

FRIDAY MORNING, May 14th.

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The first objection they heard of the report, was in a letter from Joseph Sturge of Birmingham, an eminent friend to the cause, and an honorary member of the Glasgow Society, in which he stated that he had become a spectator on certain parties in America, and he wished his name withdrawn from the list of honorary members. The Secretaries wrote to Mr. Sturge in reply, assuring him that care would be taken to omit his name in future from the list of honorary members. The next objection was from Dr. Heugh, who wrote regretting that he could not find it convenient to attend the Committee's meeting, after Mr. Collins came to Glasgow, and he regretted, further, that the Report of this year was so long, and that it contained a great deal of matter which he considered unnecessary. He stated that he had been in America, and he wished his name withdrawn from the list of honorary members. The Secretaries wrote to Mr. Sturge in reply, assuring him that care would be taken to omit his name in future from the list of honorary members. The next objection was from Dr. Heugh, who wrote regretting that he could not find it convenient to attend the Committee's meeting, after Mr. Collins came to Glasgow, and he regretted, further, that the Report of this year was so long, and that it contained a great deal of matter which he considered unnecessary. He stated that he had been in America, and he wished his name withdrawn from the list of honorary members. The Secretaries wrote to Mr. Sturge in reply, assuring him that care would be taken to omit his name in future from the list of honorary members.

(Hear.) The only fault he could find—and he did not regard it as a fault, but he knew it was considered a fault by leading men in that Society—and it was this, that it was just too liberal; it despatched creeds, and accepted the aid of any man or every man, and he thought it was a pity that it was so liberal. He thought it was a pity that it was so liberal; it despatched creeds, and accepted the aid of any man or every man, and he thought it was a pity that it was so liberal. He thought it was a pity that it was so liberal; it despatched creeds, and accepted the aid of any man or every man, and he thought it was a pity that it was so liberal.

(Cheers.) He then observed that he was not an abolitionist of yesterday, and proceeded to detail the part he had taken in anti-slavery meetings long ago, at a time when the true principle of immediate abolition was not understood. He called upon them to persevere, notwithstanding the opposition which they would meet from the friends of the cause. He then proceeded to detail the part he had taken in anti-slavery meetings long ago, at a time when the true principle of immediate abolition was not understood. He called upon them to persevere, notwithstanding the opposition which they would meet from the friends of the cause.

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L. Garrison, opposed by G. W. F. Mellen, and unanimously adopted. Resolved, That this Society would renew the expression of its conviction, that the formation of a third political party, by the abolitionists of the United States, is a measure diametrically opposed to their anti-slavery pledges, calculated to change the moral tone and character of the anti-slavery enterprise, unnecessary and injurious as an expedient, and justifying no consideration on the part of the friends of immediate emancipation.

Francis Jackson called the meeting to order. N. P. Rogers introduced the following resolutions: Whereas, a proposition has been made to this Society by one of its members to give fifty dollars towards defraying the expenses of a suit, to be brought in the Supreme Court of the U. S. claiming freedom for all persons held as slaves in the District of Columbia, and that the said suit is a bill contrary to the Constitution, and that the object of the said suit is to be decided in favor of liberty, our object will be to support and defend the said suit, and we will be justly proud to be formed of the astounding fact that Congress possess the power to establish slavery at its pleasure—Resolved, That the subject be referred to the Executive Committee of this Society, with instructions to consider and investigate the case, and with authority to carry the same into effect, if found practical and deemed advisable.

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Rise, God of Freedom! from thy throne of light, Stretch forth thy arm of uncreated might; In dire confusion cause thy foes to fly, Chased by the lightning of thy frowning eye.

Say, Righteous Sire, shall Africa ever mourn Her weeping children from her bosom torn? Chained, sold, and scattered far in Christian lands; Scourged, beaten, murdered, lo! by Christian hands!

From cotton fields, rice swamps, and verdant heath, In howling tempests, gales, and zephyr's breath, In smoky columns up to God arise The groans of broken hearts, and dying agonies!

Pride of the earth! shall Britain's voice command, That slaves breathe not upon her sacred land? Whilst thou, before high heaven with brazen heart, Sell men and women in thy British mart?

Shame on thee! shame! land of the boasting free! Go, shed thy tears—go, bend thy caitious knee— In dust and ashes hide thy guilty face, And beg for pardon at the throne of grace!

Go, shed thy tears—go, bend thy caitious knee— In dust and ashes hide thy guilty face, And beg for pardon at the throne of grace! Then o'er plantations, farms, and valleys green, In town and country where the yoke is seen,

Non capivis! wail shall then ascend on high, Nor clouds of vengeance veil thy sunny sky; No husband then be sever'd from his wife, Nor slavers cut the meaneast cord of life;

And Justice nerve thine arm with deathless might; Then from our southern to our northern bound, The songs of freemen ever shall resound.

Deep, O my country, shall thy honor glide, Thy starry banner then shall be unfurled; In spotless glory o'er the admiring world! Truth then shall crown thy towering crest with light,

And Justice nerve thine arm with deathless might; Then from our southern to our northern bound, The songs of freemen ever shall resound.

Be free! be free! ye ransomed lands, be free! For the Liberator.

THE VOICE OF FREEDOM. 'Tis Freedom's voice that sweepeth o'er The swelling of the southern sea; From British India's sultry shore, It comes—the anthem of the free!

And let its measures sweep along O'er southern fields and northern plains, Till every heart shall catch the song, And every tongue repeat its strains.

Waft it, ye winds, and flaming waves, O'er hill and dale, o'er land and sea, Till Europe's serfs—Columbia's slaves— Shall join the concourse of the free.

Strike, strike that lofty note again! Tune every heart—touch every string! Let freemen's shout and freedom's strain Through earth's extended empire ring.

Oh! can this be death? It is sweet to die, Said the sick on raising her closing eye; The silver cord was loosed from its clay— With the angel host she soared away.

Her life had been above reproach and blame; And now when death, the grim, dread monarch came, And laid his icy hand upon her heart, And bade the soul from its weak clay depart;

Oh! can this be death? It is sweet to die, Said the sick on raising her closing eye; The silver cord was loosed from its clay— With the angel host she soared away.

From the Herald of Freedom. LINES ON THE DEATH OF MARY CLARK. It was the noon-tide of the Sabbath day, And on her couch the lov'd but dying lay;

By man-killing, I mean what Locke means when he says—Man hath by nature a power, not only to preserve his life, liberty and estate, against injuries and attempts of other men, but to judge and punish the breaches of that law in others, as he is enabled to do the offence done against himself, in crimes where the heinousness of the act, in his opinion, requires it.

The sovereign power consists in having the right to judge how far offences are to be punished, committed in the Commonwealth—and how far injuries from without are to be vindicated; and in both cases to employ all the force of all the members when there shall be need. Power to govern is POWER TO MAKE LAWS WITH PENALTIES OF DEATH.

I mean what Blackstone means when he says—The military power has unlimited power to create crimes and punish them. When a question arises whether death may be inflicted for this or that offence, the wisdom of the law, (which he says is the WILL of one man, or of an assembly of men), must decide; and to this public decision, all private judgment must submit, else there is an end of the first principle of all society and government.

It is here laid down as 'the first principle of all society and government,' that man is vested with power over man—to define crimes, annex penalties of death, at discretion, and execute them. No being has power of life and death over another unless he has the right to say what act, perpetrated or intended, shall constitute a forfeiture of life.

Suppose He who has the right to command me, and whose commands I am bound to obey unquestionably, requires me to kill a man for disobedience. He, who issues the command, designates the crime, annexes the penalty, and uses me as his instrument to execute it. The deed is not mine. I had no will, no right, no power, no responsibility in the matter. I am a mere instrument; and have no more responsibility than the stone with which the deed is done.

But this is not the position assumed by individuals and nations—that human life may be taken at Divine will and upon Divine responsibility; but that it may be destroyed at human will and upon human responsibility—at the will and discretion of the Legislature.

When then I speak of the man-killing or life-taking principle or power, I refer to man's killing man at his own will and upon his own responsibility. By the man-killing system, I mean that system of armed resistance which human beings, under different names and forms, have erected upon this principle.

Non-Resistance denies that men, whether acting as individuals or nations, ever did or can rightfully claim or exercise this power over man. It holds that human life, as ever has been, and ever must be, solely at God's disposal.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SUBJECT. This may be argued from its dignity and glory. HUMAN LIFE is the theme. Not my life or yours merely, but human life. Not the life of a beast—but of MAN. At whose bidding, and upon whose responsibility, may MAN be stricken out of existence? Before man presumes to mutilate and dishonor a being so divinely allied, he ought to pause and consider, lest he be assaulting the Deity himself in the person of his representative.

Argued from the fact that life is the foundation of all human rights. Whatever belongs to man, as a human being, depends on life, and he that has discretionary power over life, has the same absolute power over all that belongs to it. Life-taking power necessarily includes the right to take property, liberty—all earthly pleasures and endearments.

Also the right to destroy each bodily organ in detail—as to tear down a house includes the right to take down each and every part of it. So all human governments have ever considered it. Hence, punishments by confiscation, imprisonment, chains, fetters, whips, starvation, branding, cutting out the tongue, cropping of the ears, boring out the eyes. Hence the punishment of SLAVERY. It has ever been supposed that power to punish with death, includes power to punish with any infliction short of death. Why then, do we punish with death, when we have abolished punishments by the stocks and the pillory; gagging, ducking, whipping, branding, cropping, (Puritan penalties); as relics of barbarism—unworthy a Christian people; but retains the gallows and gibbet; sword and gun. Barbarous to cut off the ear, but Christian to break the neck! Cruel to brand, but merciful to choke to death! Savage to whip, but Christian to blow out the brains! Death is the greatest evil that can be inflicted on the body.

Argued from the connexion of the man-killing principle with long-established and dearly cherished opinions and institutions. All the arrangements of social life for the accumulation and enjoyment of wealth; for the security of property, liberty and life; for regulating the commerce and intercourse of nations; war, penal codes, human governments; all, as now constituted, rest on this principle. Human governments claim this as the first principle of order and government. We do not say it is, or is not, is not the question. Enough that they claim it.

question, then, involving such consequences to existing opinions and institutions, cannot be so important. May man claim and use life-taking power over man—for any cause or under any circumstances? No question, touching man's existence as man, can be of equal import. If the destruction of human life by man, as it has been carried on under the eye of our common Father, be unauthorized by Him—a fearful weight of guilt must rest somewhere.

Neither will any Christian shrink from the inquiry, because the principle is not proven to be the result to human institutions; if the principle be wrong, it must be renounced. Nothing that is Divine can be injured by so doing. Eternal, immutable principle first; human contrivances and institutions next. And human government is a contrivance of human wisdom for human wants.—[Burke.]

It is not for one who is commanded to prove all things; and hold fast only the good, to refuse to investigate a principle, or to embrace it, if true, for fear of consequences. DUTY IS OURS—CONSEQUENCES, GOD'S.

Keep in mind, also, that if discretionary power over human life be conceded to one, it must be to all. As Locke observes—If any one may punish another for any evil he has done, every one may do so. What any one may do, every one must needs have a right to do! So Blackstone—Power to inflict discretionary penalties for crimes must be vested in somebody; (on earth) and if that power is vested in any one, it must be in all; since all are equal. If those disposed, then, to resist, let God's or man's? Flinty must be that heart which feels no interest in such a subject.

III. THE ESSENTIAL WRONG OF THE MAN-KILLING PRINCIPLE, AS A SYSTEM. IS THIS? DOES IT USE? Not in the motives of those who claim and use this power. Defence, self-protection, social order, civil government, good of the community; these and other motives are urged to justify man-killing. The motives of the evil doer might as well be urged to justify adultery, arson, blasphemy, slavery or piracy. Man-stealing is another. No possible motive can diminish the inherent baseness of it.

Not in the character of those upon whom the power is brought to bear. However guilty men may be, their guilt can never constitute a forfeiture of life to man, and invest him with power to kill them. I may regard a man as dangerous to my existence, and to the existence of all around me; but my power over his life is no greater than if I regard him as harmless. Otherwise, if I wished for an excuse to take the life of an individual, I have only to persuade myself that he is a dangerous man, and ought to die. Then, being of this persuasion, I am authorized to kill him. Thus the Puritans justified themselves in

another and hanging the witches. Thus they acquired authority to hang the Quakers and exterminate the Indians. The Quakers annoyed them by their rebukes, and they wanted the country of the Indians; and, under such circumstances, they persuaded themselves that the Quakers and Indians were exceedingly wicked, and very dangerous, and that they ought to die. So they killed them. Just so slaveholders justify the murder of Lovejoy, and the lynching of abolitionists. But how government has no more power to kill the guilty than the innocent. If wrong to hang an innocent man at human will and upon human responsibility, it must be wrong to hang the guilty. For man's right to live as man depends upon the fiat of the Almighty.

The position taken by armed-resistance is, that man's right to live as man depends on his guilt or innocence, and that human beings, acting as individuals, may determine the amount of guilt, in any individual or number of individuals, constitute a forfeiture of that right. Non-resistance holds that human government never did and never can have the right to say how much and what kind of guilt renders a man worthy of death. God alone has power to decide this.

Not in the MANNER in which life is taken. Whether human life be taken secretly or openly, in the darkness of midnight by an assassin's dirk, or by the lightning of a bullet, or in the open day, in the duel or the battle-field; by judicial execution without it; the act is the same. Human life is destroyed by man. If a nation have power over human life, and have decided that any man, or body of men, are sufficiently guilty and dangerous to be worthy of death, it would be no greater sin in that nation to steal upon the criminal at midnight, and plunge a dagger into his heart without any trial, and seen only by the all-seeing eyes of God, than to seize him, arrange a court, and go through the form of judicial trial, pronounce the sentence, and the death warrant, take him upon a scaffold, and then break his neck in the presence of thousands.

Ninety-nine hundredths of those who are killed by men are killed without any attempt to ascertain whether they are guilty or innocent; yet, with the certain knowledge that they are guilty of no wrong towards those who kill them.

The innate wickedness and horror of non-resistance consists in none of these—I. e. in the motives of those who kill; in the guilt or innocence of those who are killed; in the manner and circumstances in which they are killed. But in this MAN KILLING MAN. Man presumes to dispose of human life. Here is the essential guilt—the *malum in se*—which nothing can make right. Man's heart conceives, man's head contemplates, and man's hands execute the death of man.

IV. MAN-KILLING HOSTILE TO CHRISTIANITY. I am looking at this power, not in reference to the Deity, but solely in reference to man. I am looking at it as it is made the basis of armed resistance in individuals and nations.

What is Christianity in reference to this subject? Its essential spirit must be learned from the teachings and examples of Christ and his apostles. Taught by these, what is it?

I. The Spirit of Love. 'All the law is fulfilled in one word, i. e. Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' 'Love your enemies.' Christianity is love: love to all, even to enemies.

The legitimate and necessary fruits of love, as they are delineated in the gospel, are as follows: Love is long-suffering and gentle; never envious; never studying its own advantage; not resentful; unsuspecting; never purposes injury; not scornful; patiently enduring wrongs; tender-hearted; pitiful, and kind. Such are its fruits in the heart. In life, it will beget kind and affectionate treatment, a tender consideration for the feelings and interests of others; a sacrifice of our own interests for the good of others; will lead us to suffer rather than make others suffer; to die rather than be the occasion of death to others.

Can the spirit of Christian love, as exhibited in the life and teachings of Jesus, and the spirit of man-killing, as delineated in penal and military codes and systems, ever be reconciled? The spirit of love supplies the wants of enemies; the spirit of man-killing strips them of all things; the former heals the latter wounds; the one is ever benefiting, the other injuring; the one is wholly confiding, the other wholly suspicious; the one mild and gentle, the other ferocious and savage; the one intent on the good of others, the other on its own good; the one concealing and extenuating injuries received, the other blazoning and exaggerating them; the one patient in enduring wrongs, the other full of wrath and fury at injury and insult; the one ever ready to suffer, the other to inflict suffering; the one ever forward to die, the other to kill.

Their hostility is no less manifest in the means of destroying human life. Man-killing makes deadly weapons; love beats them up; the former collects armies; the latter disbands them; the one builds forts; the other destroys them; the one builds armed ships; the other dismantles them; the one commands the work of war; the other forbids it; the one requires men to fight, the other forbids it; the one requires men to fight; the one builds prisons, the other opens prison doors.

Thus, in their essential natures, in their objects and necessary tendencies, and in the means by which these objects are pursued, they are hostile one to the other, as much so as the wolf and the lamb. Love never led man to make deadly weapons, or to use them. It never built a gallows, strangled men, or broke their necks. It never goes out towards the object beloved in such ways. Until we can shoot and stab and slay the hearts of men, or thrust it in upon the point of the sword or bayonet, Christians can have no use for such carnal weapons. Christ never showed his love thus; but in acts of kindness.

Our treatment to enemies must flow from love. If we cannot claim man-killing power, study how to wield that power, and wield it in the spirit of Christian love, it is a sin against God for individuals or nations to claim or wield it.

'Can men fight and kill each other in love, Nathan?' said a father to his little son, as he came in with face and jacket smeared with blood. 'What is the matter with you, father?' said the boy, 'have you been fighting?' 'With whom?' 'Frank the boy, you know?' 'No, Sir.' 'Does Frank hate you?' 'Would you like to have me tell your teacher of Frank, and get him whipped?' 'No.' 'Would Frank like to have the master whip you?' 'No.' 'Nathan, do you love Frank?' 'Yes, Pa.' 'Does Frank love you?' 'Why, yes.' 'What in the world, then, did you fight for?' 'Why—why—father—because we loved each other.'

The little boys can as well give each other bloody faces or bloody jackets in love's nation can strangle or shoot their enemies. What man-killing power knows that Nathan told a falsehood when he said he and Frank had fought 'because they loved each other,' and every child knows that ministers and politicians utter a falsehood when they say men can fight and kill each other in love. Equally false is his assertion, that, if men cannot fight in love, yet it is right to fight in wrath. For what cannot be done in the full and perfect exercise of the spirit of Christian love, may be done in the spirit of wrath. What is Christian love to do with deadly weapons? Nothing—except to sweep them into ploughshares and pruning-hooks. It should arm its professor with a sword, and teach him how to use it. Whom will it lead him to kill? Not his friends, of course. His enemies? No—for he loves them, if possible, with more tenderness, than his friends—and would rather die than injure them. What then has love to do with a sword? Absolutely nothing—but to beat it up. And it does beat it up, rattle, rattle, the moment it enters the heart.

Eighteen years ago, said S. L. formerly a distinguished minister, in New York, I first imbibed the spirit of Christ. I loved God. I loved man. The leading spirit of my heart was—love to enemies. I felt a pity for them; a love which made me feel that I could not harm them. I was in raptures. I felt that God was love; and that He was in me and I in Him. I lived, and moved and had my being in love. While in this state, it struck me—'What do I want a sword for? I could not use it, to save my life, or the world, while I am in this love. I am a man of peace. What shall I do with it?' 'Beat it up,' whispered love to me. I promptly answered. The next morning, I took my polished and beautiful sword to a blacksmith's shop, and with my own hand, beat it into a pruning hook; and have used it ever since to prune my garden.

Thus when Christian love enters the heart, it instantly dislodges the man-killing spirit and principle, dashes in pieces and consumes all armed resistance, and forever disqualifies a man to annex the penalty of death to crimes; as a legislator; to pass sentence of death, or judge; to sign a death-warrant as governor; to pronounce a sentence of death, as hangman; or to command in chief, as president.

do not, from your hearts, forgive every one his brother's offences, neither will your Heavenly Father forgive you. When ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have ought against any.' 'Forgive one another, as God, in Christ, hath forgiven you.'

Christianity is forgiveness. The meaning of this principle, and how this spirit will manifest itself, may be learned from the life of Jesus. One point is clear. Forgiveness would not allow us to desire to injure, or actually injure our enemies for any injury they might do to us. He never guilty others may be in their treatment of us. He never dangerous their existence to ours, the spirit of forgiveness could not lead us to kill them. It is but impious mockery to doom our enemy to death, and pronounce our forgiveness in the same breath, as human governments do through their criminal courts. The tongue speaking forgiveness, and the halberd and gallows executing it. Speak forgiveness to the ear of an enemy, and shoot death into his heart! The bullet carrying a message of forgiveness and a message of death, and for the same offence! Armed resistance, in the form of human government, may say to the victim of its wrath—I forgive the wrong, but must break your neck as a penalty! May say to the mob—I forgive your breach of the peace, but must shoot you down, as a warning to others! May say to a foreign enemy—I forgive your invasion, but must pour out your heart's blood in battle, and give you a year's pay to will make us such a bloody-minded forgiveness is not Christian forgiveness; and those ministers who attempt to reconcile such a principle and system with the sweet spirit of forgiveness as exhibited in the life of Christ, do but mock the Deity, confound all moral distinctions, and pour contempt upon the Son of God. They claim to be ambassadors of the Prince of Peace; but they are scotches in sheep's clothing; and instead of converting human beings into lambs, they convert them into wolves.

Forgive us as we forgive others. If ministers and professors had any tenderness of conscience, they could not use this petition while they uphold a principle and system of blood. How do they forgive? By imprisonment, starvation, strangulation, beheading, shooting and stabbing. For the clergy, as a body, insist that these penalties are consistent with Christian forgiveness; and, as the ministers of forgiveness, they advocate them, and help execute them. At the same time they pray, 'Pardon us, as we forgive our enemies.' Do they wish to be forgiven as they forgive, when they forgive by inflicting such penalties? No. They do not wish to be forgiven as they forgive. But the conscience of such a clergy is drowned in blood. It is deaf to the wailings of bleeding humanity.

Said E. L. to me—'I once had a poor-neighbor wife and several small children. He had no bread, and was broken down, and had a few bushels of rye; I tried, him, had him brought before the court; arrested, convicted, condemned; and by Saturday night got him lodged in prison. I was riding home, congratulating myself that I had done good service to the State by securing a thief. I thought not of the poor, bereaved, and heart-broken wife and starving little ones from whom I had taken a husband and father. My humanity was smothered in my gratified revenge. Thus ruminating, by some association of the mind, as was my position of the Lord's prayer was first brought to my mind. I unconsciously broke out, 'Father, forgive me, as I have forgiven my enemy.' My enemy I was going to say. But it struck me that I did not wish to be forgiven as I had forgiven him. I paused—tried it again. 'Father, forgive me'—but I could not get out the rest of the petition. It choked me. I rode home, saying all the time, 'Father, forgive me.' 'Father, forgive me'—but I could not say—as I have forgiven my enemy. Saturday morning, I was in great agony. I was horror-struck to think that I had got into a position in which I dared not pray the Lord's prayer, and ask for the forgiveness of my sins. How to get out of it I was distressed to know. I was afraid, also, I should die before I could ask, in a Christian way, to be forgiven. I walked my room all Sunday night, crying out in my agony, 'Father, forgive,' 'Father, forgive'—but I could go no further. Monday morning, I was on my way to the prison, to see the man, and to give him steps, got my enemy out of jail, took him home, took him into my barn; said not a word, but seized my half-bushel, measured out three bushels of rye, put it into a bag, tied it up and gave it to him, and said, 'Take that, and when you want any more rye, come to me and you shall have it; pay or no pay.' Instantly I was relieved; and broke out aloud—'O Lord, forgive me now, just as I have forgiven my enemy.' I had then got out the whole petition with a good conscience.

Who can deny that this was an exhibition of true Christian forgiveness? There never was drawn a truer picture of this spirit than was drawn by Jesus in one of his parables.—'The following in substance. A certain man had servants. One owed him ten thousand talents, and had nothing to pay.' 'Sell him, his wife and children, and pay it,' said the command. The servant felt that he was the father of a family, and would not pay his wife nor his children. 'Will little, and I will pay you all.' The master was moved with compassion and forgave the whole debt. That servant, who had just been forgiven ten thousand talents, turned round to a fellow-servant that owed him only one hundred pence, and the first thing, seized him by the throat saying—'Pay me what you owe me.' 'Wait and I will pay you.' 'I will not wait a moment'—and he thrust him into prison till he should pay the debt.

This, is to the life, a picture of mankind. Men ask God to forgive them ten thousand offences against Him, but will not forgive the little injuries and insults they receive from each other. They have the hardihood to ask their Divine Sovereign to stay the execution of penal justice upon them—while they are laboring to execute it, even to death, upon their enemies. Yet they pray, 'Father, forgive me, as I have forgiven my enemy.' 'Father, forgive me, as I have forgiven my enemy.' 'Father, forgive me, as I have forgiven my enemy.' 'Father, forgive me, as I have forgiven my enemy.' 'Father, forgive me, as I have forgiven my enemy.'

Are nations bound by the law of forgiveness? It must be so; unless the doctrine be true that nations are not bound by the morality of the gospel; and that, as an individual, may be one thing, and as a member of governmental organizations, the opposite.

What is this in an individual? It is received as a maxim in Church and State, that a national organization may do that which would be a sin in an individual. This doctrine is the foundation of the moral government, and empowers combinations of men for purposes acting as bodies, to violate every principle by which they are bound as individuals, enabling men to be one thing as individuals, and directly the opposite as corporations, banking, railroad, ecclesiastical and governmental, that which no member of these corporations would dare to do as an individual, and on personal responsibility. The soulless corporation must bear the responsibility of the acts of its members.

Suppose I want the land of the Cherokee Indians. I have in my single arm the strength of fifteen millions. With one sweep of my powerful arm, I drive the helpless Indian from the home and the tomb of his fathers—push him across the Mississippi, to bury his sorrows, his tears, and his bones, beneath the sandy deserts of the West. What would the existing treaty be worth? They would call me a land-pirate; and they would hang me as such. I distribute my strength among fifteen millions. These combine and call themselves the nation—the body politic—the government. These fifteen millions want that land. They go in a body, or by their agents, and do the same deed. What will the church and clergy say of the nation? Will they denounce and hang it as a robber and a pirate? Or will they say, 'It is a good thing when combined by fifteen millions, from what it was when only one. That which is robbery and piracy in the individual, when done by the nation, is sanctified by numbers.'

This nation hangs any individual as a pirate, who shall dare, on his personal responsibility, to traffic in human beings on the high seas, or on the coast of Africa; and, at the same time, licenses the same traffic in the District of Columbia for 400 dollars per annum. What is piracy in the individual, is honest and Christian traffic in the nation! Thus making that a worst of crimes which it punishes with death as piracy, in individuals!

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