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Our Correspondence.

For Frederick Douglass' Paper. THE MORAL BASIS.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS: DEAR SIR—I was much pleased with a late editorial in your paper, on the Moral Basis of the Anti-Slavery Movement. There are but few in the North, who zealously oppose slavery from a moral standpoint. The great body of the political abolitionists are governed by one or all of the following motives—

- 1. Slavery impedes the physical progress of a State.
2. Slavery degrades free labor, and it should not be extended; for our children may seek none in the West.
3. We are not allowed to own slaves at the North, and it is not fair to grant extra privileges to the South.
4. Slavery is hostile to education, and our children or grand children, may be hazarded, if the institution be extended.
5. It does not look well for Republicans to be slaveholders, especially in the eyes of other nations.

The natural rights of man, rarely enter the thoughts of those who are governed by such motives. His manhood is not regarded, but his "nigger-hood" enters largely into their prejudices, and they would not consent to the abolition of slavery, unless the "niggers" are to be transported, and they won't give a cent toward the expense of their emigration.

The consequences of the general neglect of the moral principles involved in the iniquity of slavery, is the continuance of the institution under the power of Northern energy. Slavery would have been abolished about a quarter of a century ago, in all the States, except Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina, had it not been for the migration of vigorous young men from the poor and middle classes of the North.

The schools of the South have been taught from the beginning by Yankee school masters, who have made a "raise" as pedagogues, and stepped into the professions or the proprietorship of plantations. In this easy adaptation to Southern society, we have got to hear of them being troubled by scruples of conscience. I believe nearly all the moving spirits of the South, were originally from New England; and of all I have known, who have progressed above the institution, emancipated their slaves and come North, there is not one who was born and educated at the North!

The most of such friends of freedom are Quakers from North Carolina and Virginia, whose abolitionism grew out of a clear apprehension of the moral truths which are ascribed at the shrine of Moloch. Why this reproach against the North? Evidently, because in our schools, colleges, and churches, the first principles of morality and righteousness have not been taught. I have no doubt that some of the greatest despots of the South were born and educated in abolition or free soil families, and that many such families are destined to send Southward, many who are to be the great planters and statesmen of the next generation!

But from what cause proceeds our inefficient system of moral development? Evidently, in my apprehension, from the want of a consistent system of morals, growing out of their rights and duties of men; while they at the North struggle liberally under foot, or at the North, rob every poor man and woman of the natural right to the bounties of Providence, without which neither life can be sustained, liberty enjoyed, nor happiness pursued. Land monopoly was the first outrage against humanity, and from it have proceeded all the despotisms, slaveries, and aristocracies of the world.

Let us illustrate the inconsistency of the abolitionist who opposes Land Reform. When presenting him a petition to Congress for Land Freedom, he refused his name, saying, that he knew of a man who loaned money at twenty-five cents per day, for the purchase of a farm at the West, and is now a rich man; hence, the absurdity of Land Reform. Now, apply his mode of reasoning to slavery. Frederick Douglass obtained his liberty and education in spite of the combined frown of his master, the South, and the army and navy of the nation, and is now one of the leading orators and editors of the Republic. What he accomplished by cunning and heroism, others may do, and hence the utter absurdity of Anti-Slavery agitation!

And this man who thus cut his own throat, is a Free Soil stumper, and a Christian who remembers the slave in his morning and evening prayers! How strongly fortified is such an abolitionist in his moral position! Any pro-slavery reasoner, of fair talent, could floor him in an argument before any audience; for he could show that we have at the North, substantially the same system that prevails at the South; the only difference, that there it is carried out to its consummation. At the North, Land Monopoly holds five millions in homeless bondage, while at the South, three and a half millions are in chains, and perhaps two millions of whites are in penitentiary servitude. At the South, a slave is whipped to death, or shot

down with impunity, while at the North, some are starved and others freeze to death, as in the recent case of the widow and eleven children in New York! Another illustration—Within four months, the Duke of Sutherland procured the assistance of the law to evict a family from his domain, and make more room for sheep! The ministers of the free laws of Great Britain proceeded to cast out the articles of broken furniture, and the family, one by one, till they came to the bed which reposed the wife and mother, with an infant two years old by her side. To remove her, they took the sheet by its corners, and carrying her out some distance from the hall, laid her down in the grass! The husband and father in distraction, ran for help, and found a lodgment in a dilapidated barn! The officers then, demolished the shanty. The ancestors of this family had lived on that kindly domain for centuries, and were given away with the land. And this eviction occurred under the eyes of the Duchess of Sutherland, whose brilliant name led the long list of English ladies, who indignantly protested against American Slavery! Now, the young man educated in an abolition family that justifies Land Monopoly, says to himself, if that was a righteous transaction, slavery is not so very iniquitous after all; and removing South, he readily became a slaveholder! Can a devil in the pulpit, make many converts to Christianity while preaching the gospel, which he tramples under foot in his daily life? Can he see clearly to cast the mote out of our brother's eye while the beam is in our own? Northern energy will confine to sustain slavery, until our moral system shall be essentially overhauled, and our people educated in the principles of Eternal Right.

That slavery would not now cause so many States, and rob so many human beings of liberty and happiness, had it not been for emigration of Northern energy to the South, and that, what slavery there might be, would soon be abolished, were it not for this support, is evident to me from a few considerations.

1. The aristocracy of our country, embracing the non-workers and monopolists of the North, and the slaveholders of the South, is constantly in process of extinction. All families, thus unfortunately situated, grow weaker and weaker, and about three generations, wind them up. The aristocracy is continued only by the energy that rises from the poor and middle classes, to fill the places of exhausted families. If the "Upper-tendency" of the North, could be forced to rely on its own blood for the preservation of its caste, within three generations there would be no "Upper-tendency." If the slaveholders of the South were compelled to rely upon their own constitutional forces for the perpetuity of their class, there would be no slaveholders within fifty years. This is evident, from the fact that the slaves are growing stronger, generation after generation, while their masters are becoming weaker and weaker. Within the specified time, the slaves would be sufficiently strengthened to look down with contempt upon their puny masters, and to execute divine vengeance upon all their throats. A few facts convince me, that this is not paradoxical.

Louisiana, 255,491 whites, 80 over 100 years old, 17,462 free col'd, 83 " " " " 244,809 slaves, 263 " " " "

Here are now over four colored persons, slave and free, to one white, in proportion to the number of each class, reaching one hundred years of age, and upwards. And the longevity of the Free Colored is about sixteen times greater than that of the whites!

Virginia, 894,500 whites, 65 over 100 years old, 54,335 free col'd, 55 " " " " 275,458 slaves, 27 " " " "

In this State, the free colored enjoy nearly five times, and the slaves nearly three times the longevity of the whites!

N. Carolina, 453,025 whites, 61 over 100 years old, 27,463 free col'd, 164 " " " " 285,458 slaves, 90 " " " "

Here in the rice swamps, we find the slaves enjoying over twice the longevity of the whites, and the free colored about fifty times the white longevity! These facts are from the census of 1850, and are corroborated by the census of previous decades. I have looked at that of 1830* for Virginia, and find the proportions substantially, as given in the above table.

These facts show that the slaves have the advantage of their masters in the basis of strength, perpetuity, and growth. Then, in respect to the constant weakening of the masters of the South, and the aristocrats of the North, there is an overwhelming amount of testimony all around us, and in the history of the past. What are the lessons?

1. That we cease sending energy southward to perpetuate slavery. It is true they have poor white men; but it is also true that they have no common school system for the education of talent that may be born in poverty. In consequence of this want, the "First Families" of Virginia have run out; Washington, Jefferson, Marshall, Madison, Monroe, Wylie, Pendleton, Patrick Henry, and others, have passed away and their places are unoccupied. Beggary is the talent of Virginia.

2. That, as abundant facts prove, that the monopolists and non-workers of the North, are also running out and their places being supplied from the "lower" classes; all reformers should advocate a system of truth that will save all classes, securing freedom, home, and work to all, in both sections of our country.

3. That Land Reform is as vital to the good of the North, as Anti-Slavery is to the South; for nearly all the fortunes, out of which springs a weakening aristocracy, are made by Land speculation.

4. That this view of the case strengthens the anti-slavery argument, not only by placing ourselves in a consistent position, but also by showing that slavery ruins both the slave and his master. Both demand the Reformer's aid—So also at the North; Land Reform is not more for the good of the poor than the benefit of the rich. Both classes are injured by the monopoly, but the poor are injured the least—there is some hope of the son of a poor father, while there is none for the son of a rich and aristocratic parents.

Very few of the leading anti-slavery men of our times occupy a defensible position. Some of them are monopolizing aristocrats, imitating in their style of life, the nabobs of the South, and are as greedy to monopolize the bones and muscles of free whites, as are the oligarchs of the South, against whom they denounce eternal

wrath, to monopolize and hold as chattels the laborers by whom they live and luxuriate. Others studiously avoid those scorching truths that condemn the social evils of the North, through fear of offending some rich and selfish anti-slavery patron. The sooner all such in connection with the Duchess of Sutherland and that other Abolitionist to whom I referred, are assigned their proper position, the better; for a moral basis cannot be laid under the Anti-Slavery movement until the chaff is winnowed and screened from the wheat.

Yours, &c., L. A. HINE.

For Frederick Douglass' Paper. NATIONAL AND CHURCH POLITY.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS, ESQ., DEAR SIR—Allow me a little space in your columns to express my sentiments on the important subject of our National and Church Polity. However small my natural, or acquired abilities may be, I only ask you to give them their just weight, if worthy your notice. I say, then, no man or set of men can be safe and wise politicians, who shut God out of their creed. Divine Revelation is the primal means to His knowledge of God, of our relation to Him, our responsibilities, and His reasonable and just requirements of us, as His creatures and subjects, and He our rightful Lord and moral Governor of the Universe. In these characters, appropriate to each, He demands an acknowledgment, both in word and practice. All short of this, is disobedience, and renders us liable to His power and displeasure. God is the source of life, temporal, spiritual and eternal. Hence arises our obligation of subjection to Him, "for His is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever." God is not only the original source, but the continual preserver, and upholder—He upholds all things by the word of His power. "Hence there is no power but of God;" all rightful authority belongs to God. "God hath spoken once, (said David) twice have I heard this, that power belongeth unto God"—all created power is from Him, and limited by Him. "By me Kings reign and Princes decree justice. By me Princes rule, and Nobles, even all the Judges of the earth; counsel is mine, and sound wisdom, I am understanding. I have strength." I am not writing these texts, supposing that I am informing others of these facts and truths, but of the importance, yes, more of the indispensable duty and necessity, of observing them. He that sinneth against me, says God, wrought his own soul—all that hate me, love Death. Both civil and ecclesiastical authority, are of God's appointment, and, as such, are His deputed authority, and ought to be regarded accordingly. Notwithstanding God has not vacated His throne, nor given unlimited authority to frail erring man. God declared His essential attributes to Moses, and the Israelites—and God said unto Moses, I am that I am, and he said, shall thou say to the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you—I AM He that exists, in his self-existence, independence, unchangeableness, eternity, the source of existence and perfection. Again He said to them, and by the same authority to us, when He delivered the law from Mount Sinai, I am the Lord thy God. God spake all these words, saying, I am the Lord thy God—I am Jehovah, the source of existence, and, consequently, of all power and authority. By this high authority, the great Law-Giver enforces obedience to the moral law. God alone is qualified to be the law-giver and judge of the universe.

The moral law, given by God himself, is an emanation of His own nature, and has its foundation in the nature of God and man, in the relation man bears to Him, and each other, and in the duties resulting from them, and is unmitigable and universally obligatory. Scott—Although God has appointed the authorities in Church and State, yet, as I have said, He has not abdicated His throne, nor resigned His supremacy as the moral Governor of the Universe. "For the Lord your God is a God of gods, and a Lord of lords, a great God, a mighty, and a terrible, who regardeth not persons, nor taketh rewards. He doth execute the judgment of the fatherless, and widow, and loveth the stranger in giving him food and raiment. Love ye therefore the stranger—thou shalt love him as thyself. Again, God standeth in the congregation (or congress) of the Mighty; He judgeth among the Gods. "How long (says He) will ye judge unjustly, and accept the persons of the wicked? Defend the poor, and fatherless, do justice to the afflicted, and needy. Deliver the poor and needy, rid them out of the hand of the wicked—slaveholder. This is so plain a reproof of our Congress, Church and Nation, that it hardly needs to be commented. These commands are a "higher law," so much ridiculed, and profanely made a by-word, to the disgrace of our so-called Christian nation. They are not spoken by one of subordinate authority—as merely higher, but by the supreme Jehovah—by Him who timely, and kindly admonishes us, when He says, "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you—ye have heaped up treasure for the last days. Behold (!) the hire of the laborers, who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped, are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. And he has lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton, (while the poor slave has sweat and toiled, in hunger and nakedness, to support you, ye have nourished your hearts, (like the senseless ox,) as in a day of slaughter, and as insensible to the exuberant goodness of God, and as regardless of the high behests of heaven as he. "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass (the stupid) as his master's crib; but Israel (our American) doth not know his God, nor hath he considered!" Ought we not, Mr. Editor, to pause, and consider our responsibilities to God, as our law-giver and Judge, and to the present, and future generations yet unborn? Are we not responsible for the gift of revelation, and for the improvement we make? If all scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, how important that we improve it as such, and how criminal to neglect it, and neglect it? What contempt is cast upon the authority of God! How important it is, that we receive the instructions given by the Prophets to God's ancient people, as given directly to us, under like circumstances, and receive their reproofs, in the same manner, and

also those of Christ, and his apostles, else we shall get no benefit from the revelation. Their instructions were given on the moral law, and their reproofs were of its violation. The moral law being immutable and universal, is obligatory on all, equally, on Nations and Churches, as such, as on individuals. They are responsible in a twofold sense—liable for their corporate acts, when they violate the great principles of natural justice, and moral requirements of God revealed in his word, to be involved in national judgments in this life, and also to be judged at that day when God will decide each one's secret motives, and fitness, either for good or bad, according to his standing, capacity, and trust reposed in him. Hence the different responsibilities—to whom much is given, the same will be much required. This rule extends to Nations and Churches, as well as to individuals. How important, as well as solemn, the consideration and reflection of the wide spread influence of our national acts and laws! How solemn and awful the weight of responsibilities which rest on those to whom this trust is committed, and what is more solemn, and important, is that neither those who are elected to these offices of trust, nor those who elect them, are sensible of their accountability to their higher authority. If God comes on in judgment, as He surely will, what must be his doom? No nation on earth has received such signal blessings as we, nor have enjoyed the privileges, in none has the meridian light shone brighter on the path of duty, none have made more solemn vows, and declarations before God, and the nations of the earth, and none, so, in Israel of old, have been so faithless—a God-provoking and Heaven-defying. How have we treated self-ordained truths, uttered with our own mouths, before God, "that all men are created free and equal, and have a right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness!" With what unblinking affront have we raised our star spangled flag toward heaven, as a badge of our own freedom, and victory over oppression, and would make Omnipotence believe the sincerity of our profession, while holding every sixth man in the land, in degrading and cruel slavery, compared to which, Egyptian bondage was not a shadow. With what abhorrence must a holy God and the inhabitants of heaven witness our grateful acknowledgment to God for the blessing of liberty, on the memorable Fourth of July grand with gun powder and rum, as though we would awake heaven to our obscenity. What shall we say, Mr. Editor—rather, what shall we do, fellow-citizens, and Christians! Can we rise up against God and prosper? No policy can avert the stroke of the Lord's vengeance, when the time arrives; are not we admonished by the Prophets, and by Christ and his Apostles, in plain, unmitigable language, if we were disposed to make due application to ourselves? And for what other use were they recorded, and declared to be recorded, but for our "reformation and instruction?" Are we prepared to take up the lamentation, "The harvest is past, the Summer is ended and we are not saved?" Will our Ministry and Church, continue—yes, I say continue—to harbor the sin of Slavery by a participation of the abominations of the South? I say, will they while (to use their own language) calling it the giant sin, the abomination of abominations, and the sum of all villainies combined, will they? Will associations of ministers, and consociations of churches, meet, again and again, and that while the whole nation, and I might say, the world, is convulsed, with legions of evil spirits which compose the sum of Slavery—will they meet, professedly, to consult the welfare of Zion, the upbuilding of Christ's Kingdom, and the salvation of deathless souls, and forget this giant sin, forget that their Lord came to destroy the works of the devil, forget the antagonism between Christ and Belial! Can they forget that the Lord requires money (money to the oppressed), money, and not sacrifice. What are sacrifices of prayers, but hypocrisy, when made a substitute for judgment, mercy, and truth? "Cry aloud, (says God) and spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show me thy transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins. Wherefore have we fasted, say they, and thou seest not, wherefore have we afflicted our soul, and thou takest no knowledge? Behold, in the day of your fast, you find pleasure, and exalt all your labor (of your servants and slaves, you doak your injustice, and cruelty with an outside garb of piety). Is not this the fast I have chosen, to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free? and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry and that thou bring the poor that are cast out of thy house? when thou seest the naked that thou cover him? Then shalt thou call and the Lord shall answer—Then shalt thou light rise in obscurity and thy righteousness shall go before thee." This would evince a right state of heart, and the truth of our profession. It is what God requires, and what He only will accept. To this is annexed the promise of God, that prayer shall be heard and answered, the cause of Christ advanced, His Kingdom come and our distracted nation saved. God is not mocked—they that plow iniquity, and sow wickedness, reap the same. Sow to yourselves in righteousness, and reap in mercy. We must and shall reap the fruit of our doings.

So long as the Northern churches are in fellowship and in full communion with the Southern churches, we are partakers of the sin of Slavery and all its results, and concomitant evils, and are bidding her God speed, and denying the verity of an Apostle in saying, "ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils, ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table and of the table of the devil." Do we provoke the Lord to jealousy, are we stranger than He? Hence the command have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them. Now we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walks disorderly, said Paul. Now, is Slavery a disorderly, unchristian walk? Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, said the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you, and will be a father to you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, said the Lord Almighty. Again, John the Revelator says, I heard another voice from Heaven, saying, come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and

that ye receive not of her plagues. Now, can there be commands more preceptive, or clothed with higher authority? Can there be greater inducement than to be the children of the Lord Almighty, and have Him for our Father? Will the people of God, like the deaf adder, stop their ears against such strains of love and mercy? If ye see that ye refuse not Him that speaketh, for if they escape not, who refused Him that spake on earth, much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from Him who speaketh from heaven. God has given us abundant evidence of the reasonableness and justice of His requirements; His natural and moral attributes, render our obedience indispensable to our own happiness, and even our existence. He is the fountain or source of life, and of course, of power. Without this upholding power, we fall back—just as we were in our natural attributes, are love and compassion, and justice, and the love of benevolence—God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son a ransom to redeem us—God is love. He is a God of justice and truth, and unchangeable—He is the rock, His work is perfect, for all His ways are judgment; a God of truth, and without iniquity in Him. He is worthy of, and rightfully demands, our confidence and trust, and our unreserved obedience. God is the source and perfection of wisdom—God only wise (says Paul) be glory. All His attributes are exercised in perfect union, and regulated by wisdom—infinite wisdom. Well might the devout Psalmist exclaim, "O Lord, who in the heavens can be compared unto the Lord." Shall we in the height of folly and madness, as a Nation, Church and People, continue to go on in a course of rebellion against reason, the dictates of conscience, the holy requirements, the wrappings of the Spirit, and the threatenings of Omnipotence? The apostle Jude says, "I will therefore put you in remembrance, though ye once knew this, how that the Lord having saved the people out of the land of Egypt, afterward destroyed them that believed not, and the angels which kept not their first estate—he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the Great Day, even as Sodom, Gomorrah, and the cities about them—(set forth as an example,) suffering the vengeance of eternal fire." I ask again, will we go on with the strength of Egypt, and Pharaoh and his host floating on the surges of the Red Sea, for the sin of oppression, before our eyes—they hearken, and we, professedly, Christians, sinning, as we were, in the face of the covenant God? This even not enough. The Ministry and Church, have baptized this giant sin, received it into the Church, and set the table of the Lord. While they are set as watchmen on the walls of God's spiritual Jerusalem, to look out, and discern enemies, and dangers, at a distance, and give timely notice; and if this is done, they are chargeable with the results of such neglect. How much more criminal, then, to violate their trust and allegiance, to their Lord by betraying his cause to an open enemy, and receiving him into fellowship? What hope, what prospect (!) so long as American Slavery—this colossal—this huge statue—this idol—this moral image of Satan, standing with one foot on the Nation, and the other on the Church, legalized and christianized! If the foundation be destroyed (says David) what can the righteous do? The Lord, says he, is in His holy temple, the Lord's throne is in Heaven. His eyes behold, His eyelids try the children of men. The truth, the righteous, and the wicked; and him that loveth violence, his soul hateth. Upon the wicked He shall rain snares, fire and brimstone, and an horrible tempest; this shall be the portion of his cup. The righteous Lord loveth the righteous—He loves His own image in His people; how, then, can He look with complacency on Satan's degenerate, standing in the National Hall—in our Congress? How must He abhor it standing in His holy temple—a heathen Moloch to whom sacrifices are offered? Is a daughter despised in Congress—how much more in the Lord's temple! What right have we, as a Nation, or Church, to fellowship sin, violence—Slavery, which God hates with all the powers of His soul, if it would be friends of God, and enjoy His favor and blessings? What right do we receive into our National Confederacy, slaveholding States with the curse of God written on their forehead, and all the plagues written in the book of God denounced on us for so doing? Here we see the reasons—the why, the Church—the Zion of God, mourns, her prayers and labors blighted. Souls deceived—the body of the Church corrupt. The doctrines for which we are commanded earnestly to contend, are neither forward nor behind, while wholesome discipline is neglected. Hence the lamentations of Isaiah and Jeremiah, "As with the people, so with the priest"—for the leaders of this people cause them to err, and they that are led of them, are destroyed. The ancient and honorable, He is the head, and the Prophet that teacheth lies, he is the tail—the most worthy of the body politics—the most contemptible. The earth mourneth, says Isaiah, the earth is defiled under the inhabitants thereof, because they have transgressed the laws, and broken the everlasting covenant. God forbids His people to have any alliance with sin and Satan—He reproved Ahab for entering into covenant with Benhad, and for calling him, his brother. He reproved Jehoshaphat for entering into alliance with the King of Israel—Shouldst thou help the ungodly and love them that hate the Lord, and the prophet, therefore is wrath upon thee from before the Lord." Such is the result of all such alliances preferring the friendship of God's enemies rather than God, and strengthening the hands of the wicked, and not reforming them. Had they (the false Prophets) stood in my council and caused my people to hear my words, then should they have turned them from their evil way and the evil of their doings. This is the case, and the rules by which faithful ministers are to be distinguished from false—evil communications still corrupt good manners. Salutary reproof for sin, in alliance with it, is the God's requirement. Not to take slaveholders into the Church to reform them, but to turn them out, to prevent the lump—the whole Church—from being defiled and leavened. It is a duty we owe to the oppressed, and also to the oppressor—a duty we owe to God, and the honor of His law. "Thou shalt not suffer thy brother, nor thy neighbor." It is a duty, as well by the spirit of the Leviticus, as by the spirit of the Gospel, and the counsel of the apostle Paul, "If thou see the sin of him that hath the living under his burden, and

wouldst thou see to help him, thou shalt surely help him." Is not Congress, then, morally and constitutionally authorized, and bound to unconditionally, and bound to unconditionally, to order the wretched slaveholder, to say nothing of the duty to the slave, from his temporal embarrassment, as well as the curse of God from his and our guilty souls, by enacting such laws as shall effect the desired end? and if so, are not the Ministry, Church, and Citizens of the North responsible, and guilty, till it is done? Who is the light of the world, and the salt of the earth, if not the Church and Ministry? Who took up the Ark of the covenant—the symbol of God's presence, and went before the people? Who stepped first into the waters of overflowing Jordan if not the priests, with the Ark of God? Who first marched into the midst of Jordan and there stood "firm," with their heads up, and nothing to stay the overwhelming billows, but the invisible power of God, till all the people "passed clean over" with all their effects? Here stood the Priests as examples of obedience, patience, and unshaken confidence of God. Now, are our ministers examples of that faith? Are they heard crying aloud, admonishing the people, and the house of Jacob, of our, and their national and ecclesiastical sins, and transgressions? Or, are they crying peace, and strengthening the wicked? Is not God reproached, and Christ made a participant (so far as the conduct of the Church is concerned) with slavery, while sitting at His table with slaveholders? Was He here in person, as He once was, would He not drive these men, women and children stealer, from His temple? With these in it, is not, I humbly ask, "His house a den of thieves?" What better are our national politics, while claiming the sacred name of Christian? Going on, hand in hand, rather, revolver and bowie knife, Slavery and Freedom, fighting for the mastery over a compromise line, which shall have the most territory. Suppose, Mr. Editor, we inquire, who owns these territories? We read that the devil once claimed "all the kingdoms of the world," and offered to sell them to Christ—Now, I should as live buy or compromise, with the devil, as with his factor or agent. They are both liars, and so it has proved in the compromise negotiations. God also has said, "I have made the earth and man, the beasts that are upon the ground by my great power, and by my out-stretched arm, and have given it unto whom it seemed meet unto me." It seems, then, that all claims, both to territory and slaves, are void, unless by right from the Creator and original Proprietor. All that we have and are, is the Lord's. We are but stewards. Have we a right to barter away half the Lord's territory, for the vile purpose of the production of slaves, in order to secure the other half for our own selfish ends? Are we not at the North, accomplices in the nefarious traffic of Slavery—of robbing God of His property, and our brother of his rights—his God-given rights? Are we less criminal than the slaveholder? Is not our object the same, to win property? Shall we complain of them as true and covenant breakers? What better is our fight for freedom? It is for our freedom—freedom of the whites. Is this the principle of benevolence—love to man? Suppose the devil has proved treacherous—are we not as treacherous to our brother and our God, as Satan, or the slaveholder is to us? Shall we appeal to God—a God of justice, a God of mercy? Well has it been said, "The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with us in such a contest." Just would it be for God, to give us up to bite, and devour each other. We are only acting out human, depraved nature. Jesurun waxed fat and kicked—then he forsook God who made him, and lightly esteemed the rock of his salvation. We, as well as the scattered Jews, are a nation void of council; neither is there any understanding in us. We are treating God's authority with contempt, arrogating the attributes, and exercising an authority, over the defenceless stranger and slave, which belong to God alone; and we have proved false to the vows we made to God, on the days of our national distress. We have treated God with the height of ingratitude and abuse, for our own freedom, and our exalted privileges, both temporal, civil and religious. He has vouchsafed us. Do we not, as a nation manifest the pride and arrogance of Belshazzar when he said, "Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honor of my Majesty?" Ought we not to remember the admonition, that "those that walk in pride, God is able to abase?" Slaveholding Church, owning 660,000 souls and bodies of men, valued at 264 millions of dollars! Her Lord's example before her, "servant of all"—washing his disciples' feet! No Republic can long exist, without virtue, without religion, without God. Yet, it is written, "The nation and the kingdom," that will not serve thee, shall perish, yes, they shall be utterly destroyed." Can any political efforts of ours (which are generally selfishness) destroy Slavery, a moral evil, while the Church and Ministry are hatching cockatrice eggs? Will not the product be vipers? If we conceive mischief, we shall bring forth iniquity. But notwithstanding the foundation of God stands sure, Zion will be redeemed, and probably, with judgment. 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PAWLEY, Jan. 21, 1856.

It is reliably stated that Antioch College has been freed from the load of debt, which it has labored. Eighty-five thousand dollars are pledged in three districts, comprising 1st, Western Ohio, 2d, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania; and 3d, the New England States; this liberal contribution will suffice to place the institution again under a good footing. Horace Mann still continues its President. The friends of the College, alarmed at the barren prospect before them, have put forth very strenuous efforts for the relief of the institution, and are understood to be greatly rejoiced at the success which has attended them. The regulations, it is well known, permit the reception of students from all parts of the world, and the course of study pursued is eminently practical. It is a privilege to be a student of this college, and to have the living under his burden, and

wouldst thou see to help him, thou shalt surely help him." Is not Congress, then, morally and constitutionally authorized, and bound to unconditionally, and bound to unconditionally, to order the wretched slaveholder, to say nothing of the duty to the slave, from his temporal embarrassment, as well as the curse of God from his and our guilty souls, by enacting such laws as shall effect the desired end? and if so, are not the Ministry, Church, and Citizens of the North responsible, and guilty, till it is done? Who is the light of the world, and the salt of the earth, if not the Church and Ministry? Who took up the Ark of the covenant—the symbol of God's presence, and went before the people? Who stepped first into the waters of overflowing Jordan if not the priests, with the Ark of God? 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