influence moral agents exert on one another, whether individual or associated; and every institution, *designed* or *necessarily* tending to direct our minds to any other rule of action as a standard of right and wrong, of truth and error, and thus to divert them from the right way of the Lord, to dethrone God from our hearts and enthrone man in his stead, must be wrong. Why?

1. *The spirit and express injunctions of the holy Scriptures.* The first great law is, 'Thou shalt have no other Gods before me.' What does this mean? That God alone is our king, our ruler, lawgiver and judge; and that we make his will the only law of life, and his approbation, the great object of desire, and stimulus to action. 'Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him *only* shalt thou serve.' This is the great object of holy writ, and of all God's dealings with men, to bring them all into complete and *willing* subjection to his Will. Parents are commanded 'to train up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord,' &c.—to instruct them in his law, 'when they lie down and when they rise up, when they go out and when they come in, and when in the field and when by the way side,' always to refer them to the Divine Will as the *only* law of life.

2. The Divine Will is the standard by which our principles, words and actions are to be tried in the final judgment. When we appear before the court of heaven to render in our account for the deeds done in the body, the question will not be, whether our actions correspond with this or that human will, but whether they are in accordance with the Divine Will. When children come to be responsible to God, they should be trained to bring all things to the test of his will. If there be a time when parents are responsible for the thoughts, words and actions of children, then it may be that they have a right to demand that they shall think, speak and act as they will; but those whose characters are to be tested by the Will of God, should act always and *only* with reference to that Will.

3. The *Divine Will* is the only *infallible* standard of right and wrong. Children taught to act with reference to the will of their parents, or to any human will, can never be certain when they are right; for they have an uncertain and fallible standard. Right is right, because it accords with the Divine Will; and wrong is wrong, because opposed to it.

4. God is omnipotent and omniscient. Children, trained to act with sole reference to the Divine will, have an ever present and all-seeing monitor and guide. When out of sight of their parents, and tempted to sin, they feel that they are present with God, and ask—'How can I do this thing, and sin against my God?' His presence they respect, and to his judgment they refer all things. The parents of such children may hope that they will be saved in the hour of temptation. But what hope can those have, whose children have been trained to think, speak and act with reference to the will of their parents? Once out of their sight, and their children are released from the presence of that which alone they have been accustomed to consider any restraint; and, consequently, they easily yield to temptation, give loose to their reckless passions, only taking care that nothing comes to the knowledge of their parents. From God they cannot conceal a thought, a word nor an act, and only a consideration of his presence and inspection can secure them against the many allurements to sin which beset the path of childhood and youth. No parents, who have a proper regard for the welfare of their children, will wish to subject them to any will, but the will of God.

5. The best and only way to train children to honor their parents is to teach them to make the Divine Will the only law of life, and in proportion as they yield obedience to that Will, will be their affection, gratitude and respect for their parents. Those parents who leave their children to the guidance of their own wills, or who attempt to subject them to the will of any created being, must expect to have their grey hairs brought down to the grave with sorrow. Ungrateful and vicious children, and sorrowing and broken-hearted parents, are generally found in families over which the wills of the parents or children preside; but affectionate, virtuous, and happy children, and honored and joyful parents, in families over which the Lord reigns, and in which his will, and his *alone*, is done as it is done in heaven.

These and other considerations make it clear to me, that parents should make it the sole object of family government to establish the authority and empire of God over the minds of children. To subject them to the dominion of any other being, leads to degradation and atheism, and tends to make them abject slaves. In proportion as we are taken out from under the dominion of God, and put under the control of human will, whether of *our own* or *another's*, we are slaves; but in proportion as we are released from the dominion of men, and come under the control of the Divine Will, we are free. The more perfect and absolute our submission, the more entirely we live, and move, and have our being in God—the more free and unfettered our souls. When it shall be our meat and drink to do the will of God, then shall we be *perfectly* free.

[illegible] government is to be attained, and other matters connected with this subject, I shall consider hereafter.

Now, my brother, these are sentiments which are repudiated with horror by the N. Y. Observer and N. Y. Evangelist, by the Vermont Chronicle, the N. H. Observer, the Portland Mirror, the Essex North Register, and other professedly religious papers. I fear these, and most of the religious and political papers of our country, take more delight in doing the will of men than the will of God. They speak to please men rather than God, and seek, and teach their readers to seek, the glory that comes from men, rather than the honor that cometh from God. Their influence is to repress the longings of the soul after God, and entire conformity to him, and to make man the abject slave of man, rather than to elevate him to a sweet and holy communion with his Creator. This is the great question to be settled—Who shall rule over us? *God* or *man*? And by what *means* is the dominion of one or the other to be established? by brute force, or by the potency of truth?

H. C. WRIGHT.

Newburyport, Nov. 16, 1837.

'RECOMPENSE TO NO MAN EVIL FOR EVIL.'

Dear Brother:

I have this moment received notice of our dear brother Lovejoy's death, in Alton, and of the manner of it. My soul is bowed to the dust in bitter anguish, not so much that one of our number has fallen in our holy cause, but that he fell *as* he did. I do indeed lament that a champion of the slave has fallen a victim to his steadfastness. All who were aiding and abetting in his death must stand before God as murderers: the mark of Cain, the first murderer, is upon them—they have imbrued their hands in a brother's blood; and the blood of brother Lovejoy will be required, by God, at the hands of all who directly or indirectly encouraged the mob that slew him, and at the hands of those editors, ministers, churches, statesmen, and citizens, who, by their *silence*, or otherwise, have contributed to let loose the spirit of violence and bloodshed against the Abolitionists. In the court of heaven, I believe the religious and political press of this nation, and for the most part, the pulpit, will be found to have been on the side of Lynch law and mob violence, in the great moral contest of the past five years; for, as a general thing, they have spoken ten times against Abolitionists, where they have spoken once against those who have sought to crush them by violence. Brother Lovejoy says, in his letter published in the Liberator of Nov. 10, giving an account of his being mobbed in St. Charles and in Alton, '*the pulpit with one exception is dumb. Most of our leading men, whether of Church or State, lay the blame all on me. So far from calling the acts of the mob outrageous, they go about the streets saying in hearing of every body*—' Mr. Lovejoy has no one to thank but himself.' Such has been the course, to a great extent, of the ministers and editors of this nation, respecting the mobs of the last few years. They have blamed the Abolitionists—the *victims* of lawless violence—far more than those who sought their blood. Witness the Boston papers—especially the Boston Recorder.

I said the great cause of my grief is not that brother Lovejoy is gone; for though you, my brother, and all of us, fall victims to the spirit of murder now pervading the American church and republic, God lives—Truth lives—Conscience lives—and they will live, till War, Slavery, and all sin be done away, and the king-dom of Christ be established over the earth. But sorrow hath drunk up my spirit, that that dear brother was in the act of disobeying the explicit commands of his Saviour, when he was shot down. 'Resist not evil.' 'Love your enemies'—'Recompense to no man evil for evil.' I believe our dear brother was acting in direct opposition to these solemn injunctions of the Divine Master, when he was cut down by his murderers. The account says—'They (the friends of the press and Mr. Lovejoy) *took the precaution to have about 50 armed men* [illegible] *in the warehouse, ready for the* [illegible] *of the Mayor at any moment.*' These assured the mob that they should defend the press at the risk and sacrifice of their lives. 'Those inside then disposed of themselves at the different doors and windows, prepared to defend it to the last.' Was all this preparation of 50 armed men with deadly weapons, and this threat of violence towards the mob, in accordance with that noble and godlike spirit of our Saviour, which requires us to overcome evil with good? Was it love, such as Christ had for his murderers, in the hearts of brother Lovejoy and of his associates, that made such a war-like, *death-threatening* preparation for his murderers? Was this the way to overcome evil with good, and conquer foes by love and suffering?

'*They* (those inside the ware-house) *all agreed that no gun should be fired till the doors were burst open, or till there was some firing from without*,' i. e. we will wait till they fire at us, then we will fire at them. If they strike us, then we will strike them. Did the spirit of Christ, that says, 'bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you,' lead them to such an agreement? Would not Christ have told them—'If they do fire at you and burst open the door, hurt not a hair of their heads, but suffer and die rather than stain your hands with a brother's blood?'

'A gun was fired into the window from the mob. Presently a second gun was fired; but *neither of them did any injury*. Many stones had been thrown by the mob into the windows, and two guns fired, but up to this time none in the house had been injured.' Now says the writer, 'At this juncture, one of the party within, with the consent and by the advice of the rest, levelled his gun upon the mob. One man fell mortally wounded. The young man died in about half an hour.' Brother Lovejoy, it seems, was among those by whose 'consent and advice' the murderous weapon was levelled and fired at the mob, by which act a MAN was killed, and his soul ushered into the presence of his final Judge. Was not that young man *murdered?* At whose hands will God require his blood? At the hands of all, by whose 'consent and advice' the gun was fired that caused his death. Did the spirit of Christ 'level that gun upon the mob?' Did the spirit of love, forgiveness and long-suffering, *fire* that gun, and aim that ball, and consign that soul to the murderous mobocrat's eternity?

But it may be said, the gun was fired in *self-defence*. Defence against what? The injuries of the mob. But Christ requires *submission*, not resistance, to mobs. Christ makes no exception to the rule, in his preaching or practice; unlimited, patient, holy, heaven-born submission to injury, even to death, rather than do an injury to a fellow-man. Surely, it was not submission to injury to shoot down that man; it was not the noble, self-sacrificing, self-forgetting spirit of christian resignation to violence and outrage, that counselled to fire at the mob. No—it was probably any thing else, rather than that. Besides, no injury had been done by the mob, except to break the windows. The mob had intended, and threatened, and endeavored injury to the persons of Mr. Lovejoy and others, but had yet done none. The defenders of the press fired on the mob, because the mob intended to injure them. They *killed* one of the mob, not because the mob had killed one of them, but because they *intended* to do it. Had they they could kill a man for an *intention*, or an unsuccessful *attempt* to kill them? I have indeed so learned the heathen philosophy of Paley, but I have *not* so learned Christ.

I do not suppose brother Lovejoy, or his friends, thought he was violating the will of the Lord. He probably thought he was acting in perfect accordance with duty, in providing arms and armed men for the defence of his press. For, he says in the letter above alluded to—perhaps the last he ever wrote—'*A loaded musket* is standing at my bedside, while my two brothers, in an adjoining room, have *three others*, together with *pistols, cartridges*, &c. I have had inexpressible reluctance to resort to this method of defence. But dear-bought experience has taught me, that there is at present no safety for me, and no defence in this place either in the laws or the protecting aegis of public sentiment.' He thought, since there was no protection for him in the laws, or in public sentiment, he might take the sword, and defend himself. He took the sword, and has perished by the sword, and one other with him. O, that he had put his trust in the Lord, and not in the sword—that he had stood calm, *resolved*, self-possessed in the majesty of love and forgiveness!—that he had possessed the sublime and holy spirit of submission to wrong, even unto death! What a noble spectacle to men and angels! What an example to the down-trodden and long-enduring slave, in whose behalf he has dared and suffered so much! I believe he and his friends *sinned* in putting themselves under the protection of the sword, and in arming themselves with deadly weapons in self-defence; and that in so doing, they forfeited the protection of God. He might have been slain, had he done otherwise; but then, in death he and the holy cause of Abolition, that he so dearly loved, would have triumphed. Now Abolitionism, so far as that tragedy was connected with it, is stained with blood. So far as Mr. Lovejoy and his friends were acting in defence of our principles and measures, so far our cause is polluted with blood,—so far has blood been shed in its defence; and the fact that it was shed in self-defence is no comfort to me. I believe brother Lovejoy and the mobocrat were both *murdered*, and God will require blood at the hands of all concerned in the death of either.

Dear brother, you and others may think that such a notice as the above of the Alton tragedy, that has ended in the murder of two of our fellow-men, is not called for—at least at the present time. But the death of brother Lovejoy will shake this nation like an earthquake. It will be known and talked of in every hamlet, in every domestic and social circle. Wherever this tragedy is known and spoken of, the question will be asked—'Did he and his friends do right to arm with deadly weapons in self-defence? Is it ever right to arm and fight in self-defence?' Those Abolitionists, who believe that men as individuals or in society, have no right to provide weapons of death, or to fight, to defend property, liberty or life, are solemnly bound, as they love the slave and slaveholder—as they desire to see the cause of Truth and Humanity triumph *gloriously*, to speak out fully, and let their views be known. And those Abolitionists, who believe that men have a right to fight and butcher one another in defence of property, liberty and life, (*as I am grieved to find that many do*,) are bound, as they would not see their country deluged in a sea of blood, to examine the foundation of their faith, and prove all things, and hold fast *only* the good.

The spirit of bloodshed and murder is aroused, and is now stalking through this land. It will not be put down, till its appetite for blood is fully satiated. To the Peace-men of this na-[illegible] [illegible] the question of [illegible] and bloodshed [illegible] a practical question. [illegible] when I hear an [illegible] of the slave, [illegible] Every Abolitionist, if he loves the slave, if he loves the slaveholder, if he loves the cause [illegible] will plant his feet on the firm, holy, everlasting Rock of [illegible] resistance to evil, [illegible] the time to do it [illegible] '*In peace, prepare for war.*' How? By beating up and burning every weapon of death—every sword, and gun, and spear; and by girding on the whole armor of God, and arming ourselves with the mind of Christ. Let us *thus* arm ourselves in self-defence, and the cause of liberty is safe, our country is safe—for 'God is with us, and who can be against us?'

H. C. WRIGHT.

Newburyport, Nov. 23.

THE REAL INSTIGATORS OF THE ALTON RIOT AND MURDER!!

From the Alton Telegraph of Nov. 8.

PUBLIC MEETING.

At a large and respectable meeting of the citizens of the City of Alton, held at the counting-room of Messrs. John Hogan & Co. on Thursday afternoon, Nov. 2, 1837, Samuel G. Bailey, Esq. was called to the Chair, and William F. D'Wolf appointed Secretary.

Mr. Hogan then announced the object of the meeting to be, to take into consideration the present excited state of public sentiment in this city, growing out of the discussion of the abolition question; and to endeavor to find some common ground, on which both parties might meet for the restoration of harmony and good fellowship by mutual concession—expressing a fervent wish that so desirable an object might be carried into effect.

He was followed by the Rev. Edward Beecher, of Jacksonville, who stated that the proposal of such a meeting had originated from Mr. Hogan, and that it had been deemed advisable by him and by Mr. Gilman, that the following resolutions should be laid before the meeting for their consideration.

1. Resolved, That the free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man; and that every citizen may freely speak, write and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

2. Resolved, That the abuse of this right is the only legal ground for restraining its use.

3. Resolved, That the question of abuse must be decided solely by a regular civil court, and in accordance with the law; and not by an irresponsible and unorganized portion of the community, be it great or small.

4. Resolved, For restraining what the law will not reach, we are to depend solely on argument and moral means, aided by the controlling influences of the spirit of God; and that these means, appropriately used, furnish an ample defence against all ultimate prevalence of false principles and unhealthy excitement.

5. Resolved, That where discussion is free and unrestrained, and proper means are used, the triumph of the truth is certain; and that with the triumph of truth the return of peace is sure; but that all attempts to check or prohibit discussion, will cause a daily increase of excitement, until such checks or prohibitions are removed.

6. Resolved, That our maintenance of these principles should be independent of all regard to persons or sentiments.

7. Resolved, That we are more especially called on to maintain them in case of unpopular sentiments or persons; as in no other cases will any effort to maintain them be needed.

8. Resolved, That these principles demand the protection of the Editor and of the press of the *Alton Observer*, on grounds of principle solely, and altogether disconnected with approbation of his sentiments, personal character, or course as Editor of the paper.

9. Resolved, That on these grounds alone, and irrespective of all political, moral, or religious differences, but solely as American citizens, from a [illegible] ty, to the welfare of our country, to the reputation and honor of our city, to our own dearest rights and privileges, and those of our children, we will protect the press, the property and the Editor of the *Alton Observer*, and maintain him in the free exercise of his rights, to print and publish whatever he pleases, in obedience to the supreme laws of the land, and under the guidance and direction of the constituted civil authorities, he being responsible for the abuse of this liberty only to the laws of the land.

The meeting was then addressed at some length by Mr. Linder, in opposition to the resolutions; after which Mr. Hayden moved that the resolutions be laid on the table. At the suggestion of Mr. Hogan and Col. Botkin, this motion was subsequently withdrawn by the mover; when Mr. Hogan moved that the resolutions be referred to a committee, with instructions to report at an adjourned meeting.—This motion was agreed to; and it being ordered that said committee should consist of seven gentlemen, to be nominated by the Chair, the Hon. Cyrus Edwards, and Messrs. John Hogan, Stephen Griggs, U. F. Linder, H. G. Van Wagenen, Thos. G. Hawley, and Winthrop S. Gilman, were appointed.

Mr. Linder then offered the following resolution; which was agreed to:

Resolved, unanimously, by this meeting, That in the interim between the adjournment and reassembling hereof, if any infraction of the peace be attempted by any party or set of men in this community, we will aid to the utmost of our power in the maintenance of the laws.

The meeting then adjourned to meet at the Court room, on Friday the 3d inst., at two o'clock P. M.

Friday, Nov. 3—2 o'clock P. M.

The citizens met, pursuant to adjournment; and the meeting being called to order by the Chairman, Mr. Linder offered the following resolution, which was unanimously agreed to without debate:—

Resolved, That this meeting shall be composed exclusively of the citizens of Madison county; and that it is requested that none others shall vote or take part in the discussion of any subject that may be offered for their consideration; but all persons in attendance, other than citizens, will consider themselves as welcome spectators.

The Hon. Cyrus Edwards, from the committee appointed at the previous meeting, then made the following report; which was read:

The committee appointed to take under consideration certain resolutions submitted at our last meeting, beg leave to report; that they have given to those resolutions a deliberate and candid examination, and are constrained to say that, however they may approve their general spirit, they do not consider them, as a whole, suited to the exigency which has called together the citizens of Alton. It is notorious, that fearful excitements have grown out of collisions of sentiment between two great parties on the subject, and that these excitements have led to excesses on both sides deeply to be deplored. Too much of crimination and recrimination have been indulged. On the one hand, the anti-abolitionists have been charged with a heartless cruelty, a reckless disregard of the rights of man, and an insidious design, under deceptive pretexts, to perpetuate the foul stain of slavery. They have been loaded with many and most opprobrious epithets, such as pirates, manstealers, &c. &c. On the other hand, the abolitionists have been too indiscriminately denounced as violent disturbers of the good order of society, wilfully incendiary and disorganizing in their spirit, wickedly prompting servile insurrections, and traitorously encouraging infractions of the constitution, tending to disunion, violence and bloodshed. These uncharitable impeachments of motives have led to an appalling crisis, demanding of every good citizen the exertion of his utmost influence to arrest all acts of violence, and to restore harmony to our once peaceful and prosperous, but now distracted city. It is not to be disguised that parties are now organizing and arming for a conflict, which may terminate in a train of mournful consequences. Under such circumstances, have we been convened. And your committee are satisfied that nothing short of a generous forbearance, a mild spirit of conciliation, and a yielding compromise of conflicting claims, can compose the elements of discord, and restore quiet to this agitated community. They are, therefore, forced to regard the resolutions under consideration as falling short of the great end in view; as demanding too much of concession on the one side, without equivalent concession on the other. Neither party can be expected to yield every thing, and to acknowledge themselves exclusively in the wrong. In this there is no compromise. There must be a mutual sacrifice of prejudices, opinions and interests, to accomplish the desired reconciliation—such a sacrifice as led to the adoption of the great charter of American freedom, which has secured to ourselves, and which promises a continuance to our posterity, of the blessed fruits of peace, prosperity and union. While, therefore, we fully and freely [illegible] the great [illegible] principles engrafted upon the constitution, that the free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man, and that every citizen may freely speak, write and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty; that the abuse of this right is the only legal ground for restraining its use; that the question of abuse must be decided solely by a regular civil court, and in accordance with the law, and not by an irresponsible and unorganized portion of the community, be it great or small—your committee would, with earnest importunity, urge as a means of allaying the acrimony of party strife, the unanimous adoption of the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas it is of the utmost importance that peace, harmony, order, and a due regard to law, should be restored to our distracted community; and whereas, in all cases of conflicting opinions about rights and privileges, each party should yield something in the spirit and form of compromise: Therefore,

1st. Resolved, That a strong confidence is entertained that our citizens will abstain from all undue excitements, discountenance every act of violence to person or property, and cherish a sacred regard for the great principles contained in our Bill of Rights.

2d. Resolved, That it is apparent to all good citizens, that the exigencies of the place require a course of moderation in relation to the discussion of principles in themselves deemed right, and of the *highest importance*; and that it is no less a dictate of duty than expediency, to adopt such a course in the present crisis.

3d. Resolved, That so far as your committee have possessed the means of ascertaining the sense of the community, in relation to the establishment of a religious newspaper, such a course would, at a suitable time, and under the influence of judicious proprietors and editors, contribute to the cause of religion and good citizenship, and promote the prosperity of the city and country.

4th. Resolved, That while there appears to be *no disposition to prevent the liberty of free discussion, (!!)* through the medium of the press or otherwise, *as a general thing*, it is deemed a matter *indispensable to the peace and harmony of this community* that the labors and influence of the late Editor of the *Observer* be no longer identified with any newspaper establishment in this city.

5th. Resolved, That whereas it has come to the knowledge of your committee, that the late Editor of the *Observer* has voluntarily proposed to the proprietors and stockholders of the *Alton Observer*, to relinquish his interest and connection with that paper, if, in the opinion of his friends, that course were expedient; your committee consider that such a course would highly contribute to the peace and harmony of the place, and indicate on the part of the friends of the *Observer*, a disposition to do all in their power to restore the city to its accustomed harmony and quiet.

6th. Resolved, That we would not be understood as reflecting in the slightest degree upon the private character or motives of the late Editor of the *Alton Observer*, by any thing contained in the foregoing resolutions.

Mr. Linder then took the floor, in support and explanation of the views taken by the committee, and urged the adoption of the resolutions reported by them with much earnestness. When he closed his remarks, Winthrop S. Gilman, Esq. one of the committee, handed the following protest against some of the sentiments expressed in the report; which he desired should be made a part of the record of the meeting.

W. S. Gilman, from the committee, protested against so much of the report as is contained in the resolutions; alleging it as his opinion, that the rigid enforcement of the law would prove the only sure protection of the rights of citizens, and the only safe remedy for similar excitements in future.

The Rev. E. P. Lovejoy, Editor of the *Observer*, here addressed the meeting at some length, in a speech declaratory of his right, under the constitution of this state, to print and publish his views, and of his determination to stand on this right, and abide the consequences under a solemn sense of duty.

He was followed by Mr. Hogan, who took a wholly different view of the subject; and contended that it was the duty of Mr. Lovejoy, as a Christian and patriot, to abstain from the exercise of some of his abstract rights under existing circumstances. In the course of his remarks, the former referred to the pledge said to have been publicly given by the latter, when he first came to Alton; and observed that at that time he most certainly did understand Mr. L. to say, that, inasmuch as he had left a slaveholding state, and had come to reside in a free state, he did not conceive it his duty to advocate the cause of emancipation, and did not intend doing so.

The Rev. F. W. Graves then rose in explanation; and asked Mr. Hogan whether Mr. Lovejoy did not, at the time referred to, distinctly state that he yielded none of his rights, to discuss any subject which he saw fit. Mr. Hogan replying in the affirmative, Mr. G. proceeded to remark that, when Mr. L. arrived in this city, he entertained the views attributed to him by the gentleman who had just taken his seat; that a change had subsequently taken place in his opinions; and that, at a certain meeting of the friends of the Observer, he (Mr. L.) had made known this alteration in his sentiments, and asked advice whether it was best to come out in public on the subject. That, under the circumstances of the case, it was deemed most proper to let the paper go on—there then being no excitement in the public mind. Mr. G. next alluded to the present excited state of the popular feeling; and said that the friends of the Observer had lately received communications from all parts of the country, and even from Kentucky, Missouri, and Mississippi, urging the necessity of re-establishing the press.

Mr. Linder followed in reply; and said he now understood the whole matter. It was a question, whether the interests and feelings of the citizens of Alton should be consulted; or whether we were to be dictated to by foreigners, who cared nothing but for the gratification of their own inclinations, and the establishment of certain abstract principles, which no one, as a general thing, ever thought of questioning. He concluded his remarks by offering the following resolution.

Resolved, That the discussion of the doctrines of immediate abolitionism, as they have been discussed in the columns of the Alton Observer, would be destructive of the peace and harmony of the citizens of Alton, and that, therefore, we cannot recommend the re-establishment of that paper, or any other of a similar character, and conducted with a like spirit (!!)

The resolution having been read, Mr. Edwards rose, and expressed the hope that its adoption would not be pressed at this moment. He dwelt with great earnestness and effect on the importance of calmness in our deliberations; and trusted that the present meeting would be productive of good to the community. The resolution was then laid on the table.

Judge Hawley then made a few very eloquent and appropriate remarks, on the subject for which this meeting had been called; and concluded by offering the following preamble and resolution, which were read, and laid on the table for the present.

Whereas, great and general excitement has for some time past prevailed with the people of the city of Alton, in relation to the publication of the doctrine of abolition, as promulgated by Mr. E. P. Lovejoy, in a paper called the Alton Observer, and whereas, as a consequence of that excitement, personal violence has been resorted to in the destruction of said press: Therefore,

Resolved, That whilst we decidedly disapprove of the doctrines, as put forth by the said Lovejoy, *as subversive of the great principles of our union, and of the prosperity of our young and growing city*, we at the same time as decidedly disapprove of all unlawful violence.

The question on agreeing to the report of the committee was then called for; and, on motion of Mr. Hogan, the resolutions being taken up separately, were severally disposed of as follows: Resolutions 1, 2, and 4, were agreed to unanimously; and resolutions 3, 5, and 6, were stricken out. The report, as amended, was then agreed to.

The resolution offered by Mr. Linder, and laid on the table, was then taken up, and agreed to; as was also that subsequently introduced by Judge Hawley, after striking out the preamble from the latter.

Mr. Krum then offered the following resolution; which was also agreed to.

Resolved, That as citizens of Alton, and the friends of order, peace and constitutional law, we regret that persons and editors from abroad have seen proper to interest themselves so conspicuously in the discussion and agitation of a question, of which our city is made the principal theatre.

The meeting then adjourned, *sine die*.

SAM'L G. BAILEY, Chairman.

WM. F. D'WOLF, *Secretary*.

VOICE OF THE PRESS!

HORRID OUTRAGE!—LOVEJOY MURDERED!!!

Sons of the Patriots—of Revolutionary sires—weep and mourn, for your desolation has come. The right of the people to petition has been denied to them by those who were chosen to power by the people themselves—the liberty of speech is silenced in one half of this Union, and frequently and violently assailed by mobs in the other. Your boasted liberty of the press has been crushed in that part of the Union *called free*. The meek, the brave, the noble-souled LOVEJOY HAS BEEN IMMOLATED—*basely murdered*. He fell a martyr in the cause of liberty—He died at his post, nobly defending the rights of the citizens, the cause of his country—

'Pulcher et decorum est pro patria mori.'

His blood cries to you from the ground—'Sons of liberty, scorn to be slaves.' Rouse up, assert your rights, and maintain them at all hazards. What! has it come to this, that the most mild, the most inoffensive conductor of a public press, if he attempt to utter sentiments unpalatable to the majority, is to have his press destroyed again and again? Is he to be persecuted from city to city, to be hunted like a wild beast—to be followed—mobbed, with his sick wife and helpless children—fired upon by armed ruffians—have the building in which he is lodged, set fire to, and himself shot dead? Yes, all this and much more has been done! And where is the protection of the law? It is swept away.

This is the spirit of slavery, poisoning the surrounding atmosphere. Where are our liberties, and what are they worth? They are gone; and, unless speedily recovered, gone forever.

Who was Elijah P. Lovejoy, and what was his character? He was called, like every other straight forward, reasonable, peaceable anti-slavery man, a 'fanatic.' He was a mild, amiable, pious and devoted young Presbyterian clergyman, about 30 years of age. A few years since he taught school in St. Louis, (Mo.) As he became known, he became loved, respected and admired for his virtues. A number of charitable and benevolent persons, convinced of his talents, piety and worth, voluntarily assisted him in defraying the expenses of an education preparatory to the ministry. He was afterward editor of a religious paper, and seeing all around him the evils of slavery, devoted a part of his paper in exposing its evil tendency. This provoked the malice of those interested in the evil. He was threatened with loss of life, if he did not desist. His press was destroyed, and he was driven by violence out of the State of Missouri to Alton, (Ill.) The evil genius of slavery there followed him and persecuted him unto death. Had he, and other generous souls like him, fled before the mob at every attack, our liberties had long since been extinct.

He could not have died in a better cause. His memory shall be embalmed in the breast of every patriot and philanthropist. His name shall be enrolled among honorables of the earth. He died a martyr in the cause of freedom. Blessed are the dead, who die in the Lord, for they rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.—*Lynn Record.*

From the Emancipator.

Thoughts crowd upon us, as we reflect upon these transactions. The mob at St. Louis, the burning of the negro man alive, Judge Lawless' charge, the removal to a State called free, the interference of the Missourians to create disturbance, the tripple destruction of the press, brother Lovejoy's devoted firmness, the distinct intimation of the St. Louis Republican, the formation of a Colonization Society, which is trumpeted forth by its official organ as the 'fruit of the excitement,' the fraudulent defeat of the Convention, the public meetings to denounce abolition, the speech of the Attorney General, the 'reverend' harangue, the recreancy of the city authorities, the arming of the mob, the night scene, the arson, the firing, the massacre, the dead quiet succeeding the consummation, inaction and silence about punishment; 'Order reigns in Warsaw.' A horrid history. Let those contemplate it, who have [illegible] years to distort the principles, misinterpret the language, malign the characters, and misrepresent the objects of abolitionists, and to hold us up to men as enemies of the public good; let them see their work. Let those who are 'as much Anti-Slavery as we are,' but who have done nothing to check the monster's overbearing career, let them now reflect. Let inactive, and niggardly, and cowardly abolitionists reflect. These things would have been prevented long ago by such a general array and union of the wise and good in the free States, as would have cowed the spirit of mobocracy to the earth.

As abolitionists, who have been somewhat of the heat and burden of the day, we pause by the grave of our departed brother and exclaim—So soon! It is not yet six months since he last exerted himself one of us. How rapidly he has done his work. And his reward has come! The last is first! Well. Be it so. The Lord knoweth them that are his. On the fresh earth of this monument, at sepulture, we will take a new departure. The SEVENTH OF NOVEMBER is henceforth a marked day in the calendar. It shall bear the same relation to the cause of liberty now, that the 5th of March, 1770, bore to the struggle of our fathers. It shall warn us that we are not sure that even our life is pledged to the cause, that what we do must be done quickly, that we know not what a man is, that we have begun a work which IS TO BE DONE, let come what will.

That the God of the oppressed will overrule this ebullition of human wrath for his own praise, and for the great advancement of our cause, we cannot doubt. The editor of one of the slaveholding States has already warned those over whom [illegible] of the system, that they are sowing dragons' teeth; that every drop of Lovejoy's blood will start up a full grown abolitionist.—We trust it will have the effect to satisfy every body in the free States, that there are only two sides in this conflict; Liberty or Slavery—liberty for all, or slavery for all. And what is more, may it lead them to see, not only that there ought to be no neutral, but that there can be none, THERE IS NONE, THERE HAVE BEEN NONE. 'He that is not with us is against us.'—Let all men, then, now take their position, intelligently, deliberately, decidedly, where they wish to stand, where they mean to live, where they would choose to die. The lines are drawing; and it is soon to be seen, who are opposed to slavery, and who are, on the whole, in favor of its continuance.

Our departed brother was a native of Maine, a graduate of one of the colleges, practised law at St. Louis, and was editor of a political paper there. At this time he was an infidel. Being converted to Christianity under the labors of Dr. Nelson, he 'conferred not with flesh and blood,' but devoted himself to the work of the ministry. By common consent, he was selected as the proper person to conduct a religious paper at St. Louis. His benevolent spirit, his knowledge of mankind, his decision and firmness, his noble self-devotion to truth and righteousness, his untiring assiduity, his [illegible] and lion heart, controlled by Christian love and zeal for the glory of God, marked him out as the centre of great hopes. He never flinched from duty. Our country, our cause, the Church of Christ, mourn the loss of such a man. Few such [illegible] we to lose [illegible] Alas, that this should be his appropriate epitaph:—

A MARTYR
TO THE [illegible] OF A FREE PEOPLE,
MURDERING
IN DEFENCE OF
SLAVERY.

As tragically and lamentably as the affair terminated, it is one of perhaps more importance to the abolition cause, than any other that has ever transpired [illegible] pamphlets [illegible] that have been issued, all the [illegible] been delivered [illegible] made to the liberality, humanity and [illegible] mankind.

HORRIBLE OUTRAGE!—MOB LAW AND BLOODSHED!!

We give below, the particulars of one of the most melancholy and deplorable acts of popular violence, which it has ever been our duty to record. The Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, well known for his perseverance in the cause of the slave, has at last fallen a *martyr to abolitionism*.

This outrage, upon the liberty of the Press, and the right of free discussion, will create a feeling in the country, totally the reverse of that intended by those who perpetrated this bloody deed! There can be but one opinion among reflecting minds, as to the nature and tendency of such lawless acts of violence. Whatever objections may be urged against the peculiar doctrines advocated by Mr. L. we believe, it has never been contended that he was ever guilty of publishing, or advocating any thing unlawful—much less any thing for which he should be driven from city to city, his property destroyed, and himself, finally seized and MURDERED IN COLD BLOOD, by a lawless and infuriated mob! —*Dedham Patriot.*

DISGRACEFUL RIOT.

The little town of Alton is determined to fill up the measure of its disgrace. A miserably imbecile and cowardly subserviency to the southern interests has stained its character with 'gouts of blood,' which will forever 'incarnadine' their escutcheon—and their name will be a hissing and reproach. It has three times before, we believe, signalized its cowardice, by riotous resistance to free discussion—but the last act was to disclose the bloody catastrophe.

We call it cowardice, for it was only *fear* of losing a little southern trade. Alton stands on the Mississippi river, on the Illinois side, about twenty-three miles above St. Louis, and three above the junction of the Missouri. It is built in a ravine that breaks through the river bluffs which are there very high, and has, when seen from the Mississippi, a highly picturesque appearance. But its advantages for trade have a decided drawback in its confined and straitened landing. It has the vanity to think it can rival St Louis, counting on its vicinity to the junction of the 'great rivers,' albeit above, and its being the *very* highest town where the large New Orleans boats can go. Hence it has been the seat of the wildest imaginable speculations, and they have not yet waked up from the delusion.—Everybody else knows that the position of St Louis, with the best landing in the world, has a thousand advantages which they can never create or pretend to.

This folly of theirs induces them to make these disgraceful displays of their zeal for southern interests. It is to gratify the slaveholders of Louisville, Natchez, Vicksburg (of lynching memory) and New Orleans, and invite their trade, they have stained their soil with innocent blood. Out upon such meanness of spirit! The cowardice exceeds, if possible, the wickedness of the deed.—*Lowell Journal.*

What American, who deserves to be called an American, can read the account of the Alton massacre, without having his cheek mantled with the blush of shame—without feeling that his country has been stained with an infamy that centuries of repentance cannot efface. What! the lives of American citizens sacrificed in defence of the freedom of the press—American blood spilt in defence of a constitutional right; and the freedom of speech and the press abolished, because it would advocate the self evident truths proclaimed in the immortal (mortal we fear) declaration of American independence! And why is all this? It is but a manifestation of the spirit of the age; it is the sacrifice of every thing to the love of money and the love of power.

Alton is a very considerable town in the State of Illinois, situated on the banks of the Mississippi river, a short distance above St. Louis, and on the eastern banks of the river. Its intercourse is to a great extent with the slaveholding portions of the country, and the transaction referred to was only a peace offering to the petty tyrants of the South, who make merchandise of human beings. It was prompted by the spirit of gain—laid upon the altar of mammon—an earnest of good will to enable them to carry on a profitable traffic with the men stealers. Thus is the love of money and power constantly trenching upon personal rights, and if not resisted, will trample them in the dust. He who attempts to circumscribe a freeman's rights, or to interfere with the exercise of them, should be marked as a tyrant, a usurper, a foe to civil liberty. The rubicon of personal or political rights should never be invaded, for when once passed, the whole field is taken, and even life has no security. The Anti-Slavery Society had voted to re-establish the Alton Observer. The citizens of Alton held a meeting to protest against it. This meeting was followed by the mob above mentioned, precisely in the same manner that the mobs followed the Anti-abolition meetings of Boston, New York, and other places in the eastern states. These meetings of citizens invaded personal and political rights—they denounced men for doing what they had a right to do—the mobs did but little more. The citizens' meetings were therefore responsible for the doings of the mobs—they were the legislatures that enacted the laws which the mobs only executed. Till personal and political rights are more generally respected as sacred and inviolate, there can be no safety, and he who will not resist every attempt at encroachment upon them is fit only to be a slave. Such only will catch no inspiration from the blood of these martyrs, shed in the holy cause of civil liberty.—*Fall River Patriot*

The Editor of the Providence Republican is of the opinion that if 'Mr. Lovejoy had confined himself to his proper calling, preaching the gospel, there would have been no riot and loss of life.'—The time may come when some generous press may make the same comment on the murder of the editor of the Providence Republican, who used to be a clergyman. He is guilty of the 'great impropriety' of 'tempting the popular fury' by printing a democratic paper in a city where such papers are extremely offensive to the majority. The whigs are four to one in Providence, and on the principle the Republican applies to Mr. Lovejoy, its editor is bound to shut up his office instantly, lest he should 'tempt the popular fury!' and be murdered for defending his rights. Is he ready to abandon his office the moment a whig mob surrounds it? We should be glad to know what the Constitution was made for, if not to protect the minorities? Majorities can always protect themselves. The liberty of the press confined to publishing none but doctrines approved by the majority, is no liberty at all. If the democracy are going into a minority, at least let us carry with us the liberty of the press. —*Boston Daily Advocate.*

We can scarcely entertain a hope that the news is incorrect—but for a confirmation of that hope, we would exchange the great triumph of political principle so recently achieved, were it not that we look upon this great triumph as an event which, in its consequences, will have a tendency to repress the spirit of insubordination that sprang up in the land with the administration of the late President. So long as we have rulers who set themselves above the laws, we may expect bad citizens will do the same. But the guilt of the violater of the law is none the less on that account; and even bad government is more tolerable than the savage fury of a mob—the perversion of law harmless in comparison with the domination of a spirit which sets all law at defiance.—*N. Y. Commercial Advertiser.*

The blood of martyrdom has begun to flow. The first victim to the fierce and murderous spirit of American slavery has fallen! The first sacrifice to the god of American oppression has been offered! By the mails of Monday evening, we learn that Elijah P. Lovejoy has unshrinkingly died at his post, a martyr to the liberty of the press, the rights of conscience, and the freedom of the human soul. He has done well. We rejoice that he was faithful unto death, that he yielded not one tittle of his high principles to the ferocious demands of slavery, but lay down in the warm blood of his integrity, in firm obedience to truth and righteousness.

The whole domain of slavery shall quake for this. It will rue this fierce and dark deed as the seal of its own swift and utter destruction. The blood of Elijah P. Lovejoy will cry out from the ground in a voice that shall stir the forests and prairies of the vast West into a living army of abolitionists. It will rouse up every village and town, and pierce the solitary huts of the wilderness, and there will never be silence or apathy again till the last chain is broken, and the jubilee of universal freedom is shouted over all the savannahs of the south and through the vallies of the west, and thundered back by the free waves of the Pacific. It will waken such a spirit in the west as the abduction of Morgan wakened in New-York. Such an outrage will kindle an indignation in the community which can not be subdued nor withstood. We repeat, the whole domain of slavery shall quake for it.—*Herald of Freedom.*

The account given below is most deeply afflicting to every friend of his country, and of humanity.—The instances of lawless violence, which, during two or three years past, we have been called upon to record, were such as to stain the American character, and to give cause for mourning and fear.—But no event has transpired so disastrous in its nature, and so portentous in its aspect, as the one related below. Whatever difference of views may exist as to the best mode of treating the subject of slavery, yet but one sentiment can, or should exist, as to the inalienable right of every American citizen to free and frank discussion, and but one feeling as to the dreadful event which has occurred. Sad and melancholy as the circumstance is, yet nothing could be more calculated to advance the cause to which Mr. Lovejoy was attached, and in devotion to which he lost his life.—*N. Y. Christian Intelligencer.*

A New England Mother. When the mother of the Rev. Mr. Lovejoy, who was recently killed at Alton, heard of the death of her son, she exclaimed, "'Tis well! I would rather that my son had fallen a martyr to his cause, than that he had proved recreant to his principles.' Spoken like a New England mother! It shows that there is some of that 'firm and unbending spirit,' which gave freedom to these States, still left to protect it. It matters little with us whether Mr. Lovejoy was right or wrong in his abstract notions. On mere speculative questions, there will always be a diversity of sentiment. It is sufficient for us that he died in defence of his own rights, and of the press. If ever it shall be our own lot to 'shuffle off this mortal coil' by violent means—which may fate forfend—we hope it may be in defence of this same liberty. We have been connected with the press too long not to know its value; and we hope never to make any compromise with the mob spirit that would put it down.—*Boston Times.*

We are bound in common justice to say that the riot is one of the most atrocious and wicked that has ever occurred in this country. Every one of the men who went armed into that mob to attack the building was a principal or an accessary before the fact, in robbery and murder: for they went with the purpose *previously avowed*, to destroy the property of Lovejoy; and they armed themselves to kill him if he dared to resist. It may be urged, and it is doubtless true, that Lovejoy was imprudent in persisting to set up his abolition press in Alton, after it had been thrice destroyed, once at St. Louis, and twice at Alton. But this by no means changes the character of the mob, or of those who set them on. His imprudence, or fanaticism, or folly, can afford no apology for their deliberate robbery and premeditated murder. His self-defence of person and property was a lawful act, by the laws of every nation on the globe—and they were felons to murder the one and plunder the other. Arming by an individual in defence of property or even life, from a mob, is in our view very *poor policy*.—But at the same time it does not diminish aught from the guilt of the robber and murderer. The transaction is a foul stain on the town where it occurred, on the state and on the country. It will be so viewed by reasonable men generally, in this country—and universally so in all other countries wherever it is noticed.—*Portsmouth Journal.*

Our liberties are as smoke, if such foul murders as that of Alton are justified or even palliated;—our constitution is as a farce, and we shall become the pitiable and despised laughing-stock of the whole world, if such desperate acts of bloody tyranny find the support of Americans.—*National Gazette.*

We are pained to see any journal of any party extenuating the guilt of this murder. The National Intelligencer, while it cannot hold the rioters guiltless, remarks that 'it may be true that the abettors of the abolition press are *chiefly* responsible for this affray.' Then is a man who carries money in his pocket, 'chiefly responsible' for the act of the robber who takes it.—*N. Y. Eve. Post*

It is a melancholy consideration that the progress of disregard to law, and of addiction to Lynching and violence, seems to increase with the growth of this people. At the rate we are progressing, it will not be long before it will be death to assert an opinion which happens to be unpopular.—The worst kind of despotism is that of the mob.—The danger to life, liberty, and property, is multiplied in proportion to the numbers of the people. It comes within any man's reach to turn the current to his purposes, and to the demolition of his enemies, or of those to whom he is an enemy. Republican France, in the days of her anarchy, witnessed scenes at which Nero or Caligula might have wept.—*Boston Evening Gazette.*

It is one of the most atrocious murders ever committed in any civilized country. The account will be read with feelings of indignation and horror. Human Blood has at length sanctified the cause of Abolition, and it appeals to the people of the North in language which will not be unheard and cannot be misunderstood. The memory of the martyr will live, and in the strength of his name, will the cause in which he was sacrificed triumph.—*Concord Freeman.*

☞ We copy with great satisfaction, as expressive of our own views and feelings, the following article from the Salem Register:

NON-RESISTANCE.

Messrs Editors—

Permit me through the columns of your paper, to say a few words in reference to the appalling outrage and murder at Alton.

I profess to be a 'Garrison Abolitionist,' and trust that I can most sincerely unite with my whole heart, in deprecating the lawless, servile spirit which has concocted this satanic outrage upon the liberties of the press, the rights of conscience, and stained the soil of the only true Republic on earth, with the blood of a Martyr to the cause of human liberty. But I most exceedingly regret, that those who have so often declared that their 'weapons are not carnal but spiritual,' &c. should have thrown off the habiliments of the meek and lowly Jesus, and armed themselves with deadly weapons to resist unto blood a lawless and infuriated mob. I cannot conceive of any principles in the divine doctrines of our Saviour, which can justify an Abolitionist in resorting to the use of carnal weapons in maintaining his principles or protecting his life, in any possible emergency; and I cannot but believe that if the great body of Abolitionists in our Union should imitate our friends at Alton, in like extremities, the sure and speedy result would be a terrible death to our glorious cause. Far more glorious would be the triumph, if a host of Abolitionists should be sacrificed to the Moloch of Slavery, than that the blood of one Mobite should be spilled by the hand of a disciple of Christ. PEACE.

Political Riots.—They had quite a riot at Brooklyn, N. Y. last week on account of the refusal of the superintendent of the Fulton Ferry to permit Col. R. M. Johnson, the Vice President, and his suite, to cross without paying toll. The friends of Col. J. were highly incensed, and burnt the superintendent in effigy. We are not aware that Col. Johnson and those who followed after him had any better right to cross toll free, than any body else.

At Norwich, Ct. while the Whigs were rejoicing on account of the New York victory, a placard or transparency was hung at the windows of the Aurora office, containing an inscription which the Whigs did not like, and they pelted the office with stones. This transaction is the more disgraceful, as the Whigs have gained so many victories of late that they can afford to be civil and bear up under a joke.—*Boston Times.*

Disgraceful riot at Baltimore.—The Baltimore Transcript of November 20th states, on the evening previous, that

'An assemblage of the most abandoned characters had taken place in Bath street and its vicinity, and riot shortly after burst with all its base profanity upon the air. A general fight ensued, stones and brickbats were hurled like hail from the contending parties, till they had mingled in a melee, when the formidable bludgeons with which they were armed were brought into play, and even sally fire arms were put in operation, and the frequent reports portended a fatal result. This however has not occurred.'

Six of the rioters were apprehended and committed to jail.

From the Emancipator.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

At a special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, held at the Society's rooms in the city of New-York, November 20, 1837, for the purpose of considering the recent fatal attack on the freedom of the religious press, at Alton, Illinois, in which the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy lost his life,—

The following preamble and resolutions were adopted:—

Whereas intelligence has been received by this Committee, that the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, while defending his press, on the night of the 7th instant, was by lawless men deliberately murdered, for his constancy in maintaining the right of free discussion, and his devoted zeal in the cause of universal liberty—

Resolved, That in view of a transaction so bloody, so open, and tending so much to disgrace us as a people, it becomes the inhabitants of this land, every where, to hold solemn convocations before God; that, while they render thanks for his mercies, and make confession of their sins, they may supplicate him, that he will not yet turn away from a nation whose criminal indifference to the oppression of the slave has, at length, emboldened the lawless to the murder of the free.

Resolved, That public religious services be held in commemoration of this event, on Tuesday next in the Broadway Tabernacle in this city—and that a public collection be there taken up for the benefit of the widow and orphans of our deceased fellow-citizen and brother, who are left dependent on others by the murder of the husband and the father.

Resolved, That we recommend a similar course to our fellow citizens every where throughout the land.

Resolved, That while we mourn for our departed brother, as the first martyr in the holy cause of Abolition in this nation, we praise God for the noble sentiments which he avowed, and the devotedness with which he offered himself on the altar of human rights.

Resolved, That we deem it due to the memory of the deceased to state that he was slain, so far as we have knowledge of the facts, whilst engaged in defending his property and his rights in a manner justified by the laws of this and of all other civilized countries.

Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with the friends of human rights in Illinois, who have labored and suffered with the martyred Lovejoy, and ardently hope they may persevere with redoubled diligence in all christian efforts to maintain the freedom of speech and the press, against the violence of American oppressors.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted, by the Secretary, to Mrs. Lovejoy, together with a deep expression of our condolence with her and her bereaved little ones in this affliction.

ANTI SLAVERY.

We perceive that our anti-slavery brethren in Massachusetts are getting divided. The old 'American Anti-Slavery Society,' does not seem to answer the purpose of certain exclusives, who do not like to have so many people of other denominations in it who hold their sectarian designs in check. They are now about forming a new Society with a Constitution which is the same as that of the American Society, with the following additions and alterations, adapted as they say, 'to our peculiar circumstances.' The following is in the preamble:

'And whereas, we believe that the promotion and speedy triumph of the cause of emancipation, and the prosperity of *evangelical* (i. e. the orthodox) *religion* demand a new organization,' &c.

In the terms of membership it is provided, that 'any persons of *evangelical sentiments* may be admitted.'

So this is to be an orthodox concern to the back bone. It is strange that these people can never unite with others in any enterprise, without having their sectarian designs uppermost in their plans, and whenever they find they cannot control and govern, they draw off and set up a party of exclusives by themselves. The history of the Temperance cause, verifies this remark in relation to their connexion with it. These people expect to have a little heaven by themselves in the other world,—why would it not be well for them even in this to draw off entirely from the rest of the civilized world, and like the Mormons, seek some promised land deep in the western wilderness, where they might live free from the curse of others' society, and in the exclusive enjoyment of an association with kindred spirits?—*Gospel Banner.*

SELLING A FREEMAN!

Can this be true! We apprehend that our readers, or at least a large portion of them, will be as surprised, and not only as surprised but as indignantly mortified, to learn from this paragraph, as we were last evening on gathering the fact from an advertisement, which appears in the Washington Globe, that though a *really free* black man should be arrested in the District of Columbia, on suspicion of being a runaway slave, and no one shall appear within a given time to claim him, he is liable to be *sold into slavery* by the marshal of the district, *to defray costs of his arrest and keeping while in confinement!* If this is not the climax of cruelty, tyranny, and oppression, our imagination is not competent to the conception of the iniquitous extent to which those vices may be carried. The statute books of Russia or Tartary, or the records of the darkest ages of paganism, contain nothing that could compare with such matchless absurdity and despotism. The bare suspicion, the intimation of malevolence, or the assertion prompted by revenge, or mayhap by pure wantonness, in this boasted land of freedom and enlightened government, is competent to turn the freeman into a slave, sunder husband from wife, parents from children, and, in short, all the ties of life, and the common rights of which 'all men were born' equally possessed. Though there is no 'loop to hang a doubt upon,' we cannot but repeat, *can this be true!*

Yes, indeed, it is too true. The marshal of the District of Columbia advertises in the Globe, that a negro man, of a dark copper color, 23 years of age, 5 feet 10 1-2 inches high, calling himself William Richardson, was committed to the prison of Washington City as a runaway. He claims to be free, and says he was born and raised in St. Johns, New Brunswick: that Mr. Warren Hathaway, farmer, on Deer Island, near Eastport, knows him; that he lived with and worked for Mr. Hathaway a long time; that he followed the sea, and came to the District in the ship Romulus, from Liverpool. The marshal gives notice to his owner to prove him, &c. *or he will be sold to pay his prison and other expenses!* Proclaim it, ye presses of the enchained nation of Europe, and do our matchless nation of *freemen* the common justice of exhibiting to the world the *beauty*, the *equality*, the *justice*, which govern at the centre of our transcendant republic! *New York Sun.*

The Quakers.—If abolitionists could ever be amused with injustice, we should amuse ourselves with the efforts which are made by some of our newspaper editors, to make it out that the members of the Society of Friends, the successors of Lay, Woolman and Benezet, are not entitled to equal consideration with others, in the Anti-Slavery cause. The fact is, indeed, that the Quakers long stood, almost alone, as the defenders of the *rights* of the colored people. And though the body of them were for a season beguiled into the lap of Delilah, and got their locks woven into the web of colonization sophistry, yet we are gratified to see the ancient faith on this subject reviving, and kindling into new zeal and energy. As there is no sect among us, whose distinctive peculiarities are more marked, so it is probable, there are none of the supporters of abolition, whose forbearance is more put to the task, in maintaining a co-operation with others, than conscientious and devout Quakers. And nobly have many of them met the call, as we are ready to testify. It is therefore at once ungenerous and unwise, for professed abolitionists to disparage these early friends of the slave, or deny to them the equal consideration which is claimed for others.—*Emancipator.*

Accounts from St. Thomas state that on the 7th ult. a fire burst out in the Negro houses on Mr. Jarvis's estate called Thibon's. Of one hundred and ten cottages of which the village on that plantation consists, forty-five were burned to the ground. Much furniture, provisions, clothing, and other property of the peasants were consumed, but no life was lost.—*Boston Times.*

The National Intelligencer of Saturday, announces the death of Joseph Kent, formerly Governor of Maryland, and at the time of his death, a Senator to Congress from that state. He was killed on Friday, by a fall from his horse, as he was riding over his farm.

BOSTON.

FRIDAY, DEC. 1.

MEETING IN FANEUIL HALL.

A petition, signed by one hundred of our citizens, foremost of whom is WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING, has been sent to the Mayor and Aldermen of this city, asking the use of Faneuil Hall on Monday evening next, for a public meeting of those citizens of Boston and vicinity, who wish to bear a solemn and united testimony against the late horrid proceedings at Alton, to honor the memory of the Rev. E. P. Lovejoy, and to vindicate the freedom of speech, of the press, of conscience, and of locomotion, in all parts of our country. The Board of Aldermen met on Monday evening last, and deferred a decision upon the petition to Wednesday evening, too late for us to inform our readers of the result. It ought not to be supposed, for a moment, however, that this application will be rejected; and yet we understand that remonstrances are circulating for signatures against it, principally by some individuals who took an active part in the mob of 1835! It is doubtless true, that there are men in Boston, calling themselves respectable and honorable citizens, who are rejoicing over the Alton massacre, and who would be highly displeased at any public disapprobation of it! Monsters that they are! Will the Mayor and Aldermen listen to the remonstrances of such? We will not believe it.

FURTHER FROM ALTON—HORRID STATE OF SOCIETY—CHRISTIANS FLEEING TO SAVE THEIR LIVES!

The following is an extract of a letter dated Alton, Nov. 10, 1837, from a person formerly of this city, and now a resident of Alton. Speaking of the late disgraceful riot at that place, it observes:—

'The fourth press for the re-establishment of the Alton Observer had arrived, and been deposited in the warehouse of Godfrey & Gilman. There being no military company in the place, a small band, consisting of Mr. Lovejoy, (the editor,) and about a dozen others [13] repaired to the store, well armed, to protect the property. They were under the command of the mayor. It was a lovely night, clear, moonlight, and warm, and the silvery queen of night seemed to look down in sorrow on the scene of strife and blood. The mob was at least four to one of the friends of good order and peace. The press was deposited in the third story of the building, for safety; but the fiends were determined to have it, at all hazards, and accordingly set fire to the roof of the building, in order to drive the guard from it, and shoot them as they escaped!—It is said that they intended to blow up the building, but I don't know that any thing of the kind was attempted. Be that as it may, every order of the mayor was disobeyed by the mob, and he at length ordered the guard to fire, when one man (a Mr. Bishop, one of the mobites, though it is said he was not immediately concerned,) fell, and was conveyed to the office of Dr. Hart. He survived about two hours. It is said that Mr. Lovejoy was the one who shot him, but it is doubtful whether that can be ascertained. Immediately Mr. L. received four or five balls in his breast, and exclaiming, 'I am a dead man,' instantly expired. There were a number wounded on both sides,—some of them dangerously. Among the number are Mr. Weller and Mr. Roff, who were in the building. The first notice we had of the affair was the ringing of the bells as for fire—we listened, fearful all was not right,—and presently we heard the report of guns—men were walking to and fro in every direction, talking stealthily, as if intent on mischief. The bell seemed to call in vain on the citizens for aid; for all seem stupified with fear. The mob has complete ascendancy—law is trodden under foot—and the probability is, that these men will never even be brought to trial. Mr. Edward Beecher had been here about two weeks, and left in the stage that day, or probably he would have shared the fate of the lamented Lovejoy. It is doubtful if Mrs. L. long survives the shock of her husband's death.—Those who condemn the actions of the mob are threatened with assassination—religious meetings are broken up, and the preacher of the gospel is compelled to fly for safety. Mr. Graves, our minister, will be obliged to leave, to save his life, and quite a number of respectable people have determined to leave Alton to her fate. It will never rise, it never can, unless a large number of the friends of good order settle here, sufficient to overpower the mob—for they are determined, that people shall hold their tongues, unless they will join with them in ridiculing religion, abolitionism, temperance, and every thing that has for its object the improvement of the social condition of our race.—Thus are freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and free discussion of every kind trampled under foot, and we are the slaves of a despot ten thousand times worse than the autocrat of Russia.

In the death of Mr. L. the community have sustained a severe loss—he was an amiable and worthy man. He was engaged in a holy cause; the cause of humanity—the cause of freedom—the cause of his country—and he persevered with a firmness worthy of that cause. He fell nobly—his was a glorious death—and his name should be handed down to posterity with that of the immortal Warren, as a brother martyr in the same glorious enterprise. But free discussion cannot long be kept down—it will ultimately triumph; and truth, mighty, invincible truth, must prevail. Well may we 'tremble for our country, when we remember that God is just.'

THE POST OF HONOR.

☞ There are some good suggestions in the following letter—particularly in reference to the re-establishment of the Alton Observer. The Fitchburg (Mass.) Courier says—'Already has an able minister of the gospel declared to us his willingness to offer himself a successor to the murdered Lovejoy.' That's noble!

New York, Nov. 21, 1837.

My Dear Friend:

Before this reaches you, you will doubtless have heard of the melancholy catastrophe at Alton which resulted in the murder of the meek and devoted E. P. Lovejoy. Seeing that our tears cannot restore him to the arms of that society to which he was dear, let us cease immoderately to mourn. Rather let our bosoms swell with the full tide of sympathetic feeling for the disconsolate widow and her fatherless babes; let the hand of charity be extended to bless her solitary abode with plenty; let the voice of kindness and commiseration constantly salute her ear. And, my dear friend, in order to turn this melancholy event to the best possible account, for the furtherance of that holy cause, in the defence of which our martyred brother died; let there be special meetings called by all the anti-slavery societies throughout the country; let them discuss the mournful tragedy that has thus cruelly wrenched from them, a fearless and devoted champion for the rights of the down-trodden poor; let resolutions of sympathy and condolence be passed, and collections taken up for the immediate relief of a martyr's widow and a martyr's babes. Invoke the clergy—the ministers of our holy religion—those who are not awed into silence by the frowns of the foul demon of slavery. Let them proclaim the mournful tidings from church to church, until every ear shall tingle, and every bosom burn. In conclusion, permit me to suggest the propriety of assisting the widow to establish the Alton Observer, for the benefit of herself and family. Surely some person, fully competent to take charge of the editorial department, might be found, who for the sake of God and his poor, would be willing to make every necessary sacrifice for the promotion of so desirable an object. If it would be impossible to establish it at Alton, then do it in some adjoining town; but under such circumstances, I think she would not be molested at Alton—for American Christians must be worse than devils to destroy the living of a poor widow and her fatherless children. There will certainly be no fear from mobs, unless they are countenanced by those high in office, in church and state; and as to patronage, there need be nothing to fear. Come, my friend, suppose you go for the measure, and then we shall have an opportunity of knowing whether the Christians at Alton will sacrifice upon the altar of slavery a helpless widow and her still more helpless babes.

With feelings of affection and good will toward you, and sympathy for the poor and afflicted the world over, I remain your friend,

E. CARPENTER.

W. L. Garrison.

Nobody at the North in favor of Slavery.—Father ——, the oldest preacher now living in ——, told a friend of ours, not long since, without any qualification, that 'the southern people have as good a right of property in their slaves, as we have in our cattle and horses, every bit.' It would argue hostility to the ministerial office to rebuke such a clergyman—would it not?

'Unprofitable Controversy.' [illegible] ... that in which, being ... [illegible] ... tained a commendation of 'unbending Calvinism,' which the good Christians who were not Calvinists in their creed, might at least think rather overstrained, and which, at any rate, was out of place in the editorial columns of the Emancipator. So entirely was it an act of inadvertency, that when the error was pointed out to the editor ... [illegible] ... the character, he did not believe it was so until a re-examination of our columns showed the truth. We then offered to apologize for it, as we did also to a Quaker brother whom we greatly love; but neither of them thought it necessary, and we have no fondness for filling our columns with personal matters. The subject was forgotten, until it was brought up in the committee room at Worcester, where we immediately declared that it was an error, which we were sorry for, as it was employing the Anti-Slavery press to build up sectarianism, which we would justify neither in ourselves nor others. We also again offered to make public apology, if the friends who were present thought it advisable; but no one advised or requested it. We therefore now put it to the editor of the Liberator, whether it is manly in him to throw this in our teeth, or apparently to urge an error of ours, which we never justified, as a cover for the errors of his own which he is laboring to defend.—*Emancipator.*

☞ We are surprised that bro. Leavitt should be disposed to impeach the purity of our motives, in simply alluding to the fact that he had copied an article from the Evangelist, extolling 'unbending Calvinism,' in the highest terms, at the expense of other denominations. Our object in mentioning it was two-fold: first, to show that while the Evangelist and Spectator have rebuked us for expressing sentiments which they think ought never to be alluded to by us, even incidentally in this cause, they at the same time are perfectly willing to see as much of their own sectarian feelings embodied in the Emancipator, and mingled with anti-slavery doctrines, as bro. Leavitt shall choose to give them. Secondly, to give bro. L. an opportunity to make the above explanation to our anti-slavery brethren at large, because we know that many of them have not forgotten, if they have forgiven, that remarkable panegyric; and we are sure they will now feel easy on this subject. In a case calculated to create so much sensitiveness, private explanation is not sufficient. And we are disposed to doubt whether, if bro. L. had inadvertently copied something into his paper, which extolled 'perfectionism' or 'Quakerism' as better than any other faith, he would have thought an explanation unnecessary. We did not 'urge the error' of bro. L. 'as a cover for like errors of our own,' because we have not committed these errors. We have never given any religious sect the preference in our columns.

S. M. and A. E. Grimké. The labors of these holy women in the cause of the slave, since they came into this State, have been not less abundant than successful: the natural consequence has been, to both of them, an almost total prostration of health—but Angelina, in particular, has suffered severely. For a few weeks past, she has been confined to her chamber, too ill to see any of her friends, or to read or write, and will not probably be able to lecture again during the present winter. This will be afflicting intelligence to thousands. Her sister is to remain with her. They are residing at the mansion of Samuel Philbrick, in Brookline, about three miles from Boston.

How it takes. A friend in a neighboring town, (a minister,) writes—'A red hot clerical colonizationist, who kept my copy of Jay's Inquiry about a year shut up in his bookcase, lest it should do mischief, was highly elated with the Clerical Appeal, and told me it was *just the thing*.' Of course—just the thing for all who are opposed to the present anti-slavery organization: it is 'common ground,' on which colonizationists, unionists, spurious abolitionists, pro-slavery apologists, and slaveholders, meet fraternally.

Credit to whom credit, &c. Last year, our intelligent and indefatigable bro. Charles Simmons, of Attleborough, canvassed that town for signatures to a petition to Congress, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and succeeded in obtaining a long list of names. This year, finding nobody else willing to assume the task, he generously devoted two weeks to the same object, and procured 700 male and female names to the Texas petition, and nearly as many to the others. From such 'clerical' workmen, we expect never to be separated until slavery be overthrown in our land, and throughout the world. He also obtained, at the same time, thirty-five dollars for the American A. S. Society—collected in small sums as he presented his petitions.

Jewish Darkness. We have accused the editor of the N. E. Spectator of being a legalist, and groping in Jewish darkness. He sustains the accusation, in full, beyond all doubt, in his last number,—thus:

'We confess we are unable to understand what Mr. Garrison means by *Christ and him crucified* is the ONLY standard of obedience at which we are to look.'

No marvel that a self-righteous legalist must have some other standard as the rule of his conduct beside CHRIST. No marvel that a man whose standard is a mere reed, which every wind of sectarianism bends to the earth, cannot consent to receive CHRIST as the only infallible standard. No marvel that he who confesses that his righteousness is that of the law, is unable to understand the value of *Christ and him crucified.*

The Spectator adds, in violation of the ninth commandment—

'He (Mr. G.) rejects the moral law of the Old Testament as the standard of obedience, and substitutes the perfect standard of HIS OWN. *He is therefore infallible.*'

This is Jewish calumny and blindness. It is bearing false witness. We expressly stated, last week, that 'the righteousness of the law is *fulfilled* in CHRIST, and consequently in all those who have put on Christ'—that 'all that was eternally obligatory under the first covenant, is swallowed up, perfected, and far surpassed under the new.' We substituted for the law, 'the perfect standard of CHRIST'—not of our own, as the Spectator most absurdly, falsely, and we are constrained to think, *maliciously* affirms. We said not a word about our own infallibility. Now, as an apostle said to the blinded Jews, so say we to the writers in the Spectator—'Ye that live under the law, do ye not hear the law?' '*Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.*' 'Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them.'

☞ In a letter from our beloved brother H. C. Wright, the astonishing misconception of our religious sentiments by the editor of the Friend of Man is thus happily alluded to:

'One word respecting brother Goodell's remarks on your *antinomianism*. I was astonished that he could find matter to say so much in any thing you had written. How are you opposing the moral law of God? By such a denunciation of all violations of that law, as cause the Church and Nation to wish for your silence or death, and by calling all to a *perfect* and immediate conformity to the will of God, in every thing, and on every day. What antinomianism!'

Characteristic. The last Spectator very ingeniously carves up and publishes such portions of a very long article in the Friend of Man, respecting our religious views, as suits his perverse spirit. And this, too, after our public declaration in the last week's Liberator, that bro. Goodell had totally misconceived our views; that he had done us immense injustice; that we disclaim with holy abhorrence all that he has imputed to us, &c. &c. Shameful treatment!

Editorial Injustice. It has always seemed to us the height of meanness and injustice, in an editor, to make an attack upon the character of individuals, in his paper, and then refuse to let them be heard in self-defence. An aggravated case of this kind is seen in the conduct of the Editor of the N. E. Spectator, with reference to our colored brethren in this city. He knows that they have already suffered incalculably from the slanders of their enemies; he professes to be a sincere friend of theirs; yet he has publicly brought a false and most injurious charge against them, to wit, that they no longer attend public worship as formerly,—and their non-attendance he has charitably ascribed to the religious opinions entertained by the editor of this paper. [illegible] ... the proceedings of a highly respectable meeting of our colored citizens, denying the charge brought against them by the Spectator, and declaring that [illegible] ... within their recollection [illegible] ... the Spectator to insert their vindication in his paper, but he [illegible]

Pleasing Coincidence. [illegible] ... society in North America [illegible]

[illegible]

Braintree, Nov. 1837.

We, the subscribers, members of the Union Anti-Slavery Society of Braintree & Weymouth, were present at a meeting where resolutions were passed relating to the 'clerical appeal;'—and whereas, it has been stated the resolutions were passed unanimously, we hereby state, we were present, and did not approve all the resolutions, and did vote against them.

Jonathan Newcomb,
Samuel Newcomb,
Thomas A. Davis,
Caleb Stetson,
Atherton [illegible],
Naaman L. White.

Andover, Nov. 6th, 1837.

At a meeting holden for the purpose of forming an anti-slavery society in the West Parish of Andover, Mr. John Smith was chosen chairman, and Moses Parker clerk; after which, a constitution was read and adopted, and the following persons were chosen officers for the year ensuing, viz.

Dea. Eben'r. Lovejoy, *President.*
Dea. Peter Smith, *Vice-President.*
Moses Parker, *Secretary.*
John Lovejoy, *Treasurer.*
Timothy Foster, James Smith, Eben'r. Lovejoy, Jr. *Managers.*

[We have not room to insert the Preamble (a long and excellent one) and Constitution of the Society.]

The following resolutions were then passed unanimously.

1. Resolved, That we believe the cause of anti-slavery to be the cause of God; and, as such, has urgent claims upon the church, a claim which cannot be resisted without her becoming recreant to duty, dishonoring to God, and giving fearful evidence that she has a name to live while she is dead.

2. That we will use no other weapons in this holy warfare, than such as are found in the gospel armory.

3. That as slavery is an awful sin in the sight of God, and an outrage on human rights, we believe it to be the duty of christians kindly but firmly to admonish their brethren who are living in this sin, declaring that they can have no fellowship with them, until they break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free.

4. That the wicked prejudice which exists against the people of color throughout the land, is not merely injurious to them, but is a great hindrance to the spread of the gospel, and to the upbuilding of the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

5. That as members of this society, we protest against the proscriptive measure of denying to our fellow-men, generally, the privilege of co-operating with us in pleading for the slave. We believe the cause of emancipation is one which recommends itself to christians of every denomination, and to every man and woman who loves the cause of truth and liberty.

6. Voted, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the chairman and secretary, and published in the Liberator.

JOHN SMITH, *Chairman.*
Moses Parker, *Secretary.*

Meeting in Faneuil Hall.—We learn that a call is to be made for a meeting in Faneuil Hall, without reference to party or sectarian divisions, to express a proper indignation at the outrage upon the liberty of the press and the rights of property committed in the Alton mob and murder. We trust that our strongest men will come forward and take an active part in this meeting. The question has nothing to do with domestic slavery, but with the slavery of the press, the reign of terror and mob rule. All who mean to abide by the supremacy of the law—all who value constitutional rights, and all who would not, by their silent approbation of these outrages, bring down upon themselves or their children, the fury of a mob whenever they exercise a constitutional and legal right, that happens to be unpopular, will countenance, and if possible attend the meeting in Faneuil Hall.—*Boston Daily Advocate.*

A Free Laborer.—The communication on our first page, illustrating the difference between a free laborer and a slave, is from the pen of an intelligent workingman—one of that class pronounced by southern slaveholders to be unworthy of enjoying any political rights, and more wretched and degraded than their slaves! 'Truth Teller' holds a stout pen, and we shall be glad to hear from him again. His communications, however, have generally been too long for our limits, conveniently—as well as those of some other correspondents. Study brevity, dear friends, for our sake and the reader's.

The 'Evangelical' Circular. A correspondent, alluding to the 'Circular' calling an evangelical anti-slavery convention, signed by Messrs. Fitch, Towne, &c. says—'One gentleman (Mr. John H. Symonds) whose name is attached to the Circular, informs me that he never signed that document, and never saw it till it appeared in the Spectator; nor is he a member of any church! Is this [illegible]? Or does this 'evangelical' faction think that 'the end sanctifies the means'?'

☞ The Editor of the Liberator expects to deliver an address on slavery, on Sabbath evening next, in the Rev. Mr. Perkins's meeting-house, in Weymouth or Braintree.

☞ We are requested by a friend to mention, that the Rev. Mr. Brownson will hereafter statedly address the people, on the Sabbath, in the hall on Tremont-street, opposite the Savings Bank, instead of in the Temple, as formerly.

☞ The proceedings of the Windham County (Ct.) Anti-Slavery Society will be given in our next number. Several communications are on file for insertion.

☞ The Monthly Concert was very fully attended on Monday evening, and a collection taken up in aid of Mrs. Lovejoy [illegible].

Boston, Nov. 28, 1837.

Mr. Garrison:

Agreeably to a vote of the Society, I have this day remitted to Mrs. Lovejoy one hundred dollars. List of Contributors as follows, which please to insert in the Liberator.

Ladies' A. S. Society, Lynn,	25 00
Francis Jackson, Boston,	10 00
Joseph Southwick,	10 00
S. E. Sewell,	10 00
Ellis Gray Loring,	5 00
One not an abolitionist,	1 75
Henry Chapman,	10 00
Mary Gray Chapman,	10 00
Jonathan Shove, Danvers,	10 00
A Friend,	5 00
Angelina Ammidon,	1 00
A friend,	1 00
	$100 [illegible]

Further contributions will be received and applied as directed.

Yours, HENRY G. CHAPMAN,
Treasurer Mass. A. S. S.

Further contributions for Mrs. Lovejoy.

Catherine Henrietta Sargent,	15 00
Mrs. Ann Phillips,	10 00
Mrs. D. L. Child,	1 00

For Mass. A. S. Society.

Edmund Quincy, Life membership,	15 00
Israel Perkins, do. by Lynn Female A. S. Soc.	15 00
Stillman Lathrop of Watertown, [illegible] Worcester	[illegible]

H. G. CHAPMAN, Treas.

'A delegate from West [illegible] ... the haste with which the [illegible] ... ing, Sept. 25th, at Worcester [illegible] ... illegible. He will find credit given [illegible] ... in the Liberator of the week [illegible] ... friends $3.'

HENRY G. CHAPMAN.

[illegible]

ADELPHIC UNION LECTURES.

Mr. Fletcher [illegible]

LITERARY.

[illegible]

Feed the hungry, clothe the naked,
[illegible]
Go, undo the heavy burdens,
[illegible]

PALESTINE.

BY J. G. WHITTIER.

Blest land of Judea! thrice hallowed of song,
Where the holiest of memories pilgrim-like throng;
[illegible]
With the eye of a spirit I look on that shore,
Where pilgrim and prophet have lingered before;
[illegible]

The following, from the pen of J. [illegible]

A Farm-house glistening in the rays
Of the declining sun;
Its owner sitting at the door,
His daily labor done;
Broad-chested and strong armed is he,
Sun-tinted, bluff and hale—
One hand sustains his pipe—and one
Uplifts his cup of ale! (1)

The waving fields of silken corn
Gleam in the setting sun,
As, lowing, to their evening fold,
Come brindle, black, and dun;
[illegible]

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE
OF
ANTI-SLAVERY WORKS,
FOR SALE BY
ISAAC KNAPP,
At the Depository, No. 25, Cornhill.

1. JAY'S INQUIRY. 206 pp. 12 mo. cloth. 37 1-2 cts.

An inquiry into the character and tendency of the American Colonization and American Anti-Slavery Societies. By William Jay, of Bedford, New York, son of the celebrated John Jay, first Chief Justice of the United States.—This book is in two parts. The first contains copious extracts from the slave laws, besides being the best Manual, which is now for sale, exhibiting the odious and repulsive character of Colonization. The second part unfolds the principles of anti-slavery societies, answers objections to them, and, by historical facts and unanswerable arguments, shows their adaptation to the end in view, and the glorious consequences which must follow from their adoption. It gives much useful information, respecting St. Domingo, and the working of the British Emancipation Act.

2. MRS. CHILD'S APPEAL. 216 pp. 12 mo. cloth. 87 1-2 cts.

An Appeal in favor of that class of Americans called Africans. By Mrs. Child, Author of the Mother's Book, Frugal Housewife, &c. With two engravings. Second edition, revised by the author.

This is an excellent work for those who have read little on the subject. It is very valuable for its historical information, interesting anecdotes, calm reasoning, and vivid exhibition of the pernicious effects of slavery, the safety of immediate emancipation, and our duties in relation to the subject.

3. RANKIN'S LETTERS. 113 pp. 18 mo. cloth. 25 cts.

Letters on American slavery, addressed to Mr. Thomas Rankin, merchant at Middle Brook, Augusta co. Va. By John Rankin, Pastor of the Presbyterian Churches, of Ripley and Strait Creek, Brown co. Ohio.

This Book, being written by a native of Virginia who was thoroughly acquainted with slavery, to a beloved brother a slaveholder, cannot fail to be read with intense interest. It abounds with affectionate remonstrances, earnest appeals, clear reasoning, thrilling facts, and faithful warnings. It is one of the best books to put into the hands of inquirers after truth. It was written more than twelve years ago, and has passed through four editions.

4. ARCHY MOORE. price reduced $1.00

The Slave; or Memoirs of Archy Moore. In one volume. Second edition, revised by the author.

As a mere literary work, this has scarcely an equal in the English language. It is *remarkable* for its perfection of style, vividness of coloring, graphic delineations of character, and the resistless force with which it finds its way to the centre of the reader's heart.

It is *valuable* for the broad blaze of light which it throws down into every corner of the horrid caverns of slavery. Without seeming to be aware of their existence, the author shows up, and exhibits the utter emptiness of nearly every objection against abolitionism.

A Baptist minister of Massachusetts, who is a native of Virginia, declared its descriptions to be accurate in every particular. A gentleman who was stopping at a town in New Hampshire, stated in presence of a large company, that he had resided in every slaveholding state, in the Union, and he pronounced this book a perfect picture of slavery.

5. CHARLES BALL. 517 pp. $1.25.

This is a story, told by himself, of a MAN who lived 40 years in Maryland, S. Carolina and Georgia, as a slave, under various masters, and was one year in the navy, with Commodore Barney, during the late war. Containing an account of the manners and usages of the planters and slaveholders of the South, a description of the condition and treatment of the slaves, with observations upon the state of morals amongst the cotton planters, and the perils and sufferings of a fugitive slave, who twice escaped from the cotton country. This is a work of thrilling interest, by some considered preferable to Archy Moore.

Every abolitionist should read both of the preceding works, if he would *understand* how slavery, like a heavy mill stone, not only crushes the man, but grinds and mangles every fibre of his heart, while its victim lingers out a living death.

6. TESTIMONY OF GOD AGAINST SLAVERY. 177 pp. 18 mo. cloth. 25

This is a collection of passages from the Bible, which show the sin of holding and treating the human species as property; with notes. To which is added, The Testimony of the Civilized world against slavery. By Rev. La Roy Sunderland.

This second edition improved, besides containing an interesting view of the scripture argument, has a valuable collection of facts, which every working abolitionist should always have within reach.

7. ANTI-SLAVERY MANUAL. 162 pp. 18 mo. cloth. 37 1-2

This book contains a collection of facts and arguments on American slavery, arranged under appropriate heads, and admirably adapted to be the abolitionist's pocket companion. By Rev. La Roy Sunderland.

8. THE OASIS. 276 pp. 16 mo. cloth.

By Mrs. Child, with 20 beautiful engravings. This is a work of great literary merit, and very interesting. It contains some of the best articles both in prose and poetry, which the anti-slavery cause has produced. Besides having much to interest the feelings, it abounds with very important facts. It was formerly sold at $1.25, it was cheap at that price. There are but few copies remaining.

9. BOURNE'S PICTURE. 228 pp. 18 mo. cloth. 50.

Picture of Slavery in the United States of America. By George Bourne, who was for seven years a Presbyterian minister in Virginia. With eleven engravings. This book is made up of facts, all but two of which fell under the writer's own observation. They illustrate the abominations which exist in the southern church.

It should be read and prayed over, by every disciple of Christ.

10. LIBERTY. 231 pp. large octavo. 37 1-2.

This is the compilation of the sayings of eminent Legislators, Jurists, Moralists, Philosophers, Poets, &c. &c. It contains a number of engravings, one of the most interesting of which is a moral map of the United States, illustrating this memorable saying of Lafayette, 'Slavery is a dark spot upon the face of the nation.' Any one who has ever learnt the value of this book, will never be willing to be destitute of it. It contains copious and pertinent extracts from 150 well known authors, among which are Geo. Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Barlow, Brougham, Channing, Franklin, Hopkins, Andrew Jackson, Milton, Pitt, Roscoe, Daniel Webster, Whitefield, &c. It contains a full history of the Texas Revolution, and a large collection of facts relating to slavery.

11. ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD. VOL. I. 174 pp. 12 mo. Cloth. 31.

This is made up of the monthly Records, for 1835. It is full of well authenticated facts and cogent arguments. With eleven engravings. The story of the Generous Planter, the statistical and other facts from the West Indies, give it a great value. The articles are all short, pithy, and to the point.

12. ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD. VOL. II. for 1836, 170 pp. 12 mo. Cloth. 31.

This volume, besides its large number of anecdotes of American slavery,—illustrations of the humanity of Africo Americans,—and a very valuable articles on mobs, has one number devoted to extracts from official papers from the West Indies, and three numbers made up of very interesting answers to the following questions: 'Could they take care of themselves?' 'How can it be done?' 'Does the Bible sanction slavery?' The story of the Runaway, the History of the slave James, the Fact with a short Commentary, are worth more than the price of the Volume. The third volume which will soon be completed, is not less interesting than the second.

13. SLAVE'S FRIEND. VOL. I. 230 pp. small 16 mo. Cloth.

The first twelve numbers of the Slave's Friend, bound together. These little books are of irresistible power. Mobs, political denunciations, ecclesiastical anathemas, veto messages, and commercial interests, are powerless to prevent them from fastening upon the minds and hearts of children, with an unyielding grasp. This volume among a great variety of anecdotes, dialogues, &c. contains the story of Mary French and Susan Easton, which children always read with intense interest, and which they will find it hard ever to drive from their minds. It has 20 pictures.

14. SLAVE'S FRIEND. VOL. II. 240 pp. small 16 mo. Cloth. 25.

This volume, besides its great variety of short and exceedingly interesting articles, contains an account of the formation of a Juvenile Anti-Slavery Society, with their Constitution, &c. The story of the Travelling Fireman, Little Mary, Jack the Preacher, Little Harriet, &c. render this volume very attractive.

It has 25 superior engravings. There will be a volume published every year.

15. RIGHT AND WRONG IN BOSTON. NO. I. 103 pp. 12 mo. Bound in cloth 25 cts. paper covered 17 cts.

This book is too well known to need a recommendation. One large edition was sold in a few months, and the second is nearly gone. It is not simply of local and temporary interest. It should be read and studied in every family, and bequeathed to children as a precious legacy.

16. RIGHT AND WRONG IN BOSTON. No. 2. 90 pp. 12 mo. neatly bound in cloth. 25.

This number is enriched with very affecting dialogues with females who had escaped from slavery. It commends itself to the heart of every mother, wife and daughter in the land. Its facts are valuable, its style pure, its principles important, its appeals touching—in short, it is in all respects worthy of its predecessor.

17. ENEMIES OF THE CONSTITUTION DISCOVERED. 183 pp. 12 mo. Cloth. 37 1-2.

This is an inquiry into the origin and *tendency* of popular violence. It contains many documents of very great value, which it is difficult to find elsewhere. It comprises a very able exposition of the tyrannical doctrines of the Post Master General, and points out, with great clearness and force, the destructive tendency of all attempts to set aside the law, on any pretence whatever. It was not written by a member of an Anti-Slavery Society, but by an ardent lover and vigilant defender of the Constitution. He evidently needs but little more age and experience, to become what we so much need, another Junius. The book should be kept as a fireside companion in every household, where liberty is regarded as anything more than a name, or there is any desire to preserve it for posterity.

18. PHILLIS WHEATLEY. 110 pp. 18 mo. 37 1-2.

Memoir and Poems of Phillis Wheatley, a native African and a slave.

The Poems were originally published in London in 1773. Many of them would do credit to a person of the highest advantages. It would be well to have them always at hand that we may have some conception of the amount of genius which slavery is murdering. The book has a beautiful lithographic likeness.

19. MEMOIR OF PHILLIS WHEATLEY. 36 pp. 18 mo. 12 1-2.

Besides its value, as showing what the irrepressible aspirations of a slave accomplished, it is useful as affording encouragement to the efforts of all. It practically enforces this lesson urged by her biographer. 'Surely no man or woman, or child, in whatever circumstances, has occasion, after this, to be discouraged, in an honest exertion to add to his own usefulness, and the happiness of the world around.'

WHITTIER'S POEMS. 103 pp. 12 mo. Cloth.

Poems written during the progress of the Abolition question in the United States, between the years 1830 and 1838, by J. G. Whittier. It is embellished with a beautiful copperplate engraving, just received from London, illustrating a verse in Cowper's Morning Dream.

21. THOMPSON'S LECTURES AND DEBATES. 190 pp. 12mo. cloth. 50.

Lectures of George Thompson, with a full report of the discussion between him and Mr. Borthwick, the pro-slavery agent, held at the royal amphitheatre, Liverpool, (Eng.) and which continued for six evenings with unabated interest. The book is enriched by an exceedingly interesting preface of more than 30 pages, by Wm. L. Garrison, giving a brief account of Mr. Thompson's labors. The whole work gives us a vivid conception of the ease and completeness with which Mr. Thompson demolished the extended rampart of slavery, erected with great effort by the hired champion of the slaveholders. The speech in which he cuts up colonization is worth the price of the book.

22. THOMPSON IN AMERICA. 1[illegible] pp. 12 mo. boards. 37 1-2

Letters and addresses by George Thompson, during his mission in the United States, from Oct. 1st 1834, to Nov. 27, 1835.

This book is a faint reflection of the brilliant light which flashed forth, whenever Mr. Thompson was permitted to speak. The letter from Marblehead to W. L. Garrison on the occasion of the Washington st. mob, is one of the most thrilling, spirit-stirring productions which the cause of liberty ever elicited. In addition to much else which is very interesting and valuable, it contains complete and triumphant replies to Mr. Kaufman's absurd story.

23. THOMPSON IN G. BRITAIN. 238 pp. 18 mo. cloth. 37 1-2

This book is of great value in three points of view. The historical information it contains, respecting events of great and lasting interest, should be known and preserved by every body. 2d. The eloquent speeches which are here reported with unusual faithfulness, are of great intrinsic value. 3d. The all-overwhelming answer the whole book furnishes to the contemptibly malignant charge that the representative of British philanthropy was a 'convicted felon' fleeing from justice, renders it justly worthy of a place near the heart of every friend of righteous liberty.

No abolitionist can read the glowing encomiums our brother bestows upon his American fellow laborers, without striving to deserve them. No one can read the graphic, vivid, burning descriptions of American slavery, and reflect that they are proclaimed in the ears of the world, without feeling that necessity is laid upon him to labor for the removal of this [illegible] Americans, Republican America, America, the land of bibles, and revivals, and missionary societies.

24. DISCUSSION. 184 pp. large octavo. 37 1-2.

Discussion on American slavery, between George Thompson, agent of the British and Foreign Society for the abolition of slavery throughout the world, and Rev. Robert J. Breckenridge, delegate from the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in the United States to the Congregational Union of England and Wales; holden in Rev. Dr. Wardlaw's chapel, Glasgow, Scotland, June 1836. Second American edition. Here we see a mighty conflict. If the anti-abolitionists in the United States had looked over all the discordant materials in their ranks, there could not probably, a man be found, on whom the heterogeneous mass would have made such an approach to unanimity as upon R. J. Breckenridge. To say that he sustained a signal defeat would give but a faint idea of the glorious result. Feeling a deep sense of the importance of his position in the eyes of the world, he girded himself up, and, seizing the most effective weapons within his reach, exerted all his strength to crush his opponent; while the champion of the slave, strong in the truth of God, not only defended himself, but disarmed his antagonist, and drove the shattered fragments of his weapons into his own bosom. Mr. Thompson's replies are a great store-house of facts, methodically arranged, with references to unquestionable authorities. The book is especially valuable on account of its overwhelming proofs of the guilt of the American church. Every man who loves the church, should read this book. It contains Mr. Garrison's notes and Dr. Wardlaw's speech, and Mr. Breckenridge's letter, in which he let off his spite, after he had left Great Britain.

25. GRANVILLE SHARP. 155 pp. 12 mo. cloth. 37 1-2.

A Memoir of Granville Sharp, to which is added, Sharp's 'Law of Passive Obedience,' and an extract from his 'Law of Retribution.' By Charles Stuart. With an accurate likeness, engraved by Patrick Reason, a colored youth.

Sharp was born in 1735, and was one of the earliest English abolitionists. He took great interest in the famous Somersett case, and it was by his influence that it was pushed to such a glorious decision. According to that decision the air of Great Britain was *too free* for a *slave* to breathe in. Soon after this decision, Sharp was cheered by the assistance of such fellow-laborers as Benezet, Franklin and Rush. Any man who wishes to understand the history of our glorious cause, and its self-sacrificing promoters, will be unwilling to be destitute of this work.

26. WILBERFORCE. 103 pp. 18 mo. 31

Memoir of William Wilberforce. By Thomas Price. With a beautiful likeness, and an appendix, containing an account of his funeral and a copy of his protest against the Colonization Society. Of this work we need say no more than that Wilberforce has here a worthy biographer.

27. ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE. 3 vols. 370 pp. 12 mo. cloth. $1.50.

The history of the rise, progress and accomplishment of the abolition of the African slave-trade, in the British Parliament. By Thomas Clarkson. Complete in three volumes of the Cabinet of Freedom. Illustrated with three large engravings. In this book we can trace the toilsome and dangerous efforts of Clarkson in ascertaining facts, which roused the British nation, and led to the passage of an act, for the entire suppression of the murderous traffic.—Let no one imagine that this book is of no interest at the present time. The same trade is carried on at this moment, with a refinement of cruelty of which Clarkson had no knowledge. There is great need that this work should be extensively read.

28. ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE. (abridged) 2 vols. 483 pp. 18 mo. boards. 37 1-2

This work, besides being an interesting abridgment of Clarkson, in two volumes, contains a view of the present state of the slave-trade and of slavery. It was prepared by a colonizationist.

29 GODWIN ON SLAVERY. 258. pp. 12 mo. Cloth. 50.

Lectures on Slavery, by Rev. Benjamin Godwin, D. D. The writer of this is well known by his work on atheism, which has been very extensively and justly admired, for its cogent arguments, copious information, pure style and amiable temper. His work on slavery is remarkable for its clear and methodical arrangements, its glowing eloquence, and its abundance of facts. It has been said by some who have read it, that it has all the enthusiasm and romance of a novel, and produces the same intense interest with a highly wrought work of fiction, besides having the advantage of its being a description of scenes in real life, instead of being a mere fancy sketch.

Let no one imagine that this work is not worthy of circulation here, because it was first published in Great Britain. This would be as absurd, as to reject Baxter's Saint's Rest, or the Pilgrim's Progress. Gold is gold though it may be coined in a British mint. This edition contains many notes.

30. LEMUEL HAYNES. 345 pp. 12mo. Cloth. This work contains sketches of the life and character of the well known colored preacher, who was, for many years, pastor of a Congregational church in Rutland, Vt. He is celebrated for his controversy with Hosea Ballou, which is here given entire. Many of his most interesting writings are also copied. It is enriched with a valuable introduction, by Dr. Sprague, and embellished with a portrait. The profits of the work are devoted to the benefit of his family, who are in indigent circumstances.

31. CHANNING ON SLAVERY. 167 pp. 16 mo. Cloth. 50.

This is an eloquent exposition of some of the fundamental principles of abolitionism.

32. SONGS OF THE FREE. 227 pp. 12 mo. Leather 56. Cloth 50.

Songs of the Free, and Hymns of Christian Freedom. This work is prepared by Mrs. Chapman, and in addition to her own writings, contains many spirit-stirring effusions from the pens of Whittier, Mrs. Child, E. M. Chandler, and many others. It is especially appropriate to be used in the family circle, and at the monthly concert.

33. DISSERTATION ON SERVITUDE. 108 pp. 12 mo. Boards. 25. Stitched. 17.

This work, written with great care by Leicester A. Sawyer, A. M. embraces an examination of the Scripture Doctrines on the subject, and an inquiry into the character and relations of Slavery. It contains much valuable information upon *servitude*, and clear and logical reasoning, to prove that slavery ought to be immediately abolished.

34. BARROWS ON THE SLAVE QUESTION. 114 pp. small 17 mo. 25.

A view of the American Slavery Question, by E. P. Barrows, Pastor of the First Free Presbyterian Church, New York. The writer illustrates this, among other positions; that 'the system of slavery is evil in all its tendencies.' On the 'duty of Churches,' he says: 'It is the duty of the churches to testify the truth respecting the system of slavery. It is true that it is a heinously guilty system, not to [illegible]

35. THE NEGRO PEW. [illegible]

This is an inquiry concerning the propriety of distinctions in the house of God on account of Color. [illegible] it also maintains the position, that Every man is ENTITLED TO BE ESTEEMED AND TREATED ACCORDING TO HIS INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL worth [illegible] spirit of the Christian Religion.

36. GUSTAVUS VASSA. 294 pp. 18 mo. Cloth 62 1-2.

The life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, written by himself. With two lithographic Prints.

This is the life of a native African, of powerful intellect, who was 'stolen out of his own land,' lived as a slave in Pennsylvania, made several voyages to the West Indies, and to several parts of Europe, narrowly escaped death several times, and passed through a great variety of wonderful scenes, which give his narrative an interest scarcely surpassed by Robinson Crusoe.

37. MOTT'S SKETCHES. 260 pp. large 16 mo. cloth. 50.

Biographical Sketches and Interesting Anecdotes of persons of Color. To which is added a Selection of pieces in Poetry. This work has long been well known. This is a recent edition, enlarged and much improved.

38. JAMES JACKSON. 88 pp. 18 mo. 25.

Memoir of James Jackson, the attentive and obedient Scholar, who died in Boston, Oct. 31, 1833, aged six years and eleven months. By his Teacher, Miss Susan Paul. A valuable and interesting book, for Sabbath School Libraries.

39. CHLOE SPEAR. 108 pp. 18 mo. 25.

Memoir of Mrs. Chloe Spear, a native of Africa, who was enslaved in Childhood, and died in Boston, Jan. 3, 1815, aged 65 years. By a Lady of Boston. An interesting Sabbath School Book, with an engraving.

40. THE FOUNTAIN. Little Quarto Plain, 17. Gilt, 25.

A collection of passages of Scripture for every day in the year, together with an appropriate selection from some of the most popular writers in the English Language. Compiled by Mrs. Child, and worthy the compiler.

PAMPHLETS.

41. MISS GRIMKE'S APPEAL. 36 pp. Octavo. 6.

It was written by a native of South Carolina, to the Christian women of the South. It is unexceptionable in its source, pathetic in its appeals, clear and logical in its arguments. Abolitionists should not rest until this book is in every family in the land.

42. MISS GRIMKE'S EPISTLE. 6.

This is an irresistible appeal to all who are Christ's disciples, and especially to his ministers.

43. EVILS AND CURE. 20 pp. 12 mo. 4.

The Evils of Slavery and the Cure of Slavery—the first proved by the opinions of Southerners, themselves, the last shown by historical evidence. By Mrs. Child.

This is an excellent tract for distribution. The first half is made up of the testimony of slaveholders, (such as Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Randolph, Clay, and others) to the horrors of slavery. The second part consists of historical facts showing the glorious results of immediate emancipation.

44. ANTI-SLAVERY CATECHISM, 36 pp. 12 mo. 10.

This is a lucid, and very interesting exposition of abolition principles. Important facts and forcible reasoning are skilfully interwoven together.

45. VALUABLE DOCUMENTS, 80 pp. 6.

A Collection of valuable Documents, being Birney's Vindication of Abolitionists—Protest of the American Anti-Slavery Society—Address to the People of the United States, or to such Americans as value their rights and dare to maintain them—Letter from the Executive Committee of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society at Cincinnati—Outrage upon Southern Rights. These articles are rightly named 'Valuable.' The second, third and last deserve to be read, marked, and inwardly digested by every American.

46. IMPORTANT PAMPHLET. 24 pp. Large 8 vo. 6.

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3. A. E. Grimke's Letter to W. L. Garrison.

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'They are the offspring of an intellect still vigorous in its original strength, and combining the freshness of youth with the experience of age.—The disclosures made in these letters, of the Slavery influence exerted in Congress over the representatives of the free states,—of the manner in which the rights of freemen have been bartered for southern votes, [illegible] stamped by the free institutions [illegible] tyranny with [illegible] peculiarities of Slavery, are painful and humiliating in the extreme.'

'We need not solicit for these letters, and the speech which accompanies them, a thorough perusal. They deserve, and we trust will receive, a circulation throughout the entire country. They will meet a cordial welcome from every lover of human liberty, from every friend of justice and the rights of man, irrespective of color or condition.'

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