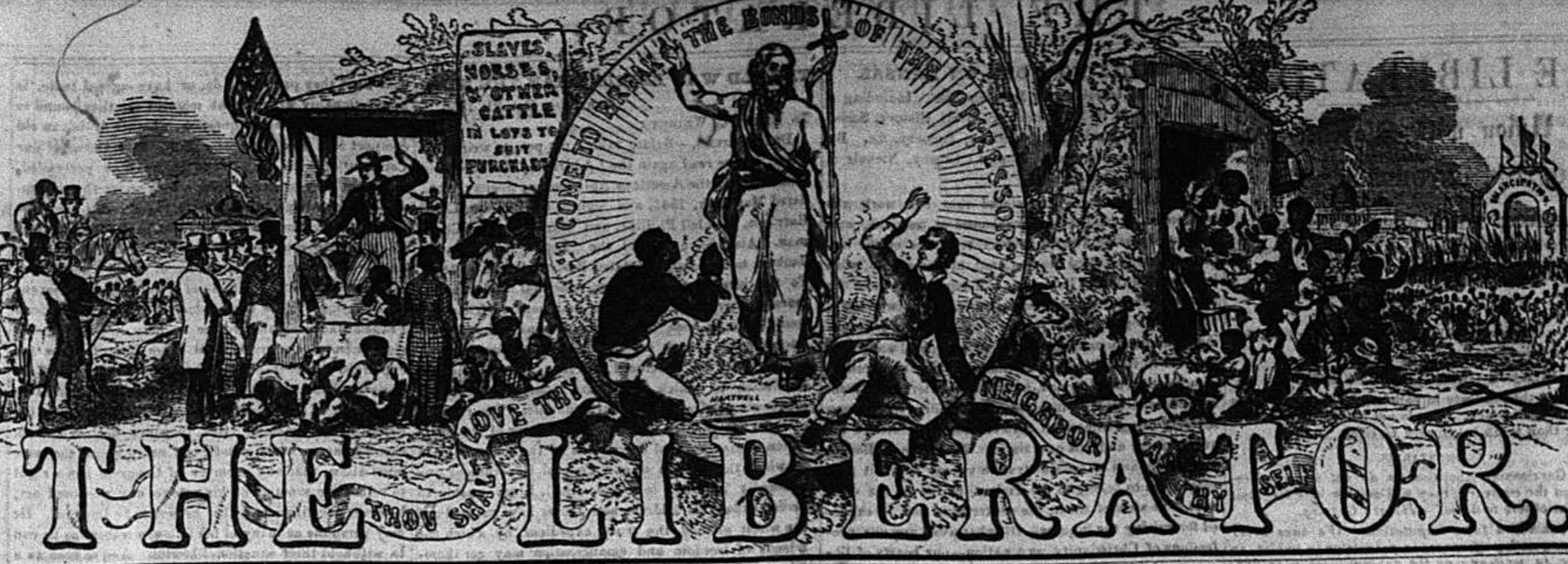


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The following gentlemen constitute the Financial
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and EDWARD QUINCY SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and
WILLIAM PHILLIPS.
If the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of
every question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.
VOL. XXVI. NO. 44.



THE LIBERATOR.

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

BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1856. WHOLE NUMBER 1347.

No Union with Slaveholders!
THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH
AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.
"Yea! it cannot be denied—the slaveholding
lords of the South presented, as a condition of their
assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to
secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their
slaves. The first was the immunity, for twenty years,
of preserving the African slave trade; the second was
the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an
engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God,
delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exact, fatal
to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-
sentation for slaves—for articles of merchandise, under
the name of persons. . . . In fact, the oppressor rep-
resenting the oppressed! . . . So call government thus con-
stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of
mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of
riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the
government of the nation is to establish an artificial
majority in the slave representation over that of the
free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY
TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETU-
ATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT
OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.—John Quincy Adams.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

SENATOR MASON, OF VIRGINIA, FOR DULLY BROOKS AND DISUNION.

From the Charleston Mercury, October 9.
Among the letters read at the Brooks dinner,
which we find in the *Edgfield Advertiser*, is the
following from Senator Mason, of Virginia. What
a way in reference to Federal affairs is equally
bold, true, and worthy of the past course of that
distinguished statesman:

SHELMA, Frederick County, Va.,
29th September, 1856.
GENTLEMEN: I have had the honor to receive
your letter of the 13th inst., inviting me, on behalf
of the constituents of Col. Preston S. Brooks, to be
present at a testimonial to their complete en-
dorsement of his Congressional course.

It has been my good fortune to have enjoyed the
acquaintance of your able and justly-honored Repre-
sentative, on terms both of social and political
intimacy, from his entrance into the House of
Representatives; and I know of none whose pub-
lic career I hold more worthy of the full and cordial
approbation of his constituents than his.

He has shown himself alike able and prompt to
assert the rights and the interests of his constitu-
ents in debate and by vote; to vindicate in a
different mode, and under circumstances of painful
difficulty, the honor of his friend. I would gladly,
therefore, unite with you, were it in my power, in
the testimonial proposed by his generous constitu-
ents; but regret that the distance which sepa-
rates us, and my engagements at home, must forbid
it.

Perhaps it may not be unacceptable, in closing
my letter, to say a few words to my fellow-citizens
of Edgfield District, whom you represent, on the
occasion of the country.

Some mistake, or in the South can remain
invisible to the times that are upon us.
The issue (until now averted) between a numer-
ical majority on the one side, and sworn faith to
a written compact on the other, is about to be
decided in States and in people, on this issue.

It is their property alone, but their honor and
safety are at stake in the result; for I look on
the pending election of a President interesting
to the South, as it will be a type of opinion and
purpose at the North. Reason and argument
are exhausted—we have done whatever lay with
us to bring the majority back within the pale of
constitutional power; and can now only await
the popular vote.

Should it be found to stand by, and to uphold
the Constitution, then we should once more look
forward with confidence and hope to the continu-
ance of a Union established in mutual and patri-
otic sacrifices, and having its sanction in fraternal
fidelity.

But in reverse of all this, should a dominant
majority be directed to bring into power those
pledged in advance to break down the barriers im-
posed by the compact of federation for the pro-
tection of one section against the other, then, in
my judgment, but one course remains for the
South—*Immediate, absolute and eternal separa-
tion.*

Better, far better, to stand toward the Northern
States as we stand to the rest of the world—*An
emancipated, in peace friends*—than to remain
halting under a common government, enemies,
again the guise of peace, or friends at war.
Again repeating, gentlemen, that I cannot be
with you,
I am, with great respect,
J. M. MASON.

A MEMBER OF THE CABINET OF THE BROOKS ASSAULT.

WASHINGTON, Monday, Sept. 22, 1856.
GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge
your polite and very gratifying invitation to a pub-
lic dinner to be given by the people of the Fourth
Congressional District, to their Representative,
Wm. P. Brooks.

It would give me much pleasure, on any occa-
sion, to meet you, fellow-citizens of the Fourth
District of South Carolina; and the gratification
would be materially heightened by the opportunity
to witness the approbation of a Representative
whom I hold in such high regard and esteem. Cir-
cumstances will not permit me, however, to be
with you, as invited, and I have only to express to
you my sympathy with the feeling which prompts
the course of Carolina to welcome the return of a
brother who has been the subject of vilification,
misrepresentation, and persecution, because he re-
sisted a *blatant assault upon the reputation of his
country.*

With many thanks to you and those whom you
represent, for your kind remembrance of me, I am,
very truly, your friend and fellow-citizen,
JEFFERSON DAVIS.
Arthur Simpkins, James Gilliam, and others

VOICE OF THE REPUBLICAN PRESS.

What excuse, what pretext, will Col. Fremont
offer for his election for dissolving the Union?
Will slavery be in any respect more secure with
him than with Col. Fremont? Will dissolution
which remains now in issue? Will it restore Kansas
to the dominion of the Slave Power? Will it give
the power control over the Treasury, the Army
and the Navy? Suppose Brooks & Co. could grab
what money there may have been in the Treasury
at Washington—perhaps two millions in all—
and add to it what is on deposit in the Southern
Treasuries, what of it! They would only be
adding the goose that has thus far laid them gold-
en eggs. It is not what is in the Treasury, but
what is coming in, that is of vital consequence;
and this is mainly collected at Northern seaports
and North-western Land-Offices.

Will there be no dissolution of the Union
until the Slave Power shall have extended its lines
and set its stakes far beyond its present bound-
aries? Give it Kansas on the one hand, and Cuba
on the other, with Mexico and Central America
ready to be grasped and swallowed, and it may
not be long before the spirit of a dissolution; but it is
not only not what is in the Treasury, but what
is coming in, that is of vital consequence; and
this is mainly collected at Northern seaports
and North-western Land-Offices.

and the Republicans. They do us what harm
they can; but it amounts to little. The penny
whistle is scarcely heard, even with the Buchan-
ners to blow it, in the purifying gale now sweep-
ing over the Free States, stirring and animating
every generous heart for the decisive struggle, just
before us. To doubt that this struggle will result
in the triumph of Free Soil and Free Speech were
to distrust the discernment or the integrity of the
American People.—*New York Tribune.*

The Republican party is not an Abolition party.
It is pledged to the protection of all our in-
stitutions where they exist. It defends the rights
of the States. It leaves slavery where the Con-
stitution leaves it. It goes for the Union even
with slavery sanctioned by that Union. It does
not propose to liberate a single slave. It will not
interfere with a single State. It seeks to throw a
barrier around soil now free, and keep it free for
the white man forever. The Buchaners and their
twelfth section allies are striving to wrest it from
the white man, and give it forever to the "nigger."
The Republican party leaves "niggers" where
they are.—*Westchester (Pa.) American.*

The New York Herald, (in which the nomination
of Col. Fremont was first proposed), has the fol-
lowing:—
"The Radical Abolitionist, the special organ of
 Gerrit Smith, the Abolition candidate, devotes its
entire October number to the enemies of slavery,
and in urging them not to vote for Fremont. We
give a brief extract to the point:—

"The Republican party is not a party for the
deliverance of the enslaved, but only for the securi-
ty of the free. It is not a party for the black
man, but only for the white man. It is not a party
for the rescue of the whole country from the des-
potism of the Slave Power, but only for the rescue
of Kansas."

Whereupon the Herald responds:—
"There is the case in a nutshell. The Fremont
party is the 'white man's party'—it is neither
a nigger party nor a nigger driving party, but the
'white man's party.' Its policy contemplates no
interference with State rights, or the constitu-
tional rights of slavery in the Territories. None. It
only aims to quash the Democratic nullifiers' policy
of making Kansas a slave State by force of arms,
and to substitute the Constitution as the supreme
law. Nothing more."

"The person who asserts that Col. Fremont is an
abolitionist, and that the Republican party is an
abolition party, either does so through ignor-
ance or knavishness. If the former, he is to be
pitied; if the latter, he is worthy only of contempt."
—*Croftville Herald, (Fremont.)*

"The Evening Mirror of this city, a Fremont
journal, says, 'We regard Col. Fremont as the
conservative candidate. We do not believe he will
have a man in his Cabinet who is tainted or
tainted either with abolitionism or secessionism.'
His party is an ultra Union party, and his election
will quiet and consolidate the Republic.' The
Mirror is a staunch supporter of the Compromise
of 1850, the Fugitive Slave Law included.—*Anti-
Slavery Standard.*

"The present Republican movement is directed
quite as much against the ultraism of abolition, as
against the kindred ultraism of slavery."—*New
York Times, Sept. 23d.*

"If [the North] is still disposed to be at peace
with slavery; to leave it, with all its 'blessings'
and all its evils, to those who are afflicted with it."
—*Id.*

"The election of Fremont would retard the cause
of emancipation in the States.—*New York Evening
Post, (Fremont.)*

"Republicanism is the white man's party. It is
not because we feel any burning zeal in the black
man's cause, that we resist the progress of slavery
in this country. We like the white man better
than we do the black. To our minds, the Republi-
can cause is intrinsically aristocratic; it aims to save
the country to the white man. The Republicans
mean to preserve all of this country that they can
from the pestilential presence of the black man."
—*Hartford Courant.*

FREMONT, THE ONLY CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE.—
The Presidential question is no longer an aboli-
tion question, as some of our Southern brethren
seem still to suppose. Whatever views or hopes
may have been entertained by Garrison, or Phil-
lips, or any other in that set, of raising a distinct
and efficient political party on their rabid doc-
trines, are utterly blasted. The party now risen
up has absorbed, if you please, but it has also
blotted them out. Larger, more extended, more
practical views have entered the minds of the
masses. These small grifts, these individual pic-
tures, drawn by petty dabblers like Stowe, are en-
tirely overlooked in graver matters.

People are no longer reading 'Uncle Tom,' they
are attentively studying the Constitution. Aboli-
tionism has in this way actually received its
leath-blow, since larger principles are at stake,
and it never can rise to hear again to his or
her's. It is crushed out by the heavy
weight of the onward moving masses, who have some-
thing else to do than to listen to the ravings of
infidels and maniacs. The rod of a political Mo-
ses has swallowed up all the reptiles of these East-
ern Egyptians, and they can crawl no more.

The South, then, have in fact good reason to be
gratified with this result. The North trouble
themselves no longer about their domestic insti-
tutions. The men most consistent and steady in
their just defence, are now in the ranks of Fre-
mont. By their accession his majorities have rolled
up enormously, and these men never will seek to
overthrow the constitutional rights of their South-
ern friends. They are, by the new and unforeseen
combination of parties on graver issues, more
powerful than ever to protect the South in all their
privileges. The South, in fact, at this very mo-
ment, should hail with joy the union of the North-
ern States upon an independent candidate, because
it has exterminated the abolitionism—it has reared up
a true and well principled democratic party in its
place, with power enough to be liberal as well as
just.—*New York Herald.*

THE LIBERATOR.

WHAT IS OUR PRESENT DUTY?

At the recent anniversary of the Pennsylvania Anti-
Slavery Society, at Norristown, Rev. Henry Gray, of
Philadelphia, made a timely and impressive speech—a
portion of which we give below:—
He said it was very desirable that the true position
of this Society on the subject of disunion
should be understood. Christ said he came to di-

vide the household, but was the disunion of the
household his first object? By no means; his
grand object was to bear witness to the truth, and
to bring a reformed world back to God. Why then
did he say he came to separate households? Be-
cause he knew that the truth would meet with
opposition, so that that would be the effect. If all
had received the truth, there would have been no
disunion. Just so now. Do we seek disunion, no
our first object? Nay, verily, we would to God
that the whole country were united on the basis of
love to God and to one another; then this terrible
conflict would end, and we should be at peace. We
seek a union in righteousness, and peace, and love;
but if we cannot have this, we would have a separa-
tion. It is better to separate than to be involved
in this system of iniquity.

What is our present duty? Let us unite with
either of the political parties! What are they?
Who is the platform of the Democratic party?
Democratic! Was there ever a greater misnomer?
What kind of Democracy is that which not only
rivets the chain of oppression on four millions of
the human brotherhood, who have equal claims to
liberty with ourselves, but which is laboring with
all its devilish wisdom to multiply its victims
throughout the entire land? What a lovely spec-
imen of Democracy was that galling chain which
H. W. Beecher exhibited at the Liberator's office at
New York, and which he put on an innocent man to
prevent him tasting a drop of the sweet cup of free-
dom! Well do the despots of the earth mock at
our pseudo-Democracy.

Many, however, repudiate this platform. We
would be thankful for this, and be glad. What
then is the Republican Platform? Is it to pro-
claim liberty throughout the land to all the inhabi-
tants thereof, as God and justice and love demand?
Let its leaders answer for themselves. I would rather
drop down on my place than interfere with slavery in the
States? What, I ask, is the plain English of this?
It is that he would rather die and go to the judg-
ment of the Almighty, who hates oppression, than to
claim the obedience of human legislatures to
God's law of righteousness and love. More than
this, the gentleman would rather die than demand
of State Legislatures to practice that very justice
which the Constitution he has sworn to maintain
is avowedly framed to establish.

Col. Fremont's candidate for the Presidency,
says he is 'inflexible in the belief that slavery
ought not to be interfered with where it exists un-
der State sovereignty.' The vilest system of op-
pression which the sun ever beheld—the robbery
of millions of men of their acknowledged inalien-
able right to liberty—the cruel severance of all the
endearing relationship of husband and wife, par-
ents and children, brother and sister, will not
interfere with it. If he says he would interfere with
the worst features of slavery on the ground
that they are moral wrongs, why, in the name of
consistency, we ask him, does he not interfere with
the entire system for the same reason? State sov-
ereignty! Indeed, the alternative is, that either
the righteous sovereignty of the Almighty Ruler
of the Universe, or the sovereignty of depraved
worms of the dust, must be interfered with—and
Mr. Fremont chooses the former! Yet, he says,
'I am for liberty, and for liberty only.' O consis-
tency, thou art a thing of naught!

Elmer, of Massachusetts, says, 'We must
say to the slaveholders, thus far shall ye come, but
no farther.' Would he say this if himself, his
own wife, and his own children were the victims!
Now what principle can he thus sanction this in-
famous outrage on human rights without sanction-
ing its extinction?

Lieutenant-Governor Ford, of Ohio, says, 'They
should unite to restrict the spread of slavery, and
set the institution back to its present limits. I tell
the Governor it is too early in the nostrils of its
advocates, to do this. As well might he expect
to restrict a viper who was feeding on his vitals. It
has been well remarked, that freedom must cut
the throat of slavery, or slavery will cut the throat
of freedom.'

Mr. Schaffer, of New York, says, 'If we unite
with the Republicans, they would go forth to vic-
tory. What victory? The victory which we are
seeking is the victory which God's law demands,
to break every yoke and let every oppressed
brother go free! Nay, verily, a victory which
leaves three and a half millions of the
human brotherhood in the gall of bitterness,
and in the bonds of the vilest system of iniquity
the devil ever invented. Mr. Schaffer says to the
South, 'We acknowledge your rights as States,'
but if you look on free soil, you had better have
a mill-stone around your necks, and you lying at
the bottom of the Gulf of Mexico. He said, 'I had
never been an Abolitionist, and did not intend to
be one now.' I tell Mr. Schaffer that he had better
have a mill-stone around his own neck, and he
drowned in the depths of the sea, than to acknowl-
edge the rights of the South to offend one of Christ's
little ones that believe in him, by robbing him of
the inalienable right of freedom.

Mr. George Law says of the South, 'The North
does not desire to encroach on their privi-
leges. What privileges? Why, the privileges of
flooding women, and innocent men with blood-
stains, and selling babies by the pound! Mr.
Beecher says, 'I would not, if I had the power,
lay the weight of my little finger, politically, upon
South Carolina, to take from her the least right
she holds under the Constitution, much as I hate that
system she retains with such tenacity. In these
rights she must and shall be protected.'

Mr. Brooks appears to occupy a still more odious
position on the Republican platform. 'The ques-
tion is not that we shall legislate against the
South in the question of slavery. It is not
that we shall legislate upon the Fugitive Slave
Law. We do not raise the question whether, in the
future, extension of our territory, slavery shall be prohibited
or not. In the name of humanity, we ask, what then
will he do? He says, 'We abandon all these ques-
tions, and we stand upon this distinct proposition
—that that which gave peace to the country in
1820, and that which secured the peace of the
country in 1850, ought to be made good by the
Government of the United States, with the consent
of the American people. That is all we ask—
no more, no less, no better and no worse.'

Thus he not only abandons the cause of three
and a half millions of his brethren, leaving them
without hope to groan and bleed and die in all
the horrors of slavery, but he sanctions the extension
of the outrage. Thus does the Republican party
'show the knee to the dark spirit of slavery.'

In the name of humanity, I ask, is this an ap-
propriate political platform for any man to occupy,
who has a drop of the milk of human kindness left
in his breast!

What is the ARGUMENT? To induce us to do
this, we are told that we cannot obtain all we wish
for, and that by aiding the Republican party,
we shall obtain a part, and prevent a greater evil;
and that half a loaf is better than no bread. To this
we have several replies. We maintain, indeed,
the duty of doing good in whatever degree we

can, when it can be done without violating moral
principle.
First, we affirm that the Republican platform is
an immoral one. It is partial, selfish, contracted, as
its concessions to the slave oligarchy clearly prove.
It has more regard to the welfare of the white man
than to that of the colored man, who is the chief
sufferer. Of two moral evils, we have no right to
choose either.

Moreover, we deny that half a loaf is better
than no bread in all cases. If by insisting on my
right to a whole loaf to-day, and refusing to re-
ceive the half, I can obtain my right to-morrow,
and thereafter the whole, then no bread to-day is
'better than half a loaf.'

The fact is, that the concessions of the Republi-
can party weaken and almost annihilate their
moral power. These concessions of the lawfulness
of slavery in the States where it now exists go far
to establish the lawfulness of it in States or Terri-
tories where it does not exist. In truth, if it is
right for one State to hold slaves, it is right for all.
Surely, my friends, it must be a moral wrong to
vote for a man who is pledged to disobey the com-
mand of God, to let the oppressed go free, and re-
fuses to establish impartially that very justice
which the Constitution was avowedly framed to
support.

From the Radical Abolitionist. NATURE AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF VOTING.

BY WILLIAM GOODELL.

It is assumed that a vote for the Presidential
candidate is not a vote for the main principles,
measures, and disclaimers of measures, on the
avowal of which he was nominated, and to which
he still adheres! It is assumed that a vote for
the Presidential candidate of a national Con-
vention is not a vote for the Platform of that Con-
vention, which sets forth its principles, its disclaimers,
its measures and its obligations to all who enter
its ranks, to respond, assents and adheres. It is as-
sumed that, at least, by 'voting under protest,'
if in no other way, the responsibility of the voter
for such principles, disclaimers and measures,
may be avoided, neutralized, or turned aside.

'I care nothing about the platform of the Con-
vention,' says one. 'The Convention had no authority
to speak for me. I know what I mean by my
own vote. They may mean what they please; it is
no concern of mine. And I care nothing for the
platform of the candidates, or the party, and
another voter. I think I know what the party,
the body or majority of voters, will do, and they
will control the Administration when it comes into
power.' 'And I care nothing about the aims or
principles of the party,' says a third, (or perhaps
the same person.) 'I can't be responsible for all
who vote the same ticket with me, nor for the
majority of them. I vote for the good which I
mean to accomplish by it, and the bad I have
nothing to do with.' 'Caring nothing about the
platform of the candidates, the party, and repudi-
ating the open declarations of all of them, the
voter is nevertheless determined to vote for them,
and with them.'

'And so they wrap (or snarl) it up.' (Micah vii.
3.) Thus they cover over and entangle them-
selves and their doings. Thus they think to
escape the responsibility of their own acts. Thus
they trifle with their most solemn duties. Thus
they set aside God's plainest commandments.
Thus they nevertheless stand in the way of
their own convictions. Men never resort for shel-
ter to such excuses, unless their consciences require
it. Is this the language of needless severity?
Look, I pray you, at the facts attested by such
excuses. The voter dare not avow the aims and
sentiments avowed by his candidate, and on the
merit of which he received his nomination, and on
account of which he expects to be elected.

And yet he will vote for him! And he 'cares
nothing about the platform of the party, or the
nominating Convention—nothing about the prin-
ciples he is acting, or the party, and another voter
do not care for it, the millions of your enslaved
brothers and sisters do care for it. Christ, their
elder brother, cares for it. The Holy Spirit, whose
temple some of them are, cares for it. And God,
the Father of us all, cares for it. You, too, will
care for it, in a coming day. 'Be not deceived: God
is not mocked. Whosoever a man soweth, that
shall he also reap.' If he sows a vote to let alone
the fetters of millions of his brethren, he will
reap for four years longer, (thrice as long, perhaps,
as he himself may live,) that vote shall be reap
when he stands before his Maker in judgment. 'Little
children, let no man deceive you. He that doeth
righteousness is righteous.' Not he that proposes
to do righteousness, for years hence, and on the
fancied merit of it emboldens himself to join with
others in doing unrighteousness, now. Who has
assured you that you shall live four years longer,
to undo by a righteous vote now, what you do
by your adding to that sin the kindred sin, on a
smaller scale, of voting against the liberties of
an infinitely smaller number of white men in Kan-
sas?

Oh, no! It is all folly and self-deception. The
chief sin of the Democratic party is its contin-
uous refusal to liberate the enslaved Americans in
the slave States. The attempt at 'crushing out
liberty in Kansas' is but a sin of yesterday, an in-
cident, merely, an instrument of its greater and
more chronic and longer continued sin. The Re-
publican party is 'inflexibly opposed' to any dis-
turbance of that great sin. Such disturbance
would be 'fatal to liberty,' by overturning the
sacred and sovereign right of the States to main-
tain slavery! It thus endorses the chief sin of
the Democratic party, and becomes a partaker in
it. It claims, however, the merit of supporting
white liberty in Kansas. The sin of voting for
black slavery in the States is cancelled by the
merit of voting for white liberty in Kansas!

APPLY YOUR VOTE TO YOUR OWN VOTING.

You say your vote for the 'Republican' candi-
date is not a vote for his pledge, and the pledge
of the Convention against liberating the Ameri-
can slaves. Well, then, how can you say that
your vote for the candidate, and with the Con-
vention as a party, is a vote against slavery in Kan-
sas? If it be not a vote for the former, how can
it be a vote for the latter? If you shift the blame
of the one, how can you receive approbation for
the other! How can you prevent the influence of
your vote in the one direction, and yet secure its
influence in the other! The same vote that elects
the national deliverer, as you suppose, of the
whites in Kansas, elects the man 'inflexibly op-
posed' to the national deliverance of millions of
colored men in the States. If your vote cannot
be applied to tell what you intend with respect to
colored men in the States, how can it be trusted
to tell what you intend in respect to white men
in Kansas?

And why may not Bennett, of the New York
Herald, and his wing of the Republican party,
say that their vote is not for freedom in Kansas,
(as already they do say it is not,) but only a vote
to keep up agitation on the 'nigger question,'
and use up the 'nigger worshippers,' as they call
them, with their own votes? You think would be
most likely to get cheated! Let past experience
in that line be pondered!

But the vote, it is said, is made 'under protest'
! And, pray, what can that mean! Against
what, or against whom, is the protest made? Is
it against the pledge to let slavery alone in the
States? Is it against the candidate and the Con-
vention who made the pledge? How then can the
vote be given in their favor! The voter protests
that it is all wrong; but his vote conveys the
power of perpetuating that wrong! If there be
any power in the protest, the voter protests
against himself! He declares his knowledge of the
wrong, while he knowingly assists in its in-
fliction. He does know—he can't help knowing,
that his vote helps to continue the wrong in the
Platform, just as much as it can help the right
in the Platform.

The device of 'voting under protest' is among
the most modern, and least creditable, of our
American inventions. Its first experiment, if I
mistake not, was made in 1852, when Whigs
and Democrats, alike, voted for Scott or for Pierce,
'under protest' against their twin Baltimore
Platforms. The pretence was derided by Free
Soilers and Abolitionists, as it deserved to be, till
the inventors were ashamed of it, and cast it
aside. But the device is now being brushed
up again by Abolitionists intent on voting with
the Republicans! It is of no use to think of reform-
ing our corrupt politics, if the last and most
shameless of all political devices is to be adopted
by political reformers. As well might they
proclaim upon the house-top that sincerity and
honesty in politics are 'impracticable.' Your
vote is yourself—part and parcel of that self that
must go to the bar of judgment.

Can now to a more distinct consideration of
some of the false principles that underlie, or that
constitute the excuses and objections with which
I am dealing.

I. HAVE PRINCIPLES ANY BINDING AUTHORITY?

It is useless to lay down correct principles of
action, or to expose false principles, unless it be
first understood and settled whether correct prin-
ciples have any binding authority. Now all in-
stances of professed Abolitionists for voting with
the Republicans go on the assumption, directly
or indirectly, that correct principles have no
binding authority.

In no instance have I found any one who has
expressed a doubt that the measures of radical
abolitionists naturally grew out of their prin-
ciples, and harmonized with them—that the prin-
ciples require just such measures for their expression
and application. There is no room for two opin-
ions on that point. And in no instance have I
seen or heard it pretended that the measures of
the 'Republican' party grow out of, or harmonize
with, the principles of Radical Abolitionists. And
yet, professing to hold with the Abolitionists, they
propose to act with the 'Republicans'—that is,
in opposition to their own professed principles!
This is saying, in action, (the most forcible of all
speech,) that correct principles have no binding
authority, or may be disarmed of that authority
by circumstances.

There is nothing uncommon nor singular in this.
It is common to hear men say, on singular occa-
sions, that 'abstract principles are not safe rules
of action. Correct principles are well in their
place, but, in this world of ours, they are often
impracticable. We must act like "practical busi-
ness men!"'

Well, how do 'practical business men' act?
Those, I mean, who accomplish great, desirable,
permanent, and important ends? Arkwright, Fulton,
Morse—safe navigators, successful agricul-
turalists, inventors, reformers, like the Earl of
Nehemiah, Moses? Did they achieve their ends,
by acting at variance with correct principles? Or
by holding them in abeyance! Or by parting
with them to run after majorities! Or by making
compromises with them or about them? Or by
suspending obedience to them? Or in any other
way than by yielding to them the most reverent
and implicit obedience! Never! No. Never!
Con over the pages of the world's history, and dis-
cover the solitary exception, if you can. The ex-
ception, when found, will stand side by side with
an exception to the All-Wise Creator's veracity
and truthfulness—the record of the time when
he slumbered and slept! There is no irreverence
in saying this. The sublimity of veneration im-
pels the testimony. Abstract principles—correct
principles—what are they! They are the pillars
of Jehovah's throne. They are the vital strength
of his right arm! They are the changeless rules
of his own action. They are the core and the ba-
sis of all his commands to his creatures. By these
he controls the planets, plants, or overthrows na-
tions, gives law to principalities in heaven, builds
up his kingdom of holiness on earth, guides the
meek in his way, clothes the lilies in beauty, rides
on the wings of the wind, and marshals the sea-
and the stars.

The revelation of a correct principle is the revela-
tion of God's authority, of God's will, of God's
designs, of God's law. Principle is the key-note
of creation—of the physical universe and of the
moral; the essence of all natural laws and all
moral laws, of the Kingdom of Providence and of
Grace; the substratum of all Decalogues, the liv-
ing spirit of all Gospels; the law of all law; the
verity of all truth. This the One Great and only
Lawgiver affirms, when he claims that his com-
mandments are the truth, that his precepts con-
cerning all things are right. Take away from
them, (if it could be done,) their righteousness
and truth, their conformity, in other words, to the
principles that are true and right, and the right-

eous and truthful lawgiver would then claim for
them no authority or reverence.
Whenever a correct principle is revealed to your
conscience, you have in it a revelation of all
the authority there is or can be in any divine law,
or in the lawgiver himself. To set aside a correct
principle is to set Him aside. To depart from it
is to depart from Him. To deride 'abstract prin-
ciples' as a rule of action, is to deride Him. To
spurn their guidance is to spurn His. To refuse
to be higher and go no further than to teach us
the principles of his religion. It is a trite saying,
on the lips of all preachers and the pens of all
commentators, that the Bible is our guide chiefly
by the principles which it lays down for us and
exounds to us. No possible code of specific
positive precepts could reach a tithe of the particular
cases of conscience arising in the daily discharge
of our duties. If conscience, reason, and Scrip-
ture be not our guide, what is? If it be not our
principle be not our guide, what is? If it be not our
principle be not

