

THE EXAMINER.

JOHN H. HEYWOOD, } EDITORS.
NOBLE BUTLER, }

LOUISVILLE:.....JULY 21, 1849.

EMANCIPATION TICKET.
CANDIDATES FOR THE CONVENTION.
CHAPMAN COLEMAN,
DAVID L. BEATTY,
JAMES SPEED.

Central and Executive Committee.
W. W. Worsley, Wm. Richardson,
Wm. E. Glover, Reuben Dawson,
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Blair Ballard, W. F. Stone,
Thomas McGrain, Lewis Ruffner,
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Blair Ballard, Corresponding Secretary.

Back Numbers Wanted.
If any of our subscribers can send us one or all of the following back numbers of the Examiner, they will greatly oblige us by so doing:
Of Vol. 1.—Nos. 25, 26, 36, 39, 47, 48, 50, 52.
Of Vol. 2.—Nos. 56, 57, 61, 62, 63, 69, 73, 75, 78, 79, 91.

We need not direct attention to the article on the first page, from the masterly pen of Rev. R. J. Breckenridge D.D. It will command attention; and where is the man who will attempt to answer it!

"Conversion Canvass in Louisville."
The editorial article under this title in the Louisville Journal of last Wednesday very much surprised us. We did not expect the editors of the Journal in making a canvass for the cause of the slave, to employ in this article in regard to those who have written in favor of Emancipation. We did not suppose that the Emancipation writers would be declared to be "regardless of expediency, policy, or sense, and regardless of the peace and well-being of society." It is not pleasant to be accused of "the madness of the bigot and fanatic."

But such terms are easily employed. The use of them is no evidence of genius or originality. They have been applied to the advocates of every important movement on earth. They were applied to the Apostles, who undertook to accomplish an object which every wise man saw was unattainable. Did they not go on "turning the world upside down" after it had been "demonstrated" that they could never be successful in their efforts? They might have found any number of sensible and judicious men in Judaea who would have "exhausted argument, remonstrance, and entreaty" in the attempt to turn them from their course. All the cool-headed citizens of Rome would have begged them not to bring forward the unfortunate subject of Christianity at so unpropitious a period, when the Roman government was all in confusion. "Wait," would the Roman senator have said, "wait till we have settled every thing else, and then this matter may be brought forward. Do you not see that the whole world is opposed to you? What is the use of making all this noise and confusion about the worship of the gods? Let the thing alone, and the images of the gods will come tumbling down of themselves. They will not in the natural course of things. By attempting to induce the people to leave off the worship, you will excite opposition, and throw back for fifty years the accomplishment of your objects. If you do not follow the sensible course I lay out for you, you will be acting regardless of expediency, policy and sense, and regardless of the peace and well-being of society; you will be acting with the madness of the bigot and fanatic. For once take the advice of a sensible man who has thought and written a great deal on this subject."

When Columbus was in Spain, striving to have an expedition fitted out for the discovery of the New World, he was exposed to continual scoffs and indignities, ridiculed as a dreamer, and stigmatized as an adventurer. In the great council which was held to examine his theory, nearly all the wise and sensible men rejected it. With looks as grave and consequential as those of the most eminent owl, they looked down on the visionary before them, and told him that he was "regardless of expediency, policy or sense," and "acted upon by the madness of the bigot and fanatic." They "demonstrated" the impossibility of accomplishing his objects. "Why," said they to him, "even if there were such a country as you speak of, and you were able to reach it, you could never return. The surface of the earth is round, and the strongest wind would be insufficient to force the ship up when it is once down there. Take the advice of sensible men and be quiet. Do not trouble the king and queen any longer—they are engaged in important wars, and have no time for such things. Indeed, you will only postpone the discovery of the country by saying anything about it. Let it alone, and it will discover itself in the natural course of things." If there had not been a few men less wise and prudent than the rest, Columbus would have departed from Spain.

We could adduce illustrations without number. When was any important movement proposed that did not meet with about the same kind of resistance? There have always been wise, sensible, prudent men who were surprised that any should be found to differ from them. These men have always talked much of "expediency," as if no one had any idea of expediency but themselves. When there have been animated with enthusiasm, there have always been found men to raise the cry of "Beef! Beef!" And these beef-men have always looked with contempt upon those who disregarded their cry of "Beef! Beef!" Beef in their opinion, possesses all the qualities ascribed to bread by Lord Peter in Swift's Tale of a Tub. Beef contains the quintessence of partridge, plumb pudding, and custard; beef is the staff of life, and the only thing worth regarding.

Where have often been amused by the coolness of those who assume that all wisdom is with them. They are the only persons that have any idea of expediency. They take it for granted that all who differ from them have abandoned expediency, of course. That is a settled point. How could it be otherwise? "What!" they say, "you don't pretend now that your course, differing as it does, from ours, is the course of expediency?" That would be too good a joke. Why, expediency is our main idea. We have a prescription claim to the possession of this idea. Man like us have claimed it time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. Come, now, don't make yourself ridiculous by claiming any regard for expediency! But, absurd, as the claim may seem, we do claim for the Emancipationists a regard for expediency. There is not one of them who would be willing to peril the interests of the cause by ill-judged movement. They believe that well-directed energy will insure success. They look at the past, and see that no body of men have been successful who were willing to abandon their purposes at the appearance of every obstacle. They see that no great reform has ever had a smooth way prepared for it. They know that there has always been a class of men anxious to put off every thing to a more convenient season, and they have learned that no one has ever been successful who has hesitated in their wise and prudent words. They mean which they consider adapted to the

accomplishment of their purpose. Like Patrick Henry, when opposing some of these wise-sounding men, they say, "Shall we become stronger by inaction? Shall we be stronger when we are bound hand and foot?" They are not of that class of men who are so prudent that they will not touch water till they have learned to swim. They see that they have an array of influence and talent on their side that must be successful. The only thing to be feared is inactivity. They may meet with an occasional defeat; but this is no more than has happened to other causes that gloriously triumphed in the end. The Emancipationists of Kentucky believe that the best interests of the State will be promoted by Emancipation; the Emancipationists of Louisville believe that the best interests of the city will be promoted by the measure. They believe it expedient to use every exertion to accomplish an object of such expediency.

It is the course that the Journal advises? What is the people of Louisville that they must abandon the candidates who represent their opinions, and vote for persons opposed to them on a matter of the greatest importance. And for what reason? Because they will injure the city by electing men who agree with them. Is this an argument to present to freemen? If the citizens of Louisville dare not express their sentiments, let them throw away the useless name of freeman. Let them acknowledge themselves slaves afraid to vote as they choose, and the most ardent pro-slavery men in the State will despise them. No one who calls himself a man will look upon them without contempt and loathing. Every man of spirit would turn on his heel when addressed by a citizen of Louisville. The people of Kentucky are not so degraded as to admire degradation in others. Every noble-minded Kentuckian admires in others the exercise of the freedom which he claims for himself. From such expediency as would make us degraded slaves, may Heaven deliver us!

What Emancipation would do. Mr. Beck, the Virginia slaveholder, in presenting the motioned slave, says: "Suppose all this dead capital now invested in slaves, were to become an active trading capital, how many manufactures might be built? How many improvements might be made? Capital would attract free labor—for our workshops and our fields. We should soon have a dense population, which would give schools to our children, a market to our farmers, and our railroads which we now clamor for, but our poverty, and a sparse population places far beyond our reach."

The Approaching Election and the Prospects of the Emancipationists. In a little more than two weeks, the people of Kentucky will be called on to choose representatives in Congress, the State Legislature, and in the Constitutional Convention. There never was an election of greater importance to our people. We shall not say anything in relation to the Congressional and Legislative elections. Our present purpose is to offer a few suggestions touching the election for members of the Convention.

Notwithstanding the constant efforts of the pro-slavery presses throughout the State to understate the force of the anti-slavery sentiment, no intelligent or fair man can doubt that a very large majority of the people of Kentucky most solemnly believe slavery to be a great evil. Thus believing, it would not be difficult to get an overwhelming majority of the people to vote for the removal of slavery, provided some plan of Emancipation generally satisfactory were proposed to them. What proportion of those hostile to slavery are prepared to sanction Emancipation at this time, it is impossible to say. If the question at issue were, whether slavery shall be the permanent policy of the State or not, an immense majority would certainly decide against it. No constitution, which throws restrictions around Emancipation, can stand any possible chance of acceptance with the people.

We hope our friends throughout the State will rally around the Emancipation candidates and yield them a cordial support. Let them elect as many true-hearted friends of freedom to the Convention as they can. Let not the delusive cry of the pro-slavery men, who say that now is not the proper time to examine and modify the slavery policy of the State, have any influence on any mind. The cause of emancipation is worth all other questions at issue in this contest, and we earnestly request that no friend of that cause will hesitate to vote for the candidate or candidates whose sentiments most nearly accord with his own.

Emancipation has been sorely maligned during the past few months. We most sincerely declare that it has not been our object, neither has it been the object with any Emancipationists with whom we have had communication, to produce any excitement unfavorable to the calm examination of the subject of slavery which its overshadowing importance demands. And, yet, we and our friends have been denounced as wicked agitators, as fanatics, and as men who, to secure a particular object, would make shipwreck of every other interest. Such language is simply slanderous. We believe slavery the greatest source of innumerable and incalculable evils to our Commonwealth, and we think the present time, or any time is the proper time to take steps for its removal. We have not pressed the election to the Convention of men of views similar to our own with any thing like the frequency which the election of pro-slavery men has been urged: The truth is, although the instincts of our people generally are right in regard to slavery, much yet remains to be done toward enlightening their understandings. Time and opportunity have not been afforded the friends of freedom to press home on the hearts and consciences of the people, the great truths and views which ought to be understood by all those who act in such a cause. Notwithstanding the slender means the Emancipationists have enjoyed in diffusing a knowledge of the grounds on which they insist the people ought to proceed to get rid of the wretched incubus of slavery which oppresses them, yet we have no doubt that many thousands of voters will record their suffrage in favor of men who are earnest and yielding in their devotion to the cause of freedom.

Many of the pro-slavery men fancy that if they can stave off the question of Emancipation at the present time, they can get clear of it altogether. Never was a greater mistake. The Emancipationists, feeling that the best interests of millions yet unborn, as well as the interests of all now in existence in this Commonwealth, demand the extinction of the system of slavery, will never cease from their efforts to direct public attention to this subject. The system is doomed. No power on this side Heaven can save it. Its destruction is as inevitable as was that of Babylon. It is already so undermined that it tatters. Its ligaments are so loose that a breath of opposition jars it to its black center. The friends of Emancipation had more than one half of the good work accomplished, and to suppose that, with the prospect of certain and not very distant success before them, they will desert from their efforts, is very absurd. They will do no such thing. They have resolved that slavery shall die in Kentucky, and they will oppose it with vigor until its last sigh escapes its lips.

In this city we have a good ticket, and we cannot doubt that at least nine of every ten of our voters are friendly to Emancipation. We hope they will not be lured by old and hazy party cries, to desert the standard of freedom at such an interesting juncture as the present. We hope they will act as men with independent souls in their bodies should act, that is to say, vote

their own sentiments and scorn dictation come whenever it may. Louisville owes it to herself to give an overwhelming vote in favor of Emancipation. They who think the policy of making money requires that she shall reject these candidates, who alone will truly represent her sentiments, are very dim of sight. Were Louisville to give a heavy majority for the pro-slavery candidates, she would be regarded as indubitably and blindly wedded to a curse, and those men of capital and enterprise who would otherwise gladly come and take up their abode among us, will be deterred from coming. But let her give such a majority as her interests and the sincere and deep convictions of her citizens require, and whatever the State may resolve on, she will have washed her hands clean of the iniquity, and thousands capable of adding to her highest wealth will come here and establish themselves. If the question were merely one that resolves itself into a simple calculation of dollars and cents, the duty of Louisville would still be very clear—even then she would be criminally neglectful of her interests if she did not declare an overwhelming majority in favor of freedom.

Finally, will not every Emancipationist in Louisville do his duty in this contest? Let each one exert himself to convince those with whom he holds association to come up as truth and freedom demand and vote for the Emancipation candidates. Let each one endeavor to induce as many voters as possible to vote for the cause of humanity, freedom, and justice, and a great triumph will be ours.

Conclusion. In a late number of the Louisville Democrat we find an article from the "Ploughboy" contrasting the claims of the two candidates for Congress in the fourth district, Hon. Aylett Buckner and Col. George A. Caldwell. The editor of the "Ploughboy" is very severe upon Mr. Buckner on account of that gentleman's vote in favor of the Wilmore Provision.

"But odious as Mr. Buckner made himself by his opposition to his country during the war with Mexico, his abolition doctrines are very odious to the people of Kentucky. He is presented to look upon the conduct of Northern abolitionists with some degree of allowance; but when a Southern man, elected from a slaveholding State to represent the interests of slaveholders, proves recalcitrant to his trust, and fails to exert his influence in the manner which his friends, votes in direct opposition to the known will of his constituents, he cannot be regarded as anything else than a traitor of the blackest dye."

If this is not cool, what is? Mr. Buckner was elected to represent the interests of slaveholders; and he is a slaveholder! This shows in what light every pro-slavery man regard non-slaveholders as well as the slaveholding machinery, to be used by the slaveholder. Their interests are of so little importance, that, though they vote, they have no representatives at all. They vote for persons "to represent the interests of slaveholders," and yet those whom they elect should consent if they thought they had no slaveholding constituents, they are "traitors of the blackest dye." Non-slaveholders are useful inasmuch as they are counted in taking the census; but so far as regards a representation of their interests, they may be counted among the "all other persons" who are not counted in the constitution. It would not do very well to have but three-fifths of their number taken in the apportionment of representatives, because slaveholders would then have a smaller number of representatives. But it would be better to have all non-slaveholders considered in the apportionment, and then let the slaveholders do all the voting. Slaveholders know better who are fitted to represent their interests than non-slaveholders do; and with what propriety do these latter persons meddle in the matter? According to the present arrangement, the Representative may find his mind confused—he may occasionally be troubled by the idea that he is to represent the interests of his non-slaveholding constituents, as well as the slaveholding constituents. And who can blame him? He sees non-slaveholders walk up and vote, and sees an old-fashioned notion that voting means something. If slaveholders only were permitted to vote the whole matter would be perfectly simple. The representative would know exactly what he had to do, his position being exactly defined.

Politics and Religion. The present agitation of the question of slavery and Emancipation has been the means of giving currency to a great many crude and absurd notions in relation to the connection properly existing between these two subjects. We think it high time that the legitimate province of religion as connected with politics should be understood. What religion has to do with politics, legitimately and properly, and what it has not, ought to be clearly defined and universally comprehended by all honest minds, and we think that the principles which should govern us in this case are so plain, that to state them is to prove them.

We submit some views of this subject written by one of the clearest thinkers and most forcible writers in the Union, and we ask for the serious attention of both pro-slavery and anti-slavery men:

It is obvious that this question requires more precise discriminations than newspapers are apt to make. No one will deny that the highest and most commanding relations sustained by man being man, are his moral relations to God—that his supreme duty is, obedience to God—that his greatest interest is identified with, obedience to God. What the Supreme Being commands, is morally right; what He forbids, is morally wrong. Questions are continually arising in the course of human affairs, which concern chiefly or altogether Right or Wrong. These questions are of the highest and most vital interest to man. There are other questions, again, involving incidentally Right or Wrong; and they are next in importance.

The moral relations of a man to his God, and to his fellow men, are the peculiar subjects of the care and supervision of a Church. The clergyman of a church are the religious teachers, whose vocation it is, to trace out distinctly all the relations, and their requirements, in every form of life and conduct, to the Christian religion, a question agitates the public mind, the first duty of the religious teacher is, to inquire whether it involves a man's moral relations; if so, to show and enforce the requirements of the laws of the Supreme Governor, just to that extent. It matters not what shape or style the question may take—social, literary, pecuniary, commercial, or political; just so far as it involves moral right or wrong, just in so far as it affects a man's moral relations to God and his fellow man, it is a legitimate subject of discussion for the religious teacher, and of action for the religious community.

In some questions the moral element is clearly, the predominant one. Such are the questions connected with Temperance, Slavery, War, and our policy toward the Aborigines of the country. These are the questions which, at times, assume a political shape on account of the merely political considerations associated with them, but the moral element is always conspicuous in them, to such an extent, indeed, that, primarily they must be regarded as moral questions. Now, just so far as they affect moral relations—that is, a man's duties to his God and his fellow man—they are to be tested by moral law, and to be treated of by the church and its religious teachers.

It will be noticed that we do not argue this subject—merely discriminate and state positions, trusting to common sense to ratify them. Again, there are questions which we may suppose to be stated in a political form, but which, whether there ought to be a State Church—whether there ought to be complete freedom of conscience—whether it were not proper to abolish the rite of matrimony, and to tolerate polygamy, or whether the Christian religion ought not to be licensed. All these might assume the forms of political questions, but, primarily they would be primarily moral, and they would be primarily moral to deny to clergyman the right to discuss them, or to discuss them on religious grounds, or question the right of the church to act in regard to them.

But, there is another class of political questions, in which the Moral Element may be more obscure, or latent. The religious teacher may find it difficult to develop this element to the common understanding, as to some extent he may find it difficult to discuss the question. In all such cases, he must be wise as a serpent, and yet firm as a rock. Of this class of questions, is that of free trade in England. Many of the ministers in England, therefore, in their sermons, have expressed their opinions in favor of their repeal—on this ground distinctly, that those laws operated to demoralize the laboring classes, and to contract the effect of their religious teaching. For one, we can see nothing to blame in such conduct.

The prevailing evil of our country in regard to politics, is practical Atheism. In the estimation of the portion of the political press, once made a question political, and you terminate a man's moral responsibilities in regard to it. No matter if before involved high moral considerations, now it has nothing to do with right or wrong, but it is to be solely determined upon grounds of political or party expediency. War is a horrible evil and wickedness, and the clergyman may denounce it as such—but, when it comes up in the National Legislature or between States, it is to be regarded as a question of expediency or war? then let the church be dumb, and the minister hold his peace, and men act, as if there were no God! The infamously blasphemous assumption is, that when political questions are brought up, the church is to be silent, and the people are to be left to their own devices. This is a political question. God has nothing to do with it. That is—the people may take any moral relation they please, and declare that it is no longer a moral relation—may remove any moral relation from the sphere of the moral law, and God has assigned it, to the low ground of state or party expediency, and then say to the Almighty, hitherto shalt Thou come and no farther!

This, we say, is the prevailing evil of American politics, and it is to be deplored. It is a disgraceful, unthinking people have been deluded into the grossest practical Atheism.

The High School in Liberia. We learn that a southern gentleman has remitted, through the Rev. Dr. Alexander of Princeton, to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, a sum of money sufficient to purchase the apparatus for a literary and philosophical apparatus for a high school in Monrovia. The apparatus has been purchased, and will be sent out as soon as a suitable house can be built for its reception. It is supposed that iron safes similar to those now manufactured for California, will afford the desired security, against the depredations of the white ants.—N. Y. Observer.

An Appeal from Liberia. In a letter recently received from President Roberts, reference was made to the practicability of expatriating the slave trade from an additional portion of the African coast, by the purchase of some territory from the natives. An effort to procure the means has been set on foot by the Liberian Government, in furtherance of which, aid is solicited from the government and people of the United States, as will be seen by the following circular:

MONROVIA, LIBERIA, May 19, 1849. To the Government and people of the United States this appeal is most respectfully submitted: The Government of Liberia, nearly two years ago, purchased from the native chiefs the tract of territory known by the name of New Castles, situated on the coast of Liberia, for the purpose of the purchase of slaves for exportation. There were at that time slave factories established there, carrying on extensive operations, and annually shipping the thousands of victims.

It was the policy of the Government, at that time, to purchase territory, for which a large sum was paid, in view of the suppression of the slave trade there, notice was given to the slaves of the fact, allowing them sufficient time to wind up their business, and prohibiting any further operations in the traffic of slaves. Instead, however, of attending to the notification, the Government received at first only evasive answers, while circumstances left no room to doubt that they had recourse to the arms of war, and were prepared to defend them, in the event of any attempt to remove them by force. To the last peremptory order to quit the territory or abandon the slave trade they returned defiance; at which time, it was necessary to send a large force, armed and fortified that an attempt to dislodge them, would be attended with much danger and perhaps loss of life.

In October last the English and French Governments tendered the aid of a part of their forces on this coast, to extirpate the factories and remove the slaves from the territory; and in the month of March, the vessels were placed at our disposal to convey our troops and cover the landing at New Castles. Although at the time, the government was by no means prepared to incur the expense of an expedition necessary to the execution of the project, which had been made by the slaves, yet the aid so generously tendered was considered too important to be declined; the cause of justice and humanity, too, demanded immediate action. Therefore the Government determined to determine relying upon the aid of the government and people of the United States to enable it to liquidate the debt incurred. The expedition was undertaken. The natives, headed by the Spaniards, offered a vigorous resistance, and the vessels were placed at our disposal to convey our troops and cover the landing at New Castles. 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