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QUARTERLY OBSERVER.

No. V.

JULY, 1834.

ARTICLE I.

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF INTEMPERANCE.

THE connection between intemperance and the laws of individual and national wealth, has never been very fully or distinctly pointed out. It is to be hoped that a subject of such interest will, ere long, find some able author to bring it before the public mind in a manner worthy of its importance.

The following pages are not supposed to develope or illustrate this connection with much fullness or clearness; but the author of them, hopes that they may stimulate more powerful minds to a pursuit of the investigation therein attempted.*

The first great agent employed in the production of wealth, is *physical strength*; that power of "bone and brawn and sinew," which man calls into exercise in the performance of every kind of bodily labor.

It need only be said, in order to meet with full and hearty assent, that, of two nations, possessing in other respects equal advantages of acquiring wealth, that one will most surely and rapidly grow rich which possesses the greatest amount of active physical power;—whose laboring citizens are either most numerous, or most vigorous. Is not this evidently and necessarily true? It is no less true of families

* We have not yet seen the prize essay of the Hon. Mark Doolittle, on this subject, but are led to expect much in relation to it by the known ability of its author, and his devotion to the temperance cause.

waste which it occasions, is, therefore, by no means circumscribed by the price of the drink.

If the intemperance of the United States was an injury to national wealth only to the extent of the money expended for alcoholic drinks, it would nevertheless amount to the prodigious sum of \$50,000,000 every year!

But in addition to this immense expenditure of gold and silver, let us estimate the waste of time; the diminished productiveness of land, of labor, and of capital; the loss of strength, of health, of intellect, of good habits; the cost of the paupers and of the crimes which intemperance occasions; the accidental losses attributable to the same cause; and the vast shortening of human life; and the whole sum of absolute waste rises above the startling amount of \$100,000,000 per annum; a sum more than seven times as large as that paid by the United States to France for the whole of that immense territory which stretches westward from the river Mississippi to the Pacific ocean.

And this enormous expenditure is every year incurred by a people who boast that their national trait is frugality! a people who pretend to be the most moral upon earth! a people who rebelled against their parent country and endured all the horrors of the revolution rather than pay a few thousand pounds in taxation! a people comparatively poor in monied capital, who depend almost wholly upon labor for subsistence, and who are surrounded by countless modes of employing their capital in profitable investments! Truly we are a prudent, a frugal, a moral, a consistent, a virtuous people.

ARTICLE II.

THE TRUE PRINCIPLE OF SLAVERY, TOGETHER WITH THE PRESENT ATTITUDE AND RELATIONS OF THE SUBJECT TO THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY.

THAT public opinion has been advancing, for years past, towards the extinction of slavery, no sane and observant man can doubt. This crying iniquity has aroused the

thoughtful and conscientious of all parties, to a pungent feeling of their responsibility in relation to it, and to an earnest solicitude for its extermination. All serious and candid thinkers on the subject, are ready to maintain, that the brutal degradation, the wanton disfranchisement of manhood, and of the rights and duties of manhood, which have prevalence under the name of slavery within our territory, ought, if not immediately, yet ultimately and utterly, to be abolished. Nor have they been content with mere convictions, hopes or schemes. Their belief has not been speculative merely, but practical and in earnest, and they have put heart and hand to the work. They have striven for the extinction of slavery in the only practicable mode of accomplishing it,—by harrowing up that incrustation of guilty ignorance which had obscured and belittled its enormity to ordinary view, and making men's souls thrill and vibrate with quick and hearty yearnings towards the oppressed.

It may seem a work of supererogation then, to attempt a definition of slavery, or a demonstration of its wrongfulness. But it is to be remembered, that many, very many, even in the northern States, are not thoughtful and conscientious in this matter, who need and ought to be persuaded to become so. Besides, a wide and irreconcilable discrepancy prevails among those who entertain a common abhorrence of the crime of acquiring and holding slaves, as to the specific direction and form of our assaults on the monster. Disputes are prosecuted with zeal, and not seldom with fury, about the sinfulness and innocence of countless relations and attitudes of the master towards the slave, which no force of argument or eloquence can lay to rest. It is to be presumed, that these differences spring from a want of clear and full insight, not of the wrongfulness of slavery, but of the manner and grounds of the wrong. All men feel and know the wickedness of slavery, by an intuition above and antecedent to argument, which impels them to construct arguments and search for reasons against it. By those direct and immediate revelations of conscience to which no man can be a stranger, and which become known and felt as soon as the reflective powers are sufficiently mature to take cognizance of the circumstances to which they apply, and prior to all calculation of consequences, men must be made conscious of their duties, nor can they be blind to them without a wilful and guilty disposition to evade the light, because their

deeds are evil. In this way slavery meets the instantaneous and decided reprobation of every undegraded human spirit. Even those, who in theory make shipwreck of morality on the quicksands of expediency, and yet retain any practical idea of justice, are impelled by a sense of the wickedness of slavery in the form of a spontaneous abhorrence of it, which is opened up to them in the revelations of conscience, to strive to account for the detestation of it, by a superficial effort to imagine, that they have *calculated* its injurious tendencies on the wealth, happiness, or morals of society. As if these in their turn did not require to be estimated in the same balance, and so on *ad infinitum*. Or, as if they were willing to confess, that they could look with complacent satisfaction on thousands of their *innocent* fellow-beings subjected to the chain, the rack, the scourge, and the hammer, in short, encompassed with all the evils and sufferings of brutes and irresponsible things, because the wealth and prosperity of society would be thereby promoted! Here then, as in all things, we see how just practical principles may become perverted, and bereft of much of their soundness and benignant energy, by being compounded and confused with false theories in regard to them. If we pierce at all beyond the surface of a practical maxim, and attempt to account to ourselves for its *why and wherefore*, it is perilous not to see our way clearly, before making our "adventurous flights" into this *terra incognita*. Thus it is in religion, the prime source and feeder of all our duties. Few, comparatively, doubt their own sinfulness and need of salvation. But their speculations into its causes, grounds and modes, have greatly vitiated the native and genuine power of this belief, and more than half of Christendom has been verging towards infidelity, in running astray from the true God after their own sensual and gross superstitions, sometimes in the form of idolatry to the deified laws of nature, sometimes in the opposite form of a malignant awe of a worm of the dust, claiming their homage, in equal violation of the laws of nature and God. Ought such abominations then to disparage religion? No; the counterfeit is proof of the genuine coin. Ought they to discourage us from looking into the grounds and principles of our actions and rules of action? They should stimulate us to the work. They show that men do, and in the natural, healthful activity of their being, will, have questionings, and satisfying

answers in respect to how, what, and why they are. Nor can we meet or put to rest wrong surmises, or disenchant men of their flattering and soul-palsying delusions, by any other than the magic wand of truth. Would we save them from being stranded on the shoals of error, we must rectify their deviations by the pole-star of truth. We must neutralize false reasonings by true ones.

The origin of the diversity of opinions concerning our obligations to the slaves, and concerning what constitutes an adequate fulfilment of them, is traceable to vague and misconceived notions of its real definition and essence. Hence the duties growing out of the long tolerated continuance of the sin, set themselves before us in shapes and phases distorted through the medium of a wrong apprehension of the enormity to which they relate. While radically it is the same principle of doing justice and loving mercy, that gives birth to every form of interest and labor for the emancipation and amelioration of the slave, yet, two organizations have been formed for these ends, some of whose members are accustomed to style their opponents jacobins, on the one side, and to be styled oppressors, or conspirators with oppressors on the other. The one class are against all parleying and treating slavery as a sort of established and stationary sin, to endure till circumstances shall make it convenient to get rid of it. They are for denouncing it outright, with a condemnation not qualified or softened by any expressions of sympathy with the slave-holder, because habit has hardened and emboldened him in crime, and now that his property is involved in it, he is loth to attack his own interest. Thus refusing all compromise, they demand immediate and absolute emancipation, and condemn all slower and more cautious methods as incommensurate with the fearfulness of the sin, and of course unlikely to eradicate it. The latter and larger class maintain, that violent remedies will only aggravate the disease, and, that the convulsions attendant on exorcising one demon, will be like restoring seven. They think that action demonstrates a more efficient hatred than words; and that if we keep busy in lopping off some of the blossoming evils of slavery, without laying the axe directly at its root, this sphere of activity will be a safe and inoffensive arena for directing and exposing the entire matter to the inspection of the country, and that "slavery cannot survive discussion." It is fit that we observe here, how adverse to jacobinism and

oppression are the *practical feelings and principles* of both parties, however their speculative arguments may bolster up either. Through the length and breadth of the land, the self-willed and insubordinate, the lawless in power and out of power, usurpers and jacobins, anarchists, disorganizers and despotic aspirants will be found to abet, or to be indifferent concerning slavery. But the champions of the rights of outraged and insulted humanity, are chiefly confined to the conscientious and sturdy supporters of the well regulated restraints of government on the untamed impetuosity and turbulence of the multitude.

Vox populi vox Dei, though an oft perverted, is not a false adage. Where no selfish bias disturbs or diverts the feelings of men from their wonted and spontaneous action, the universal sentiment of the human race is proof paramount to all inquiry and logical demonstration. A unanimous voice of indignation against slavery from all human kind, shows its hideous wickedness to be established by evidence immediate and intuitive, and therefore superior to all derived arguments. Do we then say that the multitude never misjudge when their decisions are conscientious and sincere? Are we ready to endorse the edicts and manifestos of hot-headed mobs, because they were made in earnest? Such questions have been perplexing and harassing to many minds; and a few words in elucidation of them may be worth while on their own account, as showing how duties in general are discovered, determined and rightly authenticated, and as being important to our subject. For the abhorrence of slavery which is inborn with us, is often set aside by its abettors as an ignorant and fanatical prejudice. Let us first determine, then, how far and within what limits the clearly and audibly announced sense of the human race is ultimate authority in regard to duties. Next, we will test slavery by this standard, and, in doing it, we will endeavor to extract from its varied combinations and modifications, and to set forth nakedly to our inspection *the precise element which constitutes slavery in distinction from dutiful and hearty subordination*, and always excites our abhorrence of it.

Assuredly it is not, absolutely and in every aspect, true, that a doctrine is trustworthy in proportion to its prevalence in the world. This is not our meaning. The grand and unconquerable obstacle to the diffusion and dominion of truth, has ever been, that men would assail it sincerely and

honestly. If men singly can be led astray, error becomes contagious to men in masses. If those who are sufficiently enlightened and energetic to be leaders, often make honest warfare against the truth, much more will the short and dim-sighted rush blindfold into the tangles and snares, the mazes and pitfalls elaborately devised against them by the powers of darkness. They become, as it were, neutral factors in the production of error for each other. The blind lead the blind, and those of deeper penetration, who employ their superior energy and compass of vision only to see further in the wrong direction, league their bad eminence with the natural proneness of their subordinates to error. The father of lies not only injects his poisonous fangs into his unwary victims, but coils them together with unyielding gripe and desperate combination under his gigantic folds, thus gaining an increase of power which is as that of a chain considered as a whole, beyond that of its mere links regarded separately.

But if it be the part of error to gain with geometrical rapidity, truth is also living and self-productive. Like "light its material symbol," it not only expels but annihilates darkness. The very effort to eradicate error or work conviction, presupposes an assurance, that the deluded are yet competent in some way rightly to discriminate and judge. Were it otherwise, were there not a somewhat to be appealed to, all steps towards human amelioration, would be like the tantalizing struggles of a brute on a tread-mill. No honest and generous spirit has ever felt itself possessed of a truth, without acting on the presumption, that when adequately understood, it would be gladly received by all ingenuous and unperverted minds, or not so properly *received*, as uncovered within themselves, and laid bare to the light, as that of which they can no more be bereft than of their very selves. (Hide it, flee from its presence and authority, the wicked may; destroy it, or fail to recognize it as their rightful ruler, they cannot; if honest, they would not.) Nay, all teachers and philanthropists have a well grounded and inspiring faith, that their labors will not be in vain with the wily and malicious; that, if truth can be fully and clearly arrayed before them, they will be either enchanted by the heavenly vision, or dismayed by its terrible brightness!

We must then conclude, that all men can, and in the spontaneous, unwarped exercise of their intellective faculties, do,

know the truth. Duty is otherwise inconceivable and impossible, and Pilate might well put the taunting question, What is truth? Obligation can receive no definition, which does not comprise within itself an act of knowledge. Honestly to contend against truth! The very words are a solecism. They do violence to our most assured and home-bred intuitive convictions. Yet the question recurs, Are not men honestly in error? Yes. But will not moral integrity guide men into the truth, or rather is it not itself truth in its highest form, realized in act and being? We must still answer, Yes.

The seeming paradox and contradiction attending a naked statement of these principles will vanish, if we transfer our analogy between spiritual and material sight to the organs for receiving and transmitting the same. All men have the power of vision.* They have an intuition and an indubitable intuition of outward objects—such that no two disagree as to the visual qualities of any object laid before them. But then some are near-sighted through defect in the construction or arrangement of the various lenses, that set the object or the rays flowing from it, in a fit attitude for the *seeing* eye. They need spectacles of various adaptations for the rectification of these inequalities. Even where these are not requisite, the practised eye far outruns the untutored vision in discerning fitness of proportion, delicacy of shade, and harmony in the whole. Not only so, but the situation of the object must be rightly adjusted to the eye. Who would admire the Venus De Medici, or the Apollo Belvidere, when too far distant to be clearly seen? Or what soul would recognize in them the bodying forth of an ideal beauty, in visible expression, if displayed in the uncouth and hideous disguises given to them in a concave mirror? Who would be called blind or untasteful for being unable to discern their glories in twilight?

In like manner, the mind's eye sees clearly and decides surely on whatever is laid before it, though it oftentimes needs the spectacles of information and experience to place the object in a right attitude before it. Who would be pronounced stupid for not knowing whether a monarchy is of benign or ruinous tendency, without knowing what a monarchy is? Or knowing this generally, yet being ignorant of its

* Coleridge's Friend, Am. Ed. page 135.

ramified channels of influence, how could such an one properly judge of its merits or demerits? Yet when familiar with all its diversities of operation, who could hesitate to pronounce upon its worthiness and title to support? Could it be doubted that whatever government excites all our nobler impulses and activities, holds sacred the relations of justice, and supplies the largest measure of liberty and inducements to all, to elevate and ennoble themselves, without license to interrupt others in the same pursuits, ought to be upheld and advanced? On the other hand, would not that government and those rulers, that left our fortunes and persons at the merciless caprice of unfeeling wretches, that repressed all worthy and manly aspirations and aims, and treated its subjects as mere ministers of its own avarice, sensuality, and rage, deserve unqualified execration and total subversion? Can, or does any undegraded man doubt here? But to determine what governments and constitutions have this influence, is a problem of less easy solution. This demands statesmanship, experience, practical wisdom. Here most men are near-sighted. They need the telescope of education and experience.

How then shall we define the true sphere, within which all men's judgments are alike infallible, and no one can be guide to another, from that in which all are fallible in degrees varying with their intellectual endowments, discipline, culture, and experience? From that which affords scope for, and gives significance to, the epithets wise or unwise, prudent or rash, narrow or comprehensive? Plainly the conscience, with its associated objects and organs, must be assigned to the former. This is our inward and spiritual vision. The true perception of right and wrong, and of the objects qualified by them, without which these words are mere pulsations of air, is the primary constituent, the fundamental condition of all accountability. In proportion as it is dimmed or blunted by the wickedness of men, are they plunged into misery and ruin. "Where no vision is, the people perish." Yet where this vision is quickest and strongest, there yet remain objects to be seen, and powers of putting them in a fit position for the seeing agent. These constitute what is ordinarily meant by the intellect of man, considered as an inquiring, discovering, deducing faculty. The conscience is imperative and immediate in its decisions, when the actual relation of things is seen. By its own

light, it intuitively affirms certain things to be right or wrong. Yes, the intellect of one man may see certain actions to involve the thing against which conscience has issued its veto, while another may see otherwise. Thus no conscience doubts, that the intention to convey an import counter to known truth, to another, is wrong and indefeasible. Yet, how often has the subtlety of casuists been tasked on the question, Is a lie ever justifiable? The perplexity lies in the want of intellectual discrimination between what does, and what does not, constitute a lie: some seeing in a contradiction as to words, a necessary lie as to the things; others believing, that, if the impression of irony were intentionally conveyed from speaker to hearer, any other language than the contrary of truth would have amounted to intended and sinful falsehood. It does not consist in any doubt as to the intrinsic wickedness of a lie. An illustration here occurs to us, which was furnished by an infidel sophist in elucidation of our meaning, while we were combatting his argument for the fallibility of conscience, whence he was about to step, by an easy transition, to its non-existence. Said he, "You mean to say, that if a servant brings me a note, purporting to be an injunction of some service upon me by my father, my conscience indubitably determines, that, if it be genuine, I ought to obey it. But it may be forged, and whether it be so or not, I am to determine by all the light at my command, but I may after all decide hesitatingly. The uncertainty here, very clearly, is not chargeable on my conscience, but my intellect." A truer and clearer exemplification of the thing could not be imagined. While then the conscience is immediate and imperative in its commands, and infallible in its judgments, the understanding may waver and misjudge of the circumstances, which contain the thing on which judgment has been passed.

Now to weigh slavery in this balance, What are the spontaneous, unbiassed sentiments of men in regard to it?

The possession of control over another does not in itself awake our abhorrence or reprobation. Were it so, all superintendence among men, individual and public, would be done away. To buy a slave for the purpose of liberating him, or of exercising a control required by his truest well-being, is not slave-dealing. To treat slaves affectionately, and lead them to the discharge of all their duties to God and man, is not to act on the principle, or incur the guilt of slavery.

And all have felt, that such analogies were incommensurate with the subject, and a frail prop for the maintenance of slavery.

THE ESSENCE OF SLAVERY, IS A DISREGARD OF THE SACRED AND ETERNAL DISTINCTION BETWEEN PERSON AND THING. All men know, and feel, and act upon this distinction, though few are able, or ever attempt to define and state it to themselves. They know it to be their duty to regard it, and they instantly judge it a heinous crime, in king or master, to neglect it, either in reference to subject or servant. We acknowledge our obligations to the greatest thinker of the age, for the substance of what follows in the way of defining the difference of person from thing, in which there is nothing striking, except that it is so simple and just, that we wonder we never had come to it before. The distinction is briefly this; *A thing may be made a means to an end entirely and of itself. A person cannot be made a means to an end of which itself is not a part.* My beast I employ simply as a minister to my own pleasure or interest, all the attentions and expense which I bestow upon it, being intended to fit it more perfectly for this end. But I employ a drudge with a barrow, instead of a horse with a cart, and pay him a consideration beyond the mere meat and drink, requisite to give him the bodily strength demanded by his task. Persons alone are subjects of morality; and as morality through its organ the conscience, constitutes the ends of our conduct, and subordinates all things else, as parts or means to itself, so persons, in whom alone morality becomes realized and actual, and who alone have the idea of right, or of having a right, alone can constitute themselves ends, and alone have the right or power of appropriating, or acquiring ownership in any substance; which phrase means the power and right of subordinating it to their own interests and ends. Now the main ingredient of despotism in government, and of slavery in individuals, is, that persons are degraded to the rank of mere things, catering for the gratification and interests of others. It is not the circumstance of possessing or exercising rule over them—this may be a duty—but of treating them as impersonal agents, whom we are bound to regard no more scrupulously, than we should a horse or a waterfall. We ask, whether this be not the element, that constitutes subordination slavery, and starts that

detestation which all generous souls feel, and ought to feel, against the oppressor.

Now we wish to be explicitly understood, as saying, that, not against the restriction of liberty, or the exaction of labor from any class of men, does sentence of condemnation come from the universal and intuitive convictions of the human race, but against the stifling and extinction of personality, and with it of humanity. The much bandied epithet, "man-stealing," does not necessarily belong to the bare assumption and exercise of guardianship and direction of another's labor; but it does justly characterize this trampling down, this extracting, this pilfering of manhood, which levels men to the rank of brutes and market-ware. What monster hesitates to condemn, without extenuation, such servitude and its authors, whether in the form of beginning, or of settled continuance, of forcing into, or retaining in bondage, of first inhumanly robbing of whatever is sacred and endearing, or of perpetuating the theft? Who does not know, that slavery, when it denotes a state not implied by other terms, indicates an ownership in what is not transferable, a degradation to a marketable commodity, of what cannot have an exchangeable value, of beings personal, spiritual, responsible, to things profitable, convenient, irresponsible. All feel it to be an estimating by the weights, measures, and coin of commerce in impersonal things, of the worth of that, which dare not acknowledge any valuation or measurement of itself, or acknowledge any equivalent not in its own coin. For moral worth with its correspondent obligations, and worldly commodities, are mutually incommensurable. The former is to the latter as time to space; no conceivable amount of the former can equal an infinitesimal extent of the latter. The reason is, that the difference respects kind, not degree. No price can pay for the forfeiture or surrendry of the soul, its duties and rights, they are not marketable; no! though the whole world should be given in exchange for them!

It is unnecessary to go further in showing that *mankind* (not all calling themselves men) believe, or that their belief is well founded, that slavery, as distinguished from subordination and dutiful subjection, is wrong, morally and religiously, and, therefore to all intents, wrong. In the light of the principle which carried us to this conclusion, we may discover the true and false in many disputes, now pushed with ardor, either directly upon slavery, or in close neighborhood to it.

The question is often put, "cannot one voluntarily consent to, and thus authorize, his own bondage?" That he can sell his own services, and put them at the option of another, and that he most often ought so to do, is undoubted. But that he can alienate the right or the duty of being a party to the bargain, (the condition of slavery,) and of seeing that it subserve no sinister end, is equally untrue. In so far as his birthright of liberty gives to him in trust, certain duties to be maintained and discharged, he cannot release himself from the obligation, or alienate from himself the right to oversee and fulfil them. What father can disengage himself from his duties to his offspring? Would consent or willingness on the part of father or child, justify or even legalize the fiendish project? Does the promise to lie or cheat, authorize such iniquity, or render it obligatory? Would a compact of an idiot or child, for perpetual enslavement, be righteous or binding? Can consent in any case legalize iniquity, or does the absence of it make void or lessen any obligation? Can our duty to be slaves, or to burst our fetters, be affected by consent or *will*? Intrinsically, it plainly cannot. Undoubted and even self-evident as it is, that our duties and correspondent rights exist, incapable of being shifted by individual will or consent, perhaps no error more widely or injuriously prevails in this country, than the opposite doctrine. In strict consistency with their principles, therefore, this people and especially the slave-holding portion of it, whose disorganizing doctrines rest on this error for their foundation, cannot evade the conclusions of certain reasoners upon slavery, who demand the immediate and absolute rupture of all ties and relations, not originating in the consent of the parties. This doctrine needs to be examined and tested.

That the father ought to subdue the will, and check the waywardness of any son, who is not a moral wonder, cannot be questioned. But that the child has a right to his protection and affectionate and faithful guardianship, is likewise true. If the master ought to govern his apprentice, he ought also to indoctrinate him into the mysteries, and familiarize him with the handiwork of his craft. If the husband have property in his wife, how is it vice versâ? In all these cases, the *person* subjected does not thereby become a *thing*, and the obligations exist independently of consent or refusal; a circumstance worth the remembrance of some who have instanced these examples in analogy to, or elucidated

tion of, slavery. So the duty of loyalty has no relation whatever to the voluntary acquiescence of the subject in the form of government. A republican in England or France, owes allegiance to the king, and this, whether he recognizes the sound and rightful derivation of his authority or not. What sane man would maintain, that the withholding of consent, on the part of any citizen, would annul the jurisdiction of the government over him? Is it said that the settling within her domain is an implied acquiescence in her authority? But suppose him expressly to avow disaffection, and refuse consent, would his obligation to obedience cease, and would the restraint laid by government on his lawlessness become usurpation? Speculate, declaim, and hold Bacchanalian revels as we will, about the people being the fountain of all power, government originating in a compact stipulating conformity to its mandates; we challenge, as a matter of fact, any one to conceive of the possibility of isolating a man from duties and obligations, arising from relations having no foundation in consent, without isolating him from all neighborhood to his fellow-men. No man can seat himself in the midst of his fellow-men, without needing, and being entitled to, the protection of government against the lawless aggressions of his neighbors. The obligations of the government and its subjects are reciprocal, and immutably above the transient gusts and eddying of inclination in either.

In what, then, is government, and the duty of obeying it, founded? Its primeval origin has been assumed to be a compact, in order to give color and consistency to the idea of basing it on consent. But, besides that history is an unvaried contradiction of this assumption, what obligation can a contract impose, which had no prior existence? My agreement to pay a sum due from me, does not enhance the obligation to do so; it only transfers it from the scale of obligations, technically styled imperfect, i. e. incapable of being enforced, to that of perfect, i. e. enforceable obligations. The reality of the obligation is in both cases identical. But if on the strength of malicious misrepresentations, I promise to pay the sum, I am not morally and actually, though I may be legally, bound to do it. The laws construe the promise into a presumption of a true obligation, because it is the common character, under which, alone, obligations can be cognizable or enforceable before her tribunals, unless

they degenerate into instruments of capricious tyranny. The imperfect, and only real obligation is, that the person empowered by a legal fiction to extort the money, should waive the exercise of his power. Again, if I agree to pay a sum which I know I ought not to pay, the promise does not exculpate the wrong, but constitutes it, for in the eye of the law, the transfer is to all just intents, made. Can it seriously be claimed, that I ought to lie, cheat, steal, or in any way violate my duty, because I promise to do so? If not, neither ought I to uphold and aid in perpetuating a government, which scoffs at the wants, and is indifferent concerning the weal of its subjects, and the social compact is a figment of speculators, at war with fact, and the fitness of things. The query has been very appositely put, *what obliged them to form the compact?*

In other words, on what is the obligation to loyalty founded? The point of the inquiry is, to ascertain the source of the rights of government, and its subjects, that, in the light of this standard, we truly measure our duties. The true foundation of government is the social instinct, interpreted and regulated by reason and conscience. It is a part of our humanity, to live in mutual dependence on each other, for the supply of our comforts and necessities. It is an instinct, which of itself, aside from its subservience to other ends, ministers largely to our happiness, while its exercise and gratification are indispensable to the realization of that condition, for which man is fitted. It is necessary to the perfection of manhood, and, with few exceptions, such, however as presuppose the rule, to the propagation and continuance of our race. The disposition to unite in families, neighborhoods and communities, by peculiar ties, does not spring primarily from a consideration of their expediency. The prior impulse and disposition render it expedient. These are a part of the spontaneous activity of our being, antecedent to reflection, though afterwards, doubtless, sanctioned and regulated by it. Its naturalness is sufficient proof of its necessity. Like the instinct to acquire knowledge, or enlarge our power, or to strive for our own existence and preservation, it impels us to select and adapt the fit means for accomplishing the end; and while conscience commands us to pursue it, it also, aided by the eye of the judgment, discerns what means we ought to adopt, and how far any given order of means are "sanctified by the end."

Now the social instinct, like all the beneficent springs of action in man, finds obstacles to its own realization, which it impels us to counteract, while it leads to the creation of those positive institutions, which tend to cherish it, and to perfect its benignant influences. The selfish rapacity of man constitutes a barrier to the action of the social principle, which nothing but the strong arm of the law can vanquish. In the imaginary unsocial state of our jacobin theorists, (for whose actual existence they must date back to chaos,) mutual violence and rapine, must force men into a hostile seclusion and desolate estrangement from each other. On the other hand, concentrated action, which presupposes a head, and contains the germ of government, is necessary for the accomplishment of ends, which individuals, in their separate and broken efforts, could never push to their fulfilment. All great public enterprises for facilitating public intercourse, opening the hidden and dormant resources of a people, all ample endowments and institutions for the intellectual, moral and religious culture of man, would be unheard of, in the absence of government. In the development of man's being, therefore, the entrance into the political state is as natural and necessary, as the providing of food, or the formation of language. And it is the free and unbidden dictate of conscience, to merge all individual will in the predominance of LAW, as the organ of right and justice, as the utterance of a voice, which "fit audience finds" in "natures pre-figured to its influence." "Of law there can be no less acknowledged, than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world. All things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, the greatest as not exempted from her power; both angels and men, and creatures of what sort and condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet, all with uniform consent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy."

The authority of all government is bottomed on this duty of subordination to a law, beyond and above the capricious impulses of personal will; a duty of submission to the higher powers, first in the parental, always in the political form, a conviction of which, every human being carries with him, and dare not question. These powers are ordained of God. The duty of obedience to the authorities, under which God's providence has placed us, is not to be put aside or gainsaid, by questionings about its rightful origin, derivation or descent.

The true question is, are they the organs, depositories, administrators of the LAW, or of despotism and personal caprice? If the former, they are ordained of God. If the latter, they are the powers of darkness, and are to be combatted as such, that place may be given to the ministers of law. Thus Paul rebukes the seditious clamorers against the Roman government, who urged, that sway had been gained by usurpation. The real question at issue between our forefathers and king George, was not, whence did he derive his right to rule over them, but whether he should longer be suffered to tyrannize over them with *misrule*, to outrage law, and stifle justice. Hence the old watchword of loyalty, "the king can do no wrong," was not without a hearty and high-souled sense of its propriety on the lips of the English patriots, before it became poisoned in the mouth of jacobinical detraction. For the king was the impersonated and embodied law of the realm, which, so far from doing wrong, leaves no room for wrong, except in its own violation. As such, was the *king*, not the man, revered, but when he merged the king in the tyrant, and from being the guardian and organ of the law, came to defy all law, he lost the wonted veneration and support of his subjects. With perfect consistency an Englishman might in the same breath, exclaim, down with Charles, God save the king, the king can do no wrong, Charles is a tyrant.

Hence it follows, that the form of government has little to do with unalienable rights; the question being not what form of government is consistent with our original rights, but, what constitution is best calculated to secure and beneficially regulate their exercise, and promote the great ends of civil society? While the ends of civil society, and the obligation to become incorporated with it, originate in the conscience, prior to calculation, nevertheless *expediency, or wise adaptation of means*, is necessary for the effectual realization of this end. Conscience is the pole-star, and expediency the compass for navigating the ship of state. The gradation from the paternal to the patriarchal, and thence to the monarchical, along with the progress of our race, was natural and easy. But as society became more extended and complex, "the balance of powers" became necessary. It is the highest problem of practical statesmanship, to determine this balance, and adjust its fluctuations. In modern civilized states, it has vacillated from the tyranny of the autocrat, to the tyranny

of the mob ; from the despotism of one, to the despotism of the many. But the wisest governments have found it expedient, to give all great and substantial interests a permanent participation of, at least, negative power, such, that the *consent* of each portion is requisite to its exercise. Under our own government, the consent of a numerical majority of male subjects beyond the age of twenty-one years, is necessary to the passage of any law. But would the same law be less binding, if enacted by a smaller number, constituting the government ?

We see then, why consent, being constituted the channel or medium of exercising political power, has in many minds been covertly associated with the idea of its origin. Moreover, consent implies personality, the true ground and guage of all just authority. It indicates that the welfare of the persons consenting must share *as an end* in the regards of government ; and that they themselves can so far constitute an end, and a final end, as to be the reason, and the final reason, why a measure should, or should not be adopted. The duty of all states is, so to construct themselves, and shape their laws, that the true interests of their subjects shall be protected and promoted, and that no human being shall be dwarfed into a mere dead instrument of their own ends. This is, clearly, the sum total of their duty. The case of criminal punishment is no exception. For the malefactor has disclaimed his moral and personal nature, in trampling down all those restraints in the recognition of which, it consists. So far as we have to do with him, his personal being and rights are past and extinct, and he is to be treated as a dead nuisance. Nor does the case of compelling soldiers to risk their life, for the maintenance of government, cross our view of the subject. For government must always presume its own interest and welfare, to comprise the true interest and welfare of its subjects ; as the central life of the body, is indispensable to the vitality of the particular members. Any other conception of the thing is manifestly absurd and chimerical. Our modern enlighteners might here well take some lessons of ancient wisdom. A Roman orator once won back a seditious mob to their allegiance, by telling them, that their rebellion against the impositions of government, was like a conspiracy of the inferior members of the body against the stomach ; an attempt to dry up the fountain of life to themselves.

Now government institutes, and our natural instincts prompt us to conform to, those relations, which tend to promote and secure the personal interests of its individual subjects in the highest degree. Our government has, at times, deemed itself best supported, and its ends best fulfilled, by confining all agency in the choice of its officers, to persons whose amount of property afforded presumption of an earnest interest in its enactments, and of those citizen-like habits and pursuits, which always attend its acquisition and possession, while its absence, in this country, implied a want of ordinary sagacity and steadiness of character. Even now, some fixed property or military service is required duly to qualify a voter. The English constitution recognizing wealth and hereditary honors as tokens of enlargement of mind, general nobility of character, and superior competency to govern, has appointed its aristocracy, to some extent, the guardians of their poor and ignorant dependents. But in every imposition of restraint, the legislature degenerates into an assembly of despots, if its distinct aim be not to guard their true interests and procure for them the most beneficial freedom.

This system of superintendence and guardianship, whether recognized and apparent or not in the political constitution of society, will inevitably belong to its essence and become its breath and life. For all vivacity, nay, vitality implies progress, transition, change; and without the difference of gradations, and other forms of variety which all society actually embodies, the order of nature would be reversed, and the feeling of adaptation and the mutual fitness of those opposites would die away, which, when their very differences are interfused and organized into one by an all-pervading, living unity, make, *and make possible*, the harmony of things. The spirit and soul of society would languish in the absence of those antagonist relations, which stir and sustain their activity. Draw out this vital sap from within, and the genial blossomings, and luxuriant foliage, and golden fruitage—"the unbought grace of social life," would be withered under an all-blighting monotony.

"Thrum,
On one dull chord, with one dull, heavy thumb,
Now thrill the fibres of thy soul."

"There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars; for one star differeth

from another in glory." So spake God's inspired herald, and though he stated the fact in illustration of another theme, he nevertheless stated a fact. But the ethereal arch which canopies us over, and which being the limit between the visible finite, and the invisible infinite, is at once a symbol of time and eternity, does but ray forth, in the very substance and forms of light, that glad subordination and spontaneous harmony, with which all orders of being freely revolve in their appointed spheres, each lesser drawing strength and glory from the greater to which it is concentric, and "all swelling and pressing under one common attraction." And are the last and highest, the spiritual among God's creatures, to be bereft of this beauty and glory? They neither will, nor can be. In every community there will be, if not a legal, yet an actual head, a nucleus gathering and fastening to itself all the elements of worth in its vicinity. Such persons will be centres and impulses, unconsciously giving direction to all, carrying them on in equable conjunction, in heedless, yet harmonious revolution with themselves. Nor can such relations, while they actually exist, fail to be recognized, and *consciously* felt, without seriously stupefying the moral sense of the people. Mutual dependence, honor to whom honor is due, reverence to superiors, courtesy and generosity to inferiors, these are at the same time instincts and duties, "the crutch that at once sustains and proves the infirmity of man." They cannot be utterly obliterated from practice, nor safely disregarded in theory, while he remains man. The inculcation of opposite views, is poisoning the country with the envy and hate of the poor on the one side, and the pettier insolence of the rich on the other. Hence the systematic detraction of whatever is lovely and of good report, the waspish blasphemy, the rampant infidelity, which are infecting some portions of the country. Instead of impregnating the heart of the people with affectionate admiration and reverence of public wisdom, integrity, and disinterestedness, there are panders to the dirty passions, infuriating the crowd with a mad and ignorant contempt of such endowments, and of the men possessing them. To eradicate such feelings, should be a primary aim of all governments; and he is but a sorry statesman, who hopes to promote order among the people, or stability in the government, by engendering mutual jealousy and alienation, goaded on by a tumultuous pride and self-importance among its subjects.

We must here observe, however, a difference in the gradations proper to responsible, and those proper to irresponsible or impersonal beings. It is this. Personal beings have the power of varying their inward and actual worth and dignity of character, which change is usually accompanied by indubitable outward proofs. Their outward opportunities and privileges ought, therefore, to be correspondently enlarged. All governments professing to be free, make account of this, by opening the way to emoluments and honors, to such as have fulfilled certain conditions. These conditions may not always mete out equal and exact justice, but become requisite in order to bring the change within the sphere of perfect obligations, and to render it cognizable by law. But they open up to man the region of hope, the necessary inspiritor and guide of all lofty aims, and of all man-worthy advancement. Nor ought any structure of government to be suffered to maintain existence, which does not strive to hold forth rational prospects of amelioration to its subjects, or utterly cuts off from hope, any class of men who have not forfeited their personality by crime.

Let it be remembered, then, that the claims of the slaves to our sympathy and alliance, their right to a redemption from outrage and debasement, have no such capricious and doubtful foundation, as the contingency of their having withholden all consent from the tenure by which they are now held. The chronological facts connected with their transition into their present state, of themselves, neither create nor annul any duty. The slaves are what they are. If by our agency they became so, we ought to repent of our wickedness. But by whomsoever, or whatsoever, they were plunged into their present brutish defilement, our obligation is the same, to do our utmost for their emancipation from it. To sever and divide political abstractions, to do valorous battle with a rival, about rights unalienable and rights delegated, may be accumulating fame to ourselves, but it is of no service to the slave. If the preceding views have any foundation, they must disperse much of the metaphysical fog in the shape of logical quibbles, with which this subject has been obscured, and establish the following propositions.

1. All men being persons, as such have a right* to be

* The right here spoken of must, of course, be understood to be imperfect; though in proportion to the perfection of human polities, it becomes absolutely perfect.

treated, and, without great wrong, cannot be regarded or disposed of otherwise. No man can be appropriated, as a mere means of advancing another's interest, unless his own be included. 2. No human being can have property in another, in the import given to that phrase in worldly commerce. 3. No man can claim exemption from his duties, on the ground of having withheld his consent, since they are in no manner constituted by it. 4. The relation of master and slave, where the slave is debased to a level with brutes and market-ware, cannot be justified, and ought not to be tolerated, even with the consent of the latter, although it may be true, and, doubtless, is extensively true, that the master can promote the true well being of the slave, by retaining his control over him, and, therefore, ought so to do. 5. The sale of the slave, for the purpose of bettering his condition, is not a sin : it may be a duty, under the odious incumbrances of some of our southern laws. 6. Masters are bound to give their slaves facilities and inducements to moral and religious instruction ; to keep inviolate the marriage tie ; not to invade the sacredness of family and domestic relations, the household privacy, that centre of all the circles of affection in which our humanities are cultured, and by which our frailty is upheld, purified, and ennobled. They ought to afford to their several married slaves separate lodgments, with all the implements and excitements of family neatness and thrift. 7. They are bound not to inflict stripes or other corporeal pains, except for crimes ; but to awaken and encourage industry and enterprise, by meting out just and sufficient rewards to their labor, and by making them assured of receiving a compensation proportionate to their deserts. The proper punishment of mere negligence or inactivity, is a proportionate curtailment of privileges and means of subsistence. 8. They ought to affix to the fulfilment of certain wise and specified conditions, made as a sufficient surety of their fitness for the boon, freedom in form as well as in fact : just as the age of twenty-one is taken as a proof of fitness for release from parental authority. 9. Those in human legislatures, which forbid the amelioration of the slave, and compel the master to imbrute him, are but the collective despotisms of slave-holders, and should not be suffered to continue the practice of their dire abominations. If they do not repent of, and undo them, in this day and land of light and liberty, they ought to expect speedy and terrible judgments from God !

The inference as to the duties of this people towards the slaves, is clear. We have not power to unbind the chains of the oppressed by immediate interference, but we are deeply responsible for the part we can, and ought to bear, in snapping them asunder. We are of one blood with the holders of slaves, bound to them by ties, national, social, fraternal. The tone and temper manifested by us, in regard to this great national sin, will be looked upon by our southern brethren, as likely to err rather on the side of austerity and sternness, than on the side of laxity.* Let us then dismiss all temporizing and shifting expedients, and manfully face the real enemy. Let the people be taught to have faith in the truth, and arm themselves with its spirit and its all-sufficing energy. Infidelity to truth, or the spirit of truth, puts us afloat in the trackless and unfathomed abyss of aimless policy and unsatisfying calculation. Let us not in any wise disguise or extenuate the inhumanity, the reckless debasement and pollution of body and soul, the unholy barter of what is above price, which, though not necessarily belonging to all possible relations of master and servant, give color and substance to the crime of slavery. Let those fiendish combinations which are conspiring to strengthen, perpetuate and systematize this iniquity, by cramping individual benevolence under the strong arm of legislative tyranny, be exposed to the scorn and detestation of the human race. Let the traffickers in human blood, and the abettors of the traffic, be manacled in the noisome cavities wherein they thrust their fellows, and pent up from all communion with men; for their very touch and breath are pollution. Let those howling wolves, that break into the sacred fold of family ties, those fiery scorpions, that extort toil with the sting of the lash, be visited with that infamy and generous execration, to which their bestial cruelty and hardihood entitle them. Let not such wickedness be apologized for, or connived at, but let us on all proper and expedient occasions, vent our indignation against it, and let us not hesitate to contend for its immediate, absolute overthrow.

* The revilings and contemptuous denunciation of northern character, of which southern papers and politicians are so prolific, do not express the genuine feelings of the people. In conversation with an intelligent South Carolinian, who was ultra in his adherence to southern feelings and principles, and to slavery among the rest, we were struck with a remark of this purport, "We know that you New Englanders always have reasons for what you do, and, sometimes, provokingly good ones too!"

Such an emancipation, however, does not imply, that the slaves ought to be loosed from all supervision and restraint. It would be inhuman to expose them to the luckless and fluctuating chances, which their thriftlessness and incompetency to manage, arising from their long degradation, must induce. It would be like casting off children to look for themselves. Their masters ought to prepare them for freedom, before they bestow it, or to make suitable provision for such preparation. It is the duty of each individual master, and of the slave-state legislatures, to open the door of **HOPE**, the prospect of privileges, emolument and honor, proportioned to thrift and true worth. The absence of such stimulants is enough to debase and wither the character of any people, bond or free, for without them human nature droops in despair and inactivity, and its generous impulses stagnate. Masters ought not, therefore, to be told, that their authority is only commensurate with the consent of the slave. The principle is false, and in the way of their plainest duties.

Much less ought the slaves to be told so. Vexed, galled and ground down to the dust, as they are, a small potion from the cup of radicalism may be enough, to infuriate and instigate them to whelm us all in one vast and terrible convulsion, and to make shipwreck of our and their true welfare, on a sea of blood. Their natural instincts of obedience to kind and well-wishing masters, should be cherished and strengthened. They should be taught to regard their true interests, as inseparably bound up in their hearty co-operation with such masters, and all those mutual affections should be cultivated, without which their state is one of distress and misery. All the rewards of honorable exertion, the avenues to respectability, as far as possible, with all the incitements of perseverance and industry, should be open to them. Nor should they be taught to regard the guardianship and supervision of their masters as incompatible with this. They ought not to feel that subordination is one with degradation, but should be content to occupy the place to which their endowments and necessities destine them, and they should consider their truest dignity and elevation of character, as consisting in the due fulfilment of their appointed sphere of duty. No legislative obstacles should stifle or imprison their aspirations and efforts, to reach the conscious pride and dignity of freemen. On the presentation of sufficient proofs of competency, they should be allowed to run their race for

political or other distinctions. It may be, however, that their debasement is such, that stronger proofs of this fitness become necessary, on their part, than on the part of the whites; while, in the latter case, obstacles to the acquisition of political power are too few and yielding. And it may be, that color is the token by which the class of persons required to furnish such proofs, is recognized and determined; as a certain amount of property is often made the criterion of fitness among our white population.

Nor does their color, therefore, ostracize them from the rights of men. It merely indicates, how far it is well for them to discharge certain offices, in order to enjoy their rights most fully and beneficially. It may be, that their long enslavement, comparative inferiority to the whites, combined with the deeply rooted prejudices which are abroad *in fact*, (whether justly or not, we do not inquire,) will preclude them from fair and equable competition. It is matter of rejoicing, that a noble and comprehensive charity is extensively patronized in our land, which aims to conquer this obstacle. It opens an asylum to the aspiring spirits among the blacks, on their native soil, where they are no longer aliens and bondmen to interest or prejudice, are independent and untrammelled, have equals for rivals, and labor without disadvantage or restriction. That the very aim, therefore, of the Colonization Society presupposes that slavery ought to cease, no reasonable man can doubt. That its movements are all in the line of its extermination, just as would be the guarding of the marriage tie, or the performance of any other duty towards the slaves, there is as little room to doubt. But that this is all our duty towards them, that this indirect and partial enterprise, this circuitous skirmishing in the neighborhood of slavery, supersedes the necessity and duty of an open, direct and fearless reprobation of the sin—of striking a blow directly at its vitals, we do not believe. Let those consider the matter, who are satisfied that they have nothing more to do, than to make some slight contributions to its resources.

And let those too bethink themselves, who are even poisoning the blacks, and all capable of being touched by their phrenzy with hate, bitterness and fury against the founders and patrons of this noble charity. Let them cease those coarse and spiteful vituperations, which are hopelessly alienating the true friends of the blacks from all sympathy and co-opera-

tion with themselves, and from all further consideration of their duties in reference to the subjects. Let them beware, how they prejudice the blacks, who are ambitious, unsatisfied and restless here, against that retreat from oppression to the independence and dignity of manhood, which has been provided for them. Let them beware, how they infuse turbulence, envy and petulance, into those, whom they delude to continue here, or who are otherwise compelled to remain. "Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their masters worthy of all honor." And let them remember the divine command, to withdraw from such as teach otherwise. As the foot cannot say it is not of the body, because it is not the hand, so neither can the servant say, he is not a man, nor occupying his place as a man, because he is not master. And as the eye cannot say to the ear, "what need have I of thee?" so neither can servant say to master, or master to servant, "what need have I of thee?"

And lastly let those bethink themselves who persist in these abominations. If they fail to repent and undo their iniquities, let them learn from the past, the fate that awaits them. History is but a ceaseless unfolding of the weal or wo consequent on principles maintained, or principles violated. The revulsion of the un pitying, indiscriminate caprice of Charles I. on his own head, shows how far it is safe for one human being to treat superciliously or irreverently in others, that which puts them above the rank of beings merely sentient, and confers rights even as it imposes duties which no man can destroy, or rightfully fail to recognize. So certainly operative is this tendency, that the imprisonment of a few innocent seamen, which occasioned pecuniary loss too small to be considered, and whose condition placed them below any other sympathy than the consciousness of a causeless and intolerable wrong perpetrated against that higher being which we feel working within us in common with all, aroused and embattled a whole people in their defence. Whence came Clarkson's and Wilberforce's triumph, when, after being thwarted again and again, they bounded back at each repulse with augmented vigor, and at length bore down all the obstructions of self-interested wickedness, which witnessed its own discomfiture in the irrepressible rejoicings of a whole people? They maintained the truth, against those who had outraged the truth. How comes it, that a despised band of pugnacious and awry

speculators, in spite of the hateful bitterness and personality which season their appeals, are yet starting increased sympathy and enlarging alliances, amid the very salt of the earth, which though grieved and repulsed by the acrid and virulent tone of their writings, is not content to remain indifferent or inactive, in forwarding their ultimate aim? There is no mistaking this voice, nor its origin. It is saying to oppressors, in tones too mighty to be longer smothered, "quit your inhumanity and stay your oppressions." The primary instincts of man, the spirit of civilization, the diffusion of knowledge, the growth and spread of civil liberty, all erect themselves in dire array before you, and warn you, not to lay yourselves bare to the gathering thunder-burst of indignation from all human kind! If you obstinately resist the light, and grind down God's image into commixture with the dust, think not to evade the fit retributions of eternity or time. The day is speeding on, when it will be vain mockery to plead, that God winks at the times of ignorance. His people will feel and know the hollowness of the plea; and their hearts yearn with a sympathy as strong as their love of God, towards the oppressed.

But if no human heart should beat in pity for the victims of violated humanity, there is a Being, the pulsations of whose heart vibrate through the universe, and who holds all things in the hollow of his hand. He has said, **VENGEANCE IS MINE**, and that vengeance is denounced in no stinted measure against the oppressor. The crisis is at hand and if you do not avert it by a speedy repentance, by doing justice and loving mercy, it must come, when this mass of humanity, this latent body of etherial fire which now lies crushed and smothered under the burthens grievous to be borne, imposed upon it by your cruelty, will swell and burst its fetters, and overwhelm you in the shock. The intimations of God's ordinary providence, show that the lash and the stocks will not long avail to keep out light and knowledge. Nor does He fail to visit enormous and high-handed wickedness with special judgments. In vain do you appeal to the laws of his theocracy, in justification of barring out the victims of your cruelty from all knowledge of themselves and God, from all **HOPE** here, or hereafter. The periodical proclamation of ransom to the Hebrew slaves, their protection from wanton and capricious cruelty, the sedulous instruction given them in their duties to God and man, rebuke the impious

attempt. Which things if you fail to do, and may God avert such an issue, but if you fail to do them, and remain deaf to the monitions of conscience and his word, be ready for direr evils and more tremendous visitations upon yourselves, when there shall be a revulsion from your grinding tyranny to fierce insurrection, anarchy, and bloodshed, and the victims of your cruelty shall be upon you in the temper and attitude of mad revenge.

ARTICLE III.

THE ORIGIN, NATURE, PRINCIPLES AND PROSPECTS OF THE TEMPERANCE REFORM.

THE temperance reform began with a few individuals. They were among the thoughtful, well principled and well educated men of the State of Massachusetts. Intemperance was making progress in our country with a rapidity which exceeded even the increase in our population, and men almost despaired of arresting it. The reformers saw that this vast moral evil could only be cured by a moral remedy. Various other means they knew had been thought of and tried. Legal enactments, excise laws, with penalties for their infringement, were among these. Every thing showed how deplorably they had failed. But for every moral evil God has provided one only and sure remedy, a moral one: This most grateful truth was at length seen in all its relations to the great evil of intemperance, and men looked to it with the full confidence which a great natural principle always excites. The foundations of the undertaking were thus made to rest on an original moral truth. Regard was constantly had, in its earliest movements, to the circumstances of the times in which it was begun, but with this always came the deep conviction of its ultimate success. It was foreseen that it must be vast in its extent, and it was further believed that it was to be permanent in its results.