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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *Editor.*

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

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# THE LIBERATOR.

## Selections.

From the National Era.

### DO WE LIVE IN A FREE COUNTRY?

"Every citizen of a State is *free facto* a citizen of the United States."—Story, 3 Com. on Const., p. 565-6.

North Carolina is one of the States of the Union, and on occasion is as patriotic as any of her sisters. The recent expulsion of a Wesleyan minister for the crime of preaching the Gospel of Christ, shows that she cannot at least believe in a 'higher law' than the Constitution of the United States. Rev. J. Mc-Gehee was banished from the State, for giving an anti-slavery tract entitled 'Ten Commandments,' to a young white girl at a house where the missionary boarded. *The American Missionary* says:—This tract was published some twelve or fourteen years since, and the object of it is to show, in decorous language, and with a Christian spirit, the contrarity between the Decalogue and Slavery. The proceed proceedings show that others besides Mr. McGehee have been expelled from the State for preaching the gospel.

We must none of the postmasters at the South will refuse to deliver the *Era* to our subscribers in that section on account of the 'secondary' character of the following proceedings, which we copy from the Chowbrough (N. C.) *Patriot* of August 2.

PUBLIC MEETING.

A large assemblage of respectable citizens from different parts of Guilford, Rockingham, Forsyth, Randolph, and Davidson, met, having understood that J. C. Bacon was expected to preach at Union, on Deep River, on the 28th of July, 1851, sent a committee to Union and other places for him, but finding that he was nowhere to be found in the county, before separating, called J. W. Field to the chair, and appointed Robt. F. Armfield, Secretary.

On motion, the assembly appointed John A. Gilmer, Wilson S. Hill, and Francis Fries, a Committee to prepare a report setting forth the purpose of the meeting, and the cause that brought them together.

The Committee, after retiring for some time, reported as follows:—

The Committee having under consideration the case of Adam Crooks and J. C. Bacon regret that the time and occasion do not enable them to form and set forth fully the many just causes of complaint which the country has against them, and which imperiously demand that they should depart the country.

Your Committee are satisfied that these men are endeavoring to defend themselves and excite sympathy by falsely alleging that they are persecuted for religion and opinion sake—that they are not allowed freedom of thought and liberty of conscience—yet that they are forbidden the privilege of worshipping Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences; and they think it the duty of this meeting to lay fairly before their countrymen their true cause of complaint against these men, and show why it is they feel justified in requiring them peaceably to leave the State, and in case they do not, in forcing them to do so.

According to their own accounts, they are anti-slavery men, abolitionists, and preach secession from slaveholders, any one of the members of which has an interest in slavery.

They are sent out from the North by a division of the Northern Church, who declare themselves to be wholly anti-slavery, one part of whose creed is, that '*slaveholders are thieves and villains.*'

The annual report of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, presented at New York, May 6th, 1851, shows that they are members of or connected with that Society, and are cent ins the South in spite of a Society which declares slavery to be so grievous as to authorize and justify the slave to run and resist the kidnapping and carrying back to Anti-Slavery Society.

That said report of said Anti-Slavery Society includes reports of its progress of these men in Virginia and North Carolina. [See page 77 of said report.]

That said Anti-Slavery Society looks upon the stealing of slaves as no crime, (rather conscientiously to be commended,) and among other things, at its last annual meeting, resolved:

'That the action of the slavery question has not ceased, nor will cease [their] opinion ever cease, until it has taken upon the national escutcheon is effaced, and the Higher Law gains ascendancy in the councils of the Nation.'

That, since they have been in the country, numerous slaves have escaped from their owners, and have never been heard of since. That the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, in his late annual address to the Anti-Slavery Society, declared as follows:—

'The North has begun to be thoroughly aroused to the subject of slavery, and the Fugitive Slave Law cannot return the fugitives of the South. It has not stirred, and cannot, and will not return, one per cent. of them. The old law is dead, neither will the new. You may not know that there is an underground railroad in New York. I hear of it, though I am not a conductor on it, and I venture to say that there are forty men coming through it from the South, where there has been one carried back.'

That said Anti-Slavery Society reviews with bitter exaggeration, every instance of runaway and stolen slaves being recovered, and with high commendation of all who have aided to secure them.

That the report of said Society, of which these men are members, or are in some way connected with its tenor and purpose, encourages slaves to escape from their owners, as well as persuades and aids to the truth of which we refer to the report itself; and after speaking of the inefficiency of the Fugitive Slave Law, and of a meeting gone to Canada to avoid it, it reports as follows:—

'Meanwhile the number of persons escaping from their masters does not seem to be essentially lessened by the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law.—Since it was passed, we are informed from the same source which furnishes us with the particulars already given, that eighty-seven fugitive slaves from the South have passed through Buffalo on their way to Canada.'

That said report, after giving the weight of its influence in favor of escaping slaves, solemnly reports that 'the mission of all villanies; and further, that the members of said Society do covenant with each other and their colored brethren, that they cannot, nor they the Fugitive Slave Law, or any law that contravenes the Higher Law.'

Your Committee have not time to make further reference to said report, but refer all who would know the true cause of complaint against these disorganizers to it, and earnestly repose their careful perusal of it.

Your Committee cannot consider the slave property of the citizens safe, while these men entertaining the opinions they do, and undertaking the purposes they have undertaken, are permitted to remain in a country where slaves are property by law.

If the Anti-Slavery Society of which these men are members and agents, are so *familiar* with the number of slaves that annually escape from their owners, and so *familiar* with the *underground railroad from New York,*' by which they are privately conveyed from their masters, your Committee cannot but suspect that these men, should they have no agency in this work, must have some knowledge of the secret plans of wholesale slave stealing alluded to in said report, which their consciences doubtless approve by force of a higher law.

Your Committee, for the reasons herein assigned, and not from any purpose to deprive these men of any privilege allowed to the citizens of the State under the Constitution and laws of the same, deeming every man bound to respect and obey them, do recommend for the unanimous adoption of this meeting the following:—

Resolved, That we will give our continued and united efforts to expel the said Adam Crooks and J. C. Bacon from our State, '*peaceably* if we can, *forcibly* if we must.'

This report and accompanying resolution was unanimously adopted by the assembly.

On motion, the following resolution was proposed and adopted by acclamation:

Resolved, That this assembly offer a reward of two hundred dollars for the apprehension of Adam Crook and J. C. Bacon, or one hundred dollars for either of them, if taken in this State at any time after the 5th day of August, 1851.

On motion,

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the Chairman and Secretary, and furnished to the editors of the *Greensborough Patriot*, with a request that they publish the same.

J. W. FIELD, *Chairman.*

ROBT. F. ARMFIELD, *Secretary.*

The rumors of a demonstration on the part of the Wesleyan Abolitionist preachers, in the Southwestern part of the country, on Saturday last, produced a counter demonstration from other parts of the county and adjoining counties, the reasons of which are strongly set forth in the proceedings forwarded for publication. Neither Crooks nor Bacon made their appearance; and it is hoped that the final absence of these men will relieve the community from the painful state of feeling which has for some time prevailed it. We should think that no attempt will be made to supply the places of these agitators, with others from the same quarter; from the signs of the time, it is evident that those who may attempt it *want fare middlin'.* Oil and water won't mix.

### COLONIZATION AND HENRY CLAY.

The Kingston (Jamaica) Despatch, of July 12, contains the following Letter from Henry Clay, of Kentucky, in reply to one from Thomson Hankey, Esq. of London, pertaining to West India colonization:—

ASHLAND, May, 10, 1851.

I have received from Thomson Hankey, Jr. Esq. of London, a memorandum respecting the removal of free blacks from the United States to the British West India Colonies, with the view of supplying the wants of those Colonies, in regard to agricultural labor, and requesting any information which I may be able to communicate as to the practicability of effecting such a project. I am most desirous in complying with Mr. Hankey's request, as far as it is in my power.

The free colored population of the United States amount to about half a million. The exact number will be seen as it existed in 1850, when the census taken in that year shall be published. That colored population is dispersed throughout the whole United States, but is most concentrated in two States of Virginia and Maryland. It consists of numbers who were born free, their ancestors, many years ago, having been emancipated; and of others who have been more recently liberated. The disposition of a large portion of this colored population is to prefer a residence in our cities and villages, where they perform the menial offices of life, and the lower departments of labor. Which proportion of them are congregated in the cities, and what apply themselves to agricultural labor, I have no means of accurately ascertaining, but I think it probable that about half of the whole colored population is engaged in these respective pursuits. Taken as an entire class, they are an improvident and thoughtless race, addicted to habits of vice much more extensively than any other portion of our population. There are, however, many gratifying exceptions. Their condition in this respect is, perhaps, partly owing to the physical and intellectual constitution of the African race, but mainly to the degraded position which they occupy in the United States, where they do not, and probably never can, enjoy equal privileges, social and political, with the whites.

I have no doubt that it would conduce to the happiness of both races, if the black people were removed from the United States by colonization or expatriation; but that object is unattainable with regard to the slave portion of that population, while their bondage continues to exist in the United States. How long that will be, can only be matter of conjecture. My own opinion, formed and deliberately entertained, is, that as they are held in slavery for the purpose of obtaining a necessary supply of labor, slavery will cease whenever, by the increase of the white population, free white labor can be procured cheaper than that of the blacks.

But, although a separation of the slave portion of the blacks is impracticable, in consequence of their being held in slavery, no obstacle exists with regard to the free portion of the black population, and every passing year more and more evinces the necessity of such a separation. In many of the States, laws have been passed, with rigorous penalties, to prevent the free people of color from settling in them, and in one or more of the States, a proposal has been seriously made to expatriate them by compulsory means. So thoroughly have I been convinced, for a great length of time, of the expediency of the removal of the blacks from the United States, that in co-operation with others entertaining the same opinion, some years ago, I had a hand in established the American Colonization Society, for transporting them, with their own consent, to the western coast of Africa, and subsequently planted the colony of Liberia. There appeared to us to be a combination of more powerful motives for colonizing these people in Africa than any where else. There they would be returned to the country from which their ancestors came; their constitutions were well adapted to the climate, and they might, we hoped and believed, be instrumental in the introduction of Christianity, the arts and civilization into Africa. We have had encouraging success in the work of African colonization, and we mean to persevere in it. We persuade ourselves that the foundations of a great republic or empire have been laid on the western coast of Africa, and that ultimately, it may be made the asylum of a large number of the free colored people of the United States, and of those in future that, from whatever cause, from time to time become free.

But although, for the reasons already stated, I have a decided preference for Africa to any other country for colonizing the free blacks of the United States, there is no incompatibility between the object of transporting them to Africa and that of sending to the British West India Colonies: whether they go to the one or to the other place, the purpose of separating them from the whites in the United States, and placing them where they can enjoy privileges, social and political equality, and happiness, which they cannot realize here, will be equally accomplished. By going, indeed, to the West India Colonies, they would not exclude the mission of religion and civilization, which, we hope, they might fulfil for blacks may be inclined to emigrate to the West India Colonies. On the contrary, such a removal would be in perfect conformity to the policy which prevails in most of them. The American Colonization Society has found, in the Abolitionists of the United States, a constant opposition to the African colony. They use all the arts in their power to dissuade the free people of color from voluntarily going to Africa, and their efforts have been attended with some success. But I think the free blacks are becoming less and less disposed to listen to the insidious counsels of their pretended abolition friends. But in my project, of inducing them to go to the West India Colonies, the same source of opposition ought to be anticipated.

How far the free blacks may be inclined to emigrate to the West India Colonies, I am not to say, and it can, perhaps, only be ascertained by actual experiment. I think, however, I may say, that I think considerable difficulty would be encountered. Some years ago, considerable numbers were induced to go to St. Domingo; but many of them, I understand, returned discomforted and dissatisfied. Degraded as their condition is in the United States, the wants of substance here are so great, their physical wants are generally well supplied; they are apparently contented and happy, and many of them are unwilling to leave the country of their birth. The scene to which they have been always accustomed. We have found these causes operating against the American Colonization Society, but not to an extent so great as to prevent their obtaining annually a sufficient number of emigrants to transport to Africa, and I think the obstructing causes are constantly diminishing. If the attempt be made to induce these people to go to the West India Colonies, it would be proper, I think, that suitable agents should be sent to the United States, to explain to the free blacks the advantages and privileges they would enjoy by removing to the West Indies, and to offer them the means of their transportation. I am quite sure that, no opposition would be encountered from the General Government, nor do I suppose that any would be made by any of the States. The General Government would probably be made passive, neither aiding nor obstructing the removal of the free blacks; perhaps some of the States, Virginia, for example, might afford some assistance or facilities in this scheme.

Have you ever turned attention to China as a source of labor to supply your colonies? I remember to have heard that very well made an experiment with some Malays from the East Indies, and that it was not very successful or encouraging; but I have yet heard of your having introduced any Chinese in your colonies. When I was in Cuba, a few weeks ago, I was informed that a planter had seventy or eighty Chinese brought from Northern China, employed on his estate; that he had engaged them at the very low price of $4 per month each, for seven years; that he found them laborious and trustworthy, and that he preferred them to the black, having better heads and more skillful capacity in performance of their work than the blacks.

My health is being very good, I have had to employ an amanuensis, who has written this answer to your inquiries, upon my dictation. I hope you will find it intelligible, if not entirely satisfactory.

With great respect, (Signed) H. CLAY.

# The Liberator.

### SUBSTANCE OF WM. I. BOWDITCH'S REMARKS

*At Worcester, on the First of August.*

But a short time since, the great orators of our country exulted in the vast extent of our territory, in the great accumulation of the wealth of this nation, in our physical power, and in the great political, educational and religious privileges. These and other kindred topics form the staple material of fourth of July orations.

We meet on a different day—we are a very different class in the community from that which celebrates the fourth of July, and we meet for a very different purpose.

About seventy-five years ago, our fathers proclaimed to the world, as a self-evident truth, that *all* men are endowed by God with an inalienable right to liberty. At the same time, slavery existed in every one of the States, and Congress struck out from the Declaration of Independence Jefferson's scathing denunciation of the African slave trade, (Encycl. Americ. vol. xi., p. 433. art. Slavery.) Our fathers admitted the God-given rights of the slave, and yet continued to trample them in the dust. This was the beginning of the compromise. In 1787, Congress adopted the far-famed ordinance for the government of the territory north-west of the Ohio. By this law they prevented the existence of slavery there, but by it they made the whole country north a hunting ground for slaves! And still later, when our fathers framed the Constitution of the United States, with a preamble, a lying preamble, which declares that it was framed to establish *justice*, and to secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity, they inserted provisions for the openly avowed purpose of securing property in slaves! For seventy-five years we have been making war on rights which we ourselves admitted to be God-given rights. Shame on us, as a nation of hypocrites! Especial shame to us, on every fourth of July, when we make a boast of our liberty, whilst we hold every sixth man a slave.

The day we celebrate is one wherein the moral sentiment of a nation compelled its legislature to convert into men 800,000 brutes. The *government* of England was from the beginning opposed to the scheme of immediate emancipation. The great statesmen, not in favor of mitigation of the cords of slavery, not of removing them—of ameliorating the condition of the slaves, not of freeing them. And they did not consent to emancipation until the outside moral pressure of the community became too strong for them to resist. Emancipation in the British West Indies was the result of a great moral struggle of self-sacrificing women and men of England. Our fathers laboured for themselves and their children, those bound to them by all the close ties of kindred and of race. The anti-slavery men and women labored not for themselves, not for their children,—not even for their own race; but they labored on unceasingly, for a degraded, brutalized race, whom the civilized world had united in crushing, and with whom there was associated no interest, except only their common humanity. It was enough to arouse the sympathies, and to concentrate the energies of the noble men and women of England, that God was the common Father of all them—of the degraded West India slaves, no less than of themselves. On which day is celebrated the noblest, more disinterested struggle, the fourth of July, or the first of August? Which day is more worthy of honor?

We are a very different class in the community from that which celebrates the fourth of July. The great majority of the nation, the President, the Governors, Judges, clergy, politicians, the men of wealth and social distinction, all unite in celebrating the fourth of July. We are few in number. With us are no Presidents, Governors nor Judges, for we cannot swear to support a compact that gives to slaveholders, solely because they are slaveholders, greater political power than it gives to the same number of freemen. We cannot support a compact which has enabled a hundred thousand slaveholding voters to control the destinies of a nation of twenty millions. We will not support the Constitution either for the sake of emolument, or for the sake of apparently increasing our influence against slavery. We are mad enough to question the expediency even of doing evil that good may come. We belong to no political party, because they all compromise, even on moral questions. Great politicians denounce us as traitors, and we are traitors to that wild and guilty fantasy, that man may hold property in man. We stand aloof from most church organizations, because they either make slaveholding respectable by fellowshipping the slaveholders, by openly supporting the system, or by refusing to condemn it. Some great clergymen call us brawlers, and quote scripture against us. Others denounce us as infidels—and we are infidels to that Christianity which teaches the Rev. Dr. Dewey that it is right for him to send his *mother* into slavery. We are infidels to that Christianity which teaches the Rev. Dr. Gannett that it is right for him to shut his door in the face of a fugitive slave, who asks of him a cup of water and a shelter from his swift pursuer. We thank God that we are infidel to *such* a Christianity.

And yet, though we are thus insignificant in point of numbers, though we stand aloof from parties and sects, and are denounced as traitors and infidels, our influence is great, because our reform is based upon the everlasting truth of God. As Cowin, after the fatty's noble remark, uttered to himself,

She fables not; I feel that I do fear
Her words, set off by some superior power—

so the slaveholders and their supporters are already muttering to themselves—

They fable not; we feel that we do fear
Their words, set off by some superior power.

We agree, too, for a different purpose from that which leads our fellow-citizens to celebrate the fourth of July. They glorify our country for the vast extent of its territory. True, it is a great country, covered all over with the marks of God's loving kindness to all His creatures. We have fertile plains, magnificent rivers and lakes, fine harbors, mines and fields of every variety, and inexhaustible abundance. But of this territory, eight hundred thousand square miles, a tract one hundred times as large as Massachusetts, is peopled with slaves! Not only this, but of the three million of square miles in the Union, forty-six times as large as all New England, and as large as all the continent of Europe put together, there is not one single foot of ground where the fugitive slave may kneel, and say, 'Father, I thank thee that here I, and my little ones are safe!' Others may boast of the vast extent of our territory, we say that it is a shame and a disgrace to us that not one foot of it is free soil.

They make great boast of our immense wealth. True, it is very great. Capitalists have gone on year after year, denying the existence of any higher law than human statute, except, of course, that higher law, which sanctifies the grinding from the necessities of a brother man more than six per cent. for their money. Merchants have gone on, year after year, laughing at the idea of any law higher than the Revised Statutes, except, of course, that law of Christian trading which justifies a Christian, when trading with Heathen, to use false weights and other means equally honorable. Traders have gone on, deriding the notion that there can be a higher law than that of human enactment, except, of course, that higher law which sanctifies their pecuniary interest in their brother's throat for the sake of gain. Competition, in its thousand forms, has gone on, year after year, crushing thousands of victims in its course, and no less crushing out the souls of those whom the world calls successful. And we too, have profited by this wealth. But of this prosperity, slaves contribute a large part. All of them have their market value, from the babe at its mother's breast, who may be worth fifty cents, to the full grown, strong man, worth $1500 or $2000, and the delicate 'fancy' girl, who readily commands $2500. All of them will bring so many dollars and cents under the hammer. Mr. Clay's estimate of their value, a few years since, was *only* twelve hundred millions of dollars! Now, his estimate would be over thirteen hundred millions! For the year ending June, 1848, the value of all our exports of domestic produce was, in round numbers, one hundred and thirty-three millions; and of these, the articles raised by slaves amounted to seventy two millions—more than one half of all. And Mr. Webster, in his speech of the 7th of March last, says that the cotton crop alone "may now, perhaps, in a season of great product and high prices, amount to a hundred millions of dollars." In the Northern States we have invested in real estate and machinery for the manufacture of cotton, alone, one hundred and fifty millions of dollars. We have then, *fourteen hundred and twenty millions of dollars* either invested in slaves, or directly invested in its preservation. This estimate is far within the truth. I make no account, whatever, of the money invested in the shipping engaged in the carrying trade from the South, or that which is invested in trade with the South for the purpose of supplying the wants of the slaves. This sum, $1420,000,000, is more than six times the amount of all the debts of the States. It is about five times the cost of all the railroads in all the States, and is more than sixty-four times as much as all the school funds of all the States put together! Others may boast of our wealth; we say that it is a shame and disgrace to us that so much of it is bound up in the preservation of the slave system.

They glory in the physical power of this nation. Milton describes Samson, when reflecting on his fallen condition, in being compelled to work in the mill at Gaza, as saying—

'O glorious strength,
Put to the labor of a beast, debased
Lower than bond slave!'

It is true that we possess a power, a national strength, *capable* of glorious ends, but to what uses has it been applied? Do we help the oppressed? How often have we stood between the victim and his enemy? Let our conduct to the Indian answer. Do we use our power to advance the cause of human freedom? Far otherwise; we use it to strengthen slavery. We suffered our citizens, with arms in their hands, to invade the territory of Mexico, with whom we were at peace, for the very purpose, openly avowed, of establishing slavery there. Our Government could not prevent our citizens from going into Texas for *such* a purpose. But when the rebels in Canada appealed to the sympathizers on this side of the St. Lawrence for aid, and aid was given, then our Government found they could prevent our citizens from engaging in the contest. Our Southern lords and masters feared the *black* effects of a war with England. So we cannot recognise the independence of Hayti, although it has been *de facto* independent for forty years, and her independence has been recognised by Great Britain and France, because such an act would seem to favor the freedom of the slaves at the South; but when Texas, the slave State, is struggling for existence, and it is openly declared that unless she is annexed, slavery there will be again abolished, with indecent haste we recognise her independence, and, overriding the Constitution, take her into the Union. Other similar instances might be cited. But, beside these instances of support of slavery, all this vast physical power is, by the very terms of our Constitution, pledged to keep the slave in subjection;—national troops marched to put down the insurrection in Southampton, Virginia. And what is still baser, we have pledged our whole physical power to aid in returning runaway slaves. It was our United States Marshal, and men armed with United States cutlasses, who took Shadrach away! Since then Poland shave prison to the brig Acorn. It was our United States Marshal who conveyed Adam Gibson—the freeman, decreed a slave by slave-commissioner Ingraham—from Philadelphia into Maryland. It was a Northern man—a United States Marshal—who armed with a hot iron the letters S. S. into the hand of Jonathan Walker, for doing unto black men as he would have black men do to him.

Others may glory in the great physical strength of this nation; we consider it a disgrace and a shame that it all supports the Slave Power—that meanest despotism that the world has yet seen.

They glory in our great political privileges; and it is true that in no country are they so great. We make our own laws, and appoint our own officers to interpret and execute them. We have round our own personal rights of life and liberty, all those safeguards which the experience of ages has shown to be the best. We do the same with our rights of property. And yet, notwithstanding all these *our* blessings, we deprive a whole nation of all of them. We deprive them, of liberty, without any form of law, without even the allegation of any crime on their part; but simply because our fathers stole their mothers; because our fathers did what our laws now punish as piracy. We put their lives at the mercy of any villain white man, who is permitted by law to inflict on them any conceivable amount of wrong and bodily injury, with perfect impunity, so long as he perpetrates the wrong only in the presence of persons of the injured race. Not only do we thus, by law, deprive them of all those rights which laws and governments were designed to secure, but, if we may believe Mr. Webster, the preservation of our own privileges depends on our faithfully executing the infamous Fugitive Slave Law, on our faithfully continuing to aid in depriving of all privileges and all rights a nation of men who have never injured us, but whom we have so deeply wronged. Let others, if they please, boast of our political rights and privileges; we will lament the condition of those who have none of these rights, and despise a nation that has sunk so low in the scale of Christian civilization as that, even in its annals, it cannot secure its own privileges without depriving another nation of all of theirs.

They boast of our religious privileges. True; no where are they greater. Yet not even here are Mrs. Hemans's lines true. The freedom of each man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience,—that is that religious liberty which we profess to enjoy. And we do enjoy a very large measure of this liberty. But what are the religious privileges of the slave? On the unimpeached, and unimpeachable testimony of Southern clergymen, they are a nation of heathen in the very midst of this Christian land. Does any one boast, with the Rev. Dr. Fuller, in his speech before the last meeting of the American Colonization Society, that 'there are 256,000 professed African believers in Jesus Christ,' whilst in all our missionary stations put together, there are only 'fifty-six thousand converts from heathenism'!—we ask, What kind of religion are they taught? The Rt. Rev. Bishop Meade instructs the slaves that God has made them slaves, and will punish them everlastingly in hell, unless they work for their masters faithfully and diligently, and withal never run away. He deliberately calls on these 256,000 slaves to fall on their knees and devoutly thank God that he has made them slaves, in order the better to help them towards heaven! The same instruction is given by Bishops Ives and Freeman, and, in fact, by all Southern clergymen whose writings on this subject we have seen. What wonder, then, that the Presbytery of Georgia should declare, that even men of the world throw open wide to these religious teachers the door of access to their negroes! It is manifestly true, what the Rev. Charles C. Jones, of Georgia, declares to the slaveholders, when he says, 'the religious instruction of your slaves will promote your own interests, for time and for eternity.' Let them boast of our religious privileges; we prefer to point the finger of scorn at a Christian community which, professing to prize so highly its own privileges, deprives a whole nation of the same privileges; or, what is worse, deliberately teaches them that kind of religion, and that only, which is calculated to make slaves—more obedient and faithful slaves; that kind of religious instruction, and the only, which is calculated to advance and secure the pecuniary profit of slaveholding.

They boast of our great educational privileges. True, they are very great. Our Pilgrim fathers planted the school-house by the side of the church; and we in Massachusetts now spend as much, if not more, for education, than for any other one object. This capacity to receive and impart moral and intellectual instruction is the only thing which distinguishes us from the brutes. And yet, all education is denied to the slaves. In some of the States, it is a crime to teach a slave to read his letters—even to give him the Bible, or to teach him to read it. Very recently, they indicted a man in North Carolina—what for? For murder? No! For robbery? No! What for giving a little girl a copy of the commandments? No! For teaching her the plenty, boast of our education; we prefer to lament that the nation is so little educated as not to know that we brutalize ourselves just as much as we brutalize others.

Thus we see that not one of the great blessings which, after all, we find, for a man, cause rejoicing on the Fourth of July, and which make our life so dear and pleasant to us—not one of them do we extend to the slave.

We meet here to day for a very different purpose. We meet to celebrate emancipation in the British West Indies; and to ask what we can do to hasten the coming of the same event in our land. In what way can this be done better than by showing that the immediate emancipation of the slaves is both right and safe?

First. Immediate emancipation is right.

Immediate freedom is the right of every slave, if he is wrongfully held in slavery. Is, therefore, slaveholding, always, wrong? Is it always true that we have a right to be free? Is it because we happen to be rich and influential? No: because then one who is richer and more influential might rightly enslave us. Is it because we are *strong* and powerful? No: because then one who is stronger and more powerful might rightly enslave us. Is it because we are wise and good? No: because then a wiser and a better man might rightly enslave us. Is it because we have white complexions, straight hair, and blue eyes? No: because then one of a darker complexion, and straighter hair, or bluer eyes, might rightly enslave us. And there are slaves at the South with as clear, white complexions, blue eyes and straight hair, as any of us can boast. Ellen Craft is whiter than my wife. Are we sure that we have a right to be free because we are descended from Saxon ancestors? How many of those here present know any thing whatever about their great, great grandfathers?—even their names?

No: our consciousness of right to freedom does not depend on our ability elaborately to trace our pedigree to Saxon ancestors. We know that we were themselves slaves for centuries, and some of whose descendants are at this day held in slavery in the Southern States. Why, then, are we sure that it is wrong for any one to enslave us? It is not because of the accident of our social position, in being rich or poor; it is not because of the accident of our physical condition, in that we are strong or weak; it is not because of the accident of our mental condition, in that we are wiser than our fellows; it is not because of the accidents of birth, or the color of our complexion, or the peculiarities of our mind or our body, that the accidents of human nature, any more than the accident of dress; but we are sure that it is wrong for any one to enslave us, simply and solely because we are men, and as such, have a God-given right to freedom. But if we are thus sure that it is wrong for any one to enslave us, simply because we are men, then we are also sure that it is wrong to enslave others, simply because they are men. For the same reason we are sure that it is wrong for any one, under any circumstances, to hold us in slavery; we are also sure that it is wrong, under any circumstances, to hold in slavery, the poorest, weakest, most degraded African that lives; for he, too, is a man, created in the image of God. For the same reason that we are sure that it is wrong for any one, under all circumstances, to hold us in slavery, we are also sure that slaveholding in the Southern States is wrong, under all circumstances. But if slaveholding in the Southern States is wrong, then the slaves have a right to freedom now. We are, therefore, as sure that the immediate emancipation of the slaves in the Southern States is right, as we are sure that we ourselves have a right to be free.

(2.) Immediate emancipation is also safe. We are of those who think that that which it is right to do, it is not only safe to do, but unsafe not to do. It is however said that slaves, if immediately set free, will cut their throats and burn the town. If they were to do this, it would be owing only to the instruction, direct and indirect, received from the masters, and who accordingly sin blame only therefore, and not the slaves. But there is no reason to fear such a result. If it is safe to give a man every conceivable right, to make him free, it must be safe to give him every conceivable motive to love you. If it is safe to hold men in slavery, and thereby do all in your power to make them your bitterest enemies, *a fortiori* it is safe to give them freedom, and, in so doing, do all in your power to make them your warmest friends. In enslaving a man, you make him into a brute; he is treated brutally, and every reason is given him to lead him to treat others brutally. If he restrains himself when there is every reason to prompt him to revenge, and when there is no consideration to stay his hand, will he let loose his passions for the first time when he no longer has any occasion to do so? No! Such a course would be preposterous, and wholly contrary to human nature. And facts show the soundness of this reasoning. In the island of Antigua there were 29,839 slaves, to 1969 whites—fifteen slaves to one white. When the

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

☞ 'Yes! it cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the importing, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation of slaves—for such is the meaning, under the name of persons.—To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress, and thereby to make the PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

opportunity was given to the West India planters of choosing between immediate emancipation and the apprenticeship system, the white planters of Antigua, the very ones, of whom Brougham declared it to be cut by the liberated slaves, adopted immediate in preference to gradual emancipation. And what was the result? On the night of the 31st of July, 1834, the negroes assembled in their chapels to sing hymns of joy and listen to thanksgiving sermons. The Methodist Wesleyan chapel in St. Johns was crowded, and as the clock on the cathedral began to strike the hour which was to make them freemen, they fell on their knees, and remained so, until the clock had done striking, when they burst forth with cries for revenge! No! with utterances, in broken negro dialect, of gratitude to God! and from that day to this, there has not been a single instance where an emancipated slave has taken revenge for the wrongs inflicted on him in slavery! For a hundred years before emancipation, the Christmas holidays had always been an anxious time for the planters—martial law was always proclaimed, and the police and military forces were generally ordered, in order to be able to keep the slaves in subjection. At the first Christmas after emancipation, this extra precaution was abandoned, and there has not been a parade of soldiery on any subsequent Christmas. Not only this, but the very constables who are appointed on the plantations to aid in keeping the peace, are emancipated slaves. We conclude, therefore, from the reason of the thing, that immediate emancipation is right, and from reason confirmed by experience in Antigua, that it is safe also.

By what arguments or objections are these conclusions usually impeached? It is generally admitted, that slavery is an evil, which is not, by any means, to be perpetuated, but which must cease sooner or other, die out. This is Dr. Fuller's notion. But such persons insist that gradual emancipation is the only right and safe mode of removing the evil—that the slaves should be prepared for freedom, otherwise they won't work, and will not be able to take care of themselves.

But we maintain that gradual emancipation is neither right towards the slave nor safe for the master. First. It is not right. Will you *gradually* cease robbing a slave of himself—*gradually* cease darkening his mind? Will you cease deadening his soul by degrees? Will you wait a little longer before you cease brutalizing his affections, denying him the rights of marriage and the sanctities of home? As well talk of the rightfulness of *gradually* ceasing to murder—for slaveholding is murder of the soul. As well talk of the rightfulness of *gradually* ceasing to thieve, for, as the Rev. Doctor Jonathan Edwards said in 1791, slaveholding is man-stealing. Nor is gradual emancipation safe for the master. *Any* gradual process of emancipation cannot fail to teach a slave his rights, at the same time that it deprives him of those rights. The apprenticeship system, as it existed in some of the West India islands, is substantially what any gradual system must be. The Supreme Court of North Carolina makes 'uncontrolled authority over the body' the corner-stone of slavery. But the apprenticeship system deprived the master of the 'beneficent' whip. It took away from the master the only or main motive which he possessed to induce his slave to work, and gave really nothing in its place. The apprentices were entitled to no wages for the nine hours given to their former owner. They had no right in those hours to leave the plantation without permission. They could acquire no right to a portion of the soil. They had no right to select their own business or occupation, or even their employer. Any such system is obviously nothing but slavery under another name—a modified form of slavery—such, indeed, the apprentices constantly called it, and felt by the planters. During the hours by law given to the master, the apprentice was as much his slave to all intents, (except so far as punishment by the master is concerned) after, as before the apprenticeship system was introduced. It made the owner discontented, because it left him the right to four-fifths of the labor of his former slaves, but deprived him of all sufficient power or motive to secure its performance by the slave. It made the slave discontented, because, while it plainly admitted that they had been grievously wronged all their lives, continued to wrong them in substantially the same way to nearly as great an extent. Both parties are necessarily made discontented by any system of gradual emancipation; and from mutual discontent, in the nature of things, must arise mutual difficulties and quarrels. Ill-blood is created, and there arises danger that the boon which would be received with tears of gratitude if given outright, will be seized by force by the half-freed slaves; and the practical working of the system in the West Indies has verified the truth of this reasoning. There was a continual quarrel going on between masters and apprentices, until finally, after four years experience, the gradual system, which was originally intended to last twelve years, was set aside, and immediate emancipation proclaimed. If slavery is unsafe, *a fortiori*—virtual slavery, in the shape—is unsafe.

But it is said that the slaves should be prepared for freedom. What is the *professed* object of thus preparing them? We say professed, because the real object, in the case of the West Indies, was to give the master a chance to make a little more money out of his slaves. What are the professed objects? They are two-fold.

(1.) That the slaves may be taught to respect the rights of persons and property.

(2.) That they may be able to take care of themselves.

But in what sense way can you teach them to respect the rights of persons and property, than by showing them, by an act of immediate emancipation, that their own rights of persons and property are respected? And in what more certain way can you teach them to respect and disregard the rights and property of others, than by showing them, by an act of gradual emancipation, that their own admitted rights are shamefully invaded? The first professed object of gradual emancipation is therefore much better obtained by immediate emancipation than by any gradual system.

As to the second object, viz., that they may be taught to take care of themselves, it is said that the slaves are naturally indolent and improvident, and that their vices have been aggravated by slavery. It is true that holding a man in slavery teaches him habits of indolence and improvidence, and so does it. But it possible for the continuance of substantially the same system for a few years longer, more or less, to produce contrary results? Not only this, but this instruction must necessarily be imparted by their masters. And for slaveholders, among the most ignorant of men, to set themselves up as teachers of industry, is preposterous; for slaveholders,—proverbially improvident,—to propose to give lessons to their slaves in thrift, is absolutely ridiculous. But it is idle to expect this preparation, even if the fatal objections could by removed. Gen. Coddrington, in 1726, gave a plantation of slaves, in Barbadoes, to the Society for Propagating the Gospel. This estate had then been under the charge of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his associates, for over a century, when emancipation was proclaimed. The slaves on the estate had been educated till they were twelve years old—men and women always worked in separate gangs. The slave families had separate houses. Yet although this system had been pursued for over one hundred years, and the slaves had thus received as much, certainly, if not more preparation for freedom than they could ever expect to receive under any system of apprenticeship, still the slaves on this estate were declared to be wholly unfit for freedom. After working over a hundred years, and on three generations of slaves, the slaves of the Coddrington estate were still found unprepared for freedom, apparently as much so as those around them. We cannot resist the conclusion, therefore, that the system of slavery prevented their education farther, and that if you would fit a man for freedom, you must, first of all, strike off his fetters.

Still it is said that the slaves, if immediately set free, will not work. Suppose they won't, are they to be cut by liberated slaves, adopted immediate in preference to gradual emancipation. And what was the result? On the night of the 31st of July, 1834, the negroes assembled in their chapels to sing hymns of joy and listen to thanksgiving sermons. The Wesleyan chapel in St. Johns was crowded, and as the clock on the cathedral began to strike the hour which was to make them freemen, they fell on their knees, and remained so, until the clock had done striking, when they burst forth with cries for revenge! No! with utterances, in broken negro dialect, of gratitude to God! and from that day to this, there has not been a single instance where an emancipated slave has taken revenge for the wrongs inflicted on him in slavery! For a hundred years before emancipation, the Christmas holidays had always been an anxious time for the planters—martial law was always proclaimed, and the police and military forces were generally ordered, in order to be able to keep the slaves in subjection. At the first Christmas after emancipation, this extra precaution was abandoned, and there has not been a parade of soldiery on any subsequent Christmas. Not only this, but the very constables who are appointed on the plantations to aid in keeping the peace, are emancipated slaves. We conclude, therefore, from the reason of the thing, that immediate emancipation is right, and from reason confirmed by experience in Antigua, that it is safe also.

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# The Liberator.

**No Union with Slaveholders!**

BOSTON, AUGUST 22, 1851.

## THE GREAT RECEPTION.

LONDON, July 31, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR:

In my last letter, I gave you a general description of the first two meetings between Mr. THOMPSON and his constituents. A third, and still more enthusiastic meeting, was held last evening—two electors was held last night, at which two resolutions were passed unanimously—the first, of unequivocal approval of and confidence in their honorable representative; the second, of censure upon the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, for his impertinent interference between the electors of the Tower Hamlets and their Member. Behind the back of Mr. THOMPSON, a little clique of prominent political slavery men were loud in his condemnation; before his face, the question has twice virtually, and a third time in express terms, been asked, 'Where are his accusers?' Notwithstanding the utmost publicity was given to the time, place and object of the meeting, not one of these cavillers, in his absence, had the courage to appear in his presence, and arraign the alleged Parliamentary defaulter. The only delinquency of which he could be found guilty, was the minor sin of omission, to which he at once pleaded guilty—his not writing to his attached constituents. Whatever may have been the anxiety they suffered on his account—and I assure you that when reports were in circulation of the peril his life was placed in, there was exhibited a feeling of intense alarm, far different from what would have resulted from the ordinary odd official tie of representative and represented—yet they followed the example set them by a sufferer nearer and dearer to him than even his constituents, and in the light of his generous countenance, and under the magnificent influence of his noble, unspoiled all recollection of the pain they had endured from his lengthened absence and his neglect of the pen. In connection with this subject, however, of the want of information in this country concerning the proceedings of Mr. THOMPSON in America, an animated discussion arose from some inaccurate and unjust remarks, by parties, for whom no apology was attempted to be offered, and whose *suppressio veri* was unequivocally denounced as intentional *suggestio falsi*—Mr. JOHN SCOBLE, and the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

The Committee of these gentlemen, like GEORGE THOMPSON, whose antecedents are, beyond those of any living being on this side the Atlantic, *par excellence* anti-slavery—who is universally regarded as the most eloquent and fearless orator in Great Britain—who, as the champion of the Anti-Slavery Society, for years, in my mind, laboured with a fidelity unknown of the negroes in the West India Islands—to whose wonderful exertion 800,000 human beings are now materially indebted for the enjoyment of the greatest earthly blessing, liberty—who, in 1835, at the risk of life and limb, visited the United States and gave a blow to its mighty Slave Power, from the force of which it is still staggering, and from which it will never ultimately recover—who now sustains the dignified position of member of the British Legislature for the largest and most wealthy borough constituency in the kingdom—that a man like this should again visit America in 1850, and for period of eight months, amid a rapid succession of most brilliant victories over that great foe of mankind, for whose destruction the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society avowedly professes to labor, and that the organ of such a Society, *The Anti-Slavery Reporter*, should maintain a profound silence upon that most important and interesting event in the anti-slavery world—was a fact so astounding as to elicit the loud and universal condemnation of the reformers of Kingsland, a condemnation which they expressed in no measured terms.

The Committee of Management felt it to be not so small degree of censure,—the Editor of the *British Banner*, Dr. CAMPBELL, who, watching his opportunity, took advantage of the sailing of GEORGE THOMPSON, upon the 18th of October, when no reply could be given by a gentleman in another paper—for the *British Banner* itself would have had to out of the question, as it lays it down as a rule that nobody shall answer the Doctor in the Doctor's own paper—and sapiently informed the world that the member for the Tower Hamlets, on the other side of the Atlantic, represented a Slave State! Nothing is the object of the Editor of the *British Banner* was indeed as disgraceful as the means he employed to effect it were despicable. His object was to disparage the mission of one who was proceeding upon the most apostolic work that man or even angel could engage in—not on account of his own theological heterodoxy, but because he was about to co-operate with certain men, who, although confessedly sound and true-hearted abolitionists, did not happen to be, like the Doctor, sound and true Calvinists! Their practical Christianity—their works of faith and labors of love—when placed in the Doctor's sectarian scales, kicked the beam in opposition to the more weighty matters of theological dogma. Their lives might be in close conformity with the model example of Jesus Christ, but their creed did not correspond with that of John Calvin; and therefore the Doctor, in a true priest, must visit them with excommunication, not merely from religious communion with the Tabernacle preacher, which they do not seek, but from all association and co-operation in rescuing the slaves from the grasp of both Calvinistic and Arminian tyrants in the Southern States. GEORGE THOMPSON is his own creed, it is true, might be Orthodox; but his unsectarian spirit leading him to forget the heterodoxy of the abolitionist, in his love of the slave, had induced him not only to co-operate, but warmly to fraternize with these most noble and self-sacrificing men in the anti-slavery movement, he therefore has also been excommunicated by the Pope of the *British Banner!* Testing him by his own exclusive and damnatory theological standard, the Doctor had a right thus to subject GEORGE THOMPSON to spiritual excision—and I do not imagine he would have suffered much from the operation; but, in doing so, the Doctor had no right to employ the instrumentality of falsehood. GEORGE THOMPSON, it is true, did not visit America as the representative of any ostensible Anti-Slavery organization; but, looking at him in connection with his past history and then position, no man could deny that he represented a thousand fold more of the anti-slavery spirit of this country, than any other man who could have left our shores. Dr. Campbell well knew this; and in making the bare statement, that GEORGE THOMPSON in America represented nobody but himself, he was guilty of falsehood in the worst of its forms—a paltry quibble. Did he go to America without any expressed approval of his mission from those with whom he was connected, and who were alone authorized to give it? Certainly not; his farewell Soiree was attended by, and he received credentials from, some 500 of his most influential friends and constituents, including some of the most prominent public characters of this country. Had he presented himself upon the shores of the United States as the representative of the only existing nominal anti-slavery organization, the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, he would have represented, so far as we can gather from the list of 'Subscribers to the Society,' from the 1st of May, 1849, to the 1st of May, 1850, from 200 to 300 gentlemen and ladies; an organization whose receipts for that year, including their 'Special Fund' and proceeds of the sale of the *Reporter*, appear to have been £946,12,2.; and who, out of that amount, expended upon the editing, printing and publishing of the said *Reporter*, the salaries of secretary, clerk, housekeeper and messenger, £365, 10s. 8d.;—leaving the sum of £57,1,6, as applicable to all other purposes from that year's increase—an amount totally inadequate to the maintenance of a representative of a secular organization upon the American soil, to rebuke the sin of American slavery, for a period of eight months.

I had intended to have forwarded you by this mail, in addition to the general description I gave you last week, a letter on account of the first two Tower Hamlets' meetings; but as the proceedings of last night were of such a thoroughly anti-slavery character, I cannot resist the temptation to alter my intention and violate chronological order, in order to give you the most gratifying meeting, in its anti-slavery aspect, first.

I am very much inclined to think that, upon viewing the consequences of Mr. THOMPSON's unexpectedly prolonged visit to America, which harvest, be during several months, so much anxiety and fear, we shall ultimately have occasion to admire the Providence, which,

'Out of seeming evil, still educes good.'

Had he returned at the appointed period, we should have met him probably with a welcome Soiree; but there, so far as the direct anti-slavery influence of his American mission in this country was concerned, the matter would have ended. But his protracted stay with you has compelled him to appear and explain his absence to his constituents, in every part of the kingdom: and the development which he has thus been called upon to make of the character of that year-by-year power with which he has had to grapple, will tend likely to lead to an anti-slavery revival in London, the genuineness of which will, I trust, hereafter be seen, not by its professions, but its fruits, and which will lead to the supply of that, the want of which has been so long and distressingly felt in this metropolis, a real anti-slavery organization.

I shall not attempt to give you that, for which I am not well qualified,—a graphic description of yesterday's proceedings; but I shall fulfil my mere proper vocation of a reporter, in which capacity I shall endeavor to be more faithful than many who assume that character to the anti-slavery world.

The meeting last night, was held in the highly respectable district called Kingsland, far removed from the *locale* of those coal whippers and porters, by whom the American press assert Mr. THOMPSON was sent to Parliament. The readers of the *Liberator* may form some idea of the extent of the Tower Hamlets from the fact that it contains an area of forty square miles.

The second of Mr. THOMPSON's meetings was held three miles distant from the first; the third about the same distance from the second; and those letters to be held, will be in perfectly distinct and independent districts. Kingsland contains some eloquent and fearless orator in Great Britain—who, as the champion of the Anti-Slavery Society, for years, laboured with a fidelity unknown of the negroes in the West India Islands—to whose wonderful exertion 800,000 human beings are now materially indebted for the enjoyment of the greatest earthly blessing, liberty—who, in 1835, at the risk of life and limb, visited the United States and gave a blow to its mighty Slave Power, from the force of which it is still staggering, and from which it will never ultimately recover—who now sustains the dignified position of member of the British Legislature for the largest and most wealthy borough constituency in the kingdom—that a man like this should again visit America in 1850, and for period of eight months, amid a rapid succession of most brilliant victories over that great foe of mankind, for whose destruction the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society avowedly professes to labor, and that the organ of such a Society, *The Anti-Slavery Reporter*, should maintain a profound silence upon that most important and interesting event in the anti-slavery world—was a fact so astounding as to elicit the loud and universal condemnation of the reformers of Kingsland, a condemnation which they expressed in no measured terms.

The Committee of Management felt it to be not so small degree of censure,—the Editor of the *British Banner*, DR. CAMPBELL, who, watching his opportunity, took advantage of the sailing of GEORGE THOMPSON, upon the 18th of October, when no reply could be given by a gentleman in another paper—for the *British Banner* itself would have had to out of the question, as it lays it down as a rule that nobody shall answer the Doctor in the Doctor's own paper—and sapiently informed the world that the member for the Tower Hamlets, on the other side of the Atlantic, represented a Slave State! Nothing is the object of the Editor of the *British Banner* was indeed as disgraceful as the means he employed to effect it were despicable. His object was to disparage the mission of one who was proceeding upon the most apostolic work that man or even angel could engage in—not on account of his own theological heterodoxy, but because he was about to co-operate with certain men, who, although confessedly sound and true-hearted abolitionists, did not happen to be, like the Doctor, sound and true Calvinists! Their practical Christianity—their works of faith and labors of love—when placed in the Doctor's sectarian scales, kicked the beam in opposition to the more weighty matters of theological dogma. Their lives might be in close conformity with the model example of Jesus Christ, but their creed did not correspond with that of John Calvin; and therefore the Doctor, in a true priest, must visit them with excommunication, not merely from religious communion with the Tabernacle preacher, which they do not seek, but from all association and co-operation in rescuing the slaves from the grasp of both Calvinistic and Arminian tyrants in the Southern States. GEORGE THOMPSON is his own creed, it is true, might be Orthodox; but his unsectarian spirit leading him to forget the heterodoxy of the abolitionist, in his love of the slave, had induced him not only to co-operate, but warmly to fraternize with these most noble and self-sacrificing men in the anti-slavery movement, he therefore has also been excommunicated by the Pope of the *British Banner!* Testing him by his own exclusive and damnatory theological standard, the Doctor had a right thus to subject GEORGE THOMPSON to spiritual excision—and I do not imagine he would have suffered much from the operation; but, in doing so, the Doctor had no right to employ the instrumentality of falsehood. GEORGE THOMPSON, it is true, did not visit America as the representative of any ostensible Anti-Slavery organization; but, looking at him in connection with his past history and then position, no man could deny that he represented a thousand fold more of the anti-slavery spirit of this country, than any other man who could have left our shores. Dr. Campbell well knew this; and in making the bare statement, that GEORGE THOMPSON in America represented nobody but himself, he was guilty of falsehood in the worst of its forms—a paltry quibble. Did he go to America without any expressed approval of his mission from those with whom he was connected, and who were alone authorized to give it? Certainly not; his farewell Soiree was attended by, and he received credentials from, some 500 of his most influential friends and constituents, including some of the most prominent public characters of this country. Had he presented himself upon the shores of the United States as the representative of the only existing nominal anti-slavery organization, the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, he would have represented, so far as we can gather from the list of 'Subscribers to the Society,' from the 1st of May, 1849, to the 1st of May, 1850, from 200 to 300 gentlemen and ladies; an organization whose receipts for that year, including their 'Special Fund' and proceeds of the sale of the *Reporter*, appear to have been £946,12,2.; and who, out of that amount, expended upon the editing, printing and publishing of the said *Reporter*, the salaries of secretary, clerk, housekeeper and messenger, £365, 10s. 8d.;—leaving the sum of £57,1,6, as applicable to all other purposes from that year's increase—an amount totally

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| Correspondence of the N. Y. Evening Post. | |
| OHIO, July 25, 1851. | |
| Gentlemen: I again crave your indulgence, while I pencil to your readers the reasons which induce the democracy of Ohio to believe that Congress has power to legislate upon the subject of our territories: | |
| 1st. If Congress has the power to legislate at all for one territory, (and that power is exercised every day,) it surely has the power to keep slavery out of it, as the majority should govern, and our fathers contended for and practised this principle. | |
| 2. Mr. Jefferson, in the Congress of the confederation, March 1, 1784, reported into the memorial provision against slavery—yes, as early as 1774, in the Virginia Convention he said: 'The abolition of domestic slavery is the greatest object of desire in these colonies.' | |
| 3. George Washington was in favor of the principles of the Proviso, and in his letter to R. Morris, April 12, 1786, he maintained that it was 'the only proper and effectual mode to arrest this blighting evil.' | |
| 4. In April, 1787, an act was passed establishing the Limits of Georgia, and prohibiting the importation of slaves from the territory. | |
| 5. Madison, Gerry, and Dr. Franklin advocated this doctrine in Congress, in 1789. | |
| 6. In 1804, an act was passed dividing Louisiana into two territories, providing her a government, and prohibiting the importation of slaves. | |
| 7. The laws of Louisiana were extended over Missouri, and Mississippi and Alabama. No one then denied the right to govern our territories. | |
| 8. In the Missouri compromise, this principle was applied to all the territory north of 36 deg. 30 min. Slavery was not in the same power? | |
| 9. The right to acquire territory necessarily grants the power to govern it. | |
| 10. Congress said to Oregon, your legislature shall sit not exceed days, and all your laws shall be submitted to us. | |
| 11. Jefferson, Madison, and Polk signed bills with the Wilmot Proviso attached, and every democrat from Ohio voted for the same principle. | |
| 12. Congress has made governments for Ohio, Iowa, Indiana, Oregon, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, California, Utah, New Mexico, &c. | |
| 13. Congress also exercised the power of governing and restricting this 'peculiar institution' in Florida. | |
| 14. Admitting the power to legislate for the territory at all, surrenders the argument. If Congress can say you shall not, she can say you may. If, as in the Omnibus measures, you say you shall not legislate on the subject of African slavery, you can with equal propriety do it on extension. | |
| 15. Territorial governments were established by the Congress of the confederation, and by Congress under the present Constitution, and have existed and flourished for more than half a century. Some dough-head book politicians have discovered all this to be unconstitutional! Miraculous discovery! | |
| 16. Gen. Cass never dreamed of this doctrine, and does yet in his heart, but he thought to conciliate the South by his Nicholson letter; and the Southern democracy have not enough to go for a federalist because he was a slaveholder, and strike at the 'national democratic flag!' Cass said in Senate, February 1, 1850—'I have never concealed nor denied that I was formerly in favor of the Wilmot Proviso, but that I be pocketed more than $100,000 in the operation of governing territories, &c.?' | |
| 17. The Spanish territory and territories, as used in the original charters of the various colonies in the articles of the confederation, deeds of cession and the constitution of the United States of Congress, included land, water jurisdiction, domain and sovereignty, and the same meaning is attached to them in our treaties with foreign powers, and our resolutions for admitting Texas. | |
| 18. Title by discovery, purchase, conquest, or in some other way, by the nation, confers the sovereignty and jurisdiction of the soil and inhabitants, until they make their own constitution. | |
| But I forbear to persue the proof further. This was from Tower Hamlets, Kingsland at Bethnal-green, Mile-end, Stepney, Poplar, Limehouse, Bermondsey, Rotherhithe, Deptford, Greenwich, Lewisham, Blackheath, Woolwich, Plumstead, Charlton, Eltham, Lee, Lewisham, Sydenham, Penge, Croydon, Kingston, Richmond, Hampton, Hampton Court, Sunbury, Shepperton, Chertsey, Weybridge, Walton, Esher, Kingston, Surbiton, Malden, Kingston, Tooting, Mitcham, Croydon, Sydenham, Lewisham, Greenwich

I meet my constituents without fear and misgiving; with the confidence that they will not underrate the importance of having a representative thus inflexible, unborn, you show me a people that each in his own person are diadems—the cause of human freedom that any despot has done; for his motto is government, and only government—the government of the one, it the few, over the many—while the individual who holds the equal rights of man every where, is the first tribune of the principles, if he does not practically recognise that right, and grant to others the liberty he claims for himself. The result of my labors in that country was, that, on the average, I delivered public address every day that I was there; that wherever, in the first instance, I was denied a hearing, and was prevented from more or less assailed by the public press, and threatened with danger, I was never denied a hearing again. Wherever I went, however hostile the city or town might appear to be before my arrival, I was invariably heard by the audience convened, and as invariably succeeded more or less in softening their prejudices, or altogether converting them to the opinions which I myself held. When I left the United States of America for England, in the same city where I disembarked from England, instead of a brawling, ruffianly mob, clamoring for the blood of a foreigner, I was entertained at one of the most brilliant assemblies ever convened in the city, protected not by the constabulary of the city, but by its changed public feeling, and by the confidence, if not esteem, of those who had previously repelled me.

I have now put before you, very briefly, the reasons which induced me to prolong my stay in America. I shall talk up but little more of your time, in order that I may submit to the most rigorous examination, touching either my absence, or any other matter connected with my election and conduct in Parliament. All I have to say, with reference to the former is, that, saving and excepting this absence—an offence, I will never repeat, during my political connection with you—and hoping always that I shall have more ability to serve you than I have hitherto had, I shall be for the future, what I have been for the past. (Cheers.) I will give no vote to please a minister. (cheers)—no vote merely to please my constituents—but will vote constantly as truth and duty shall dictate to my own conscience. But you have an opportunity of now saying, whether, in your opinion, I ought to remain in the British House of Commons as your representative. I said when I was elected, and before I was elected, that I at least would afford to the electors of the Tower Hamlets an opportunity of having an annual election. I afford you this opportunity now, for I come before you, even before Parliament is prorogued. If you can gather up the opinions of the people of the Tower Hamlets, and lay them before me to-morrow morning, and those opinions shall, to the extent of a majority of those who elected me, and of the non-electors, be adverse to my reappearance in the House of Commons, I will not enter the doors of that House again. (Cheers.) I have therefore come before you to receive your verdict. That I have enemies in this borough, I cannot doubt—I mean political enemies. What man is without them? My only wonder is, they are not more. That they covet my seat, I can easily imagine. (Hear.) That they require more respectability, more wealth, more influence, and a man, who, perhaps, might do more at the Treasury than I could ever do, or ever shall attempt to do, I can imagine. I do not wonder, therefore, at any amount of dissatisfaction I may state to-night, not to those who have a purpose to serve, but to those who constitute an honest and impartial jury, that in their verdict, whatever it may be, if it shall be the verdict of the constituency at large, I will most cheerfully acquiesce. Gentlemen, I care nothing for a seat in Parliament. I care much for my humanity by my remaining. I never deliberately purposed to remain one month in America beyond the time that I had fixed for my return. I did but accept to-day invitations for to-morrow, reluctant when the fields were white unto the harvest, to quit them without putting in the sickle, and gathering something more into the garner of human liberty. (Cheers.) I might have been useful here; and you may decide to-night, and you are here to decide whether, these circumstances considered, I ought to have been here; but this allow me to say, without any view of influencing your judgment—that on careful study, on the other side of the Atlantic, of what was doing here, and what could be done here, and of what would have been done here, I am convinced, that, measuring the comparative value of my labors, not by the limits of this borough, nor by the limits of these shores, but by the limits of the globe itself, and of the human race—I was doing, and did do, a work in America which I could not have accomplished to the same extent elsewhere.—(Cheers.) But, while I thus yielded to the pressing invitations of the hour, I never forgot this constituency. Had I forgotten it, I might have remained. I had established my right to be heard; enemies had given place to friends; threatenings of coming danger were exchanged for acclamations of applause. I was invited by tens of thousands to stay, and resign my seat in Parliament. I repudiated the proposition, and determined to come fairly, face to face, with my constituents, first to account to them for my absence, firstly, as I have done, to put the cause of that absence before them, and meekly as I shall do, to submit to their verdict, whatever it may be.

Allow me to say, that had I remained for ease, leisure, enjoyment, recreation, I should have condemned myself before I had appeared to receive your honors. I was not botanizing on the Himalayas; I was not pursuing antiquarian researches on the banks of the Nile; I was not gazing upon the sublimities of the Alps or the Andes; I was not putting my foot under the tables of the bloated planters of the South, or trucking politicians of the North, of America. I was laboring, peril, persecution, and obloquy, in the cause of the most oppressed and degraded of the human race.

My friends, a word respecting that cause. There are in the United States some twenty-two millions of human beings. These are divided into the colored and the white, the bond and the free. Out of these twenty-two millions, there are three millions and a half who cannot call their persons, their lives, their labors, their virtue, their faculties, their progeny, their own. Of all institutions of personal slavery, locked at in connection with its safeguards and its origin—of all the institutions of slavery on the face of the earth, there are none so unmitigatedly bad, so inexcusably atrocious, so colossal in their felonious aspect, so diametrically opposed to the professions and practices of the people that encourage and support them, as the institutions of slavery in the United States of America. There is no republicanism in America while slavery exists. (Cheers.) The cause of liberty throughout the world is maimed and bleeding, while slavery exists. We preach democracy in vain in England, while a Tory and Conservative can point us to the opposite side of the Atlantic, and say, 'There are 19,000,000 of the human race free, absolutely; every man helpful, apparent to the throne; governing themselves—the government of all, by all, for all—but, instead of being a consistent republic, it is one wide-spread confederacy of free men for the enslavement of an entire nation of another complexion.' While that institution lasts, the experiment of men to govern themselves has not been proved to be a successful one; for there is no virtue in loving freedom for ourselves. Nor let us deceive ourselves by imagining that we are democrats, still less republicans, because we like freedom for ourselves. All men like it for themselves. There is not a man in Newgate, or the Penitentiary either, who would not like to be free; but he is there because he did not know, or did not feel, that he who would love liberty in truth, should first be wise and good. If you show me a republic that has turned the power which freedom gives, the combination which freedom permits, all against human liberty, for their own individual advantage, careless of the rights, interests and happiness of millions living, and scores of millions unborn, you show me a people that each in his own person are diadems—the cause of human freedom that any despot has done; for his motto is government, and only government—the government of the one, it the few, over the many—while the individual who holds the equal rights of man every where, is the first tribune of the principles, if he does not practically recognise that right, and grant to others the liberty he claims for himself. The result of my labors in that country was, that, on the average, I delivered public address every day that I was there; that wherever, in the first instance, I was denied a hearing, and was prevented from more or less assailed by the public press, and threatened with danger, I was never denied a hearing again. Wherever I went, however hostile the city or town might appear to be before my arrival, I was invariably heard by the audience convened, and as invariably succeeded more or less in softening their prejudices, or altogether converting them to the opinions which I myself held. When I left the United States of America for England, in the same city where I disembarked from England, instead of a brawling, ruffianly mob, clamoring for the blood of a foreigner, I was entertained at one of the most brilliant assemblies ever convened in the city, protected not by the constabulary of the city, but by its changed public feeling, and by the confidence, if not esteem, of those who had previously repelled me.

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LETTER FROM EDWARD SEARCH.

LONDON, July, 1851.

W. L. GARRISON, Esq.:

DEAR SIR,—The patriotism of some of the American citizens here has been aroused by the remarks that have been made upon the large space required for the United States in the Exhibition, and the sensitiness of their show. I use the word *patriotism*, as that which Uncle Sam uses to register his billiousness when any thing is said implying that he is not mighty, grand, and able to whip the world. He knows he may, according to the letter of his Constitution, as expounded by the white skins, whip his own niggers into pulp and not be hanged for it.—He knows that he may boast, swagger, lie and tyrannize on his own plantation, and that no one dare gainsay him there; and he does not see that by those who associate with their equals in right, the boasting, swaggering tyrant is detected as readily as men of sense detect a pedagogue when he is out of school and associating with men. Many of your citizens have been made to see this instance arising out of the Exhibition at the Crystal Palace here.

An instance has just occurred here: Mr. Wm. Brown, M. P., the American merchant, gave a dinner to the Royal and Foreign Commissioners, the Executive Committee, and others connected with the Exhibition, and the business of the Exhibition. Mr. Davies, the American Charge d' Affaires, responded in a brief speech, full of kindly feeling to the old country, and the vindication of the honor of his own.

He would say to those who might be skeptical of the wealth of Americans, that they should look into her docks. Their show at the Great Exhibition might be meagre, but their show at Liverpool was anything but meagre. And when they had looked at all those things, they would say—it might be vanity and fancy, but I suggest it—see what the descendants of Englishmen have accomplished, and he thought also that they would then respond to the cordial wish of every American, that the good relations now established between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race, England and the United States, may long continue to exist, and be strengthened.

You see by this that the pride of many has been hurt to see that 'Uncle Sam's' show is not equal to the display made by other nations. They ought not to feel this, for, considering that 'Uncle Sam' is not yet 90 years old, the display they do make is most surprising, and under no other form of government would such a progress, in so short a time, have been made. True it is that there men hardly ever speak their approbation for America or its institutions without that ominous drawback, but, remember they have slavery. We seldom hear you even speak of America from the mouths of freemen, without this sad drawback. The United States have many hearty and earnest friends who, whilst they deeply regret the existence of this plague-spot, bear in mind the noble struggle by which your forefathers founded and maintained their own rights; and be assured of this, that whilst the new Testament is looked to as the standard of truth by the many, the existence of slavery is but a question of time, though it must be a grievous struggle for the ardent abolitionists to bear up against the brutality and wickedness of the slaveholders.

I belonged, some twenty or more years ago, to a Club here, who especially dined together on the 4th of July to celebrate your Independence. I remember on one occasion, when your country or its President was toasted, that this painful drawback, the existence of slavery, was adverted to for the sake of the principle. It was always deemed needful to regret it. On one occasion, an American gentleman present got up and reminded the company that the Americans had not established slavery, but that Englishmen had when they were colonies; that they had to reproach us with having left them the plague; and as stated this, as I remember, rather successfully. But this argument amounts to but little, as it does not touch the principle; or we, who abolished it, could have said just the same thing to or of our forefathers. If the remaining two-millions of Negroes, who groan under the continuance of the inquisition or any other abomination or desolation which in the olden time and in the days of their ignorance our predecessors had suffered under. The retort is rather smart than pertinent. It is a repetition of the offence.

Mr. Davies, your excellent Charge d'Affaires, says, See what the descendants of Englishmen, meaning Americans, have done. See also, I say, what they have left 'undone.' Consider the light they have had—the religion they have possessed—the Scriptures and the literature without which they could not, if they would, have had full liberty to think, to speak, to act—that they have been free from prosecutions for treason and sedition, and for reading the Scriptures—that they have been free from the benumbing and darkening influences of a State church which one or two priests in every parish, frowning down every liberal aspiration—that their land has not been shared out amongst a few wicked brutes called barons, and handed down under a feudal regime—that their chief men have not been, as ours are, systematically educated by State priests in colleges and universities, to keep the dark age and still preserved for twisting men's minds into given channels, and perverting them from those highest aspirations which increased knowledge suggests to the world out of college. Considering these things, Mr. Davies ought well be asked, when inviting us to look at what Americans have done, to look also at what they have *not* done, and what they ought to have done, considering the immensity of the means which they have had opened out before them. They ought by this time to have been in a station to frown down the impudence of the American slaveholders' Pro-slavery crusades against light, knowledge and good government.

Of the state of darkness in which these State priests keep our nobility, so called, we have just had a remarkable instance. They have at a second time rejected a bill for the emancipation of the Jews, upon the flimsy pretext, that ours is a Christian country; and they prove that they are Christian men by depriving others of their rights, for the sin of being faithful to their convictions. It is a difficult thing for a nation to throw off the priests, when they have once got into the saddle, and especially when they have somewhere about ten millions a year in land and tithes to induce them to keep in it, and to prevent mind from growing into maturity. You really know not the extent of the blessing vouchsafed to your country from the fact that you have no State-paid priest, and I trust your enlightenment will so far keep ahead that you never will have, and that you will preserve yourselves from the craft of the profession, even when it is a voluntary band, without legal power to work its spirit into the public mind. They are all more or less influenced by sectarianism, and they are therefore necessarily narrow, because they are sectarians; they are hired to preach sectarian notions, and this operates as a retainer against so much of universal truth as appears to the priest to be inimical against the dogma for which he is retained. He sets up his dogma as a standard, and measures truth by that, instead of regulating his standard by the truth. I observe there is now weekly communication between England and the States. I should hope, if there is, to get a Sermon from you.

EDWARD SEARCH.

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LIFE INSURANCE. The North British Review computes the amount paid into the Life Institutions of the Kingdom at £5,000,000 annually, according to families and representatives of the amount £35,000,000. The business in this country is also growing so rapidly as to render a diffusion of correct information as to the dangers and benefits of the system a matter of general interest. The U. S. Life Insurance Agency have sent us several valuable explanatory publications upon the subject, which appear to supply much of the information which one needs who would understandingly secure its benefits. These works may be had, gratis, at the Loan Fund Life Office, 40 State street.

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☞ *The Editor of the Liberator* was unable to fulfil his engagement at East Bridgewater on Saturday but hopes to be there, in consequence of which, he has been too unwell to bestow any attention on the present number of his paper; and indulgence must be exercised in regard to any errors that may be found.

☞ The very excellent discourse on 'Faith in Christ,' delivered at Barre, in this State, at the ordination of the Rev. Mr. Hodges, by WILLIAM H. FURNESS of Philadelphia, is for sale by Crosby & Nichols, 111 Washington Street. [See extracts on our last page.]

☞ If we have failed to give our readers much variety in our present number, they nevertheless will find a rich treat in the lucid and able speech of WIENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., delivered at Worcester on the First of August, and Mr. Garrison's address of the tribune, phant reception meeting of GEORGE THOMPSON, M. P., by his constituents in Kingsland, Tower Hamlets. The remainder of the proceedings we shall give next week.

☞ A meeting will be holden at Falmouth, Mass., on Monday, Sept. 1st., at 6 1-2 o'clock, P. M., in the Town Hall—kindly granted for the purpose without expense by the selectmen of the town. It is expected that Wm. L. Garrison, and Rev. Samuel May, Jr., will be present.

## WOMEN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.

In accordance with a vote of the Women's Rights Convention, held in Worcester, on the 23d and 24th of Oct. last, another Convention, for the same objects, viz., to consider the Rights, Duties, and Relations of the Woman,' will be held in Worcester, Oct. 15th and 16th.

We invite all, both men and women, to meet at the appointed time and place, for the free and full discussion of this great question.

The cause itself, affecting as it does, the destiny of the race, takes the front rank in those reform movements which the progressive spirit of the age has brought into existence. Its root is as old as time, and feel the wrongs which grow out of the false position occupied by woman, and who, having

'no dread of what
Is called for by the instinct of mankind,'

dare give to such a movement the sanction of their presence, and to embody, in word and deed, the thought and feeling which they must have, that so that woman socially, civilly, religiously and educationally, occupies an unnatural and unworthy position.

The work contemplated is no 'child's play'. It was directly with the sin of ages, so deeply rooted and so hoary, that woman is only an appendage, and not an integral part in the fabric of human society.

It is in full conflict with the world's teachers;—its preachers; its lawyers; its poets and its painters. It stands opposed to those soul-blighting influences of society which have consigned women to an aimless and objectless existence, and have baptized a life so unworthy as peculiarly fitting and graceful for women.

Such are some of the circumstances. Come then to the Convention, prepared as thought meets thought to seize and use each new ray of light in dispelling the 'gross darkness' which envelops both man and woman relative to woman's rights, and the duties which grow out of those rights.

Reports will be presented from the Committees appointed by the last Convention; on Education, Industrial Avocations, Civil and Political Functions, and Social Relations.

In addition to those who last year gave interest to the Convention, Mrs. Coe, of Ohio, will be present.

Papers friendly to the movement will please copy.

In behalf of the Committee,

LUCY STONE,
WM. H. CHANNING,
PAULINA W. DAVIS.

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NEW ENGLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN FOR WOMEN.

The increasing importance of all the mechanic and manufacturing arts in New England has led us to look carefully at every movement which promises to extend and improve their cultivation. At the same time, the large number of women dependent on their own earnings, and with difficulty gaining a subsistance in the few and crowded walks of industry now accessible to them, urge us to throw open new avenues of employment well suited to their physical constitution, their mental tastes and talents, and the present conditions of society.

It has seemed to us, that both these objects may be promoted by the establishment of SCHOOLS OF DESIGN, similar to those long ago founded in France, for the last ten years encouraged by the Government of Great Britain, and within a year put into successful operation by private benevolence in our own country at Philadelphia. While the market is overstocked with female labor in the ordinary branches, a demand of increasing demand exists for skilful labor and invention. This is true of wood-engraving; designs for calicoes, muslins, and other printed fabrics; drawings of machinery, and very many similar branches.

A School on the plan proposed, will give instruction in these arts at a price within the means of all; while manufacturers, publishers, machinists, and others may send their orders thither, secure of their prompt and faithful execution.

It is proposed to form an association for carrying this plan into operation, the members of which shall pay three dollars or more annually towards defraying the necessary expenses of a room, teachers, &c. An annual subscription of twenty dollars will entitle a person to place a pupil at the School for gratuitous instruction. Donations of any amount will be thankfully received.

As a Library, and a collection of Models, Pictures and Casts, will be of great service to the School, any contributions for this purpose will be very welcome.

A meeting of Subscribers will be held on Tuesday, Sept. 16, to choose a Board of Directors, and arrange the business of the Association.

March 14

JOHN CURTIS & CO.,
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*NATIONAL A. S. STANDARD AND HERALD OF FREEDOM.*

FOR sale, at reasonable rates, the first four volumes, bound, of the National Anti-Slavery Standard, and the Herald of Freedom for 1843 and 1844. Also the Cradle of Liberty for 1839.

Aug. 8 WM. C. NELL.

*PRENTISS & SAWYER,*
**Book, Job, and Card Printers,**
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ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.
NEW SERIES.

SOUTH GARDNER, (Worcester Co.)
*Sunday Aug. 24.*

Stephen S. Foster will attend this meeting, which will be held during the morning and afternoon at S. G., and at the Town Hall (probably) in the evening.

HARWICH (Barnstable County.)
*Friday, Saturday and Sunday, Aug. 29—31.*

☞ See Committee's call of this Convention.

CARVER, (Plymouth Co.)
*Sunday, Aug. 31.*

☞ This Convention will be held in the Centre Meeting-house, and will be attended by Nathaniel H. Whiting and Lucy Stone.

☞ BOSTON FEMALE MEDICAL SCHOOL, conducted by the Female Medical Education Society. The Seventh Semi-Annual Term will commence on the first WEDNESDAY of November, 1851, and continue three months. Tuition $25. The Society's Report, giving particulars, can be had of the Secretary.

SAMUEL GRIDLEY, *President.*
SAMUEL GRIDLEY, *Secretary,* 17 Cornhill.
August 22.

*NOW READY,*
THE GREAT HARMONIA.
VOL. II.

B. MUSSEY & CO. 29 Cornhill, Boston, publish to-day,

THE GREAT HARMONIA,
being a Philosophical Revelation of the Natural, Spiritual and Celestial Universe, by ANDREW JACKSON DAVIS, author of 'The Principles of Nature, her Divine Revelations, and a Voice to Mankind.'

Spontaneous and profound questions are living representatives of internal desires, but to obtain and enjoy the Spiritual Revelations, through which man intrinsically elevating and eternal, the inquirer should consult, not superficial and popular authorities, but the everlasting and unchanging teachings of Nature, Reason and Intuition.

THE TEACHER. VOL. II.
*CONTENTS.*

My Early Experience.
My Preacher and his Church.
The True Reformer.
Philosophy of Charity.
Individual and Social Culture.
The Mission of Woman.
The True Marriage.
Moral Freedom.
Philosophy of Immortality.
The Spirit's Destiny.
Concerning the Deity.

☞ Orders respectfully solicited from the Trade.
August 15

AMORY HALL.

☞ Admittance 12 1-2 cents, without distinction of age.

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*GRAND DIORAMA OF THE BAY AND CITY OF NAPLES.*
CONCLUDING WITH A
*Terrific Eruption of Mount Vesuvius.*

☞ Hine's Panorama, at Amory Hall, draws well at the low price, and the fine views of Paris alone are a great bargain in sight-seeing, at what is now asked for the whole: We are glad to see that Mr. Hine has labored with unparalleled patience, and no common skill, and deserves to be made comfortable for the rest of his days for it.—*Commonwealth.*

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OFFICE—Lower floor Merchants' Exchange, Boston.
Nov. 22.

**Warren Street Chapel, Boston.**
*W. J. WHITAKER*

INFORMS the citizens of Boston and vicinity, that he has opened classes for instruction in INVENTIVE DRAWING AND DESIGN.

The mode of instruction is entirely new; being a development of the power of the pupil, instead of merely imitating others, as heretofore pursued; and is founded, *first,* on Geometric Form; *secondly,* on Natural Objects, as fruits, flowers, &c.—producing results in two hours, more than by the old method, and from its simplicity insuring success to the learner.

SEPARATE CLASSES FOR THE SEXES.

TERMS PER QUARTER, $5, payable in advance. Hours of attendance from 10 till 12, A. M., and from 3 till 5, P. M.

☞ Instruction given in schools and private families on moderate terms.

July 25. tf

JOHN OLIVER,
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BOSTON.

☞ J. O. solicits Jobs in carpenters' work, such as repairing dwelling-houses, stores, &c., and putting up and altering all kinds of fixtures, &c., and will, by prompt attention to all orders, endeavor to give entire satisfaction to his patrons. March 14


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*Henry I. Bowditch,*
*Josiah P. Flagg,*
*Chas. F. Barnard,*
*Barnet Sears,*
*Horace Mann,*
*John T. Sargent,*
*Ezra R. Scarse,*
*Otis Clapp,*
*Mrs. Caroline Hildreth,*
" *Elizabeth L. Everett,*
*Miss Hannah Stevenson,*
" *Anna Parsons,*
" *Harriet K. Hunt,*
" *Matilda Goddard,*
" *Tabitha D. Littlehale.*
} *Committee of Arrangements*

PLYMOUTH COUNTY.

A meeting of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Pembroke Church, at Carver, on Sunday, Aug. 31, 1851, forenoon and afternoon. A third meeting may be expected at Plympton Town Hall, at half past 7, P. M.

Lucy Stone and N. H. Whiting will be present.

BOURNE SPOONER, *President.*
H. H. BRIGHAM, *Sec'ry.*

## POETRY.

From "Lays of the Kirk and Covenant," by Mrs. A. Stuart Monteith.

### THE CHILD OF JAMES MELVILLE.

*Born July 9, 1586—Died about January, 1585.*

'This page, if then he pass the Gates of Heaven (as I trust that he will, this sparkling one!) of nought, suspected thy censure till thou be a father, as said the grave Lacedæmonian Agesilaus.'—*Autobiography of James Melville.*

One time—my soul was pierced as with a sword—
Contending still with then untaught and wild—
When He who to the prophet lent his gourd,
Gave me the solace of a pleasant child!

A summer gift—my precious flower was given—
A very summer fragrance was its life;
Its clear eyes soothed me as the blue of heaven,
When home I turned—a weary man of strife!

With unformed laughter—musically sweet—
How soon the wakening babe would meet my kiss;
With outstretched arms its care-wrought father greet—
Oh! in the desert what a stream was this!

A few short months it blossomed near my heart—
A few short months—else sunbeams all, and red;
But that home solace nerved me for my part,
And of the babe I was exceeding glad!

Alas! my pretty bud, scarce formed, was dying—
(The prophet's gourd it withered in a night!)
And He who gave me all—my heart's pulse trying—
Took gently home the child of my delight!

Not rudely called, nor suddenly it perished—
But gradual faded from our love away!
As if still, secret dews, its life that cherished,
Were drop by drop withheld, and day by day!

My blessed Master saved me from repining,
So tenderly he sued me for his own—
So beautiful he made my babe's declining,
Its dying bless'd me as its birth had done!

And daily to my board at noon and even,
Our fading flower I bade his mother bring,
That we might commune of our rest in heaven,
Gazing the while on death's dark doctrines with its sting!

And of the ransom for that baby paid—
So very sweet at times our converse seemed,
That the sure truth of grief a gladness made—
Our little lamb—by God's own Lamb redeemed!

There were two milk-white doves my wife had nourished,
And I too loved, erewhile, at times to stand—
Marking how each the other fondly cherished,
And fed them from my baby's dimpled hand!
So tame they grew, that to his cradle flying,
Full oft they stood him to his noon-tide rest;
And to the murmurs of his sleep replying,
Crept gently in, and nestled in his breast!

'Twas a fair sight—the snow-pale infant sleeping,
So fondly guardianed by those creatures mild;
Watch o'er his closed eyes their bright eyes keeping—
Wondrous the love betwixt the birds and child!

Still, as he sickened, second the doves too dwining—
Zeneth their food, and loathed their pretty play;
And on the day he died, pined not nor whining!
One gentle bird would not be frayed away!

His mother found it when she rose, sad-hearted,
At early dawn, with sense of nearing ill;
And when, at last, the little spirit parted,
The dove died too—as if of its heart-chill!
The other flew to meet my sad home riding,
As with a human sorrow in its coo;
To my dead child and its dead mate then guiding,
Most plaintily chanting—and pained too!

'Twas my first 'kassel,' and 'proptne' to heaven!
And as I laid my darling beneath the sod—
Precious His comforts—once an infant given—
And offered with two turtle-doves to God!

* Present. † Earnest, pledge.

### FOR THE RAILROAD CELEBRATION.

BY CHARLES F. SHIMAS.

No more we sing as they sang of old,
To the tones of the lute and lyre,
For lo! we live in an Iron Age—
In the age of Steam and Fire!
The world is too busy for dreaming,
And hath grown too wise for War;
So, to-day, for the glory of Science,
Let us sing of the Railway Car!

The golden chariots of ancient kings
Would dazzle the wondering eye,
And the heads of a million slaves might bow
As the glittering toy rolled by;
But this is the *Car of the People*,
And before it shall bow all kings;
Be they warned when they hear the shrieking
Of the Dragon with iron wings!

The blood-stained car of the Juggernaut
O'er millions of necks hath rolled,
And its Priests have cried, 'Such a triumph as ours
The world shall never behold!'
But we! when this harnessed Dragon
Comes vomiting smoke and fire,
For the Priests, with their car and idols,
Shall perish beneath his ire!

And we to all who uphold the wrong—
Love darkness rather than light—
For Science hath opened a broad highway
For Knowledge, and Truth, and Right.
And he sends forth his car to gather
The people of many lands,
Until the uttermost nations
Are grasping each other's hands!

And thus, when the people, as one, are joined,
And each to his fellow is known,
Invention, and Art, and Skill shall work
At the bidding of Science alone.
And who can tell of the greatness
The world may hope for then!
For the faith that reveth mountains
Hath entered the souls of men!

Then sing no more, as they sang of old,
To the tones of the lute and lyre,
But sound the praise of the Iron Age
Of the age of Steam and Fire!
And sing to the glory of Science—
Exult in the downfall of War—
And shout for the fiery Dragon,
As he flies with the Railway Car!

### SONNET.

BY C. P. CRANCH.

Man was not made for forms, but forms for man;
And there are times when Law itself must bend
To that clear spirit that hath still outran
The speed of laws—that spirit, which in the end
Potentates, not Humanity, must fall.
Water will find its level; fire will burn;
The winds must blow around the earthly ball;
The earthly ball by day and night must turn.
Freedom is typed in every element;
Man must be free; it not through law, why then
Above the law; until its force be spent,
And justice brings a better. When, oh, when!
Father of Light! shall the great reckoning come,
To lift the weak, and strike the oppressor dumb?

## Reformatory.

### A BOOK FOR ABOLITIONISTS.

And of course I mean those whom we *call* Abolitionists—those who are thorough-going, radical, uncompromising anti-slavery men—in a word, Garrisonians. Here is a book for them, because they are something more than Abolitionists; they are reformers, universal reformers; they are in favor of *all* goodness. They wish to discover all truth, and not only to be conformed to it themselves, but to induce all others to be conformed to it. They are, so to speak, axe at the root of all evil, and to sweep from the earth everything that is opposed to the well are of the race. They are for helping on every good cause, and they strive to promote progress, with respect alike to humanity, theology, morals, and true religion. Only to all this is true of them, are they worthy to be called Abolitionists. Well, here is a book for them then.

I refer to the Great Harmonia, vol. ii., entitled—*The Teacher*—by Andrew Jackson Davis. It is a beautifully bound work of 440 pages, to be had for a dollar, and which will be for sale all over the country. Its contents are, My Early Experience: My Preacher and his Church: The true Reformer: Philosophy of Charity: Individual and Social Culture: The Mission of Woman: The True Marriage: Moral Freedom: Philosophy of Immortality: The Spirit's Destiny: Concerning the Deity. It is a *good* book—a second volume—a Bible—not because Mr. Davis wrote it, not because the spirits in the other world dictated it, not because it is infallible and may not contain mistakes, but, because it is full of sacred truths, and heavenly teachings, and divine sentiments. It will make the man who reads it wiser, and better, and happier, and it will show him how to make others so. It will make him a truer reformer, heightening his perception of what is to be, giving him a more comprehensive view of things, and making him more resolutely universal in his aims. It will help to make us all more free, for even the most advanced of us are not aware to what extent we are still slaves—the slaves of prejudice, misconception, error and ignorance. Our notions are put on by education, and, (not with regard to slavery, perhaps, but still with regard to a great many other things,) and both our conceptions and our hearts need to be wondrfully enlarged. We have more things to outgrow than the wisest of us ever dreamed of. There are views of God and the Bible which we we must give up, there are doctrines which respect to the race, both in this and the other life, which we must renounce; there are theories and systems of government which we must discard, and customs and institutions of society which we must abandon, or trample under our feet. In other words, with regard to a multitude of things we are not free; we are very slaves. We need to have our shackles broken, that we may know what it is to be *truly* emancipated. This book will do more to work our disenthralment than any one would imagine till he had read it. By what it says and by what it suggests, (for it is eminently suggestive, and is therefore to be studied,) it will go far toward playing the part of a '*Liberator*' to us. Read it, and you will say so.

Of course, it claims no infallibility. No book, either written by man or dictated by spirits, may. No book even, nor ever will be infallible, save the great Book of Nature. This volume, therefore, is not to be looked upon in the light of a standard, nor to be set up as the rule of any man's faith or practice; its author scouts the very idea. It is to be examined, and tested, and *proved*. That which it asserts, if found to be true, is to be received; but if it is ascertained to be false, it is as much to be rejected. It is hereby to be expected, perhaps, that an independent, bold, yet, with vigorous powers of intellect, will agree with *all* the statements contained in the work, but he assurredly will coincide with most of them; the sum of its feelings will be, that it is as the sun at noon-day, for light, and heat, and beauty; and that it is good, he will find *enough* of truth to make him good, and pure, and divine, and to cause him to enter into the kingdom of heaven, which is the kingdom of eternal harmony. Again I say, read it, and you will find it so.

I know not which chapter of the book to recommend most. Each is particularly excellent, though, on its own peculiar account. That on the Mission of Woman will attract all who are interested in the Woman's Rights Cause. That on the Marriage, the True Reformer, and Philosophy of Charity, develop the theory of the Associationists. 'My Preacher and his Church' is good for Sunday, and for the settlement of the Sabbath question. 'Individual and Social Culture' is capital for practice. The last three sections unfold wonderful truths with regard to the soul of man, the spirits of the inner spheres, the extent of the spiritual and material universe, and the nature and philosophy of God himself. And the whole book is against all slavery, war, capital punishment, monopoly, poverty, crime, misery, antagonism, inharmony, disunity; and in favor of the 'Golden Age,' the 'Good Time Coming,' and the kingdom of heaven upon earth.

I am anxious that all abolitionists should read this work; and I am anxious that they should read other works of the same class, that they may make themselves fully acquainted with the sublime principles and the holy teachings of the Harmonial Philosophy.

JOSEPH TREAT.

Hartford, Aug. 10, 1851.

[From 'The Great Harmonia,' by A. J. Davis.]

### WHO IS A TRUE REFORMER?

This question very naturally arises at this point; and it is to elucidate this subject, in accordance with my impressions, that I submit the following reply:—

The true Reformer is necessarily superior to his age. If he is not more advanced than those living of the age from which originate all the prevailing laws and numerous customs, then he is not their superior and cannot be their teacher. His value to his age and the world consists in his superiority to them. But in proportion as he is superior to the received and popular ideas, and tendencies of the day, will his position be misunderstood, his motives misapprehended, his teachings misrepresented, and his intrinsic worth underrated.

The multitude, not standing where he stands, nor beholding what he beholds, may look upon him as a deceiver, a hypocrite, as an enthusiast, or as a philosophical madman. His position is necessarily *above* the ordinary doctrines and theories of his age, to which the masses are constantly tending, and in which they are confined. Hence, he is necessarily repulsed, disliked, preached against, calumniated, and subjected to such imprisonment and torture as the liberality and humanitarianism of his age will permit. There is necessarily a vast difference between him and the people. And it is no more unreasonable that he should not be understood and appreciated by the people, than that he himself should not comprehend minds still superior in spheres unknown. Therefore the great, and talented, and fruitful minds, of all ages and nations, have had to bear and suffer from the combined persecutions of ignorance and prejudice which correlly prevail in the world. Therefore the reformer is sure to be persecuted and crucified. And, although God will *permitting* to manifest himself in the souls, and thoughts, and deeds of such, blind ignorance and intolerance will concentrate their forces to deride, falsify, and destroy the medium of the revelation. The true reformer must be great in his good. But unfortunately for him, his position and qualifications are powerful causes of the development of envy, jealousy, and antagonistic feelings in ambitious minds. Some deride, because they are ignorant; some deride, because they are envious; and still others deride, because they have counter interests and professions. But genius is divine and eternal, and it will live and full fit its glorious mission, though the powers of church and state join to destroy its birth-place, or the medium of its sublime manifestations.

Every nation has and its reformer, and its truly original author, and its truly inspired Hero. And every age has given birth to some important truth, thus contributing something toward gratifying the insatiable thirst for Wisdom and knowledge. But the reformer has also had his martyrs, his racks, and its stakes—in the mind or out of the mind—by which to cramp, and crush, and crucify the inspired messenger of the Infinite Spirit.

Every age and nation has also had its false reformer, its false author, and its false prophet. Some ambitious and designing, and, perhaps, has pretended to originality in his thought, and to inspiration in his teachings. Such a mind will complain of non-appreciation, and of unjust persecution because the appearance and position of the persecuted genius. He aspires to the martyr's crown of thorns. And he succeeds, in acquiring popularity and influence among the people, sometimes at the expense of the *true* merit, and in derogation of the inspiration of the true reformer. There is, therefore, a want of actual knowledge, and of wisdom, which *constitutes a true reformer*—one, who is a reliable teacher. A standard must be ascertained whereby to measure and judge, what is imparital and most correct, and most just, and true, and, who is not, the true manifestation of the divine spirit, and the true guide to the human soul. We this morning have done so to direct your attention.

Far down in the depths of humanity's history, I can perceive uncultivated, simple, and enthusiastic hearts—hearts, which, in general, good of mankind. The plains of Arabia have been traversed by the savage; but some representative of refinement and civilization has led that savage onward—some cool and powerful mind, which has been his friend and father. The savage and barbarian tribes of the desert were never without God; they had some kind of a reformer in the person of a nobleman by nature, who would unite their interests and lead them to the accomplishment of wiser ends.

Combine, I repeat, the zeal and fanaticism of the savage chief, with the tender and protecting qualities of the desert patriarch, and you have an inspired prophet, a spirit replete with *power, philanthropy*, and liberty. The patriot is a man who loves his family, his nation, his country, and his God. Patriotism is emblazoned in inextinguishable characters, upon the shields of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. These patriots served their families, their country, and their God, with a zeal and devotion unknown to the world. Mark, husbands and daughters with love in their hearts, and wisdom in their discernment. They studied their interests, and consulted with reference to their emancipation from social bondage and afflictions, and their good of the soul of Israel, and attuned David's harp to heavenly praise.

But while we accord to these patriots the merit and praise due them, we must not neglect to exercise justice in reference to the patriot of modern days, the patriot of our own country. We have privileges and liberties which no other nation enjoys, and that these privileges are secured to us by the superiority of our institutions. We must not *forget* that principles of toleration and republicanism have spread far and wide from this centre of freedom, and that they are vitalizing, and vivifying, and energizing the soul of humanity, all over the world.

Combine the qualities of a patriot with a spirit of determination and intrepidity, and you have a subject for a reformer. He rises superior to time-sanctioned customs, and throws open the gates to new discoveries. His unconquerable spirit, combined with friends with power, and his daring courage strengthens their vivifying influences.

It was the *fire* and *principles* of patriotism which developed the genius and heroism of General Washington. It was but the unsickened fire of reformation that aroused Napoleon to his desperate struggle for vast possessions. But the patriotism and energy of Washington's mind were developed by the wants and necessities of the times; and he was a hero of many achievements on the field where struggled the fire of patriotism with the angel of humanity.

Washington manifested the energy, zeal and determination for him, eminently qualified to reform the political evils of our nation. The uniform judgment which he displayed in the most critical emergencies when judgment was indispensable, and the expressions of sympathy which emanated from him amidst the sufferings of his soldiers, in the revolutionary conflict, gave Americans reasons to hope that he would unfold the qualities of patriotism and heroism, and prove a good administration.

Combine the splendid and powerful qualities of the patriot and the hero, with thought and deliberation, and you have a legislator. And he, too, is a reformer. He has the powerful love for his country and humanity; a desire to explore and acquire a knowledge of new regions of thought, and his unbounded love of his own, for the purpose of developing new laws, establishing new customs, and introducing his fellow-men into new paths of progress and development. Zoroaster was a reformer. He collected the national laws of most ancient Egypt and Persia, and from the old elaborated a new code by which to govern and reform the subjects of his empire. He was obliged to be cool, and calm, and, in doing so, he impressed his spirit upon the hearts of his people and the institutions of his age. There was no fanaticism in his mind. Sincere the leader of the Israelites, and the Jewish Lawgiver. He, too, was an embodiment of the civilization and advancement of his time; and he laws were suggested by the immediate wants and requirements of his followers. Containing principles of despotism and relaxation as those laws do, they are nevertheless an improvement on the Government of the Egyptians. He was superior to the idolatrous multitudes who were his followers, friends, admirers, and enemies. His experience was in advance of, and unlike that of our noble Columbus, whose crew, as the vessel was sailing to points unknown, became skeptical and mutinous, and wished to return, and accused him of having enticed them from their homes, and even threatened his life. The laws of Moses are decisive of his true reformatory character. The suggestions of his people, and the sanctions of his age, combined, formed the legislature where those principles recognized by the world, which they exercise over the world even at this day.

And Solon, the Athenian lawgiver, was another example of independent research, and independent legislation, and independent wisdom. He was superior above the intellectual growth of his countrymen. He was the object of their blame and praise. He possessed great wisdom, and was a vigorous thinker, and a sincere lover of humanity. He was an orator, a legislator, and a reformer in morals and government. But he was misunderstood and dethroned. His professed friend, Pisistratus, conceived plans whereby to overthrow the republican liberty which Solon had early established in Athens, and the people not comprehending the goodness of their lawgiver, repelled him from the seat of government, and forthwith sustained Pisistratus in his sovereign and despotic rule. "On being asked, wondering, "tired Solon," aided these with all the assistance which our means and actions could afford! oh, my dear country! since I am the only man who dares to throw himself the enemy of the tyrant, and since all others prefer to be deceive him as their master, I leave thee, I abandon my country and my friends, and go into exile, and covered that true genius and wisdom were persecuted by the falseness of friends and the ignorance of enemies. It seems even so, that when light shines into darkness, the darkness comprehends it not—so it is when genius reflects the light upon the world.

Solon was a reformer because his heart, his reason, his intuition, constituted his master. He had no other authority, and he was therefore prepared to be a reformer in accordance with principles of reformation. Therefore Solon stood by himself, and Socrates, so did Plato; so did the modern reformer, Jesus. Jesus was a reformer as much in advance of Moses as was the former in advance of Zoroaster and more ancient rulers.

Jesus was a reformer because he was still more free from educational influences than were any of the previous minds. He was superior to his age in his mode of developing laws than they, and his laws were less numerous. Zoroaster, and Moses, and Solon, and Socrates, and Plato, unfolded laws having a progressive tendency to ultimate in a similar state of perfect and moral harmony; but they did not embrace, as Jesus did, in one, the ten *commandments*, and subsequent lawgivers their principles in more or less numerous sentences, Jesus put his down in a pure, all-embracing sentence—"Love. He gave the world a new commandment—"Love ye one another." This is a concentration of the excellencies of all laws, and a summary statement of what Jesus was desired and wished to accomplish, so logically speaking, of what he was constitutionally qualified to reveal to man.

But he was superior to his age, and his age comprehended him not. He was a martyr to the philanthropy of patriotism; he was a martyr to the zeal and firmness of a race of heroism; and he was a martyr to the simplest law that was ever uttered. In a word, he was above his nation and his age; he was a reformer, and his age nailed him to the cross! But what should we do if we possessed in harmony with the life and teachings of this incomparable reformer is, that he acknowledged no authority superior to his spontaneous intuitions, and the divine suggestions of his soul—he was a reformer by intuitive to him, because he felt that "Our Father who art in heaven" inspired his soul with love, and his reason with wisdom. We should not make Moses and no other authority; that Solon had no other; that Plato had no other; that Jesus had no other; because it is only through the pure mediums of intuition and reason that truth can flow into the world, unmingled with the mistakes and imperfections of books and human authority.

*How came Christ possessed with such infinite equipments?*

This inquiry cannot be profitably and effectually answered, unless we know which view of Christ suggested it: for there are represented in the general church, two opinions—one of the reason, and the other of the affections.

*What is meant by the affections?*

The affections are inclinations which spring spontaneously from the soul of the mind; that is, from the rudimental essence of which the mind is organized—hence, the affections are subservient to the will and government of reason. And in well developed and directed intellect, they are thus governed; but owing to the ignorance of men concerning themselves, they are frequently not thus governed and held in subordination by the affections, which receive right or wrong directions according to the psychological influences of influences which arise from the situations of life, from surrounding circumstances, and from education. If reason is subjected to the affections, and not made the medium through which we receive knowledge from the outer world, then the affections will admit and arbitrarily cherish whatever objects, faith or doctrine may be presented to them, clothed in captivating robes, though it may involve the most palpable grounds of inconsistencies.

*What is meant by the Christ of the affections?*

The Christ of the *affections* is a being who is believed to be the concentrated development or special providence, and therefore, instinctively implanted in the constitution of things; a being who possessed unnatural endowments and exhibited incomprehensible powers and wrought wonders, and but a succession of supernatural phenomena; and whose death was attended with a series of corporal changes and transformations, altogether novel and unexampled.

The tendency and effect of this faith, are to amaze and confound the uneducated, but not to enlighten or refine them. This hereditary belief is incorporated into the constitution of the mind, and has been instilled into the youthful mind, accompanied with the injunction, "question not its validity." These minds advance from childhood to manhood, and are talented perhaps, and commence the promulgation of this faith of the affections. And by them Christ is endowed with attributes, which are magnified beyond the simple truth, and thus he is reviewed from our understanding. Consequently, many minds experience a trembling delicacy whenever the name of Christ is mentioned, and some attempt to reason concerning him, or if they do, it is for the purpose of conferring more brilliant honors upon him, and rendering more glorious and wonderful his mission and accomplishments. Thus reality is transformed into imagination, and still seems to be absolutely true; thus the reality of the affections is our embroidered idol, bearing but little resemblance to the Christ which reason recognizes as residing on the earth about two thousand years ago, and doing good to the children of men.

*What is meant by the Christ of the reason?*

The Christ of the *reason* is a good, amiable, benevolent, and intelligent man, who not only loved, but impressively taught the simple and beautiful truths of peace and righteousness: who relieved the sufferings and sorrows of mankind, whenever and wherever he could; who, by great and holy love, came simple and good; and who, after living a righteous life—teaching men to know themselves and love one another—was sent from the Father—was crucified, according to prevailing custom, for his open and unreserved denunciation of the popular doctrines, philosophy, institutions and ceremonies which characterized the whole Jewish nation. Hence the Christ of the reason is a natural man, but the Christ of the affections is supernatural; the one in reality, the other, in the realm of the imagination.

*Why was Christ superior to his fellow-men?*

The difference between Christ and his fellows was not conspicuous for strength, excepting he was constructed and comparatively perfect body, and his well-balanced and harmoniously developed mind. These are the important indispensable consequences of a proper conception, a proper birth, a gentle culture, and a meditative association with the objects and scenes of nature, which tend to refine and elevate the soul. He was distinguished from the rest by two prominent characteristics: first, by a peculiarity of deportment and personal habits; secondly, by the promptness and originality of his answers to the profoundest interrogatories. The causes are plain. The one resulted from accidents of birth, and the inspiration of our organization; the other, from the intuitions of his unsophisticated mind, because untrammeled by sect and popular superstitions. The answers of the simple and spiritualizing morality were ever in keeping with the circumstances of the multitudes which surrounded him, and which delighted them forth. The causes and their effects are visibly connected together, and lasting to the character of our spiritual and brotherly reformer; and all that cannot be explained of him is referable to the influence of reconsideration of a biblical history, or to that which men have done for him, and not what he has done for men. Local conditions, and local influences favoring a *local* development of extraordinary conceptions of Christ exemplified that perfection of character and amiableness of disposition which we greatly admire. As he is represented to the world, he is a noble child of an eternal Father, we hesitate not to consider him a noble and good man, and as an example of what the race will be.

*Was Christ an example of what the race is destined to be?*

Nature proves man to be a microcosm—a combination of all else in the material world, and the most perfect embodiment of harmony. We believe that the race will progress and grow to the completeness and stature of a perfect man. Then will be realized that harmony of structure and reciprocation of judgment and sentiment represented in the human form. In this sense do we believe that Christ was the model man, and a living example of what the race is destined to be; and the latter in its unity will possess and exercise the powers, which were displayed in deeds of mercy and exemplifications of native righteousness. But in order to ascertain the truth of the doctrine of Christ's perfection, we must elevate our thoughts above ourselves, and all the elementary and individual organisms which confound the superficial observer, and calmly contemplate the substantial evidences of the perfection of the race which universally present themselves in the world of matter and the world of mind.

Jesus instituted no new customs above the popular conceptions of his time and country. And the people confined him for what they considered sedition and conspiracy against the Government. But time and intelligence have developed the falseness of the act, and made it manifest that Jesus was slain for truth and for the benefit of the race. Let us be just, and think about the reformers and developments of our country, and of our age. Are we not also liable to sedition and conspiracy against our professions, against our government and laws? Have we not the spirit of persecution in our communities? Are we not disposed to crucify the champion of some new discovery, and say him down as an infidel or an impostor? I am constrained to answer that we have the old spirit of bigotry, persecution, and intolerance, still living in our minds. We crucify in our minds and speech; but, fortunately for the reformers of our day, the rack and stake have fallen from them—they are frightful monumental evidences of past ignorance and transgression.

☞ At Concord, N. H., a woman named Chandler committed suicide, to which act she was supposed to be attending the spiritual rappings.

*Stolen Goods Self-recovered.*—We have heard of riches taking wings and flying away; but the other day some thousand dollars worth of property walked bodily out of the towns of Lewis and Mayville, Ky. It consisted of a large amount of flesh and blood, standing on 38 legs, and enclosing 19 souls.—*Hollidaysburg Journal.*

☞ The following is an Irishman's description of making a cannon: "Take a long hole and pour lead or iron around it."

### PRACTICAL CHRISTIANITY.

Extract from a Discourse on 'Faith in Christ,' delivered at the Ordination of the Rev. Charles H. Hodges, in Barre, Mass., June 11, 1851, by WILLIAM H. FURNESS, D. D., of Philadelphia:—

My friends, is our work then all done? Is there nothing more to do? Has the last finishing touch been put to us? And is there nothing left to us but to glide on sweetly to our graves? He Christ full possession of our hearts, and is his spirit ours? Are we above the world? Are all tests and trials?

In the Trinitarian controversy, in which, as I have said, our religious body received its name, in order to the vindication of the divinity of Christ's truth and life, the invariable tenor of Unitarian teaching, of our sermons and our hymns, in opposition to that was called Orthodoxy, was that, that pure and undefiled religion before God and Christ, was the supreme love of the God of Justice and Mercy, and the loving of one's neighbor as one's self. Again and again has it been declared, by the leaders and fathers of our denomination, whose memory is still green among us, (may it be blessed forever!) that to love God with the whole heart and our neighbor as ourselves, is the sum and substance of all religion; that there is no commandment greater than these; no doctrine of Christ, no doctrine of the Atonement, no tradition or device of man, though it claimed to have the sanction of multitudinous churches and of centuries, that is not so.

It was this teaching, the magnifying of the two great commandments, the insisting on the superiority of the Sermon on the Mount and the Golden Rule over all the popular creeds, which it was, in great part, that won for liberal Christianity its favor and respect which it has received. It has been its chief business, I repeat, to maintain that no creed, no doctrine, is greater than these two commandments which Christ himself declared the greatest; and he made an exception to any commandment or device of man, which would interfere with these two great laws of Christ as against Orthodoxy by our religious body has been most successful and triumphant.

But how stands the case now? Consumptions and low, human and inhuman, are insisted upon, in opposition to the word of Jesus, as *of superior obligation*; and it is declared by the Church, in thought, that there is any commandment higher than these, and the assertion of the sovereign authority of Christ and of his law (terrible as it is) only at the risk of penalties which, if they are not in heavy and terrible which his first disciples incurred, are as real, and heavy enough to put to the trial our confidence in his truth, and the worth of our profession as his disciples.

Behold now, brethren, how our trust in the truth of Christ is put to the test, even by the great, struggling cause of the oppressed. A man is pressed home upon us by the injured millions of our brethren, for whom he died, and whom he has charged us to regard as we have him. We may struggle to evade it, but it is circling round us and pressing up into itself, as it advances, all questions and interests, and coming nearer and nearer to us, like a wall of fire. It is trying churches, and parties, and pulpits, and private men; and there is no woman so secluded that she may not be suddenly summoned, by the appeal of the fugitive, to choose between the fear of man's law and the love of Christ. Again, the kingdom of God is at hand, as it was of old. And we, of all denominations of Christians,—we who have committed ourselves over and over again to the absolute supremacy of the Christian law of Love,—we cannot escape it. We must pass under judgment as those have done who have gone before us. And it will be made to appear whether we have confidence in the authority of the Lord Jesus, and are ready to do unto others as he has done unto us, would do unto him, as he has commanded, or whether we are prepared to compromise his law, and be the trembling slaves of the world's opinions, even when they are in direct opposition to the Gospel.

So that the cause of our wronged and hunted brother represents infinitely more than his welfare, or the temporal interests of the great number of individuals. The millions whose wrongs are to be redressed are, after all, but as the dust of the balance in comparison with the greatness and magnitude and multitude of interests involved in the Church. The Truth of God once appeared in the despised form of Jesus of Nazareth, who was spit upon, buffeted and crucified, to bear testimony to most a narrow and all-divised scheme of philanthropy; the same Eternal Truth is seeking the salvation of the souls of men. It has appeared in a despised form, as a free, all-searching, all-enlightening, all-redeeming principle of Truth appeals to us; and it holds to us of this day precisely the same demand which the preaching of Christ and his Cross did to the Apostolic age. It is a trial of our Christian Faith, how much more precious than of silver or gold.

Although brought into conflict with the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, the first disciples were only the more faithful. They did not desire that conflict, and sought to avoid it, and to live in peace and love with all men. They were ready to submit their personal liberty and their lives to the powers of the world, that they might be faithful to Christ. And although it was through their fearless proclamation of the Truth that the great Roman Empire, of which they were among the weakest citizens, was revolutionized, yet the power of civil power was no business of theirs. The labors of their lives tended inevitably to that result, it is true; and yet they lived and died in the spirit of love and of the Truth of dear sake of Christ. And for this simple reason, because they had no double aim, was their power so triumphant to the overthrow of the world.

So, at the present day, the faithful friends of the Lord Jesus, putting their faith solely in his Truth, are not to be political changes, although political changes must follow Christian fidelity, as surely as light comes from the sun. They desire only to be obedient to the heavenly vision of Christian Truth, in the overwhelming cause of the Lord Jesus. They do not sacrifice, then in the name of those principles of free thought and free speech which are acknowledged to be at the foundation of our institutions, the chief value of our civil institutions, they ask to be permitted to be faithful to the Truth as it was in Jesus, to assert what he asserted, to say none other things than those he spoke, and to do the works he did, and more, and Jesus, the greatest of them all, did say were true.

But whether the permission and the co-operation which they claim be granted them or not, even though they be expressly forbidden under penalty of loss and confiscation, yet the words of Christ, still their duty must be done, those words must be spoken, and Christ and the Truth of Christ must be proclaimed, if not in one way, then in another; if not with the allowance of our rulers, then without the allowance and against it, and by the sacrifices of those to whom, in the gracious providence of Heaven, it may be given to do the work. It may be a hard thing to do, but the reward is exceeding great. Blessed the heart filled with the love of Truth, God the Almighty will descend into it, and, filling it with an all-conquering power and an unpalpable peace.

The great cause of Humanity, which is trying men's souls at this day, is destined to run the same course with the great cause of which the Apostles maintained in their day. By land by it will triumph and rejoice, and men will profess the cause of man and man's rights, because it will be found to be more profitable, to serve their own gain and promotion. And then this too will become worthless as a test of faithfulness to Christ, and other tests will be applied, and the human race will be forever passing under trial; for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth, and his kingdom is the earth in righteousness, and the people with his Truth.

☞ Here is a precious paragraph from a late speech of the Hon. R. B. Rhett, which was made at Walterboro, South Carolina. The comparison between the orator's most glorious country and the republic of Rome, is absolutely ridiculous.—*Watchman and Reflector.*

"Within eighteen months, (after the beginning of the end,) we shall have *the South* with us in the Union; or, *then* *We will extend our borders.* We will take NEW MEXICO, UTAH AND CALIFORNIA. Utah has slaves! We will march into California and will ask them if they will be free, California! we people will answer, 'Ay, we will have slaves.' And what of Mexico? Why, when we are ready for them, and her people are willing to come among us, WE WILL TAKE HER TOO, or *as much of her as we want.* We will *form a most glorious Republic!* MORE GLORIOUS THAN THE ANCIENT REPUBLIC OF ROME, which lasted seven hundred years, and had similar institutions to our own.'

☞ Franklin Dexter, Charles G. Loring, Whitwell & Seaver, Little & Brown, James M. Whitney, Phillips, Sampson & Co., H. R. Anthony, Amos Walker and others, propose a testimonial to Lysander Spooner, to compensate him for his services and losses in effecting Cheap Postage.


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I came to Boston; my limbs were now both affected. I applied to Dr. Spooner; he tried his skill, but without any success, and I was then informed to call upon Dr. Warren, who gave me some relief; but after some time, I grew quite disheartened, my limbs were almost a mass of sores from my knees down to my ankles, scarcely allowing me to sleep or rest day or night. I had read of good deal about Russia Salve, but having used so many advertised plasters and salves, and tried so many things, that I felt little interest in the Russia Salve; although repeatedly urged by my friends to try it, I was too sceptical to try it. At length, a man brought me a box of Russia Salve, which I applied to my limbs, as the directions implied. I really began to feel a sensation of pleasantness about my raging sores. I went down to Redding & Co's, 8 State street, and bought a box. I have used, in all, nearly four boxes of this great salve, and they are now, with the exception of the scars, as perfect as ever they were. The skin has healed up, the sores have nearly all disappeared, and I heartily recommend the use of the Russia Salve, fourth box of the Russia Salve. I shall be used, I consider my case one of the severest tests the Salve could possibly encounter.

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