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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

SLAVERY.

Extract from a sermon by Rev. N. Gage of Haverhill, Mass.

There is another evil, which, from the deep interest it excites at the present time, in the minds of some who may hear me, may claim precedence of a place in slavery—and in speaking very briefly of it, I shall use that freedom to which every man is entitled, who pays a become ing respect to the rights of others. I believe slavery to be an evil of gigantic magnitude: that it presses like an incubus, upon the vital energies of the slaveholding communities; that it is in the eye of almost all Christendom, a great national dishonor, in which we all, more or less participate. Though we *find in the Bible slavery recognised as an established institution*, still, I believe its principles and effects are contrary to the spirit and leading precepts of Christ's gospel. Though a part of the delegates, who framed our Constitution, so looked upon it there is abundant proof. Jefferson's first draft of the Declaration of Independence, spoke against the institution in decisive terms; such expressions however, were eventually suppressed for the sake of harmony of action, in that eventful time. That our national honor is nearly concerned, I see not how any one can doubt. We upbold as a nation, the existence of an institution, in direct defiance of one of the most prominent sentiments announced by us, as our rule of action, when we took our stand upon the broad platform of national independence. That the common understanding, as the foundation of our Constitution, was that slavery was to be perpetual, cannot be maintained, indeed the opposite is susceptible of trivial, if not explicit proof. Some of the most eminent men, who aided in the formation of the Constitution, are known afterwards, to have been active in encouraging sentiments unfriendly to the continuance of slavery. And I confess, I see no peculiar force, in the arguments, which are called and manly attempts, to form a religious sentiment, adverse to the continuance of slavery, which may not apply to attempts, of the missionary enterprise, to change the religious and customs of nations, with whom we maintain friendly intercourse. Slavery is a matter, it is true, under the control of the slaveholding states; but on that account, are those who think it a sin and a national evil, bound to remain silent? Every freeman is the keeper of his own political views; they are as a matter of right and law, under his own control. But do all, who are deeply interested in politics, on that account, refrain from all attempts to change or modify his opinion, with the view to the manner in which he may exercise his right of suffrage?

With each views there is a prominent difficulty in my way of accepting what is called an argument. I have listened to several lectures; read several works; and occasionally newspapers, that advocate the cause; but I have been often pained at witnessing a spirit, with which I cannot hold fellowship;—I cannot attach my sympathy to that spirit, which making no allowance for the influences of education; for the fact, that the institution of slavery has been *supposed by slaveholders, to be sanctioned by the Bible*; for the fact, that it has come down to the present generation of slaveholders, sanctioned by their fathers, whose tombs are around them; that it has *the explicit approval of their spiritual guides*;—that the system is closely interwoven with their means of support; I cannot accord my sympathy to that spirit, which under such circumstances, denounces all slaveholders as man-stealers, murderers, &c., because they do not at once, believe they have considered what measures ought to make for their own security and the welfare of their slaves, set them all free.

Nor can I sympathize with that severity of tongue, which is so often applied to those, who do not take hold of this enterprise. I have heard the majority, perhaps of the New England clergy, who I believe are conscientious in the course they adopt, on a comprehensive view of all duties. I have heard them denounced—and evidently, with a view to compel them to act in a certain manner—in language, which, by whomsoever uttered, I consider a desecration of the pulpit, and an abuse of the liberty of speech. And this, not as an occasional burst of excited feeling—such things on such a subject, we might sometimes look for—but latterly, it has seemed to me, that this course has assumed from some, a deliberate policy. I may be mistaken; but I must think such course a wrong one, so long as we are bound to guard against doing evil, that good may come. The reason, that I cannot unite in carrying forward an enterprise conducted in such a spirit, is, that with my present convictions on the subject, *I should commit more sin, all circumstances considered, in countenancing a spirit, which I think is wrong, than I shall in remaining quiet.*

MR. SHOCKNEY.—The lovers of American literature and fine arts may anticipate a rich treat in the forthcoming Religious Souvenir, for 1839. The engravings are in the highest finish, from originals now in the hands of Mr. Shocknery this town, who is engaged in the literary department of the work. Scofield and Voorhies, N. Y. are the publishers.—*Newark Adv.*

VOL. VIII. OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. NO. 30.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS. FRIDAY, JULY 27, 1838.

THE LIBERATOR

ANTI-SLAVERY.

PROCEEDINGS

Of an Anti-Slavery Convention of Women, assembled from various parts of the United States, in Pennsylvania Hall, in the city of Philadelphia, on Tuesday, the 15th of May, 1838.

At 10 o'clock, A. M., the Convention was called to order. On the nomination of a committee, appointed at a preliminary meeting, on Monday, May 14th, the following officers were appointed:

President, Mary S. Parker, of Boston.

Vice Presidents, Maria W. Chapman, Catharine M. Sullivan, and Susan Paul, of Boston, Mass.; Mary A. W. Johnson, of Providence, R. I.; Margaret Prior, and Sarah T. Smith, of the city of New York; Abby Kelly, Sarah W. Storrs, of Utica, N. Y.; Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia, Pa.; Mary W. Magill, of Buckingham, Pa.; Sarah M. Grimke, of Charleston, S. C.

Secretaries, Anne W. Weston, Martha V. Ball, of Boston, Mass.; Juliana A. Tappan, of New York city; Sarah Lewis, of Philadelphia, Pa.

Treasurer, Sarah M. Douglass, of Philadelphia, Pa.

Adjourned to meet in the same place at 4 o'clock, P. M.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, MAY 15.

The Convention was called to order at 4 o'clock, P. M.

The President then read the nineteenth Psalm, and offered prayer.

On motion, the following persons were appointed a committee to prepare business for the Convention:

Sarah T. Smith, Sarah R. Ingraham, Margaret Dye, Juliana A. Tappan, Martha W. Storrs, New York. Miriam Hussey, Maine. Louisa Whipple, New Hampshire. Lucy N. Dodge, Miriam B. Johnson, Maria W. Chapman, Catharine M. Sullivan, Massachusetts. Harriet L. Truesdell, Waity A. Spencer, Rhode Island. Mary Grew, Sarah M. Douglass, Hetty Burr, Martha Smith, Pensylvania. Angelina E. G. Weld, South Carolina.

On motion, the credentials of the delegates were received and read.

Resolved, That this Convention adjourn to meet at 10 o'clock on Wednesday morning, at such place as shall be procured by the Business Committee.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, MAY 16.

The Convention was called to order at 10 o'clock A. M. in the Temperance Hall.

The 94th Psalm was read by the President and prayer offered by Margaret Prior.

On motion, Sarah Pugh, Emeline M. Southard, Mary G. Parker, and Abby Kelly were appointed a committee to confer with committees from the Pennsylvania State Anti-Slavery Society, the Requited Labor Convention, and the Managers of Pennsylvania Hall, in reference to the arrangements for meetings during the week.

On motion, Rebecca Pitman, of Rhode Island, and Lucretia Mott, of Pennsylvania, were added to the Business Committee.

Sarah T. Smith, on behalf of the Business Committee, presented letters from the Female Anti-Slavery Societies of Salem and Cambridgeport, which were read.

On motion of Juliana A. Tappan,

Resolved, That whatever may be the sacrifice, and whatever other rights may be yielded or denied, we will maintain practically the right of speaking, with slave shall go free, or our cowards, like Lovejoy's, are paralyzed in death.

Resolved, That for every petition rejected by the National Legislature, during their late session, we will endeavor to send *five* the present year; and that we will not cease our efforts opposed by practical every woman within the sphere of our influence shall be heard in the halls of Congress on this subject.

On motion, the business of the Convention was suspended for a short time to give instructions to the committee appointed to make arrangements for the future meetings.

On motion of Mary Spencer,

Resolved, That we regard the right of petition as dear and inalienable, and as far from discovering a dictatorial spirit, it is the refuge of the most humble and powerless, and *true greatness* would never turn away from such appeals.

Mary Grew offered the following resolution:

Whereas, The disciples of Christ are commanded to have no fellowship with the 'unfruitful works of darkness;' and, whereas, union in His church is the strongest expression of fellowship between men; therefore,

Resolved, That it is our duty to keep ourselves separate from those churches which receive to their pulpits and their communion tables, those who buy, or sell, or hold as property, the image of the living God.

This resolution was supported by the mover, Lucretia Mott, Abby Kelly, Maria W. Chapman, Anne W. Weston, Sarah T. Smith, and Sarah Lewis; and opposed by Margaret Dye, Margaret Prior, Henrietta Wilcox, Martha W. Storrs, and Juliana A. Tappan, and was adopted.*

Adjourned to meet in Pennsylvania Hall, on Thursday morning. May 17th.

THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 17.

The Convention was called to order, in the Pennsylvania Hall, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

A portion of Scripture was read, and prayer offered by the President.

Lucretia Mott, made some impressive remarks respecting the riot of the preceding evening, and exhorted the members of the Convention to be steadfast and solemn in the prosecution of the business for which they were assembled.

On motion of Margaret Dye,

Resolved, That the Anti-Slavery enterprise presents one of the most appropriate fields for the exertion of the influence of women, and that we pledge ourselves, with divine assistance, never to desert the work, while an American slave groans in bondage.

On motion of Abigail B. Ordway,

Resolved, That every mother is bound by imperative obligations, to instruct her children in the principles of immediate abolition, by teaching them the nature and sanctity of human rights, and the claims of the great law of love, as binding alike on every member of the human family.

On motion of Mary Grew,

Resolved, That in view of the unparalleled sufferings of the slaves, and also in relation to the oppression of the nominally free people of color in the United States, it becomes the duty of the Christian Church, to offer a special aid of Almighty God for the speedy deliverance of this people from their oppressors, in that way which will most glorify Himself.

On motion of Henrietta Wilcox,

Resolved, That in view of the exigencies of the times, and the loud call for money to aid in the dissemination of truth, this Convention recommend to Female Anti-Slavery Societies to take immediate measures for the formation of cents-a-week societies, on the plan proposed by the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society.*

On motion of Margaret Dye,

Resolved, That the system of American slavery is contrary to the laws of God, and the spirit of true religion, and that the church is deeply implicated in this sin, and that it therefore becomes the impressive duty of all her members to petition their ecclesiastical bodies to enter their decided protests against, and cease to slaveholders from their pulpits and communion tables.

Adjourned to meet in the same place at 4 o'clock, P. M.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, MAY 17.

The Convention was called to order at 4 o'clock, P. M. The President read the 8th chapter of 1st Cor., and Sarah M. Grimke offered prayer.

Sarah T. Smith, on behalf of the Business Committee, presented an address to Anti-Slavery Societies, which was read and adopted.

On motion of Hetty Burr of Southwick,

Resolved, That it is the duty of all those who call themselves abolitionists, to make the *most vigorous efforts* to procure for the use of their families, the products of *free labor*, so far as they may be clean, in this particular, when inquisition is made for blood.

Esther Moore, made some remarks upon the importance of carrying into effect the resolutions that had been passed.

Adjourned to meet in Temperance Hall on Friday morning at 9 o'clock.

FRIDAY MORNING, MAY 18.

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment at Temperance Hall, but found the doors closed by order of the managers.† A member of the Convention offered the use of a schoolroom, where the meeting was called to order at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The President read the 4th chapter of 2d Cor. and prayer was offered by Juliana A. Tappan, and Mary E. Smith.

On motion of Lucretia Mott, Angelina E. G. Weld was appointed Vice-President.

On motion of Sarah R. Ingraham,

Resolved, That in view of the manifestation of public sentiment, as recently exhibited in the outbreakings of a lawless mob, resulting in insult and violence towards all abolitionists, and more especially towards those of colored friends, the case of the latter be earnestly commended to God, and prayer be offered that He will restrain the wrath, and protect them from the dangers to which they may be in future exposed.

Sarah T. Smith, in behalf of the Business Committee, presented an address to the free colored people of the United States, and an address to the Senators and Representatives of the free States in Congress, which were read and adopted.

Abby Kelly offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Whereas, a vast portion of the wealth of the North has accrued, and is still accruing, from the slave system, either directly in the holding of slaves by Northern citizens, or indirectly by our social and commercial intercourse with slaveholding communities; therefore,

Resolved, That we are imperatively implicated in the sin of using our brain-less service without wages, and of holding in our hands the gains of oppression; consequently it is our duty to bring forth fruits meet for repentance, by laboring devotedly in the service of the spoiled, and by contributing with unsparing liberality to the treasury of the slaves.

On motion of Sarah M. Grimke,

Resolved, That prejudice against color is the very spirit of slavery, sinful in those who indulge it, and is the fire which is consuming the happiness and energies of the people of color.

That it is, therefore, the duty of abolitionists to identify themselves with these oppressed Americans, by sitting with them in places of worship, by appearing with them in our streets, by giving them our countenance in seat-boards and stages, by visiting them at their homes and encouraging them to visit us, receiving them as we do our white fellow citizens.‡

On motion of Sarah M. Grimke,

Resolved, That those of our Southern brethren and sisters who feel and mourn over the guilt of slavery, while circumstances conspire to deny the making of its diabolical enormities, gathers up its all for retreat or desperate death as the case shall demand.

The discussion can't be smothered—can't be checked—can't be shated—can't be endured by pro-slavery. The fat has gone forth. It is registered in heaven. The colored man's *Humanity is ascertained* and *proved*, and henceforth he is destined to liberty and honor. God is purening his instrumentalities to purify this nation. War, slavery and drunkenness are to be purged away from it. The drunkard that won't reform, will be removed from the earth's *surface*, and the foul discoverer consumed by the fire of his combustible

wide as the winds. But I warn him not to lay the foundering anchor to his wind that he is to have full freedom, while another is to have his mouth stopped the moment he attempts to use it in reply. The question is, whether I am to be controlled, and in the manner in which I have proceeded, stopped and interrupted and cut off from the chief part of what I wished and intended to say, I will consider it, and so will the people of this country consider it, a mockery to open the question on such terms.

But, to come to the point of the petition, and to the principle laid down by the chairman. Inquired of him where he found it? In ancient history? In the Sacred History? On that subject I adduced a few out of the multitude of examples, where the action of mankind was held up as the highest virtue, and their interference in politics was recorded with praise, even to the cutting off of the heads of the commanders of armies. And I then referred him to the fact that the greatest and most stupendous miracle ever performed by the Saviour while on earth, was wrought at the petition of a woman. I called upon him for his recollections of the Roman history, and there I was stopped by the expiration of the hour.

I now ask him, whether he does not remember Clœlia and her hundred companions, who swam across the river under a shower of enemy's darts, escaping from Porsenna? Has he forgotten Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, who declared that her children were her jewels? And why? Because they were the champions of freedom. Does he not remember Portia, the wife of Brutus, and daughter of Cato, and in what terms she is represented in the history of fallen Rome? Has he never read of Arria, the wife of Pœtus, who, even under the imperial despotism condemned with her husband to die by the tyrant, plunged the sword into her own bosom, and, handing it to her husband, said, 'take it, Pœtus, it does not hurt!' and expired.

But let me come to a later period. What says the history of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors? To say nothing of Boadicea, the British heroine in the time of the Cæsars, what name is more illustrious than that of Elizabeth? Or if he will go on to the continent, will he not find the names of Maria Theresa of Hungary? Of the Catherines of Russia? and Isabella of Castile, who patronized the discoverer, in substance, of this hemisphere, for without her that discovery would not have been made? did she bring discredit on her sex by mingling in politics?

And now, to come nearer home: what were the women of these United States, in the struggle of the Revolution? Or what would the men have been but for the influence of the wives of that day? They were not devoted to their domestic concerns, (which, however, they never neglected,) but entered into the hottest political controversies of the day. Sir, I will read from the life of Gen. Greene, by a citizen of South Carolina. Speaking of the very disastrous period of the Revolution, he says:

'Though numbers broke through the solemn ties by which they had voluntarily bound themselves to support the cause of America, illustrious sacrifices were made at the shrine of liberty; several suffered the pains of lingering exile, or a more intolerable confinement. The proprietors of some of the best estates in South Carolina suffered them to remain in the power and possession of the conquerors rather than stain their honor by deserting their country. The ties that united their fortunes, but in the humble walks of obscurity were found several of the middling and poorer class of citizens, who may be truly said, to have sacrificed their all on the cause of America; for they renounced the comforts of subservient to health in warm climates, and contented themselves with a sandy pottage, and the coarse necessaries of life, in preference to joining the enemies of independence. In this crisis of danger to the liberties of America, the ladies of South Carolina distinguished themselves with more than Spartan magnanimity. They gloried in the application of Marion, Lanier, and others, to place their unfortunate relations in safety; and, though by solicitation repeated solicitations, they were put on entertainments with their presence, yet they crowded on board prison ships, and other places of confinement, to solace their suffering countrymen. While the conquerors were regaling themselves at concerts and assemblies, they could obtain very few of the fair sex to associate with them; but no sooner was an American officer introduced as a prisoner, than his company was sought for, and his presence treated with every possible mark of attention and respect. On other occasions the ladies, in a great measure, retired from the public eye, wept over the distresses of their country, and put up the prayer of the warmest attachment to its suffering cause. In the height of, the British conquests, when poverty and ruin seemed the unavoidable portion of the friends to the independence of America, the ladies, in general, discovered more firmness than the men. Many of them, like guardian angels, preserved their husbands from falling in the hour of temptation, when interest and convenience had almost gotten the better of honour and principle. Among the numbers who were banished from their families, and whose property was seized by the conquerors, many examples could be produced of ladies cheerfully parting with their sons, husbands, and brothers, exhorting them to fortitude and perseverance, and repeatedly entreating them never to return to family attachments to interfere with the duty they owed to their country. When, in the progress of the war, they were also considered under the severe calamities of banishment, with equal resolution they parted with their native country, and the many endearments of home, followed their husbands into unknown and inhospitable lands, where, though they had long been in the habit of plenty, they were reduced to the necessity of receiving charity. 'They encountered the pressure of want, and sacrificed the future prospects of fortunes for their growing offspring, adopted every scheme of economy, and, though born in affluence, and habituated to attendance, betook themselves to hard labor.'

Where is the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs? [Mr. HOWARD was not in the House.] I wish he was here to listen to this point. Here were women who entered deeply into concerns relating to their country, and not merely the domestic comforts of their husbands and brothers.

I have another instance to quote, of the same character; and it is exceedingly grateful to my heart, because it applies to the ladies of South Carolina. This historian also speaks of a disastrous period in our revolutionary history. I read from Dr. Ramsay's History of South Carolina:

'Hear this from the pen of Washington. After complaining that his troops were generally destitute of shirts and many of them of a more indispensable article of clothing, he proceeds: 'I do not mention these circumstances with a view to make some supplies of clothing furnished by his officers. There are many of them whose condition is still miserable. This is, in some instances, the case with the whole line of the States. It will be well if their wives and families do not perish good if they could be furnished. They will not be able, when our friends come to co-operate with us, to go on a common march for want of shoes. The men will must from their appearance, be held in low estimation.'

'After this, the reader will not be surprised to learn that such a shipment, I mean the shirts, was lost on the officer of the day by contributory loans, for the honor of a regiment, of one hundred and ninety, and that, in one instance, one hundred out one suit of parade clothes in a whole regiment. And from whence did relief arrive at last? From the heart-rending representations of her favorite shrine, and from the hand which seldom is closed, or withdrawn when the soldier solicits.

'The ladies of Philadelphia distinguished themselves by commencing the generous work, and it was a work too grateful to the feelings of the American fair, not to be followed up with zeal and alacrity. Such addresses pen of a Rittenhouse may have sneeringly written that the linen of the fair one was converted into a corresponding garment by the domestic manufacture, or add to Congress of a lover; but the fear of ridicule shrunk away from the more honorable feeling reflection, that soon it might be singed with the heart's blood of the wearer.'

Politics, sir! rushing into the vortex of politics! glorying in being called Rebel ladies! refusing to attend balls and entertainments, but crowding to the prisonships! mark this; and remember that it was done with no small danger to their own persons, and to the safety of their families. But it manifested the spirit by which they were animated. And, sir, is that spirit to be condemned? Is it to be said, where we are sighing, as being disreputable to the country's name? Are we to be told this? Shall it be said have that such conduct was a national reproach? Shall it be said, that the conduct of women, who left their domestic concerns, and 'rushed into the vortex of politics?' Sir, these women did more; they *petitioned*; yes, they petitioned—and that in matter of political importance, like the Haynes.

'The royal Lieutenant Governor Bull, and a great number of inhabitants, both loyalists and Americans, petitioned Sir Henry Clinton to stop the ravages of burning, spoil, and pillage in his behalf, in which was introduced every delicate sentiment that was likely to excite the generosity of the conqueror, and soften his enemies. His children, accompanied by some near relations, presented the petition, and, with tears, entreated for their father's life. Such powerful intercessions were made in his favor as to touch many an unfeeling heart; and, it is expected that even Major Lord Rawdon and Lieutenant Colonel Balfour to remained inflexible.'

And here, sir, is the petition, and it is glorious to the ladies of South Carolina:

'*To the Right Honorable Lord* Rawdon, *Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in North Carolina, and to Col.* Balfour, *Commandant at Charleston.*

'My Lord and Sir: We should have reason to reproach ourselves for thus omitted to approach you under the influence of manifesting the tenderness peculiarly characteristic of our sex, if we did not profess ourselves deeply interested and affected by the imprisonment and dangerous illness of the most unfortunate Mr. Hayne; and if we did not sincerely pray, that his confinement may, consistently with certain causes and circumstances that will not apply to them. We presume to make this intercession for him, and to hope that it will not prove fruitless, from the knowledge of your dispositions in particular, as well as from the reflection in general, that humanity is rarely separated from bravery, and that the gallant soldier feels as much reluctance to cause, by deliberate decrees, the infliction of death on men in cold blood, as he does to meet it in the field. We have, and we do, no relations the enemies of his country perish by the sword. He may reply, as we hope, in the language of truth, that no blood is armed and resisting adversaries, but will regret to see them wet with the tears of unhappy orphans, and mourning the loss of a valuable citizen, and worthy parent, executed like a vile and infamous felon.

'To the praises that men who have been witnesses and sharers in your generous deeds and services in the army sound of your military virtues and prowess, we trust you will give the ladies occasion to add the praise of your public and private generosity, and furnishing them with a striking proof of your clemency and politeness in the present instance. May the unhappy object of our petition, who has chosen our country and our cause, in power, than such as we conceive you both to be, we should employ on the occasion more ingenuity and address than we possess, to express our praises and fervent wishes, and, in the mean time, we shall, in the most pitiable circumstances attending his case, in order to move your passions and engage your favors; but we think this will be sufficient, if we have, with your own generous feeling, humane considerations, and liberal reasonings. For shall we dwell on his most esteemed character, the sufferings and excesses, and perhaps murders, prevented by him, to which innocent and unarmed individuals were exposed, in an extensive manner; nor shall we mention, lest any stress on the most grievous shock his numerous and respectable connexions must sustain in this disaster, aggravated by the mode of it; nor shall we do more than remind you of the complicated distress and suffering that must befall his young and promising children, to whom, perhaps, death would be more comfortable than the state of orphanage they will be left in. All these things, we understand, have been already represented to you, and we trust, will have the weight with men of your humane and benevolent minds. Many of us have already subscribed to a formal petition, which, we hope you will regard our doing it again, not as importunity, but earnestness, and we pray most fervently that you will forever greatly oblige us by granting our request, and in vain.

'We are, my lord and sir, with all respect, your very anxious petitioners and humble servants.'

If there be a member of this House, who, after what I have said, can still contend for the belief in the doctrine that it is a reproach to the nation for women to present petitions on public affairs, let him take this petition and read it, and I am sure he cannot retain the sentiment.

I will quote, sir, but one more, one example more. This House, not long since, voted a pension to Benjamin Gannett, the husband of Deborah Gannett, and that on the ground of the merits of his deceased wife. Sir, I ask, what is the sentiment this House thinks it a reproach to a woman even to petition on a matter of politics; but this Deborah Gannett not only did as much as this, but 'rushed into the vortex of politics,' to the extent of expressing her sentiments to the close of our Revolutionary war. And what says the report of the committee on her case?

'The committee are aware that there is no act of Congress which provides for any case like the present. The said Gannett was married after the termination of the war of the Revolution, and therefore does not come within the spirit of the third section of the act of 4th July, 1836, granting pensions to widows in certain cases; and were there nothing peculiar in this application which distinguished it from all other applications for pensions, the committee would at once reject the claim. But they believe they are warranted in saying that the whole history of this extraordinary female presents a case like this, and furnishes no other similar example of female heroism, fidelity and courage.' The petioner does not appear by any evidence in the case of the Revolution, and it does not appear by any evidence in the case that such was the fact. It is not, however, to be presumed that, if she had, she would, in her own defence of her country, who served as a common soldier for nearly three years, and fought and bled for her human liberty, would, immediately after the termination of the war, connect herself for life with a tory or a traitor. He, indeed, was honored with the name of her husband, but she was a wife; and he has proved himself worthy of her, as he has sustained her through a long life of sickness and suffering, and poverty and distress and suffering were occasioned by the wounds she received and the hardships she endured in the defence of the country, and as her case seems to be peculiar, and has not, in all time to come, the committee do not hesitate to grant relief.

'They report a bill granting to the petitioner a pension of $80 per annum from the 4th day of March, 1831, for and during his natural life.'

Where, I ask again, is the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs? [A laugh.]

That is a sentiment honorable to this House, and to this country. Sir, if I were allowed to continue my speech, I would show that it is not much in what he infers from them; and I say that if they depart from their duties of a domestic character, from pure motives, by appropriate means, and for a good end, it is virtue, and the highest virtue.

I should not have detained the House so long in establishing this position, had I not felt it a duty I owed to my constituents, to vindicate the characters of their wives and sisters and daughters, who were assailed by the sentiment I have opposed.

And now, to close with a little anecdote, which I hope will put the House into a good humor. In consequence of the stand I have taken here, on the subject of the right of petition, a great number of petitions and memorials have been sent to me, many of which I did not present; some were sent with a sinister purpose, to make me ridiculous, or the right of petition ridiculous. Others were of a more atrocious character, and the language in which they were expressed, would have, of itself, precluded their reception here. But there is one from a lady to whom I take to be a profound humorist, and a keen and deep satirist. His petition is, that Congress would enter into negotiations with the Queen of Great Britain, to prevail on her to celebrate the marriage of her nation. And why? Because affairs of state do not belong to women. Now, if the petition had been that a negotiation for that purpose should be entered into between the Relations, I, for one, would be the last to present it; but how he could have ventured to present it, I laugh. But I declined the presentation of the petition, for the reason that I feared that there might be a question of the propriety of receiving it under the rule, that no petitions on Revolutionary Claims, (Mr. Morgan,) whose report, in that case, had been alluded to, as conveying a principle directly the reverse of that contained in the petition presented from Maryland.

But, (continued Mr. A.) that honorable gentleman is pleased to take great exception to my citation of the example of Aspasia, (Mr. A. would introduce into a Christian House of Christian history with Mr. H. Aspasia's was certainly an illustrious name in that history, and one with regard to which historians differed not a little among parties. Perhaps it would be more in place, if I should cite one for the purposes of the present argument. Perhaps it was not. But if so, he was glad that but a single instance could be excepted to of all that had been adduced by way of illustrating the principle which he (Mr. A.) had taken in this discussion. The character of Aspasia was to be viewed in connexion with the opinions of the age and the country in which she lived. Those opinions, with regard to women, were, in some instances, still entertained by the Turks, that women have no souls; opinions, he would say, which differed but little from what seemed to be those of the gentleman from Maryland, as declared from his seat. Those opinions, however, he believed and trusted, the sentiments of the nation generally. They reflected cruelly on the conduct and character of 50,000 of the women of this Republic, one-fifth of the whole, (referring to Mr. Mr. A.'s) own district; women, than whom, out of the whole he defied the gentleman from Maryland to find other purer, more intelligent, and more patriotic.

And the right of petition, according to the gentleman, (said Mr. A.) is to be denied to women because they have no right to vote! Is it so clear that they have no such right as this last? And if not, who shall say that the statement of the gentleman's is not adding one injustice to another? One would imagine, while listening to this argument, that the gentleman was thinking of his election! He (Mr. A.) would do him (Mr. H.) the justice to say that he was not. He (Mr. H.) had shown that the two opinions of the latter. He must have entertained different principles upon this subject until this political slavery question came up to influence and to pervert his mind. Sir, (said Mr. A.) I consider it as one of the worst effects of that gangrene of politics which has infected, and which, to an alarming degree, still infects, this country. Were it not for the operation of this, Mr. A. believed that the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOWARD) would as soon have sacrificed his life as made the declarations he had done upon this subject.

Here the morning hour expired.

COMMUNICATIONS.

THE 'NAIL IN A SURE PLACE.'

The Utica Western Anti-Slavery Society held its Annual Meeting in the Methodist Episcopal Church in this city, on the Monday evenings of July 9th and 16th.

The meeting was called to order by the President, and prayer offered by Rev. P. M. Way.

Report of the Board of Managers was read, and adopted, after which the committee on resolutions, introduced the following, for the consideration of the meeting, which, after a continued discussion on a late hour on the evening, were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That slavery, (in the language of a prominent writer,) is evil, only evil, and that continually. And as christianity, like its Divine author, *remains* forever the same, therefore, the conflict between the two, by certain divines, is altogether fostie and vicious.

Resolved, That as slavery has been admitted by the wise and good of every age, to be subversive of the best interests of mankind, opposition to justice and equity and a reproach to the christian church and world, those who attempt to provide circumstances under which slavery may be perpetuated, give fearful evidence that they are under the influence of a spirit, directly opposed to the specific design of a gospel ministry, is the spread of scriptural holiness through the world; therefore the countenancing of any known sin, by any, professing to be of that ministry, is a breach, (not of a most aggravated character,) alike dishonorable to themselves, and to the cause of Christ.

Resolved, That the 'peace of the church' cannot be endangered by an inflexible adherance to the great principles of righteousness. And it is a false issue, to pretend that Christian Anti-Slavery Societies, conventions, or the discussion, by members of the church, of great moral principles jeopard her peace, for it is only endangered when there is a *compromise with sin*, and *when greater and more deleterious efforts are made to silence and perpetuate the expose* it, than is made to *exclaim those who commit it*.

Resolved, That while it becomes us to put the most favorable construction upon the doings of ministers and conferences, we hold that public acts are public property, and that any attempt to palliate the services imadvert upon the same, and express our opinion either for or against, as the case may be, and that we shall not fail upon all occasions to scrutinize closely the acts and pretensions of ministers, especially those of our own church.

Resolved, That while we yield to a gospel ministry our highest respect, we repudiate the idea, that they are the *church*—infallible in judgment,—or authorized to suppress any portion of God's truth. And that where those claims are attempted to be enforced, there is an evident departure from primitive christianity of the most alarming tendency, and calls loudly upon the church in her collective capacity, to frown upon such 'unauthorized' pretensions.

Resolved, That in view of the combined influences which are brought to bear against the friends of the slave, it becomes their imperative duty to concentrate their efforts by organizing Western Anti-Slavery Societies throughout the church, and that their acts may be in concert and of greater efficiency, a correspondence should be opened with each other, and measures devised not only to counteract those influences, but to further on the great work of extirpating slavery from the M. E. Church.

Resolved, That, in the order of Divine Providence, the establishment of Zion's Watchman, by which the 'crying' sin of slavery in the church has been more effectually exposed, and for our most devout thanksgiveness to Almighty God, and we pledge our fervent prayers, and continual aid in its belief.

Resolved, That the untiring zeal of our beloved brother, the editor of Zion's Watchman, his self-sacrificing and persevering labors, under the most trying circumstances, and amidst the unmerited injuries, enlist our choicest sympathies, and we pledge him our hearty co-operation in the high and holy cause in which he is engaged.

Resolved, That those of our brethren in the ministry, who have 'bared their bosoms to the storm,' and who have identified themselves for weal or woe with 'God's oppressed,' are entitled to our gratitude, our firmest support, our unwavering confidence, and we pledge to them our best efforts, our fervent prayers, and affectionately entreat our anti-slavery brethren to give those holy and devoted men the strongest and most tangible assurance of their attachment to them, to suffering humanity, and to the cause of God.—Amen.

Resolved, That we advise the organization of Wesleyan A. S. Societies in every station and circuit where ever there are five abolitionists to be found, and we invite our brethren to advise us of such organization, and to open a direct correspondence with the Utica Western A. S. Society; address Andrew Hanna, corresponding secretary, Utica, N. Y.

Resolved, That the aspect of the times indicates the necessity at an early day, of a convention of the friends of the slave, to take into consideration the course to be pursued by them in order to secure the efficiency of the Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Society, and to promote the cause of the slave, we invite the friends of the slave in the different parts of the Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Society, to be present, and to participate in the deliberations of the meeting.

On motion, Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Western Christian Man, Emancipator, Zion's Watchman, and Liberator.

W. C. ROGERS, *Rec. Sec.*

Utica, July 17, 1838.

ROBERT J. BRECKINRIDGE.

The *Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine* for July, 1838, contains some choice and edifying specimens of that spirit and those principles which, to apply Mr. Breckinridge's phrase to himself,—and of course he cannot object to the use of the epithet,—'*Jack-Dam, full of all garrulity, and obscenity,*' exhibit. A few quotations will suffice.

On February 2, 1838, the sixth anniversary of the Maryland Colonization Society was held at Annapolis; among the speakers was Robert J. Breckinridge; who uttered the following proofs of oracular wisdom, and brotherly love.

Abolitionists.—'I shall not speak particularly of the principles, the spirit, or the aims of the abolitionists. (!) Only remark that their principles are false, their spirit is the highest degree fanatical, and their aim wholly unattainable.'

Emancipation of Slaves.—'No principles are more clear to my mind, than that emancipation can be, not *immediately* nor *prospectively* to be abolished in this country, except in a manner *exceedingly gradual*; and then unacompanied with the grant of political and social equality of the blacks, but attended as far as possible with foreign colonization.'

Anti-Slavery Agitation.—'The abolition fanaticism is not a national nor even an indigenous monster. It is a foreign, an English scheme, engendered more in hereditary animosity to this republic, than in any enlightened, or even serious purpose of the good of the slave. It was born, it was nursed, it was grown up, and allowed to have nicknamed the song, 'A temperance' song, and then entitled it, 'Anti-slavery' Reader, sing, and withal very temperate! Do this, brethren, if you may, I wish to say, that for one, I see not the propriety, on the occasion, or the fitness of such *fiery* or *angelical* religion or 'evangelical' religionists. (?)

3. *Rev. Elisha White.* 'I care not how often, or in the case respecting you, publicly, which is a thief and stealer,' for such I doubt not he is, in fact, if not in form. Nor do I care how often, or how earnestly you deny every insinuation, or charge, which has been brought his pulpit to preach, with the countenance and fellowship of a man-stealer. At the same time he or my friend Rev. Elisha White, does not, (?) apparently, sit in the orthodox pulpits of Boston.' There are some other pulpits in this city, in which he seems to be, and I think never will preach.

Nor is it true, that this 'sort of piety passes over without the notice of the Evangelical churches.' (Sic.) There is one 'evangelical' church in this city, in which such piety is protested and does not pass at all. There are others, in which it is at least the general course, and will not pass, if at all, without a very limited account. (4) That little word 'the' being a 'debit' in course is a very important article. By a strange, yet, it not unfrequently happens, to use the words of an author, that 'whole bodies of men are judged unsound and nothing is said of the rotten apples in the same churches—at one pash, to throw down whole tenements the bottomless pit.'

Yours for the slave,

A. A. PHELPS.

Boston, July 25th, 1838.

(1) It would have been more strictly correct, if, instead of saying 'in the church of God,' he had said, we had said the great mass of the church going people.

(2) Brother Phelps does us great injustice by these remarks. We made no 'fling' against 'evangelical religion,' or 'evangelical religionists.' We only said, a very strange thing has led him to attribute to us an act which in our very soul we should abhor not less than himself. We thought brother Phelps' mind was too to suppose us capable of any thing so utterly unchristian, contemptible. Our use of the term 'evangelical' in the case referred to was purely *ironical*, and designed to bring to mind in their strongest light, the inconsistency and hypocrisy of those who, while they stepped to themselves an almost exclusive claim to the term, were guilty of the conduct which we described. The irony was intended for no one, except the individuals specially alluded to, and such as approved and rejoiced for their acts; and for brother Phelps to make use of language which, if it is the religion which he professes, is an act of injustice against what we by leave to file our solemn protest. No; we spurn such an imputation upon our honor. Neither our kind nor our heart are capable of giving birth to such a thing. We would be ashamed of it, and of striking our grandsire. The truth is, that brother Phelps' undue sensitiveness has led him to put a construction upon our use of the term 'evangelical' which the facts in the case will not justify; as he will see, if he will only consult the facts. We said, ironically, that the song of temperance was 'very evangelical'; meaning, of course, nothing more nor less than that its character was exactly the opposite of what that term, seriously understood, would imply. Brother Phelps thought we could have been guilty of such a thing, if we had supposed the professed friends of *temperance* who attended the Faneuil Hall celebration. Our reply is, that the Liberator is not, technically speaking, a temperance, but an anti-slavery paper; and consequently our remarks on that subject were chiefly in our mind when we penned the article complained of. Besides, we suppose we had done just as brother P. thinks we ought to have done; might not, some friend of temperance who accused us of a 'fling' at his sacred cause, with as much propriety as brother P. has accused us?

Since inquiry, brother Phelps does not perceive the special propriety of our use of the term 'evangelical' in the case referred to, we will endeavor to explain the matter for his satisfaction. Rev. Hubbard Winslow was the orator of the day, on the occasion of the martyrdom of the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy. G. W. Blagden, who was also present, is known to be bitterly hostile to the anti-slavery cause. Both these individuals profess a religion which, we presume, is very orthodox. They were known to be conscientious in what they had seemed to be conscientiously devoted to celebrations like that at Faneuil Hall. We did not know that more than one other clergyman of any denomination was present; and we had no means of knowing how far his attendance was to be regarded as representative of his denomination. Messrs. Winslow and Blagden claim to be called 'evangelical'; and they have been understood to oppose the anti-slavery cause, among other reasons, on account of its hostility, as at present conducted, to 'evangelical religion.' Mr. Winslow, we have not heard Mr. Winslow make speech, in the course of which the word was frequently used, and in a manner which seemed to imply that it attached great importance to it. We thought the politics characteristic of his kind. We thought the politics characteristic of his kind, and, we presumed, afforded us a good occasion for exposing their hypocrisy in pretending to have a special regard for that to which their conduct was so much opposed. The prominence of the anti-slavery cause, in the anti-slavery cause, was what led us particularly to notice their conduct, rather than that of others; and in noticing it we aimed to use such language as would exhibit their inconsistency and hypocrisy in the strongest light. We thought, and still think, that the language we used was exactly the word for the purpose, and we see no more reason why brother Phelps should be displeased, than if we had used the word 'ironically.' He professes to be an 'evangelical' man himself. We let on that account that he was dissatisfied? Is he not also a temperance man? And is he more wise

BOSTON:

FRIDAY, JULY 27, 1838.

OLIVER JOHNSON, EDITOR PRO TEM.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Ms. Garrison being in Brooklyn, Conn., all letters intended for his private perusal, and not for publication, should be directed to him at that place. Communications for the Liberator should be directed to Boston as usual.

☞ We cheerfully give place to the following communication from brother Phelps, although it seems to us that his criticisms are at least hypercritical, if not unjust. The Liberator has never been shut against freedom, we trust, for the expression of its doctrine or its language. We only ask attention to the note which we have appended to the article.

NOT SO.

Mr. Johnson:

Dear Sir—There are some things in the last Liberator which, I think, need correction.

1. You refer to the imprisonment of Abner Kneeland for saying that 'God is Nature.' Now, there is a God, which I do not,' and then adds, 'and the whole people of Boston shout Amen.' Allow me to say, that while there is a great deal of infidelity in Boston, yet, *some*, if not many, of this 'church-going people do not' shout Amen to it; and if you question my assertion, I will thank you to inquire of the broken hearted *clergymen* of this city signed the petition to Congress, to see whether that petition was not headed by clergymen. (1)

2. I find in the same paper, a portion of a song, sung at the Anti-Slavery Meeting in Faneuil Hall, on the 4th inst.' This you style 'An Evangelical Song.' My remark in respect to it, 'Very Orthodox, sang,' and withal very temperate!' Now, sir, although I agree with you that the ministers, both Orthodox and Trinitarian, who took part in that revel, degraced themselves, I never *should* be surprised, if, in the course was got up by the city authorities, a small portion of which, I think, are of the 'evangelical' sort, as it was conducted under their auspices, and as Liberator intimates was present and assisting in the ceremonies, as well as in the singing. Now, I think it is not improper there is in styling the song in question 'evangelical' more than 'anti-evangelical.' Indeed, as the song had much in it of Christianity, 'Methodist,' 'Baptist,' and 'Presbyterian,' and 'anti-evangelical' in the end, was, probably, professed temperance men, it would have seemed more fitting, if, in the course of so long, to have made it in another direction, and have taken to have nicknamed the song, 'A temperance' song, and then entitled it, 'Very Orthodox, sang,' and withal very temperate!' The party with us is but the reflector of this foreign malignity.'

It is utterly impossible to express in decorous language the judgment of truth upon a sentence which is replete with so much unchristian malignity.

'The abolition fanaticism' was found in the Presbyterian Confession of Faith, before Mr. Breckinridge was born. It was developed in the face of *that storm of fire and brimstone which is now sheeping over the earth*, and a 'principle' which, if it *should* have been unfolded for nearly twenty-five years by the Synod of Ohio, and by the Federal Congress of 1787, when they excluded slavery altogether from the North Western Territory.

Opposition to Colonization.—To arrest the current of African colonization is to gather and thicken over the southern country, if not over all central America, those elements of social debility and discord which have proved so most interesting and to rob us at the same moment of the only outlet, by which the subject can escape a bloody solution. The intense hatred which has marked the whole conduct of the *foreign and northern incendiaries* towards the southern States, affords the most direct and decisive evidence of their bitter and unreasonable opposition to African colonization. They were not content to prove us worthy of infamy and death, and to stimulate the hate of all nations, while they *mocked the sinn for his too tardy vengeance*. They were not content to cause us to redouble our exertions, that if in the issue our ruin occurred, their first wish was fulfilled as they rejoiced over our mangled bodies and desolated fire-sides; or if we triumphed, our necessary severity might inure to the gratification of that other great wish of their benevolent hearts, in our condemnation at the bar of the human race.

Such was the style of daring calumny and self-ordained falsehood with which Mr. Breckinridge vituperated the disciples of the Saviour of mankind. It is no wonder that he so quickly returned from Great Britain, amid the scornful indignation of the best Christians of that illustrious Anglo-Saxon race!!

Determination of the Colonizationists.—'The best interest of the country demand the early and permanent separation. It is the clear right, the bounden duty and fixed purpose of the community to effect that result; and all opposing pretensions must bend to it. The free colored population of the country should not be allowed to entertain the idea, that the slaves will be liberated without emigration—and the free colored people must soon be transported, for our work brooks no unnecessary delay.' All attempts at amalgamation are immoral and impracticable.

The *morality* of the 'southern domestic institutions,' would be an excellent topic for Mr. Breckinridge to discourse about in Baltimore every Lord's day morning, and will, probably, convince him if he the streets of that city are filled with self-evident loco-motive demonstration.

In the same number of the Baltimore Magazine, one of his Presbyterian brethren is charged with 'uttering heterodox opinions by wholesale.' A bookseller in Richmond is called 'the renegade abolitionist.' Another preacher is arraigned for 'vast and countless iniquities.' Two young agents for selling books are eulogized as 'travelling' Presbyterian ministers. A Presbyterian minister of New York is reviled as '*the Negro Cornish*, with his Colored American.' The Philadelphia Observer is depicted as 'that ecclesiastical Jack-Dam, full of all garrulity and obscenity.'—He appears in one position, Mr. Phelps, Dr. Beecher, Johnson, S. H. Cox, J. Leavitt, N. S. S. Beman, Edward Beecher, Cleveland, and the whole gang of the wildest abolitionists, with Garrison and his compeers;' and recommends them to act with '*integrity* towards the public, and *kindness* towards their friends, and *charity* towards their enemies'—then he says, 'you will no longer be obliged to despise yourselves.'

That is the insolent methodicity of a late Kentucky apostlegoing, and the insolent assurance the *Presbyterian Pope* of whom Mr. Price of London, who publishes the monthly journal, entitled Slavery in America, thus writes—' *We cannot find terms sufficiently strong to express our contempt for the meanness and the cowardice of Mr. Breckinridge, and his associates in the Presbyterian hierarchy. It is humiliating to see him surrendered to the influence of a bad passion from duty, mortification arising from the successful exposure of the delusive and wicked nature of colonization. His spices material his judgment, and mental vigor is so miserable as to make his character, lists as a gentleman and a Christian.' He was spoken of in Britain after his Glasgow debate thus—'Poor Breckinridge! What a crushed man! His visit to Britain has done more to lower the character of the slave states of America in public estimation, than any other event which has transpired.'*

Mr. Breckinridge is a noisy 'ecclesiastical Jack-Daw, full of all garrulity and obscenity,' and just fit for a 'church court' of inquisitors; but he can no more contend with the mighty waters of Niagara, than the Dame Partington could drive out the wave of the sea with her mop. Mr. Breckinridge should swallow his own prescription. Proverbs xi: 21. ANTIPODES.

Mineral Wealth of Kentucky. A report of George Shealy, Esq. on the mineral resources of Kentucky, is published in the Frankfort Commonwealth of June 27. It appears, that Kentucky possesses the greatest and richest combination of useful minerals of any State in the Union, and yet but partially developed for the wants of her citizens, but that spirit of enterprise and mental science and co-operation which SLAVERY forever destroys, is fast developing, or called, and encouraged, every an just principles, and the rivers of Kentucky would be made navigable, railways would extend along her shores; her mines of iron, coal and lead, and her salt springs and limestone quarries would be put to requisition, and every thing would assume the glowing aspect of improvement and hope.—Democrat.

But we should 'fling' at one of his principles than another? But we did not 'fling' at any thing, unless it be the disgraceful conduct of the gentleman referred to. The Christian Philanthropist pronounces a direct falsehood when he said we had 'reviled religion.' Why then filter to us for holding it up to merited execration by contrasting it in the strongest possible manner with their high professions? Is it unjust to measure men by their own standard?

(2) The word 'frequently' was qualified by the insertion in which it was used. We said—'He [Mr. Thome] usually spends his summers at the North, and preaches in the orthodox pulpits of Boston.' We did not intend by this that he frequently preaches in all of them; nor do we think our language, as it stands, implies any so much. The Free-Will interpretation, until they were assured of the contrary, would not thereby become responsible for the charge we had made. We knew more strictly correct, if we had said that he frequently preached in several of the orthodox pulpits in Boston, although we have no doubt we believed that there are more than three out of the six whose pulpits he has occupied, which would be excluded.

(3) There is which it does not pass, however, are exceptions to the general rule. The phrase, 'the self-righteous orthodox churches in Boston,' does not necessarily include all of them; and the exceptions were so well understood that we did not think it necessary to mention them; especially as the piety of each 'passess' among the Free Church, which stands on ground distinct from the orthodox.

We could like to set brother Phelps, as a critic, at work upon some passages in the Bible. For example, Brother Phelps, on his principle of interpretation, would say that 'Jesus went out to him *Jerusalem*, and all the *Judea* and all the *region* round about Jordan,' &c. Brother Phelps, on his principle of interpretation, would say that 'John' There were 'some' people in each of those places who said at home! Again, Matt. 16: 1—'The Pharisees also, with the Sadducees, came, and tempting desired him that he would show them a sign from heaven.' Brother Phelps would say, 'not so,'—for in all probability, there were 'some' of each of these numerous classes who had no part or lot in the matter—that the 'village' mentioned, was a 'single village' and the 'particular article'—and that 'by a message of the' the 'whole body' of the Pharisees and Sadducees the Winskows and Blagdens of Christ's day,) 'came to him' &c. Brother Phelps, if not in form, at least in spirit, would say, 'I intend to critically you charge to come into the sence and fellowship, time let me say, that (2) prove, we are *your* enhearer, never has, and

(2) passes current with the Christian Pharisees of Boston, this city, is a matter of no. There is a class of Christians, very liberal in a '*definite*' sense of the word, who judged it one; and it is a matter of no. The whole nations

A. PHELPS.

ly correct, if, in the sense of those Boston rich going people, language was understood to imply Boston, without the qualification, or thoughts than assion. We know sen signed by Dr. was superfluous ieral voice of the n against it; and

injustice by these t 'evangelical' and, we pity the sinners state to us as no ther not less than ew its better that ' evangelical' in ' evangelical' in zial, and designed light, the incensing hile they arrogate him to that life d described. The cept the individu approved or spot ' Phelps's sense religion, on which he inst which we be ' we spurn it, we ther our heart or to such a ' fling our grandmothers ' undue sensitiv ' upon our use of is in the case will ' ' '

LITERATURE.

For the Liberator.

TO ABOLITIONISTS

"The cause of Colonization, and the hope of land, and liberty to the slave, united, we thought, so proved the chosen instrument against the fabled giant, Slavery, that we felt sure it would be enough to fulfil his promises. Years have passed, and we have by the subject, that land was cursed.

"Our theory is, however, who will labor unceasingly for the oppressed cause, alone or otherwise, with what effect, in the appointed season, we know not. We will stick to the duty, though persecution, with chilling scowl, sit on the face of the country, with chilling scowl, sit on the one hand, and Tyrant and Judas." B. Lundy, Lexington, Oct. 1838.

He that hears, yet shuts his ear
Against the bright lovely temptations ne'er bribed him to pause,
And dark persecution with fiery eye,
Seeking, shedding his blood, found him firm in the high,
The choice blessed purpose of striving to save,
From once hopeless bondage, the suffering slave.

He sought, like *Columbus*, an ocean untried,
But his chart was from Heaven, cheering his guide;
With strength all his foes could inflict to endure,
He saw through the clouds, that oft seem'd to obscure
The clear sun of Freedom,—whose glorious light,
Though *slowly*, was *surely*, increasingly bright.

But years pass'd away, and that light spread around,
While many who lostly had hailed him, were found
Beneath the broad banner his hand had unroll'd;—
Now it waves over thousands, and thousands untold,
Prepared, are they not? firm, unshrinking to stand,
Till the curse of oppression depart from our land.

Are any among *you*, who deem that the word
Long cheering you OWNARD, no more will be heard?
Are any who deem that the "*closed*" are ahead?
Who "answer" against those on whose spirits is shed
The sunlight of Freedom?—to whom it is given
To cherish that light as directed by Heaven.

If so, they may bow, at the Southern's command,
Their hearts and their souls to the chains in his hand;
But as tender and darker the scowl gathers round,
Your free spirits will firmer and stronger be found,
Still *Faithful and Fearless*,—resign'd to endure
Persecution awhile,—for your triumph is sure.

Penn., May, 1838.

From the Liverpool Chronicle.

THE VILLAGER'S HYMN TO THE SCRIPTURES.

Lamp of our feet! whose hallow'd beam
Deep in our hearts its dwelling hath,
How welcome is the cheering gleam
Thou sheddest o'er our lowly path!
Light of our way! whose rays are fling
In mercy o'er our pilgrim road,
How blessed, in dark shades among,
The star that guides us to our God!

Our fathers, in the days gone by,
Read thee in dim and sacred caves,
Or in the deep wood silently,
Met where thick branches o'er them wav'd,
To seek the hope thy record gave,
When thou wert a forbidden thing,
And the strong chain and bloody grave
Were all on earth thy love could bring.

Our fathers, in the days gone by,
Read thee while peril o'er them hung;
But we, beneath the open sky,
May search thy leaves of truth along;
Fearless, our daily haunts among,
May chant the fellow'd lays of old,
Check by the shepherd secure sung,
When Israel's hills o'er hung his fold.

In the sweet morning's hour of prime,
Thy blessed words our lips engage,
And around our hearths at evening time
Our children spell the holy page.
The warrior through long distant years,
To guide their wandering footsteps on,
Till thy last loveliest beam appears,
Written on the gray church yard stone.

Word of the holy and the just!
To leave thee pure, our fathers bled;
Thou on a sacred trust,
A relic of the martyr dead!
Among the valleys where they fell,
The ashes of our fathers sleep!
May we, who round them safely dwell,
Pure as dispensed to us, the word keep!

Lamp of our feet! which day by day
Are passing to the quiet tomb,
If on it fall thy peaceful ray,
Our last low dwelling hath no gloom.
How beautiful their calm repose
To whom thou hast blessed hope was given,
Whose pilgrimage on earth was closed
By the unfolding gates of heaven!

From the Bangor Mechanic.

A PARODY.

My country! 'tis for thee,
Dark land of slavery,
For thee, I weep;
Land where thy sons have fighted,
Land, where ye be toiled and died,
To serve a tyrant's pride—
For thee, I weep.

My native country! thee,
Land of the noble free—
Thy children
By slavery,
My native country, weep!
A fast in sorrow keep,
The state is foul and deep
Of slavery.

From every mountain side,
Upon the ocean's tide,
They call on thee;
Amid thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and sunny hills,
A voice which thrills,
Let all go free!

Arise! break every band,
And sound throughout this land
Sweet Freedom's song:
No groans this song shall break,
But all that breathe partake,
And slaves their silence break—
The song of Free!

One father! hear! to thee,
Author of Liberty,
To thee, we pray
Soon may our land be free,
Let Freedom's light endure,
And liberty to all secure,
Beneath thy sway.

From the Mirror of Liberty.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS

Come, heavenly muse, inspire my song,
To whom the arts divine belong,
And whom I now invoke:
Say, was it for a little daughter,
To crush a free, immortal mind
Beneath a tyrant's yoke?

II.

Was woman formed to be a slave?
Or sink in thraldom to the grave,
Her hopes, her powers, never known?
Say, must she toil and sweat, and bleed,
Her purposes loading's pride to feed,
And every joy forego?

III.

Ah, yes! Midnight, Southern King,
Has taught the fact, and made it sing
From southern plains to northern hills,
That woman's hands were made to wave
Her chains, and not to wield
Life's hatchet—direst ills.

IV.

But, Tyrant King, swear, I pray,
Thy mighty power shall
Not pollute the nation
Of which I am a citizen,
Nor the cause of woman's right,
By urging on the Pleasant's spite,
Instant Emancipation. D. R.

PEACE.

A DOMESTIC SCENE. NO. 2.

(Concluded.)

5. *The means are not adapted to the nature of the object to be gained.* Children are free, moral agents, and the object to be gained is mind, government, a purely a moral object. What is it? Not the conversion of a wilderness into a fruitful field; not the subjection of a brute to a brute, nor of a brute to a man; not the subjection of man to man, nor of a portion of humanity to a portion of humanity; but to bring the very thoughts and intents of the heart into captivity to Christ—the heartfelt submission of the *soul* to the empire of Jehovah. Who single object should pass over concerning their outliving efforts—to attain this end should they lay all their plans, ever remembering that whatever else their children may possess, all is nought while their minds are unreconciled to their heavenly Father's will. Can this great and exalted object be attained by scolding, fretting, boxing, whipping, and the many like means appropriate to the system of violence? Can a moral disease be cured by a physical remedy? Can the errors and vices of the soul be cured by bodily wounds and bruises? As well attempt to root out the spirit of tyranny and slaveholding from the American Church and Republic by colonizing the freeborn victims to Africa, while you leave the tyrant's spirit in the slaveholder's heart, and the tyrant's rod and chain in his hand. As well attempt to root out the murderous spirit of war from the church and nation, or any other vice, by the same means. Such means are no more adapted to cure these moral diseases, than is a dose of *ipecac* to cure a man of the drunkard's appetite.

It should ever be borne in mind that the great moral object contemplated by christianity—i. e. the entire overthrow of the empire of sin and the subjugation of this world to Christ, can never be effected but by moral means, and all efforts to provide means of physical coercion are worse than idle. It is a spiritual warfare, and our weapons should be only spiritual, for the beings on whom we operate are spiritual. Let parents, then, cast away all other means, and give their attention to perfect themselves in the use of these spiritual weapons, that they may bring them to bear with effect on the souls of their children, to bring them into implicit submission to the divine will.

All efforts in family and civil governments to put down sinful principles or practices by appeals to violence, always have failed and always will; so also all appeals to violence to establish and sustain pure principles and virtuous practices in families or nations, have utterly failed. Murder, slavery, drunkenness, &c. may be and are *sustained* by violence; it is the element in which they live, but they can never be *put down* by violence. This nation seems to understand one side of the question—e. that religion can never be built up by physical pains and penalties—can never be implanted in the heart by violence. Why do we not see the other side—i. e. that iniquity, in principle or practice, can never be checked nor put down by violent means? To attempt to restrain or put down sin by brute force, is like taming a tiger by feeding him with blood; the more you give him, the fiercer he rages. Are we all think to prevent murder and secure protection to life and liberty, by erecting forts, making swords and guns, maintaining a militia and standing army. Sin, in families and nations, is never more flourishing than when opposed by brute force, and virtue never so weak and inefficient as when sustained by the rod and sword.

On the contrary, war, slavery, &c. have no power to resist the weapons of divine truth and truth, and when they attempts to resist truth and virtue by violence, as in mobs, it always defeats its own purpose; for Christianity, though it has no whips, clubs, chains, swords, guns—no means of inflicting bodily injuries through the instrumentality of violence—has a power, by her looks of love and pity, and by a sweet and dignified submission to sufferings and death, to convert all the bloody triumphs of her brutal adversary into his shame and everlasting contempt, and to make her *apparent* overthrow the foundation of conquest and glory. Hence Christ has made the law of love and suffering, the fundamental principle of his kingdom; and only by acting on this can christians hope to gain a conquest over this world. The law of violence, of whips, chains, fetters, swords, guns, &c. is the fundamental law of Satan's kingdom, and the followers of Christ should have nothing to do with it in the family, the Church or State. So far as parents act on this murderous principle, they defeat the high and holy object of family government, and make the family institution, (Heaven's great instrument to enstamp the christian character on the rising world,) the means of consigning immortal souls to endless perdition, instead of elevating them to thrones of eternal glory and never-ending felicity.

6. *The use of physical punishments in families, tends to destroy the moral influence and to lower the dignity of parents in the estimation of their children.*

In no condition can man be placed more favorable to exert a moral influence, than in the family circle as a parent. No man that loves his fellow-men, and wishes for their peace and happiness, will do aught to lessen the influence and lower the dignity of a parent. We would see the *moral* influence and authority of parents increased an hundred fold; and it is because we would increase this *moral* power of parents over children, that we would discard all physical pains and injuries from family government. What is now the great influence of parents? Is it not the influence of the rod? On what is their authority based? Is it not on mere brute force, like the authority of magistrates and slaveholders? So far as the authority of parents is based on brute force, it is akin to the authority of tyrants and slaveholders. The only consistent and permanent basis of parental authority and influence, is the ever-present, all-conquering, and all-enduring power of parental love, united with a consistent and impartial conformity to the divine will on the part of parents.

The system of punishments now incorporated into family government, tends to impair the moral influence and authority of parents in several ways. It presents them before children in the attitude of tyrants rather than of endeared parents. For seldom do they inflict corporal chastisements in the spirit of Christ, of love, and gentleness, but are excited feelings, with hard frowning eyes, with angry tones of voice, and with hurried and spiteful movements of the hand. This awakens in the child corresponding emotions which find vent in sullen mutterings, sullen looks, sullenness shakes of the head, and wrathful roarings. Parents may indeed thus maintain the pitiful authority of a savage tyrant or a murdering warrior, but the grandeur of the man and the Christian, as a rational, moral being, is lost in the coarse brute animal.

Besides, so long as parents trust to physical means to control their children they will feel less solicitude about the influence of their own example, and consequently, it is of little consequence how we talk and act before our children, for we can whip them if they follow in our footsteps. And parents are often surprised that their children turn out no better after they have scolded and whipped as faithfully. But it is owing to this very reason. Had parents trusted less to the rod and more to moral influence, and instill good principles into their hearts and lead them by virtuous practices, the results might have been far different. Parents have supposed it would be much more convenient to keep their children from the kingdom of heaven by force than to lead them by love, by prayer and holy conversation. They try to whip their children into submission to God. Divine will, while they live in open hostility to it. Children are taught to be dishonest, to do many things in which their parents habitually indulge, and they thus lose their respect for their authority.

Now let parents cast away the whole system, of corporal punishments and substitute the moral means of influence, and their dignity and authority stand on the firm and lofty basis of a consistent moral and religious character, and the influence of parents and the power and stability of family government would be increased a hundred fold. Then the family circle would preside over the domestic circle, and the kingdom of heaven would come in our families, and his will be done as it is done in heaven.

This many of our domestic circle concluded that it was a duty and a privilege to discard all carnal weapons from family government and substitute those which are spiritual and mighty through God to the pulling down of the strong holds of sin in the hearts of our children and the building on the ruins the empire of truth.

Objections were offered by some which may be hereafter considered.

Can the above views, if carried into practice, be adapted to the government of family government? Let the two systems be brought to the test of experience. Go to families trained on the law of violence—the principle of war,—then go to those trained on the law of love and peace, where a system of moral influence is substituted for the system of brute force, and it will appear in families as well as in all situations, that moral means are much more efficient to restrain from sin than physical means, and advance the cause of truth, than physical means. The one fosters the spirit of Christ and elevates the soul to heaven; the other fosters the spirit of the devil and sinks the soul to infamy and degradation.

H. C. W.

MISCELLANEOUS.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

Then that sayest '*freedom of speech for all,*' wouldst thou put the *padlock on the lips of one?*

In a letter from the editor, published in the Freeman of the 14th ultimo, I noticed some remarks on the discussion of Woman's wrongs, made at the Anti-Slavery Convention. They were these—'Whatever may have been the intrinsic merits of the question, it had, in my opinion, nothing to do with the proposed object of the Convention; and it seemed to me that the animal Bloomer, or of the Mormon Bible, would have been quite as appropriate.'

Now, I would ask friend Whittier, if a very great amount of time has not been consumed in the different *anti-slavery meetings and Conventions*, since the commencement of this enterprise, in discussing the '*man question?*'—if so yea; then is it, or is it not, equally in no wise a woman question.' I doubt to the discussion on the *liberty of speech*. Have not abolitionists contended for liberty of speech, as the apple of their eye? Have they not proved to a demonstration that it is a *sine qua non* to the prosecution of their enterprise, an *inalienable right*, and necessarily essential to the security of freedom. Nor has it ever been *lisped* that this right belongs not to *all. Such an admission would deep the principle.*

Well, after a *six years'* war rfare for the establishment of this principle, one of its boldest champions comes out, and says, that a discussion to secure the liberty of speech to *one half* of the abolitionists, (or of the community rather) is a thing quite out of place in an anti-slavery Convention. We, Sir, forsooth, *half* the members of anti-slavery societies must be *gagged!!!* Now which half shall this be? If the right be denied to one part *to-day*, it may be denied to the other part *to-morrow*. Is this a fundamental principle, that no right is secure to *one* that is not secure to the *whole?* I envy not the head or the heart of that man, however loud and long may be his professions of devotion to free principles, who says it is neither proper to spend days, and years if need be, to establish a right for a part of the community, while his influence is given to prevent the security of the same right to the other part.

Perhaps friend W. thinks *all* ought to have the same rights in Conventions, and that the free exercise of those rights ought not to be questioned. But if these privileges are withheld, why, well, he says, they ought not to be claimed. O Consistency, thou art a jewel.'

Again, he speaks of 'our unwisely attempting to connect our *sectarianism* with the cause.' Now, I do not quite understand what is here intended to be insinuated. For there were those present who act on both sides of the question; but as the signers of the protest against admitting *all* abolitionists to seats in the Convention, were orthodox Congregationalists, and six out of seven signers of that denomination, he probably refers to them, as their sectarianism withholds the freedom of speech from a portion of their society. He surely cannot say it is the Quakers who are attempting to connect their sectarianism with the cause, as there were but few of that denomination present, and some of those were opposed to the measure.

All we ask is fair play and impartiality.

☞ Many thanks to our correspondent for her frankness and free speech. She shall be heard in our columns, if we do not, for the life of us, see how her remarks apply to our notice of the New England Convention.

We again repeat that we do not see what the 'woman question,' or the 'peace question,' or the 'moral reform question,' or any question especially, have to do with our cause. We have associated—men and women of all sects and of none—Christian and Infidel—Catholic and Protestant—in the prosecution of our enterprise of *the slave of the United States.* And for ourselves, let who will forget the sighing of the slave, and turn away from the immediate duty of delivering him in the southern prison-house, to discuss irrelevant matters of minor importance—we cannot do it. We have thought and felt too much on this subject—we have had too fresh a sense of the woes and wrongs of slavery, to prostitute our organization for its overthrow, to any sectarian or party purpose. We will not be so false to our trust, to humanity to pitiful attempts to smuggle into public confidence and favor our peculiar sentiments upon other topics, under the guise of a kindred object. There are a great many things wrong in the world besides slavery; but, *when acting under an organization for the specific purpose of abolition*, we shall not undertake to turn universal reformers, and with the abolition banner floating over our heads, to rally under it everything which we may conceive to be erroneous in religion, morals, and politics.—

Ed Freeman.

Depravity. We have an example before us. In the debate in Congress on the late duel, Mr. Graves himself took a part. His speech, as reported in the papers, contains the following principles:

'Public opinion is practically the paramount law of the land; every other law, both human and divine, ceases to be observed; yea, writhes and perishes in contact with it. It was this paramount law, which, in a solemn decree of the House, forced me, under the penalty of dishonor, to subject myself to the code which impelled me unwillingly into this tragical affair. Upon the heads of this nation, and at the doors of this House, rests the blood which will say unfortunate hands have been stained.'

Here is, 1. A shameless avowal that the author pays a greater deference to public opinion than to the divine law. 2. A distinct claim of the same sin on our whole land, and especially on the heads of this nation. 3. An unblushing admission of a bloody deed—his hands, he says, are stained with blood. 4. A foolish attempt to justify himself, by attributing the blame to the heads of this nation. Poor human nature! *Zion's Advocate.*

Memorials. Mr. Adams was endeavoring to show the injustice of such conduct, and referred to several other instances of the same kind, in which he refused without opening a single paper. He went on to show that thereby a great principle of our Constitution was about to be sacrificed, and that the right of petition was being brought into jeopardy. By way of illustration, he read a petition he had just received last session as coming from slaves, and on which the House had passed a resolution declaring that the Constitution did not protect Congress to receive a petition from a slave. He read the petition, and was proceeding to show the strong points of the disgraceful system of suppressing petition, and not with a desire to discuss the right of slaves to petition, in the abstract. But before he was allowed to order, and although he repeatedly explained the bearing of his remarks on the subject before the House, yet the majority shut their ears, and yelled like so many wolves, until after suppressing from the decision he was compelled to resume his seat. The next moment, however, he arose, and with the energy inspired with just indignation, he demanded of the Speaker to have the point of order, which was disposed of in writing, in order that the country might judge between him and his opponents. But the Speaker *refused*. Mr. A. then called for the reading of the following rule, which shows his right to proceed: 'Rule 11. If a member be called to order for words spoken in debate, the person calling him to order shall repeat the words excepted to, and they shall be *taken down in writing*, at the clerk's table. This will perceive, that, when the Speaker persisted in his refusal, and called upon the House to support him in compelling Mr. Adams to take his seat, Mr. Adams also called upon the House to support him in resisting the tyranny of the Speaker, and for a moment the good sense of the House prevailed, and some few remonstrated on the refusal to read the rule. But it was of no avail; the question on his right to proceed was put, and the decision was sustained, and the roll of voices on that vote sounded like the dirge of Freedom, and the fitful gust of that tempest, which if not arrested by immediate action, will ere long strand the ship of state on the rock of despotism. 'This day has been promulgated a new law, which is that freedom of debate is and shall be, no longer tolerated in one great branch of an American Congress.' Mr. Adams justly observed that it was time to do more than to open the eyes of the people, than all he could say. He has done his duty, and it now remains with the people to do theirs.

But there is another serious consideration connected with this affair. In the course of remarks Mr. Adams stated for the first time, that he has repeatedly received *threats of assassination*, both verbal and written, if he did not desist in his course. Surely blood-hounds, the offspring of hell, which thirsty blood-hounds, however high their station, might be brought to justice, and the majesty of our laws upheld. But if they seek to intimidate him, they are for once mistaken. He may be cut down by their missiles, or fall by the assassin's knife, but while the current of life gushes through his veins, and his faculties remain unimpaired, he will not shrink from his high purpose.

MIRROR OF LIBERTY.

This Journal enters the arena in behalf of the dumb—for the restoration of Equal Liberty, and the full enfranchisement of my down-trodden countrymen—the Free Men of Color, in our own native land. But there are circumstances connected with the outset of this enterprise, which will necessarily diminish the merits of the present number.

It is confidently hope, however, that all future numbers (which shall be filled and decked with a greater variety of subjects, many of which are excluded from this number for want of room,) shall maintain a decided claim to the patronage of the public. The character of this periodical is expressed in the title chosen for its name. It will go for Truth and Equal Liberty. It will vindicate outraged human nature at all times, in season and out of season. It will never attempt to treat questions of public interest in a manner to avoid giving offence to men, when principle is involved; even if we possessed the art, we question the propriety of describing errors without offending the actors with them.

Unless we stab slavery through the conscience of the slaveholder, hope of its removal would be chimerical.

The reader need not examine the Mirror for long and theoretical disquisitions on abstract questions, though it will present a retrospective view of the past, and contain a large amount of important intelligence connected with the history of my proscribed race, which has been for ages past, groaning and unnoticed.

It will contain facts and arguments, strictures and animadversions upon things as they are; strictures and disquisitions shall be applicable to existing persons and things.

The Mirror will endeavor to show, by its example, that there is nothing unusual in plain truth to the dignity of any good cause, and that Equal Liberty cannot exist without it. The Mirror will maintain the genius of liberty. It is trammelled by no sect, association or company of men; but is, in a word, a free and independent Journal. It will endeavor to avoid the fatal error of flattery at all times and on all occasions; and will endeavor to avoid the error of giving a pleasing turn to an attack made on it at home, by an attack on the land of the Stranger. Written out from notes of the trial, and published in a Member of the Bar of the Albion Metropolitan Court. Also, the trial of John Solomon, Levi Pulson, Brent Beall, Josiah Nutter, Joseph Scott, Jacob Brown, Ed. Beall, Josiah Nutter, Jacob Scott, Jacob Brown, Ed. Beall, Samuel Carr, and James M. Rock, indicted with Jacob Jennings, Solomon Morgan, and Frederick Brown, for a riot committed, in the night of the 5th of Feb. 1837, in unlawfully and forcibly entering the Warehouse of Gorsuch, Gwynn & Co. and breaking up and destroying a printing press. Written out from notes taken at the time of trial, by William S. Lloyd, a Member of the Bar of the Albion Metropolitan Court. The work contains a historical view of the outstanding the warehouse of Gorsuch, Gwynn & Co. For sale at 25, Cornhill. Price 50 cts. May 11.

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