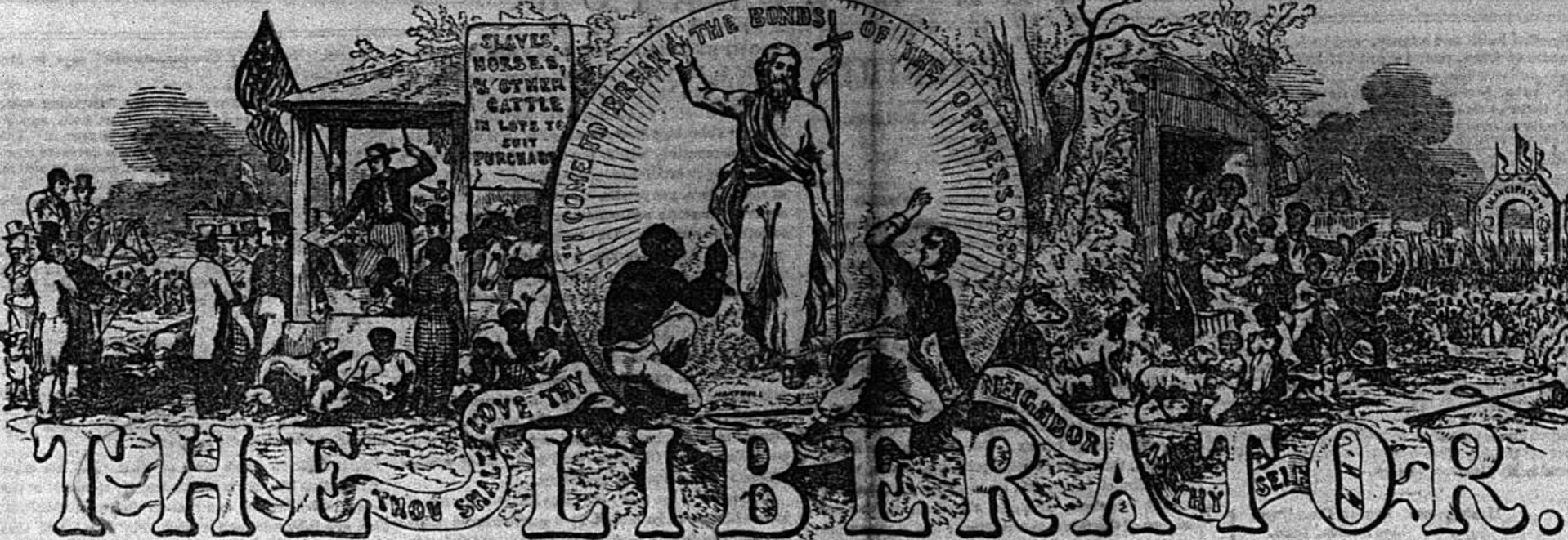


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THE LIBERATOR

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.'

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXVII. NO. 46.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1857.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1401.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

THE NEW HAVEN DOCTORS ONCE MORE.

The pious and learned fathers of Connecticut, who wrote themselves into so unenviable a notoriety some weeks ago, in their absurd memorial to Mr. Buchanan, not being satisfied with the torn and tattered condition in which that dainty specimen of their dialectic skill was left by the answer of the President, have again put their reverend heads together over the crucibles of old Yale, and concocted a reply, which, for distinction sake, might be aptly termed their 'Second Epistle to James.'

THE LAST EXPLOIT.

The last exploit of the Black Republican shriekers endeavoring to get up a bitter feud in the American Tract Society, has been condemned by all the principal religious presses, and also by many eminent ministers in this country.

OUT OF EMPLOYMENT.

Under this caption the editor of the Raleigh (N. C.) Register indicates the following interrogatories: - It is estimated that 100,000 operatives at the North will be out of employment at the end of this year.

SELECTIONS.

From the Westminster Review.

'MANIFEST DESTINY' OF THE AMERICAN UNION.

Several other States have assumed the same attitude towards the decision of the Supreme Court that Massachusetts did before in regard to the Fugitive Slave Act by her Personal Liberty Law.

RESOLVED, THAT THIS STATE WILL NOT ALLOW SLAVERY WITHIN ITS BORDERS, IN ANY FORM, OR UNDER ANY PRETEXT, FOR ANY TIME, HOWEVER SHORT, LET THE CONSEQUENCES BE WHAT THEY MAY.

On the 1st of May, the Pennsylvania Legislature pronounced on the decision of the Supreme Court that it was null in law because it was gratuitously offered, wholly uncalled for, and to no purpose, if the judges themselves were right in declaring that Dred Scott was not, because he could not be, before the Court.

THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

We are glad to see a growing feeling in favor of re-opening the slave trade. We have availed our willingness, long since, to see it once more open, provided it can be legalized, and at a future day we shall take up the subject fully.

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neighbors, from the hour when the North effectually repudiates slavery. The South would doubtless try the experiment of a military despotism in the several States; but the loss of Northern aid, and of the cotton market of Europe, would be fatal from the outset; and they could not compete with the cotton growth of free labor. In short, such a position would be wholly untenable. To the next question—what else?—there is no present answer; and herein lies the unmistakable token of revolution, not merely impending, but actual. The mist of the comet blurs every thing. We can only ask questions—and the first questions are, whether, if they wished it ever so much, the American people could now wait four years for such a reversal of parties as a presidential election may effect; and, next, whether the strife about slavery-extension can be suspended for the fifteen years required for the reversal of the preponderance in the Supreme Court. There can, of course, be no such suspension of the vital social interests of daily life; and those who say most about waiting, best know that it is impossible.

As for us, we decline to prophesy amidst so dire a confusion, and under the shadow of so black a thunder-cloud. The one thing we are sure of is, that the old Constitution, laden with new corruptions, cannot serve and sustain the Republic. We believe that if a radical reconstitution is not immediately agreed upon, there must be a dissolution of the Union,—the slave States being subject to the curse of a military despotism, and the perils of a servile war. It hardly appears that there can be a question about this; but of the issue, we cannot venture to vaticinate. Our trust is, that the Abolitionists will not abate a jot of that strong will which renders them the real antagonists of the South; that they will press on the more strenuously as the critical moment discloses itself; and that, by upholding in the sight of all men the democratic principles which first gave them a country, they may justify that instinct of the highest minds in the Old World which has recognized them, amidst the depressions and obscurities of a quarter of a century of adversity, as the ten righteous men who should save their city.

THE CINCINNATI SLAVE CASE.

The telegraph has already given the main facts of the case of the three slaves who, on a second writ of *habeas corpus*, were delivered over to their master by Judge Carter of Cincinnati last Tuesday. They were the alleged property of Mr. Withers of Virginia, and while at the Cincinnati landing, on their way to St. Louis to the residence of their master, were arrested on a writ of *habeas corpus* granted by Judge Burgoyne of the Probate Court, and taken before him on Monday afternoon. At the request, however, of their master's counsel, the examination was continued to the next day, and the slaves were committed to the care of Mr. Eggleston as guardian, according to an Ohio statute. But on Tuesday morning, Mr. Withers obtained another writ of *habeas corpus* from Judge Carter of the Common Pleas Court, for the possession of his slaves, alleging them to be illegally detained. In compliance with this writ, the following proceedings were had, according to the Cincinnati Gazette:

The hearing was appointed for 3 o'clock, and at that hour, while hundreds who were not aware of the second writ of *habeas corpus* were waiting in the Probate Court and around the Court House, excitedly discussing the question, the three slaves were brought before Judge Carter, who propounded the question to each:

- 'Are you a slave?'
- 'I am.'
- 'Are you restrained of your liberty?'
- 'I am not.'
- 'Do you wish to go with your master?'
- 'I do.'
- 'You are at liberty to go where you please.'

Judge Carter then directed the Sheriff to hand over the slaves to the custody of Mr. Withers, and they were immediately rushed out of the court room, put into an express wagon waiting at the door, and driven with speed to the Vine street ferry, put on board the 'Queen City,' and in a few minutes were landed on the Kentucky side of the river, and taken to the Barlow House in Newport. A small crowd was present at the ferry, who booed and shouted, but no attempt at a rescue was made, and Mr. Withers, not a little anxious and excited himself, rejoiced much in the re-possession of his human chattels.

The sly, underhanded way in which the re-delivery of the slaves was made at the Court House, probably prevented a scene of excitement that might have resulted in disastrous consequences. Before the negroes present in the Probate Court, waiting for the appearance of the slaves, were aware of what was in progress, by the summary process of Judge Carter, they were being conveyed to the boat to be carried back into slavery.

On the announcement of the fact in the Probate Court, that the slaves had been given over to the custody of the master by Judge Carter, Mr. Jolliffe asked that the aid of the sheriff be invoked, or that special constables be appointed, to bring the negroes back to the Court.

Judge Burgoyne remarked that he should immediately issue an attachment, and directed the clerk to do so at once.

Mr. Jolliffe then said, 'I ask the Court to issue a writ against Alfred George Washington Carter, commanding him to show cause why he should not be punished for a contempt of this Court.'

Judge Burgoyne—That application I should grant with a great deal of reluctance. This classing of jurisdiction is injurious in its effects.

Mr. Jolliffe—We shall not press this for instant action; but the Court will regard the motion as being before it, and we expect and hope a decision upon it.

Judge Burgoyne—I feel bound to protect and vindicate the process of this Court, and certainly if the proceeding had been against any other than a brother member of the Bench, I should not hesitate; but the party here is a Judge of the Common Pleas, acts in that capacity, is under his oath of office, and is responsible to his constituency for his official acts; and I should regret the necessity of taking any steps toward him.

Mr. Jolliffe—As a Judge violate the laws of the land, he should be the first person punished for doing so. The laws of the land have been outraged and the dignity of the State trampled on; and Judge Carter should be signally punished for that outrage; the fact that he is a Judge, so far from shielding him, goes only to aggravate the offence.

Mr. Elliot said that he had stated the facts of the proceeding in the Probate Court to Judge Carter, who showed him the transcript of the record, and which, however, the Judge merely glanced, and did not pay any attention to the statement that those who opposed the application of Mr. Withers, denied the allegations in his petition.

Judge Burgoyne said that he had intimated that the first step should be to bring the negroes before the Court, but he had inferred from the remarks of Judge Hallen of Kentucky, who appeared by courtesy for the master, that there would be no difficulty in the matter, but that the slaves would be forthcoming soon.

Mr. Peat stood in defence of Judge Hallen, that when he made that statement, he was not aware of what was about to transpire in another Court.

Judge Burgoyne further stated that Judge Carter had said he should take no further action in the matter until the proceeding in the Probate Court was disposed of. Judge B. suggested the removal of the case entirely from Judge Carter, but the latter said little about that, but remarked, 'Go on and try the case.'

The matter was dropped after some further discussion of the same tenor as the above, and left for such future action as may be deemed proper.

The conduct of Judge Carter in the premises, besides being personally reprehensible, is calculated to raise some serious legal questions. We do not remember ever to have seen an instance where a writ of *habeas corpus* was used to take a person out of the legal custody of another court of competent jurisdiction, while proceedings affecting such person were actually pending in the court of the Southern States, which have heretofore affiliated with the American Tract Society, going to receive this plausible apology for an unremedied cause of offence? We should wait to see. Any church that does act unworthily, is not better than the Society itself, and should be denounced as in the same category.

undignified haste and secrecy, and to have violated a statute of Ohio, passed April 17, 1857, which expressly declares that persons brought to that State by any other person, 'with intent to hold or control' them as slaves, 'shall be deemed and held in all courts as absolutely free.'—Boston Journal.

JEFFERSON AND SLAVERY.

We were shown, the other night, by Hon. David Heaton, who has recently come from Ohio to make his future residence in our city, an original manuscript letter in the hand-writing of THOMAS JEFFERSON, on the subject of slavery, written by that old patriot in reply to a letter from the father of Mr. Heaton. We give the letter and the response below—partly to gratify public curiosity, and more as an instructive lesson to those Minnesota Democrats who insist that Slavery is a National Institution, established and made perpetual by the great Charter of our Liberties. Think of it, 'degenerate sons of not degenerate sires'—think of it! Jefferson considers slavery a sectional crime—you have spread it over all the fair, free territories of the Republic! First a Mr. Heaton's letter.

MIDDLETOWN, BUTLER CO., OHIO, April 20th, 1856.

DEAR AND HONORED SIR:
Permit me, a native of Virginia, an admirer of your character, who feels an interest in your fame, and who always has eagerly laid hold of every thing occupying your pen as political perfection, I say permit such a man to occupy a few minutes of your precious and remaining time.

It has for many years been conjectured that you would favor the world, at some period, with a political treatise, having for one object, the emancipation of the blacks, and for another, the abolition of slavery to the whites, and unfolding your own great name and fame, should so move you to leave one single page to that effect, many of your friends and devoted political disciples believe it would have a more certain, permanent, calm, and irresistible effect, than any and all things written, and said thereon, during the existence of the American Government.

I am well aware that to ask you to write me your detailed opinion on the subject would be very improper, and to write you a tedious letter would be impertinent; but my zeal on the subject, together with a long confirmed opinion of the goodness of your heart and the rectitude of your head, has emboldened me to ask you to give me *two lines*, expressive of the probability of your leaving to the world your thoughts on that subject.

I fear, in making this request, I may be censured for impertinence. If, however, I err in any way, I ask forgiveness; and whatever shall be the fate of this my request, I shall die, as I have lived, the undeviating friend to the good name, fame and character of Jefferson.

Respectfully, JAMES HEATON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Monticello, Va.

MONTICELLO, May 20th, 1856.

DEAR SIR: The subject of your letter of April 20th is one on which I do not permit myself to express an opinion, but when I reflect, and occasion may give it some favorable effect. A good cause is often injured more by ill-timed efforts of its friends, than the arguments of its enemies. Persuasion, perseverance and patience are the best advocates, depending on the will of the others. The revolution in public opinion which this case requires, is not to be expected in a day, or perhaps an age; but time, which outlives all things, will outlive this evil also.

My sentiments have been forty years before the public. Had I repeated them from time to time, they would only have become the more stale and threadbare. Although I shall not live to see them consummated, they will do me no harm, but, being or dying, they will be in my most fervent prayers.

This is written for yourself, and not for the public, in compliance with your request of two lines of my sentiment on the subject.

Accept the assurance of my good will and respect.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

JAMES HEATON, Esq., Middletown, Butler Co., Ohio.

MANAGEMENT OF THE TRACT SOCIETY.

The New York Observer apparently sheds some light on this subject, and the probabilities of the future. We do not know whether it speaks by authority, but it speaks with confidence. It tells us that 'at a moderate estimate, four fifths of the patrons of the Society demand its abstinence from the discussion of slavery.' We learn from it further that the one fifth who desire its discussion are mainly among the Congregationalists and some Northern Baptists, while the Episcopalians, Dutch Reformed and Presbyterians are nearly all opposed to any discussion. But the most important information is, that if this one fifth should out-vote the four fifths, and change the administration of the Society so as to publish tracts on slavery, the result would be that 'the State of New York would be instantly laid upon it, and an injunction would be instantly laid upon it, and it would be restrained from publishing any tract that does not meet the precise legal requirements of the constitution.' That is, if the one fifth should prove to be a majority, then the four fifths minority will appeal to the Judicial courts of New York to decide what is 'calculated to receive the approbation of all evangelical Christians.' From our recollection of some of the former Judicial decisions of that State, we apprehend an injunction might be obtained against some of the Society's tracts on temperance, also.—Maine Evangelist.

The following resolution of the Chicago Congregational Association expresses, we believe, the general feeling of the North to the late Circular of the Executive Committee of the American Tract Society:

Resolved, That the recent Circular of the Executive Committee of the American Tract Society, announcing their determination not to carry out the instructions of the Society with reference to publications on the subject of slavery, has filled us with disappointment, sorrow and alarm; that we regard their decision as a manifestation of weakness, unworthy of Christian men in their position; that we pronounce their excuses to be undeserving of attention, and an insult to the intelligence of the public; that we deem their course to be treacherous to their official duty, and most injurious to the interests of the Society; that we view with apprehension the effect which their action will have upon the confidence hitherto reposed by the churches in the management of our benevolent societies; and that we call for a special meeting of the Society, to review the subject in question, and to which the present Executive Committee shall tender their resignation.

From the Boston Christian Register.

For all the humble plea that the American Tract Society has taken to please the South, the latter finds it hard to be appeased. The Society has once committed the unpardonable sin of thinking about printing on the distasteful matters towards slaves; and though the book adopted for republication was by a Southern slaveholder, and breathed no word against slaveholding, and though the idea of publishing was renounced at once at the bidding of the Southern masters—masters of the Society as well as of the slaves—even after it was in print, yet this is the rewarding that the Society gets from such papers as the Texas Christian Advocate. It exults at the concession made, but is only encouraged by it to demand more.

'THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY BACKS DOWN.' Finding that they were about to lose the whole South, they have sent out a circular entitled, 'Recent Action of the American Tract Society,' in which they declare openly that they will not proceed according to the action of the last anniversary; that they will not publish anything on the subject of slavery. We have received one at this office. It is exceedingly apologetic and deprecatory, and pleads mightily for pacification. We shall not publish it. We do not care a cent whether they publish on the subject or not. The action they have taken on the subject is the cause of offence, and until this is squarely and unequivocally taken back, we are against the Society totally, and will labor for its destruction with what might God will give us.

And we ask the question, are those Southern churches, which have heretofore affiliated with the American Tract Society, going to receive this plausible apology for an unremedied cause of offence? We should wait to see. Any church that does act unworthily, is not better than the Society itself, and should be denounced as in the same category.

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVERHOLDERS.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 13, 1857.

REMOVAL OF JUDGE LORING.

Before the recent State election, some of the partisans of Gov. Gardner made his contumacious refusal to remove Judge Loring from the office which he disgraced, and which he holds in flagrant violation of a law of the Commonwealth, as a special reason why Gov. G. should be re-elected. The result of the election shows in what manner that issue was met by the people, in their sending him 'to Coventry,' and electing Mr. Banks as his successor.

This is the third time that the public sentiment of Massachusetts has found expression, in regard to the removal of Judge Loring. Twice before it made manifest, through two different Legislatures, without distinction of party, and by overwhelming majorities in both branches. It is due, therefore, to the sovereignty of the State, to a righteous law, contumaciously disregarded, to the cause of freedom and humanity, that another effort should be made, 'with a will,' to eject the defiant Judge from his office, by petitioning the next Legislature—not doubting that it will very unitedly adopt an address to Gov. Banks, to that effect, and that he will cheerfully comply with the popular will.

The New York Tribune says, 'We shall be very much disappointed, if next spring shall find Edward G. Loring holding a State office, or if all questions affecting Personal Liberty in the Bay State shall not have received a thorough revision.'

Below is a form of petition which should be circulated for signatures without delay, as it is indispensable that an early return should be made to the Legislature to insure its consideration.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts, in General Court assembled:

The undersigned, citizens of this Commonwealth, respectfully represent—

That by a law passed May 21, 1856, by the Legislature of Massachusetts, it was declared—

'No person who holds any office under the laws of the United States, which qualifies him to issue any warrant or other process, or to grant any certificate under the acts of Congress named in the 9th section of this act, or to serve the same, shall, at the same time, hold any office of honor, trust or emolument under the laws of this Commonwealth.'

Your petitioners further represent—

That in open defiance of this law, and of the voice of the people of Massachusetts, as expressed (without distinction of party) by the action of two separate Legislatures for its removal, but twice rendered ineffectual by Executive non-concurrence, EDWARD GREELEY LORING, (while acting as a Commissioner of the United States), continues to hold the office of Judge of Probate for the county of Suffolk; thus setting an example of contumacy and becoming a good citizen, and wantonly disregarding the moral convictions of the people of this State as pertaining to the enforcement of the odious Fugitive Slave Bill!

They, therefore, earnestly pray the General Court to recommend to the Governor and Council, the removal of the said EDWARD GREELEY LORING from the office of Judge of Probate; and thus enforce a wholesome law of the Commonwealth, which it is his declared purpose to disregard, and thereby vindicate the sovereignty of the people of this Commonwealth.

NORTHERN DISUNION CONVENTION.

In our last number, we expressed a desire to be informed whether the Convention which was held at Cleveland, Ohio, on the 28th and 29th ultimo, assumed to be the Northern Convention originally called at that time and place, with reference to a dissolution of the Union, or only an impromptu gathering. To this inquiry, we have received the following reply from our friend PARKER PILLSBURY—

CONCORD, N. H., Nov. 8, 1857.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON: In your strictures in the last LIBERATOR on the recent meeting at Cleveland, you ask 'whether the Convention that was held claimed to be the one originally called, or only a local gathering.' As the nearest one to you who was at the meeting, allow me to reply in a word.

When I reached Cleveland, on the evening before the Convention was to have commenced, I found most of our lecturing force already on the ground, and we held a preliminary meeting immediately, in one of the rooms of the American Hotel. We were much divided on the question *what to do*, though there was but one sentiment on what had been already done by the Committee. It was suggested that one of three courses must be pursued: we must either hold the Convention called; or, secondly, hold a Convention on our own motion; or, thirdly, abandon the whole affair, and go our several ways.

To the last proposition it was objected, that not only was there strength enough to have a good and effective Convention, but persons were also present, and more coming, who would like to attend some kind of meeting, after coming so far, rather than lose the journey altogether. The only remaining question was, Shall we hold the Convention called, or another? Some one offered the resolutions to which you take exception in a form making it the Convention contemplated in the Call. Strong objections were urged to this, and finally the resolutions were amended so as to hold 'a Convention,' but not the Convention; and with two or three other slight changes of an explanatory nature, (made at my suggestion,) they were unanimously adopted by the meeting, and we went harmoniously to work.

I do not see that our meeting has anything to do with the future action of the Disunion Committee of Arrangements. But my fear is, that it will be a long time before another Convention will be called and held, with such effect as would have followed this, had the Committee adhered to the original arrangement, notwithstanding the 'commercial crisis,' and every other unfavorable condition and circumstance.

Yours, ever truly,

PARKER PILLSBURY.

It appears, by this letter, that those who participated in the Cleveland meeting did not regard it as the Convention originally called by the Committee of Arrangements. We do not see, then, the propriety of the resolution of censure which they adopted, denying to the Committee the possession of any delegated or moral power to announce a postponement of the Convention, and resolving 'that good faith towards the public, a due respect for ourselves, as the callers of this Convention, and more especially to the cause of Humanity and Freedom, impel our adherence to the design for which we have come together'—for this is plainly covering the whole ground, at least by implication.

With this explanation of Mr. PILLSBURY, however, we presume the Committee of Arrangements will feel authorized to proceed in determining when it will be desirable to hold a Northern Convention for the purpose set forth in the original Call; and we trust it will be apparent to all, in the end, that something has been gained, and nothing lost, by the postponement, in view of all the circumstances.

The Governor of this Commonwealth has appointed Thursday, 26th, for a day of public thanksgiving and praise; and they will be heartily rendered, that his term of office expires with the year, and that he is no longer to encumber the gubernatorial chair.

Our Essex County friends will notice the call for their quarterly meeting on Monday at Essex.

COMPENSATION TO SLAVERHOLDERS.

'H.' in last week's Liberator, complains that injustice is done him in his notice, (entitled 'Compensation Parcel'), of his three letters to Elihu Burritt, signed 'Voluntary Compensationist,' in Zion's Herald.

In commenting, within the space of two-thirds of a column, upon articles occupying five columns, I could of course give, not details, but only results; my judgment of the scope and tendency, on the whole, of the articles in question. On reviewing his articles and my own, I do not see how I could have taken a different view, or given a different judgment, as then informed. If the amplifications and additions which 'H.' has given me in the Liberator had formed a part of the original series in Zion's Herald, I should have written differently, or not at all, respecting them. And I think that, in expecting the readers of that series to understand from all that 'H.' has since told us in the Liberator, 'H.' has shown the same inconsiderateness as when he represents my censure of false pretenses to the Christian name as a 'sneer against Christian professors and preachers.'

It appears to me that 'H.' like Mr. Burritt, has allowed himself to be misled, by a good-natured desire for fraternal feeling and united action, into the error of attempting to reconcile incompatibles, and the danger of proposing a compromise between right and wrong. As now instructed, I have no doubt of his good intentions towards the slave; but, in justice to myself, I must quote from the letters of 'Voluntary Compensationist' the strongest of those expressions which seemed designed to favor the slaveholder at the expense of the slave. Those letters contained many expressions inconsistent with each other. In the same manner, 'H.' in the Liberator, in one place calls his scheme 'my prescription for curing thoroughly the hurt of the daughter of God's people'—and in another place says, 'The whole aim and end of the plan, so far as the slaveholder is concerned, is to aid *penitent* masters in escaping from their condition.' Now, even supposing 'H.'s most liberal estimate of the number of 'penitent masters' to be correct, how very different would be the diminution of the slaveholding body to that extent from a thorough cure of slavery!

Many inconsistencies equally great appeared in the letters to Mr. Burritt. 'H.' has taken one class of these statements, and after amplification and addition, claims for them, and very justly, a meaning quite different from that which I ascribed to the original articles. Specimens of the other class, which I now proceed to quote, will show the ground on which my statements were founded.

I. Expressions in the letters of 'Voluntary Compensationist' favoring the claim of some right in the master to hold the slave.

Among the reasons for dealing with slavery by compensation to the master, he says—

'It is the right way. The common feeling of society is, that when one is honorably involved in a business which ultimately becomes dishonorable, he should be helped to get out of it.'

Again—'It is the best way.'

Again he calls the sale of ten slaves (for emancipation) for \$1000, liberality on the part of the owner.

As if anything could properly be called, by eminence, the right way, and the best way, which was not a full and penitent relinquishment of the unjust claim! As if the giving up, by the thief, of three-quarters of the stolen property, was to be recognized as 'liberality,' or as anything but defective justice!

II. Expressions implying that immediate and unconditional emancipation is undesirable to the slave.

'This gift of freedom cannot be received, unless he can be transferred to a free State,' and *conceded to beneficial*, unless he is aided to commence there the life of freedom. It is especially right to the slave that he should not be turned out on the cold charities of the world, cast upon the barren shore of freedom.

And again—'He merits no such fate.'

As if the slave would not promptly, and 'with alacrity,' transport himself to a free State, if the master would assure him that hunters, with hounds and rifles, would not be sent after him! As if the restoration of his right to *earn* money would not be 'beneficial,' unless money was given him with it!

III. Expressions implying that masters at present refrain from emancipation from a real regard for the welfare of the slaves.

'The responses to the efforts of the Society would, of course, be few at first; but these would be published abroad, and the well-being of the freedman would incline other masters to trust their servants in the hands of the Society. The virtuous and respectable masters would be won to the support of the Society, laws would be passed in a few years, in some of the States, permitting manumission on the soil, and schemes of gradual emancipation would be adopted in some, and finally in all the slave States.'

'No objection can be made to the offer of the master to give them their freedom providing they can be well located, and started on their independent life journey.'

As if liberty would not be a great advance towards the well-being of the freedman, even if he had not a cent in his pocket!

IV. Expressions implying inability in the masters to set their slaves free without external aid.

'What we want is an association * * * to help every slaveholder that wishes deliverance out of the pit in which he is sunk: to assist, by their voluntary contributions, those masters that may desire aid to free themselves from slavery.'

St. James, Claytons and Nina Gordons are found by thousands in connection with this system, and with desires to be delivered from the body of death, but are shut up to their fate by the laws of the States, the customs in which they have been trained, the tyranny of public opinion, ignorance of any means of manumission, and inability to do such a work alone.

As if Clayton had not delivered himself from the system in the face of all these difficulties! As if Nina was not in the act of doing the same thing when sudden death cut her off! As if St. Clare had not invariably and fully admitted his own guilt in being a slaveholder! As if the gain of a strong man, who is holding a weak one by the collar, that he is unable to let him go, and is only waiting for help to do so, were not utterly absurd and ridiculous!

The serious incoherence that in many cases manumission is a slavish holding family from immediate manumission is very obvious, being precisely that which befalls the rumseller, the pickpocket and the burglar, from immediate relinquishment of their respective occupations. In all these cases, when the reproaches of conscience, though not active enough to cause an immediate abandonment of the sin, yet become too active to be borne without some change, the natural result of the convicted sinner is to compromise and gradualism, a determination to reform some time or other. When a man, in such circumstances, overcomes this temptation, boldly meets the difficulty, and promptly does what is right, at whatever expense to himself, he is very likely to receive both sympathy and aid from his neighbors in meeting the consequences, after the act is performed; but he who announces that, from conscientious motives, he is determined to do right as soon as he shall receive a guaranty against pecuniary loss beyond a certain point, will be far less likely to receive either cash or credit.

V. Expressions in relation to the Colonization Society, implying acquiescence in its false and wicked fundamental principle, that black and white men cannot dwell together, peacefully, in the enjoyment of equal rights.

'Voluntary Compensationist' says to Elihu Burritt, respecting the compensation scheme of the latter—

'This plan totally overlooks, and thus strengthens, the radical objection which the non-slaveholding South have to emancipation—that is, their unwillingness to have so many millions of an abhorred race dwelling freely among them.'

Again, 'Voluntary Compensationist' says to Mr. Burritt—

'You will notice that this is only combining some of the present forms of attacking this evil, and so bringing their real force to bear directly upon it. The Colonization and Kansas Aid Societies promote combinations of all kinds to secure the freedom of slaves, and your plans are all represented in this idea. It is colonization in America, and so far as possible, on the soil.' And again—

'No objection can be made to the offer of the master to give them their freedom, providing they can be well located, and started on their independent life journey. This is the power of the Colonization Society, so far as it has any, against slavery.'

And again—

'Let the Colonization Society offer to colonize an American as well as an African soil, if master and benefactor and slave so prefer.' And again—

'States would gladly and liberally aid it [the scheme of 'Voluntary Compensationist'], as they now do the Colonization Society, when they saw it was judicially and successfully conducted.'

No intimation exists here of what 'H.' has since told us, that his plan is 'most directly opposed' to the Colonization Society, and that its idea is an 'unchristian, and inhuman, and unbrotherly idea,' and that the colonization which he proposes is not in a separated district, but 'among his white brethren.' How could we conjecture that when 'Voluntary Compensationist' said—'Let the Colonization Society offer to colonize an American, as well as an African soil'—he meant to imply that they should abandon their fundamental idea of a separation of the races, or that he meant by 'colonizing' the same as 'H.' means, namely—giving our emancipated brethren a home among ourselves?

Now, I distinctly admit, not only that many things different from, and better than, the expressions now quoted, exist in the three letters of 'Voluntary Compensationist,' but that some of these are susceptible of a better explanation. But the fact remains that these expressions are there, and that they are susceptible of this explanation. This 'damaged phraseology,' expressing or implying some reason against immediate and unconditional emancipation, is used by 'Voluntary Compensationist' exactly as it has been used by the defenders and apologists of slavery, and thus justly exposed him to suspicion until that meaning was discovered. It has now been discovered, in the communication of 'H.' in the Liberator, but the readers of Zion's Herald are still at liberty to suppose that 'Voluntary Compensationist' ends no fault with the Colonization Society, except its inefficiency, a defect which he ascribes equally to the abolitionists. No reader of those three letters in Zion's Herald could possibly discover that their writer considered the idea of the Colonization Society an 'unchristian, and inhuman, and unbrotherly idea.' Until 'H.'s explanation was given, there were nine chances out of ten that the author of those letters favored the prejudices which that Society upholds, and was acting more in the interest of the slaveholder than of the slave.

Neither is this interpretation rendered unreasonable or improbable by the fact that those same letters contain an equal number of expressions, which, taken by themselves, will fairly bear a different construction. It has, of late, been a specially favorite policy of pro-slavery writers, (particularly of those connected with the church,) to seek to unite conservatism with reform, and to use, in the same document, expressions of toleration or favor towards both. They deprecate agitation more than slavery, strife more than sin, and are so deeply solicitous for the peace of Zion, that they let her purity go unregarded—for the present. By this very method, the government of the American Tract Society have just carried their point against those members of the Society who demanded a reform in its position in regard to slavery. This transaction is so directly apposite to my present purpose, as well as so instructive in its general bearing, that I will rehearse its prominent features.

A certain proportion of the members of the Tract Society demanded that it should publish something against slavery. They continued this demand so pertinaciously, year after year, that the Society appointed a Committee to investigate and report upon the proper course to be pursued. This was a large Committee, of very able and sagacious men, most of whom were quite satisfied with the old policy of the Society.

If they had wished to comply with the request of the petitioners, this might have been done without five minutes deliberation, and in three lines, thus:—'Resolved, That this Society ought immediately to publish tracts against slaveholding, and to circulate them until this great sin shall cease.' Since they did not say this, nor anything like it, and since they were as well able as any men in the country to express exactly what they did mean and wish, I conclude that they did not mean or wish that.

They waited a long time, and then held a long series of sessions, went through long debates, and made a long Report. This Report was fully and heartily agreed to by South-side Adams and his pro-slavery colleagues on one side, and by Rev. Dr. Joseph P. Thomson and his quasi anti-slavery associates on the other. What was the result? The Society has not published a tract against slavery to this day, and the Government say they do not mean to publish anything against it, and that this course is authorized by the language of the Report; and I presume, and every anti-slavery man has a right to presume, that this result is precisely the result intended by the sagacious pro-slavery gentlemen who drew up the Report. If they had meant something else, they would have said something else. But the manner in which they attained this success was a crafty intermingling of expressions favoring conservatism with expressions favoring reform. The party in possession had as many of these expressions as the other party; and possession is nine points of their law, and turns the scale in their favor.

