ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

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THE AMERICAN BOARD.

At the late Missionary Convention at Syracuse, N. Y., while the address from which we gave some extracts week before last, was under discussion—

"Alvan Stewart said he felt as though a moral bomb-shell had been thrown into the midst of the American Board of Missions, to-day, at about 4 o'clock this afternoon! What will be the consequence of this explosion in the moral world, time, the great annotator and commentator, could alone disclose. The Board and its supporters supposed they had laid up a stock of good works for eternity; but those who in their wills had laid by a good amount to propagate the unsearchable riches of Christ; those who had laid upon the altar son after son, and daughter after daughter, for this work, had now at last to learn the sum total of the whole to be, that the great man of sin has still contrived to rule and to reign upon the throne of the Savior of the world. They now find that this Board is but a joint-stock concern of the errors of the old world, combined with the faults of the new. This exposure made this a day of sorrow. We see, alas! that this work of heroic devotion and enlarged philanthropy, had become entangled with moneyed alliances—with the revolting corruptions of the times. We had heard it maintained that the *laws* were the sinners, while the men who lived under the laws, and carried them out, were *guiltless*. You might, in this way, enact a law to repeal the ten commandments, and all there is in the Bible, and out of it that is good for anything, and all would be well; the law alone is to blame! The sum of the proposition is, that the whole injunctions of the Bible can be subverted with complete impunity, by a South Carolina Legislature! The answer to all this flippant casuistry, is this: the law is as passive as your cane. To make it simpler: was it ever known that a law book had stepped down from the shelf of a magistrate, and given chase to a thief, or other offender, arrested him, and brought him to justice? Some twelve persons had been hunted up, who, it is alleged, kept men as slaves, for the reason that greater evils would result to them from emancipation; and this was attempted to be used as a mantle under which the accursed system of slavery might find shelter, and as an ample shield for the course of the Board in tolerating slaveholders in churches established to propagate the pure gospel of Christ among heathen minds. But was there one of this class who had not said to a man, or woman, or child—'THOU ART MY SLAVE!—Here it is, then, that this law, from the shelf of the judge, is called in, and through the master's mouth, deprives the slave of all his manhood. It is the act of the master which gives vitality to the law. And yet, with this Board, it was the *law*, and not the *master*, that was the sinner! This reasoning, if he might call it such, was made use of to cheat men out of immortality. If this doctrine be true, this is an illustration: a man has stolen a pair of horses—indict the grand larceny, and let the robber go free! A man has committed arson, hang Anson, and shake hands with the man who applied the torch! Mr. S. related the case of a slave recently murdered in New-Orleans, by a drunken master, of which no notice was taken by the newspapers—no coroner's inquest was held. The argument was, that the master had only destroyed his property. He spoke deliberately, when he said that he deemed it quite probable, that in less than 20 years, it would be questionable whether the Christian religion would not be found to have suffered more from the heathenism permitted to be engrafted upon it in the mission churches, than heathenism would have received benefit from the little christianity we had carried to heathen lands. Look at a church member's slaves; part of them mulattoes; half of them living in promiscuous concubinage. The doctrine of the Board was, say nothing of this, until you get him into the church, then purify him. The first anti-slavery sermon, after 25 years, is yet to be preached to the Cherokee slaveholders. If any one ought to have had religion, simple, pure, unadulterated, taught to him, it is the Indian, whether East or West. But they have all along been allowed to hold their slaves; have been admitted to communion, without reproof, in the churches of the Board. When now reproached with sin, they ask, 'why did not you tell us of this before?' The only honest answer must be, 'we meant to catch you by guile,' and such guile that the poor Cherokee could only think you a polished rogue. All this has re-acted upon the Christian community. If men, who, upon conversion, were ready and willing to give up all, are coolly told by the Board, through its agents, that it is right to hold on to their slaves, what are the thoughtless at the north to conclude? Can there be a greater hindrance in the way of emancipation? But their slaveholders must be such nice, such angelic slaveholders! Look at Dr. Bacon's Letter; the master must neither hold, nor buy, nor sell, a slave, for filthy lucre's sake: he must keep him for the sole benefit of the enslaved; he must give him mental and moral instruction; he must give him liberty of conscience! What a delightful slaveholder is Dr. Bacon's slaveholder! I, too, would give the slave *liberty of conscience*: and my word for it, he would walk from his master as quick as you would from a mad dog. Mr. S. went on to illustrate the idea of holding a man in bondage for the benefit of a man enslaved, by the fact of an exemplary man's holding stolen goods, for the benefit of another. Still, you would admit him to the communion! He did not do it for his own benefit! Another man possesses a good property, is an exemplary man; but when he returns home by his neighbor's woodpile, at night, he always will steal his neighbor's axe. He cannot let the axe alone: it is his 'peculiar institution' to steal that neighbor's axe: yet he should be received at the communion, nevertheless! The whole clerical wit of New England theologians had been expended, to make out the case of an innocent slaveholder. Suppose, said Mr. S., there can a man be found who keeps slaves for their benefit, and not for his own—I would take him by the hand and call him brother—would lodge the master and all his slaves in my house, aye, I would lodge them all in one bed!—as I have no doubt they could all get in. (Laughter.) An innocent slaveholder! What a moral phenomenon—to the moral world, what a comet is to the physical creation. These men, all dressed up in black, faring sumptuously every day, tell us of their $60,000,000 worth of cotton by which the 'commercial exchanges of the country are regulated.' But this is $60,000,000 worth of cotton produced by slaves held for their own benefit? Is it not rather in part raised by the toil of woman, who in the morning moves from her poor bed at the blast of the horn; who, while all is damp with the dews of the night, goes to the field with an infant of three months upon her arm; who lays that infant under the fence, and nurses it after she has hoed across the field and back again; to be whipped if she fails to perform the whole of the hard task allotted to her; the strong men, her brethren in bondage, who would fain assist her, prevented by a brutal overseer from doing so; this is the way that slaves are held for their own benefit, and to enable these fine, well dressed gentlemen to talk to us of regulating the exchanges of the nation by the production of cotton! If there was but one such case instead of ten thousand, it would be a sufficient reason for the abolition of slavery. Yet such men as Dr. Bacon are denouncing us for exposing the wickedness of the Board, while they take these lordlings by the hand. But, said Mr. S. in conclusion, the eyes of the people are upon you; your days are soon over: you will go to the judgment, and may God forgive you, for I never can unless I see signs of genuine, deep repentance.

From the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

MANUFACTURE OF ARTICLES FROM FREE-GROWN COTTON.

We give insertion with much pleasure to the following address, which is in course of extensive private circulation:—

To the friends of the abolition of the Slave Trade and Slavery.

It is cause for devout thankfulness to the Almighty, that, by his blessing on the efforts of those who labored for the abolition of the Anglo-African Slave-Trade and of British colonial slavery, those dreadful evils have both been abolished by law. We can and do rejoice that the shores of Africa can no longer be infested with impunity by the man-stealer from our country; that nearly 800,000 of our fellow subjects, once held as slaves in the British colonies, have been emancipated; and that millions who were lately bondmen in British India are now legally free.

These gratifying and cheering results of past labors should lead us to pursue with increased energy what remains to be done in the great work of emancipation, beyond the limits of the British empire. Let none hastily, and without due consideration of the subject, conclude that British Abolitionists can do little or nothing to hasten the termination of Slavery, in countries subject to foreign rule. We believe there are many ways in which this may be done. Among these we may refer to the practicability of calling the attention of persons in foreign lands to the crime of Slavery, and to those dreadful evils which are inseparable from its existence. We may also point out to them the duty, the safety, and the advantages of emancipation. But we desire, at present, to direct attention to one painful fact, connected with the establishment and increase of foreign Slavery, and to state the course which we think should be adopted, both in order to avoid a continued implication in the crime, and to discourage a system which we so strongly reprobate.

It can, we believe, be clearly shown, that American Slavery is principally supported by the demand of Great Britain for the cotton of the United States. Allow us then briefly to state the extent and some of the revolting circumstances of the slave system in America, and to adduce proof of the assertion, that the people of England are largely implicated in its encouragement.

The slave population of the United States of America may be estimated at 2,800,000. This large number of our fellow men, whose right to liberty is no less sacred than our own, are cruelly coerced to toil for the benefit of others. With worse than savage barbarity, the marriage relation among these victims of oppression is not recognized by law; hence those who morally sustain the relation of husbands and wives are often separated for life, by the sale of one or both, at the will of their "owner," to places distant from each other. The ties of parent and child are equally disregarded, as might be expected from those who scruple not to sever the conjugal relation. In addition to this disregard of the social rights and of the common feelings of humanity, slaves are debarred from an acquaintance with even the rudiments of knowledge, lest they should therefore become acquainted with their wrongs, and learn how to escape from them. To teach a slave to read is punishable with severe penalties, and in one slave State, (Louisiana,) death is the legal penalty for a second offence. For attempting to escape from bondage, the laws of all the slave States allow the life of the slave to be taken by the pursuers, if he cannot otherwise be secured; and imprisonment or death is the penalty inflicted on those who aid a slave in his escape from bondage.

The American domestic Slave Trade, which is carried on between the various slave States, is in some of its features too revolting for detail. By this trade it has been estimated that no less than 70,000 persons are annually sold, the greater portion taken from the place of their birth to more fertile regions, and to severer toil, and in a multitude of instances, subjected to those cruel separations of the nearest domestic ties to which we have before alluded. To all who recognize the principle that to hold an innocent fellow being in slavery is criminal in the sight of God, we need scarcely say, that it is a Christian duty to avoid, as far as possible, all participation in, or encouragement of, the crime.

In stating our belief that the consumers of articles produced by slave labor, are accessories to the maintenance of the whole system of which some features have been described, we advance no new doctrines. During the early struggle for the abolition of the Slave Trade, in the latter part of the last century, the friends of that cause, as we have been informed, published and circulated tens of thousands of copies of a small tract recommending the disuse of sugar, at that time exclusively produced by slave labor. In this tract we think it was satisfactorily shown, that a small number of families, by their ordinary consumption of sugar, afforded the motive for the removal of one slave from Africa, and that, consequently, by abstinence from sugar on the part of a considerable number of families, the ravages of the Slave Trade might be expected to be materially lessened. Thomas Clarkson, in his "History of the abolition of the Slave Trade," estimates the number of persons in Great Britain who voluntarily abandoned the use of sugar at the period to which we refer, at 300,000. In addition to the reasons that have been already named for substituting, as much as possible, free grown for slave grown produce, it is manifest that in so doing, the subject of Slavery would be much more frequently brought under the notice of our countrymen, and a standing protest be held up against it.

We have already stated, in concurrence with the testimony of some of the most eminent friends of the slave in the United States, and undeniable facts, that the demand for the cotton of that country in Great Britain has been a chief means of perpetuating and extending Slavery in America. Shortly after the declaration of American Independence, there was much ground to hope that Slavery would not long exist in the Union. The tide of public opinion, which had already led to acts for the abolition of Slavery in several of the Northern States, was directed with considerable force against it; there were at that time few articles of export produced by slaves in the States of great pecuniary value. In 1790, the number of slaves was 657,000, and the cotton exported, 189,000 lbs. In 1843, the number of slaves was estimated at 2,817,810; the cotton exported was 1,081,919,000 lbs.; and unless the most vigorous means be used to stay this mighty evil, it is impossible to calculate what may be its future extension. Shall we, then continue to uphold and furnish an inducement for the maintenance of this vast system of crime and misery which we profess to deplore and abhor!—Humanity, justice, and religion forbid us so to do; and we therefore confidently cherish the hope that, as one means of discountenancing Slavery, many of our countrymen and countrywomen will now be found willing and determined, as far as in them lies, to relinquish the use of American slave-grown cotton. Nor will they, we trust, be less resolute in reference to other articles, the produce of slave labor, among which we may specially reckon Carolina rice and tobacco in all its forms.

By such a course as the above, (which we strongly recommend,) they will not only individually perform that which appears to be a manifest duty, but will encourage the efforts of those friends of the slave in America who deem it right thus to act. The number of these is, we learn, decidedly on the increase. We are glad to be able to inform those into whose hands this may fall, that an attempt is being made in this country to obtain a supply of articles manufactured exclusively from cotton the produce of free labor. It has been ascertained that some highly respectable manufacturers are willing to aid in carrying out the wishes of some friends of the Anti-Slavery cause in this country, in making such an article, which will be distinguished by a mark, to show its genuineness. In the first instance, the number of articles produced will be small; but, if encouragement be given to the attempt, a greater variety will hereafter be manufactured and offered for sale.

It has been already ascertained that the members of several Anti-Slavery societies to whom this subject has been submitted, cordially sympathize in the object it recommends.

We respectfully commend this subject to the consideration of the friends of the cause generally. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to add, that those who promote the object have no intention of deriving a profit to themselves from the sale of free labor articles. They may be exposed to some loss, and will be glad if any of their friends incline to share with them the risk of the experiment.

Before we close this appeal, we deem it proper to state, that whilst we consider it a duty to abstain, as far as possible, from the use of articles produced by the labor of slaves, as the means of discouraging a wicked system, we deem it no less incumbent upon us to persevere in the use of those moral means, which, in our opinion, should be unceasingly employed until Slavery shall be everywhere utterly abolished.

JOSEPH J. GURNEY, Norwich.
GEORGE THOMAS, }
JOSEPH EATON, } Bristol.
JOSEPH STURGE, Birmingham.
G. W. ALEXANDER, London.

1st Mo. (*January*) 1st, 1846.

Read the following from the Signal of Liberty, the organ of James G. Birney, and then tell us whether Liberty Party is not in a bad predicament, taking its own confession as testimony:

POSITION OF THE LIBERTY PARTY.

What is its position? There is no use in shutting our eyes to it, whatever it be. Its present position is *inaction*—a perfect *stand still*. The evidences of this are most convincing; and as some of our readers may be disposed to consider us prejudiced on this point, we will adduce testimony of the highest character from the four States of Maine, Massachusetts, New York and Ohio.

An Address to the Liberty Party of Maine, by a Committee of the State Convention, published a few weeks since, says:

"You are well aware that for the last two years, our vote in this State has *remained about the same. We have neither lost nor gained.* And though we have reason to hope that much has been gained in many other respects, it has not been applied to the ballot box. You know also that our cause is yet in its infancy. And all history demonstrates that for any reform in its earlier stages of existence to remain stationary any length of time is *certain death*. It must go forward or backward. It is contrary to nature for it to stand still. It becomes a serious question for you to answer, then, whether our cause in this State shall be carried forward to its triumph, or not. Have you not voted for success? Have you not told our opposers that our principles embodied all the elements of success? That they appealed to every laudable motive, to every honest interest? That our cause must triumph, or our country would be ruined? And have you not believed it? And do you not still believe it? Is it not true that every just motive that influences the mind, if party prejudices could be overcome, would lead men to enlist with us in the great contest for equal rights? *Why then has not our success in this State been commensurate with the strength of our principles?*"

Now go to New York and hear William Goodell, one of the oldest pioneers in this cause. In a late letter he says:

"From some cause, very plainly, the *progress of the Liberty party is at a dead stand*, as though pent up, and destined either to burst over its present enclosure, or with difficulty preserve itself from dissolution. The state of New York is not the only section of the country where these indications appear.—Look at Massachusetts! What ails the Liberty men there, that not even the "Great Eastern Convention," with its eloquent speeches and its rising tone of sentiment, could send the Liberty vote ahead? There must be a cause. Whence the timid, hesitant, and half pensive tone of the Emancipator? Contrasting so unpleasantly with the pert and lively paragraphs, buoyant, confident, and hope inspiring, which it was wont to put forth? Have the working operatives, the struggling democracy of New England found out, yet, that the Liberty party is pledged to maintain the rights of the white as well as of the colored poor, and will no sooner truckle to a northern aristocracy than to a Southern? And is it known and read of all men, that those engaged in elevating the morals of the *State*, are equally sensitive and jealous where the purity of the *Church* is concerned? If a negative answer must be given to these questions, it needs no 'spirit from the vasty deep" to tell us what are the obstacles to be removed."

But listen to Mr. Leavitt himself. He attended the Maine State Convention and advocated the following resolution:

Resolved, That we do not expect slavery to be abolished in this land, *by any one instrumentality, any one plan of operation, or any one class or set of men*—but we look for it to be effected through the blessing of the God of our Fathers upon the combined efforts of all classes of people, acting in all lawful ways and through all honorable channels in which their influence can reach the evil—and this will be done whenever, those who disapprove of slavery shall take up its abolition as their own work, and set about it as the work that is now to be done."

How strangely this contrasts with his editorials in the Emancipator two or three years since, in which the Liberty party was confidently and incessantly held out as *the* great "instrumentality"—the very "set of men," that were to overthrow Slavery!

But let us go to the west and hear the philosophic and thinking Dr. Bailey of the Philanthropist:

"The present stage of the Liberty movement in Ohio we regard as a crisis of commanding interest. From the year 1840, the Liberty party increased annually at a fair rate until the Presidential election in 1844. But its vote in the October election of 1845 showed little or no increase over the Presidential vote. Now, let every man bear in mind, that a new political party must *increase or decrease*. Stand still, it cannot. You may hold men together in moral association, without any perceptible increase, by the force of high moral consideration, but a reform *political* party which, however pure its principles and objects, necessarily embraces many who are governed chiefly by party considerations, lives by its increase, no less than by the force of its principles.

When we consider, therefore, that the gubernatorial canvass of 1846 is to test the efficiency of the Liberty movement in this State, and, according to its results, *will settle with multitudes the question of adhesion to it or separation from it*, no one will be surprised at our determination to give far more attention to it, than under other circumstances we have deemed necessary."

But the reader will ask, what ought the Liberty party to do in view of these things? We answer in few words—Go FOR THE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF ALL MEN—WHITE as well as black—and we shall attain and deserve the confidence and support which we cannot attain so long as we refuse to do this."

Justice requires us, perhaps, to give another view of the subject, which we take from a paper in this State. On the one side is the opinion of the Maine State Convention; Wm. Goodell, who has watched the progress of the cause with an eagle eye; Joshua Leavitt, the editor of the great organ; Dr. Bailey, the oracle of the party in this State; and the Signal of Liberty, the mouth-piece of James G. Birney: and on the other side is the Cleveland American, which thus concludes an article on "The destiny of the Liberty party:"

"To our friends and co-workers, we would say, that never have our prospects been fairer, or events more encouraging. The causes and the times demand exertion and sacrifice, but we labor not as those who have no hope."

A citizen of Washington City, writing to the Albany Patriot, says:

"I received a note this day from a highly respectable member of the bar here, requesting me to investigate a case of cruelty which his own engagements would not permit him to attend to. I accordingly went to the Jail—the Jail built by the United States, where I found a woman some 45 or 50 years of age, who stated that she had been taken up, (as she desired to be,) while fleeing from her master's service, in consequence of the barbarous torture inflicted on her by a brutal overseer near this city. Her flesh was lacerated in a manner disgusting to the sight, and painful to the feelings of humanity. Her chest had been stamped upon and bruised till she was scarce able to stand, and unable to eat food! And what monstrous crime had she committed, think you? She had dared to implore the overseer to whip her own daughter no longer, for she thought her situation such that she could not bear it: upon which, this woman-whipper, in a rage, inflicted upon her the wounds above described."

We do not say, that every preacher and all the members of the various ecclesiastical bodies have ascended so high on the perilous ladder of wicked inconsistency; but every slaveholder is emphatically included in the dread scriptural indictment—"They are altogether gone out of the way; there is none that doeth good, no, not one. Their feet are swift to shed blood. There is no fear of God before their eyes. Will a man rob God? Yet ye have robbed me." They are all, without one exception, men-stealers; and therefore, it is a rank imposition upon the world, both in the churches and in the people, to receive and acknowledge slaveholders as true Christians.—*George Bourne.*

A SLAVE MINISTER.—The Christian Index has an obituary notice of Rev. Baptist Minister Cæsar, who recently died in Alabama. He was the *property* of the Alabama Baptist Association, and was successful as their servant in the propogation of the gospel. A slave bought and sent out to preach the gospel to his fellow slaves, is a phenomenon that Christianity could only have produced in these last ages.