

From the Liberator.

We have the satisfaction to lay before our readers, and his numerous co-workers, another interesting letter from Frederick Douglass. Its interest is the interest felt here in all his movements abroad that we hope he find also J. N. Halpin will not allow a General steamship to leave Liverpool, without sending us a line of intelligence.

Letters from Frederick Douglass, No. 2
DUBLIN, Sept. 16, 1845.

My DEAR FRIEND GARRISON: You will see that James and myself are in old Ireland. Our stay is protracted in consequence of the publication here of my narrative. I need hardly say we are happy, when I tell you our home is the house of Mr. R. D. Webb, the very impregnation of old-fashioned, thorough-going anti-slavery; and that we are constantly cheered by the society of Mr. James Haughton, than whom there is not to be found a truer, a more devoted, vigilant, working, persevering abolitionist on this side of the Atlantic. We have also been aided, cheered and strengthened by the noble and generous-hearted James and Thomas Webb, in each of whose houses we have been made perfectly at home.

Our hearts were all made glad by the arrival of the ever welcome Liberator and Standard, yesterday—although they bore the sad intelligence of the fate of C. M. Clay's press. I can now remember no occurrence of mobocratic violence against the anti-slavery cause which sent such a chill over my hopes, for the moment, as the one in question. I regarded the establishment of this press at Lexington, Ky., as one of the most hopeful and soul-cheering signs of the times;—a star shining in darkness, beaming hope to the almost despairing bondman, and bidding him to suffer on, as the day of his deliverance is at hand. But, alas! the mob has triumphed, and the star apparently gone out.

The enemy even upon Cassius at an unfortunate hour. As though themselves of his sickness, they have succeeded against him. Ye the cause should not suffer, the star, whose light had become painful, shall yet become a sun, whose brilliant rays shall scatter gloom and burn, till slavery shall be utterly consumed. I was almost sorry to be from home, when the voice of the feeblest of us all was in concerting public indignation against so horrible an outrage upon the freedom of the press.

We shall, however, make the most of it in this land—the burning dead shall ring through our these long hours. The lone, cruel, cowardly and unchristian character of that atrocious band of plunderers, shall be as fully revealed as I am capable of doing it. What a brilliant illustration of republican form of freedom! How the monuments and monuments of the old world will tremble at the rapid march of republican freedom! How they will rub their eyes for very shame, when they think of their own tyranny, in comparison with the free and noble institutions of America, where freedom of the press means freedom to advocate slavery, & where liberty regulated by law means slavery protected by an armed band of bloody assassins! But, thank Heaven! 'Oppression shall not reign.'

Our success here is even greater than I had anticipated. We have held four glorious anti-slavery meetings—two in the Royal Exchange and two in the Friends' meeting-house—all crowded to overflowing. Ourselves think of not holding a meeting in the meeting-house of the Society of Friends! When at home, they would almost bid us out of their yards. 'Circumstances alter cases.' If the Lynn Friends' meeting-house could be, by some process, placed on this side of the Atlantic, its spacious walls would probably at once welcome an anti-slavery meeting; but as things now stand, it must be closed to humanity—let Friends get into the mire!

I am to lecture to-morrow evening at the Music Hall. It will hold three thousand persons, and is to be about fifty dollars a night. But its generous proprietor, Mr. Claxton, has kindly agreed to let me have it free of charge.

I have attended several temperance meetings, and given several temperance addresses—Friend Haughton, Halpin and myself speak to-day on temperance in the very prison in which O'Connell was put. I went out last Sunday to Botolph Claydon, and saw Father Mathew administer the pledge to about one thousand. 'The cause is still rolling on.'

One of the most pleasing features of my visit, thus far, has been a total absence of all manifestations of prejudice against me on account of my color. The change of circumstances, in this, is peculiarly striking. I go on stage coaches omnibuses, steamboats, to the first cabins, and in the first public houses, without the slightest manifestation of that hateful and vulgar feeling against me I feel myself not treated as a color, but as a man—not as a thing, but as a child of the common Father of us all.

In great haste,
Ever yours,
FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

SLAVERY AS IT IS.

We have rarely met with a more revolting instance of inhumanity and hypocrisy, than the one recently related at a public meeting at Cincinnati, by Rev. Mr. Boucher, a Methodist minister, who formerly resided at the South.

While he was on the Alabama Circuit, he spent a Sabbath with an old circuit preacher, who was also a Doctor, living near the "Horse shoe," celebrated as General Jackson's battle ground. Early Monday morning, he was reading Pope's Messiah to Mr. Boucher, when his wife called him out.—Mr. Boucher glanced his eye out of the window, and saw a slave man standing by, and the husband and wife consulting over him. Presently the Doctor took a raw-hide from under his coat, and began to cut up the half-naked back of the slave. Several inches of the skin turned up, perfectly white at every stroke, until the whole back was red with gore. At first the bearded man cried out in his agony; at which the Doctor and Divine cried out at every stroke, "Woe'st thou? Woe'st thou?" till finally the slave stood still, and bore the tortures with only a groan.

As soon as he had completed his task, the Doctor came in, printing, and almost out of breath, and addressing Mr. Boucher, said, "Won't you go to prayer with us, sir?" The amazed circuit rider fell upon his knees and prayed, uttering he hardly knew what. When he left the house, the poor creature of a slave had crept up and knelt at the door during prayer, with his body gory with blood down to his very heels.—*Congregational Journal.*

CAN'T STAND IT.—Elihu Burritt refuses to stand as the Liberty Party candidate for the office of Lieut. Governor. We expected his good sense would bring him to such a decision.

PROTEST AGAINST AMERICAN SLAVERY BY ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY UNITARIAN MINISTERS.

We, the undersigned, disciples of Christ and Ministers of his Gospel, in bearing solemn testimony against the system of American Slavery, deem it proper in the first place to declare the grounds of our action.

We owe it to Three Millions of Slaves, our fellow men and brethren, to do what we rightfully can to undo their burdens. The wrongs of the Slave, however distant he may be, are our wrongs; for Jesus has taught us that every sufferer whom we can relieve is our neighbor, though a stranger, of another race and in a distant land.

We owe it to the Slaveholders, our fellow men and brethren, whom we believe to be in a position hostile to the influences of Christianity, to speak a word of warning concerning the moral evil and inhumanity of the system with which they are connected.

Consequently Southern men of better character who would not, perhaps, themselves sanction such constraint, are nevertheless left without instruction as to their duty in relation to slavery. And if neither religion nor the instincts of humanity, nor the first principles of American liberty have taught them that the system is wrong, their ignorance may not be wholly their fault, but it would be ours if we were to suffer it to remain. That they have been educated to believe that Slaveholding is right, may be a reason why we should not severely blame them, but it is also the reason why we should show them the truth since the truth on this subject must come to them, if at all, from the free States, through books, writing and public opinion.

These reasons would induce us to speak, even if the North were doing nothing to uphold Slavery. But our political, commercial and social relations with the South, by the long silence of Northern Christians and Churches, by the fact that Northern men, going to the South, often become Slaveholders and apologists for Slavery, we have given the Slaveholders reason to believe that it is only the accident of our position which prevents us from engaging in this system as fully as themselves. Our silence therefore in upholding Slavery and we must speak against it in order not to speak in its support.

Especially do we feel that the denomination which takes for its motto "Liberty, Holiness and Love," should be foremost in opposing this system. More than others we have contended for three great principles—individual liberty, perfect righteousness, and human brotherhood. All of these are grossly violated by the system of Slavery. We contend for mental freedom; shall we not denounce the system which fetters both mind and body? We have declared righteousness to be the essence of Christianity; shall we not oppose that system which is the sum of all wrong? We claim for all men the right of brotherhood before a universal Father; ought we not to testify against that which tramples so many of our brethren under foot?

These reasons would lead us to speak individually and separately. But our combined voices may be heard more widely and be more regarded; and we therefore speak in company. As we do not, as a denomination, combine in subscribing creeds and fixing systems of theology, the more should we be ready to unite in practical endeavors to remove moral evils. As our principles of religious liberty do not permit us to exclude our brethren who are Slaveholders from our Christian fellowship, the more should we testify against the Slave system itself. Some individuals may think they hold slaves for the good of their bondman, in order to give them their liberty under more favorable circumstances. We cannot regard such Slaveholders as we do those who hold their fellow beings as property for the sake of gain or personal convenience. Leaving to God to decide on the comparative guilt or innocence of individual Slaveholders, we pronounce the system unchristian and inhuman.

And more especially do we feel bound to lift up our voices at the present time, when the South has succeeded in compromising the nation to the support of Slavery; when it has been made a great national interest, defended by our national diplomacy, and to be upheld by our national arms; when the nation has, by a new measure, solemnly assumed the guilt and responsibility of its continuance; when free Northern citizens, without any alleged crime, are thrown into Southern prisons and sold to perpetual bondage; when our attempts to appeal respectfully to the Federal Courts are treated with contumely, so that the question is no longer whether Slavery shall continue in the Southern States, but whether Freedom shall continue in any of the States. Now, therefore, when our reliance on political measures has failed, it is the time to trust more fully in the power of Truth. To the schemes of party leaders, to political majorities, to the united treasures, arms, domains and interests of the nation, pledged to the extension and perpetuation of the system, let us now oppose the simple majesty of Truth. "For who knows not that Truth is strong—next the Almighty!"

We, therefore, Ministers of the Gospel of Truth and Love, in the name of God the universe; Father, in the name of Christ the Redeemer; in the name of Humanity and Human Brotherhood, do solemnly protest against the system of Slavery, as unchristian and inhuman.

Because it is a violation of the law of Right, being the sum of all unrighteousness which man can do to man, depriving him not only of his possessions but of himself. And as the possession of one's self are included all other possessions, and in the right of one's self are included all other rights, he who makes a man a slave commits the greatest possible robbery and the greatest possible wrong.

Because it violates the law of Love, which says, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them."

Because it degrades man, the image of God, into a thing; changes persons into property; and, by violating the dignity of the human soul, is a constant sacrifice against

that soul which the Scriptures declare to be the "Temple of the Holy Ghost."

Because it necessarily tends to pollute the soul of the Slave—producing all vices and fostering habits of indolence, sensuality, falsehood, treachery, theft, moral stupor and perpetual childhood—by taking away Hope, which God has appointed as the lightener of toil, the spur to exertion, and the seed of progress, and by destroying the sense of responsibility, which is the bond that connects the soul with God.

Because it tends to defile the soul of the master as unlimited power must generally produce self-indulgence, licentiousness, cruelty, arrogance and a dominating spirit—qualities utterly opposed to the humility, meekness and self-denial of Christ. We cheerfully admit that some, both of the Slaveholders and Slaves, have nobly resisted these influences and shown us virtues which we should be proud to imitate. But we know that the prevailing tendency of the system is nevertheless evil, and that it must always offer manifold temptations and inevitable occasions to sin.

Because this system, as the indispensable condition of its continuance, must restrict education, keep the Bible from the Slave, make life insecure in the hands of irresponsible power, deprive female innocence of protection, sanction adultery, tear children from parents and husbands from wives, violate the divine institution of families, and by hard and hopeless toil make existence a burden.

Because Slavery, as all history testifies, eats out the heart of nations, and treads every year more and more to sear the popular conscience and impair the virtue of the people. It neutralizes the influence which we ought to exert on the world as a nation whose mission it is to extend the principles of political freedom. It degrades our national character, making us appear before mankind as solemn hypocrites who declare "that all men are equal," and yet persist in holding a portion of them as Slaves—who declare that "ALL are endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and yet take these rights from a sixth part of their own community. Constantly to profess one thing and constantly to practice another must destroy the sinews of national virtue.

In pure obedience to these principles which no circumstances can obscure and no time can change, we protest against any attempt to defend this system on the ground that the Slaves are often treated kindly. It is not a question of treatment, but of right; and the greatest kindness would be no compensation for the rights which are withheld.

We protest against any attempt to defend the system from the letter of the Scriptures or from practices recorded in the Old Testament as a libel upon God and Christ, which would tend, so far as the attempt succeeded, to destroy our confidence in the Bible. If this system was not prohibited among ancient nations by positive law, it was not for the reason that it was right, but that like polygamy and other evil practices, it was suffered for a time because of the hardness of their hearts. And if, from the imperfect knowledge under the old dispensation, "the time of this ignorance God winked at," yet now in the light of the Gospel; "He commands all men every where to repent."

Finally, while we prescribe no man's course of action, we earnestly implore all to put forth their full energy, and in the most efficient modes, to show decidedly their sympathy with the Slave and their abhorrence of the system of oppression of which he is made the victim.

We implore our brethren at the South, especially those who hold the same faith as ourselves, to show their faith by their works; to come out from all participation in this sin, and in the way they deem best, "to undo the heavy burden and let the oppressed go free."

We implore our brethren at the North, who may go to reside in the Slaveholding regions, to go determined to make every sacrifice of profit or convenience rather than become abettors of this inhuman institution.

We implore all Christians and Christian preachers to unite in incessant prayer to God for aid against this system, to lose no opportunity of speaking the truth and spreading light on this subject, in faith that the truth is strong enough to break every yoke. We pray them to remember whose hearts were in this cause, who have ascended on high, if Channing, Follen, Worcester and Ware, are still mindful of what is passing below, they must be looking to us to take their places and to do their work. Wherefore seeing we are compassed by such witnesses, let us by every weight and do the work of him who sent us while it is day.

And we, on our part, do hereby pledge ourselves before God and our brethren, never to be weary of laboring in the cause of human rights and freedom till Slavery is abolished and every Slave made free.

We are the more obliged to bear this testimony because the Gospel of Christ cannot now be fully preached in the Slaveholding States. If it could, it might be less necessary to express our views in the present form. But violent and lawless men, as is well known, and as recent instances in our own experience show, have made it impossible for the Southern Minister to declare the whole counsel of God by speaking freely of that particular sin with which the community he addresses is especially concerned.

(Signed by Joseph Allen and Five Hundred and Sixty Nine others Unitarian Clergymen.) A few, whose signatures are affixed to this paper, are occasional preachers and candidates for the ministry, having at present no pastoral charge.

At a session of the Rhode Island and Massachusetts Christian Conference in New Bedford the 9th 10th and 11 inst., it was unanimously

Resolved, That this body cordially approves the sentiments of the above Protest and wish that this action of the Conference should be forwarded for publication by Brother William Coe.

(Signed) HENRY SULLINGS, Pres.
Joseph Healdner, Clerk.

COMMUNICATIONS.

LETTER FROM PHILADELPHIA—LIBERTY PARTY—ANTI-MASONRY.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 30, 1845.

DEAR B.—You will be wanting to hear how we are getting along in Pennsylvania, in the matter of Anti-Slavery. Pretty well, I am happy to say, and hoping to do still better. We have passed through the conflict, or at least the most unpleasant part of it, which moral Anti-Slavery seems destined everywhere to have with political party, and have now a fair field in which to meet, and grapple with the common enemy. We are in good spirits and are commencing our new war with fresh resolutions to devote ourselves with a single heart to the great work before us. Our Executive committee, which is pretty much the same as we had last year, are of one mind and seem determined to be up and doing, what their hands may find to do. Our expectation this year is, by the circulation of Anti-Slavery papers, the distribution of tracts (1500 of E. M. Davis' series have just come from the press) the circulation of petitions, by lectures, by conventions, and by local meetings, by the labors of regular agents and private individuals, of men and women, in season and out of season, to keep up such a moral agitation, as can help but purify the atmosphere, and hasten the change in public sentiment, which it is our mission to accomplish, and which must be effected before slavery can be abolished. Our anti-slavery women in Philadelphia, and in some neighborhoods of the country, are busy with their needles, preparing for their Annual Fair. They meet once a week from house to house, to sew, and plan and converse, and read and sometimes, sing about abolition, thus stirring up each others pure minds by way of remembrance, while they are fashioning the products, the avails of which are to go to the support of the cause.

The Liberty Party friends are busy getting ready for the Election. They are nominating their candidates, appointing their vigilance committees, printing their tickets, calling their "mass meetings," and plying (in a small way) all the usual machinery of a political party. This all looks to me very ridiculous, and I cannot but regret such a waste of effort and misapplication of talent. Many of our Liberty Party men are genuine eleven followers—both in the English and Yankee sense of that word—and are really laboring to promote the cause of abolition. But how much more effectually would they do this, if they would only have faith in the sufficiency—the omnipotence of truth, and giving politics to the dogs, would be satisfied to use the weapon which is sharper than a two edged sword; and armed with which "one can chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight."

By the way, since you left, Liberty Party here has had quite an accession to its force in the person of Dr. Elzer of Pittsburg, who has removed here with the intention ultimately to understand of practicing law. He has been lecturing a good deal in and about the city, and to pretty general acceptance. He is a man of fine oratorical powers and of more liberality of mind, than according to my observation, is generally characteristic of Liberty Party politicians. His speeches—at least so far as I have heard them—savor very little of the politician. They are generally straight up and down, old fashioned, practical, moral-sensation anti-slavery speeches. All I regret is that he stands on the platform of a political party, and lends his support, to a scheme which however flattering to some, its promise may now be of usefulness, must in the end prove delusive, and fraught with serious mischief. For if experience has taught anything plainly, it is that politics and moral reform are incompatible, and that any attempt to promote the one, by the machinery of the other, is sure to prove disastrous.

Anti-Masonry is an apt illustration of this. In its inception Anti-Masonry was a moral movement. The pulpit, the rostrum, and the press were the main engines relied upon for its propagation. But either because it did not advance fast enough, or for some other reason, it was dragged into politics and made the basis of a new party. This party was at first to all appearance pure and disinterested, and for a time, that is, while the good in it had the ascendancy, it did good. But soon all sorts of people, from all sorts of motives, flocked to its standard. It acquired power, became corrupt, lost its moral force, and now where is it? Sold itself to the whigs, and at the last election was found—what remained of it—giving its support to a Royal Arch Mason.

But says some one, not before its object had been accomplished. Indeed! Would that it were so. But never in all my memory, has Masonry been more ripe in the country than at this moment. Look at the Lodges of the Odd Fellows, how numerous and how popular they are! Odd Fellowship is only another name for Free Masonry. In principle, it is the same—susceptible of the same abuse, and liable to the same objections.—Even Free Masonry proper, is going a coming into discredit, and beginning to put on its "appings." It was but a short time since that I saw a notice in one of the papers, that there was to be a general meeting and a public procession of Free Masons in one of the Eastern cities—the first that has been attempted there for many years. Such is the effect of politics. If Anti-Masonry had not been taken into the blighting embrace of political party, secret societies would not now be so popular, nor the community so much exposed to the evils, social and political, of which they may be so easily made the instrument.

But the limits of my sheet admonish me to stop. If you can find any thing in this paper which you think will do for your "Bugle" or are of liberty to use it. We have a deep interest in your movements and are rejoiced to hear of the commotion you are making in the moral elements of Ohio. The good you are doing is not confined to the West, but is reflected back upon us in the East, giving a new impulse to the cause this side of the mountains. Write me when you have a half-hour's leisure.

Yours as Ever,
J. M. McKIM.

WHAT WOULD BE THE RESULT?

The opponents of freedom have always from the earliest days of the Anti-Slavery movement, been prophesying that the whole land would be deluged with blood, in consequence of the movements of the Abolitionists, and now the opponents of a Dissolution of the Union are constantly telling the old oft-repeated "raw head and bloody bone" stories of the bloodshed and anarchy that would follow such a movement! But how can it be shown that such results would follow? Suppose the Northern States were ready to call a convention for a peaceful withdrawal or even one single State to withdraw, where would the force come to prevent it? Not from the South, surely, for they want all their force at home to keep the slave in his chains; not from the North, for no State in the North would furnish the forces necessary to compel a sister State to withdraw, where would the force come to prevent it? 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