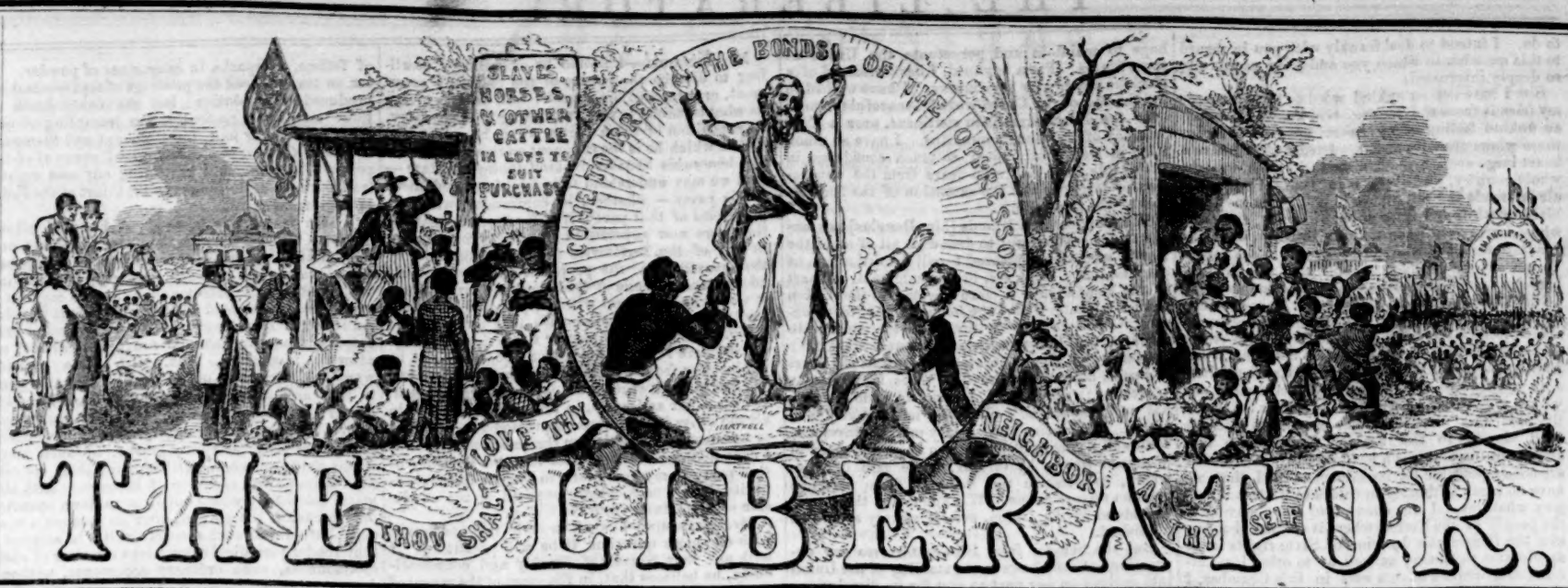


THE LIBERATOR
PUBLISHED
EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,
AT THE
ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL.
ROBERT F. WALLACE, GENERAL AGENT.
Terms—Two dollars and fifty cents per annum,
in advance.
Five copies will be sent to one address for TEN
copies, if payment be made in advance.
All communications are to be made, and all letters
relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to
be directed, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent.
Advertisements making less than one square in-
serted three times for 75 cents—each square for \$1 00.
The Agents of the American, Massachusetts,
Pennsylvania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are au-
thorized to receive subscriptions for the Liberator.
The following gentlemen constitute the Financial
Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts
of the paper, viz.—FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY
LEWIS, EDWARD QUINCY, SAMUEL PULBRIK, and
WILLIAM PHILLIPS.
In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of
every question are impartially allowed a hearing.



No Union with Slaveholders!
THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH
AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.
Yes! It cannot be denied—the slaveholding
lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their
assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to
SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR
SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years,
of preserving the African slave trade; the second was
THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—an
engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God,
delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal
to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-
sentation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandise, under
the name of persons. . . . In fact, the oppressor under-
standing the nature of the compact, . . . To call government thus con-
stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of
mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of
riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the
government of the nation is to establish an artificial
majority in the slave representation over that of the
free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY
TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETU-
ATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANNIHILATING SPIRIT
OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.—John Quincy Adams.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.
VOL. XXV. NO. 11. BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 16, 1855. WHOLE NUMBER 1078.

THE LIBERATOR.

GERRIT SMITH TO WENDELL PHILLIPS.
PETERBORO, Feb. 29, 1855.
WENDELL PHILLIPS, Boston:
MY DEAR FRIEND, I have just been reading again
a portion of your speech delivered in New York, 9th
last month.
I do not suppose that you regard republican institu-
tions as less efficient than monarchical institutions to
elevate men and women to the highest point of moral
life. Nevertheless, from the connection in which you
use these words, you are exposed to this inference.
You praise England for having, with her aristocratic
institutions, abolished her slavery; and you raise the
question whether, under a 'republican government,' the
moral elevation of which you speak can be attained,
and America be enabled to abolish her slavery. She
may be enabled to abolish it. But it does not fol-
low that the moral excellence of her reformers falls be-
low that of English reformers. It was little for England
to abolish a slavery exterior to herself, compared with
that it would have been to abolish a slavery woven
with all her interests, and pouring corruption through
her whole political, and moral, and social being. En-
gland was not deluged and ruled by her slavery—but
American slavery has left scarcely one sound spot in
American character; and it is, confessedly, the ruler of
America.
The fact that the English 'never saw' the slaves
whom they emancipated, you make a prominent fea-
ture in the merit of the emancipation. But has it never
occurred to you, that they seen them, they might
have refused to emancipate them? Distance lends
obscenity to the view. The American Christian
who loathes the American slave would be apt to
fall deep in love with him were he several thousand
miles off. Such a Christian is eager to bear his part in
these foreign missionary operations which afford wide
play to the romantic and sentimental. But deep de-
gradation, when present, has less power to win the
regard and melt the pity of such a Christian than ex-
cess of disgust. I add, that it is only too probable
that there is many an English Christian who, in this respect,
is like such an American Christian.
No—I do not believe that our reformers will suffer in
any fair comparison with the reformers of England.
That they are as capable as hers of a high moral effort
is manifest from the progress which they have made
in many directions. They are as far advanced in the
cause of Peace; and much further in the cause of Tem-
perance. They have done much more to prove the
right of the landless to a free share of the God-given
soil; and much more to prove the identity of woman's
rights with man's rights; and much more to open the
eyes of Christians to the great sin of their sectarian
divisions, and to the indispensableness of Christian
union to the salvation of the world; and I add, that
their hatred of slavery is more intense and self-sacrific-
ing than that of the English reformers. Now, when
I have said these things, I have virtually said
the American reformers have, at least, as much religion
as the English reformers have—for those things, espe-
cially when taken together, are among the highest evi-
dences that they, of whom all this can be affirmed, are
actuated by the principles of religion. The prayers, and
fasting, and machinery of the Churches, prove nothing
more in favor of the Churches than do the tools of
the carpenter in his favor. What he has accomplished
with his tools is the question for determining the merit
of the carpenter; and the effect with which the Churches
have placed their tools and improved their advantages is
the measure of the merits of the Churches. Preaching,
and prayer, and praise, are rather means and means
to religion, than religion itself. Motives and influences
to the religious life are to be drawn from heaven as well
as earth. But the life itself is to be seen among men,
and can prove itself only in justice and goodness to men.
I admit that the movement to abolish American
slavery is a failure. But I believe that the movement
to abolish British slavery had also been a failure, only
that it was so much less difficult to abolish that slavery
than it is to abolish ours. I admit that the American
Abolitionists are not educated to a sufficiently high
'point of moral life' to accomplish their object. But
I think that the English Abolitionists were educated to
a higher one. It is true that we are not sufficiently
wise, and devoted, and high-souled, for our arduous
work. But English Abolitionists lacked such
a work. I admit that it requires only a small
number of right-minded persons to sustain the Ameri-
can anti-slavery cause, and carry it forward to victory,
whereas, that even this small number cannot be supplied.
Nevertheless, such persons are no more rare in America
than in England. I referred to the fact that we needed but
a small band to make our success sure. With such a
small band—a case that speaks so clearly for itself—one
man, it is only here and there a town can furnish such
a man. The men of whom 'one should chase a thou-
sand and two put ten thousand to flight' are not to be
kind of men in every community; and it is only that rare
form of men who are capable of achieving, without brute
force, a conquest over American slavery. Blows that
slavery was utterly impotent upon the strong and stub-
born slavery of America.
I have attributed to their low and false education the
failure of American Abolitionists to accomplish their
work. Pardon me for improving this occasion to in-
quire into the cause of this low and false education. I
cannot doubt that the popular religion is mainly respon-
sible for it. This religion is so defective—not to say so
deficient—as to be incapable of fashioning the right men
for high and holy work. This religion dwells and
delights upon, instead of bringing out, as true religion
does, a contempt over American slavery. Blows that
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she will not permit him to supply with the sympathy
and buttress of party his lack of self-reliance, nor to
plead the merit of his party in default of his personal
merit.
That Christians run into sects shows their disobe-
dience to the plainest requirements of Christianity, and
their false and low views of her spirit. Christians there
are—immense numbers—Christians who are sectarians.
Nevertheless, there is not the vigorous, manly, inde-
pendent piety, which Christianity calls for. Indeed, a
sectarian Christian is but half a Christian. A whole
Christian will not consent to wear the yoke of party. A
whole Christian, I add, identifies himself with the whole
Christian brotherhood, and, therefore, cannot be a
partisan. No more than Jesus Christ himself can he
refuse Church relations with any—even the weakest
and most erring—disciples of Jesus Christ. Nay, as
the Savior is especially concerned to bring such feeble,
and mistaken, and perilled ones into the safety of His
fold, so the Christian who is most like the Savior finds
a peculiar joy in welcoming to the provisions of the
Church these 'little ones' and 'least' ones, who are
in greater need of those provisions than are other Chris-
tians.
I have spoken of Christians who are sectarians. Let
it not be inferred that I regard all sectarians as Chris-
tians. Of most sectarians it may be safely affirmed,
that nothing at all will remain of their religion after
they shall have withdrawn from it all the interest, and
ambition, and zeal, and strife of sect.
It is often said, that Abolitionists ruin the anti-
slavery cause by running into political parties. They
do. Over and over again have they done so. Over
and over again have they suffered the attractions of the
Whig and Democratic parties to overcome their sense
of duty to the slave. Over and over again have they been
seduced, by the prospect of personal advantage, to go
with these parties. Over and over again have they
allowed themselves to be bewitched and befooled into
the belief that these parties (which, if only from being
national parties, are necessarily pro-slavery) will work
for the slave and deliver him. Well has party been
denied to be 'the madness of many for the gain of the
few.' Truly, it is the curse of the world, and that it
is especially the life of a republic. In the midst of
teachings so pernicious, it cannot be easy to persuade
the party man how much superior is the individual
man, and how much nobler it is to stand collected, calm
and strong in one's self, and to live a self-poised,
independent life, than to exchange his individuality
for the party-frenzy and party-controlled and party-
bent being which party does out to him in return.
We must not, however, be surprised that this ad-
dition to party is so strong and common among Abolition-
ists. If Christians set the bad example of indulging a
partisan spirit, it is not strange that Abolitionists follow
it. If a Christian must band himself with the Presby-
terian, or Methodist, or Baptist party, why may not an
Abolitionist identify himself with the Democratic, or
Whig, or Free Soil party? If a Christian may sink
himself in the current of party action (and this is both
the theory and practice of party-membership,) why
may not an Abolitionist do likewise?
You and I lament that so large a share of the Abolition-
ists have scamped off into the 'Know-Nothing party.'
Well may we lament that they were educated to no
higher point than to be guilty of such folly. But, what
worse have they done than our party-crazy Chris-
tians do? I admit that this party is the most bigoted
and intolerant of all our political parties. But I deny
that it is any more culpable, in this respect, than the
Christian sects. Let us compare them.
It is true that the 'Know-Nothing party' would shut
off men from one of the inherent, most important and
most sacred of the rights of men. For such is the right
to participate in the choice of the rulers of their coun-
try—and that, too, not in twenty-one years from the
time of becoming an inhabitant of the country—no, not
in five years—but now. Suffrage is not a mere privi-
lege—a mere franchise—but a right, belonging to every
man. Whether he shall be allowed to exercise it, in a
given country, should not turn on the question, whether
he was born in that country or has lived in it twenty-
one years, or even five years, but solely on the question
whether it is his country. If it is only his country—and
every man has the right to make whatever country he
will his country—then, if he has lived but a single
year in it, he is not to be denied a voice in choosing its
rulers. This will be acknowledged by all whose eyes
are opened to the dignity of man and the sacredness of
his rights. The right of suffrage may be called the 'right
preservative of all rights.' Hence, to deny this right is
virtually to deny all rights. To postpone the enjoy-
ment of this right in the case of him who has been our
countryman for only a short time, and for no other
cause, is exceedingly unreasonable, unjust and cruel.
The weaker a man is among his fellows—whether it is
because he is poor, or ignorant, or a stranger—the more
does he need to wield that right, which is the defense of
all his rights.
It is true, too, that the plea for excluding foreigners
from the ballot-box on the ground that, being foreigners,
they know not how to vote, is the height of dis-
ingenuity and nonsense. If, as is really the case,
most of them vote as they should vote, wherein do
they differ, in this respect, from native Americans?
The emigrant finds those around him voting for the
fraud, the imposture, and the oppressive, and he votes
as they do. He will vote right when they vote right.
It is often said that foreigners need to reside many
years in our country in order to become acquainted with
republican institutions. I do not think so. It is dis-
respectful to these institutions to regard them as so ar-
bitrary, complex and obscure. They are natural and
obvious truths, and, with the help of an honest heart,
are readily learned. But, however this may be, it is
certain that foreigners need not consume much time to
learn how to vote. Voting, like every other manly
and most responsible duty of men, is far more
heart-work than head-work. He that ruth over men
must be just; and this same thing it is which is re-
quired of him who votes. An honest regard for the
rights of men and the rights of God, the great promp-
ter which is needed at the ballot-box, as well as every-
where else.
I would remark incidentally that, whether a man is
entitled to be voted for is quite another question than
whether he is entitled to vote. His simple manhood

gives him the right to cast a vote, but not to hold office.
I must confess, however, that, as my first question in
regard to a candidate would be whether he is wise and
just, so would it be my last whether he is a foreigner or
a native—a Roman Catholic or a Protestant. My expe-
rience teaches me that foreigners and natives are
about equally good, and that Roman Catholics and
Protestants are also about equally good. Or, to speak
more correctly, it teaches me that they are all about
equally bad.
But I propose to compare the 'Know-Nothing party'
with the Christian sects; and, hence, I must say a few
words respecting the latter. If that party is guilty of
excluding men from the common rights of the human
brotherhood, so is the Christian sect guilty of excluding
Christians from the common rights of the Christian
brotherhood. The latter is, surely, no less intolerant,
mean and criminal than the former. The Christian sect
purposely builds its platform too narrow for all Chris-
tians to stand on. The proscription of men by politi-
cians is bad. But the proscription of Christians by
Christians is worse; and it warrants the political proscrip-
tion, so far as a bad example can warrant anything.
Oh, when will Christians set a good example, in this
respect, before politicians? Might they be that good
example. The world will be but little benefited with
party politics after Christians shall have been educated to
the point of non-sectarianism. The recognition of the
rights of the human brotherhood will follow close upon
the recognition of the rights of the Christian brother-
hood. No difference in condition or complexion will
avail to separate men from each other when they shall
have seen that Christians allow no dissimilarities be-
tween themselves to weaken their love for each other, or
turn them away from each other. Nay, does not truth
justify the infinitely broader declaration, that men will
be convinced that Christianity is from heaven—in other
words, will be Christians—when they shall see that the
divine bond between Christians is indissoluble? 'That
they all may be one—that the world may believe that
Thou hast sent me.' John xvii: 21.
Let me say, ere leaving the subject of party, that,
although I have condemned party in the popular sense
of party, I do not condemn every association that is
called a party. The association called the 'Garrison
party,' I do not understand to be obnoxious to my com-
plaints of party. That is not an association of persons
who are ready to merge the man in the mass, and to
yield up his individuality to the direction of party.
They are not seeking each his own advantage, by ex-
hibiting the influence and power of numbers in behalf
of personal interests, and by disguising selfish purposes
with professions of public service. It is not an associa-
tion in which men sell themselves away, in exchange
for the poor privilege of becoming members of a party
and servants of a party. It is, on the contrary, an as-
sociation of persons who prefer to remain themselves,
and who, therefore, refuse to become the members and
servants of party. In a word, such an association is a
non-party party. I add that, for the like reasons, the
little handful of persons under the name of 'Liberty
Party,' may also be called a non-party party. It is true
that were partisans may come among us and wear our
names. But they are only among us. They are not of us.

shall we feel the sacredness of his rights; and then,
both for his own sake and his Maker's sake, we shall
have no heart to oppress him. As, therefore, we would
play ourselves and our fellow-men with the highest and
most influential motives against slavery, we must cling
to the Bible—to that infinitely most instructive and
most impressive of all anti-slavery books.
I will advert to but one other of the many evidences
of the bad character of the prevailing religion. That
religion not only leaves unrebuked the abounding
wickedness in politics—but the greatest of that wicked-
ness is not too great for it to practice. That religion
is responsible for electing to the Presidency the man
who can call on the American people to engage
'cheerfully' in the super-devilish work of chasing down
fugitives from the hell of slavery. That religion, in a
word, is responsible for the pro-slavery action of both
our Government and people.
You have been much censured for holding that the
anti-slavery cause can reach success only over the ruins
of the American Government and American Church.
Nevertheless, you are right. The religion which tolerates
—nay, sanctifies—slavery, must, necessarily,
be conquered ere the devotees and dupes of that religion
will suffer slavery to be abolished. Again, so long as
the actual Government is on the side of slavery, the
bloodless abolition of slavery is impracticable. You
and I differ on the comparatively unimportant point of
the true legal character of the Federal Constitution; but
we do not differ in respect to the infernally guilty
character of the Government, which professes to idolize
and to obey that paper.
No small proof that American Christianity is not
Bible Christianity is to be found in the fact, that whilst
the latter exacts the full measure of righteousness, as
well in political conduct as in all other conduct, the
former holds that religion has no jurisdiction of politics,
and is an impudent intruder and guilty usurper when-
ever she mixes herself up with politics. Preaching
'politics,' or, in other words, insisting on the applica-
tion of the principles of Christianity to politics, is con-
sidered one of the strongest proofs of infidelity. A
man may dabble ever so much in the 'dirty waters of
politics,' and yet be a prime Christian! But how is it
possible for him to be anything of a Christian who (al-
though it is for the holy purpose of purifying these
waters) can be guilty of dragging down Christianity into
them?
And now, I ask whether, in the light of these and
other mighty influences which are at work to check and
pervert the growth of their manhood, it is at all to be
wondered at that the Abolitionists have proved them-
selves unworthy of their work—deficient in the
wisdom, self-sacrifice, magnanimity, confidence, charity,
necessity to achieve an object so great, so arduous, so
sublime?
I admit that had the Abolitionists possessed the
needed wisdom, they would never have run off to side
issues and subordinate issues, with the feeling that
their work lay mainly in them; and that to keep
Cuba out of the Union, or to maintain, or restore, the
Missouri Compromise line, or to do any other such
incidental thing, was an essential part of their mis-
sion. But they would have seen that the great work
to which they were called was to grapple directly
with the whole of American slavery; to show no quar-
ter to any part of it; to deny the name and shelter
of law to every part of it; and to treat it, wherever
found, as the most atrocious piracy which ever defied
God or outraged man. Alas, the delusion of the many
good men who busy themselves in circumscribing
slavery! They bow to its legality, wherever it is
existing; and they seem never to suspect that it is owing
to such courteous and gratuitous concession that
slavery both continues to exist where it now does, and
ever and anon, leaps over into new fields. Would
they treat any other piracy so respectfully and kindly?
Not they. No, had fifty Governments were to de-
clare it law. Oh, had those able men and cordial
haters of slavery—our Swards, and Giddings, and
Chases, and Sumners,—instead of confessing legal
obligations in its behalf, scouted the idea of its possible
legalization, then would they have left slavery weak in-
deed—but now they have left it stronger. American
slavery was never so strong as it is this day; and
stronger and stronger will it continue to grow, so long
as even its enemies honor it as law. Mr. Garrison him-
self would more than neutralize all he is doing against
slavery were he to accord to it the rights of a law, or
to regard it, in any part of the earth, as anything bet-
ter than a piracy and an outlaw.
I referred to the false and comparatively unimportant
issues which are made with the Slave Power. 'No
wonder that the stress laid upon them deceives the peo-
ple, for it deceives even the Abolitionists. During the
struggle on the Nebraska bill, even the Abolitionists re-
garded its opponents as the most trustworthy and effec-
tive anti-slavery men; and as to the members of Con-
gress who voted against it, why, the Abolitionists
themselves adored them as martyrs. Those members may
have been ever so ready to vote for slaveholders and for
fugitive slave acts, nevertheless, they were martyrs. To
vote against the Nebraska bill was the most patriotic
they could do. No other thing could have given them so
much political favor and so many votes; nevertheless,
they were martyrs. Although the proof which these
members of Congress gave of being moved by the spirit of
truth in their vote against the Nebraska bill, was about
as great as would be furnished by their submission to the
necessity of dining on the best of roast beef and plum
pudding, nevertheless, they were martyrs.
For months, there has been a succession of rejoicings
among the Abolitionists—now over the election of this
and now over the election of that anti-slavery gentle-
man to one or the other Houses of Congress. I am
afraid to sympathize with these rejoicings, for I am
afraid that these gentlemen will all admit the legality
of slavery. Gov. Seward will, Henry Wilson will.
And I am afraid that even that old Liberty Party man,
Charles Durkee, will. But, it is possible that even he,
too, will.
The recent movement, in Vermont and other States,
for virtually nullifying the Fugitive Slave Act, affords
much joy to the Abolitionists, but none to me. That
movement is disingenuous, evasive, cowardly. I espe-
cially condemn it, because it implies two gross false-
hoods: 1st, that there may be a lawful slavery, and a
lawful treasure of fugitive slaves; 2d, that they who
are engaged in the movement are prepared to stand by
such a slavery and to take part in such recapture.

The Abolitionists have not done shouting over recent
judicial proceedings in Wisconsin. By there is nothing
in these proceedings to cheer my desponding Abolition
heart. It is true that these proceedings deny that the
Fugitive Slave Act is constitutional. But they, never-
theless, imply that there might be a constitutional
Fugitive Slave Act, and that slavery is capable of being
invested with the sacredness of law; and implying
this, they but damage, instead of helping, the anti-
slavery cause.
Are these Wisconsin Judges honest? They hold (as
I am warranted in assuming) that it is lawful and obli-
gatory to replunge into slavery those who escape from
it. Suppose Georgia should enact that all who have
emigrated from the free States to her soil shall be slaves
—and suppose that among those who fly back to the free
States before the terms of this new enactment are
children of these Judges—would these Judges hold it
lawful and obligatory to return them? If they would,
they would prove themselves monsters; and if they
would not, they would prove themselves dishonest—
dishonest in sparing their own children, whilst giving
up other men's children to oppression. But I proceed
to apply a still closer test. Not only has Georgia, con-
fessedly, as much constitutional right to make slaves of
her whites as of her blacks, but Wisconsin has, con-
fessedly, as much right, in this respect, as Georgia. Now,
suppose a pro-slavery Legislature of Wisconsin shall
punish these, her anti-slavery Judges, by declaring them
and their posterity to be slaves. Would these Judges
honor the statute, and bow their necks to the yoke of
slavery? Not they. They would sooner resist unto
death. I admit that this bravery would, on the one
hand, be to their credit; but, on the other, it would
prove the dishonesty of which they are guilty, in not
acknowledging the obligations of slave codes, when they
and not themselves are to suffer from those codes. Men
may lack honesty without so much as suspecting that
they lack it. Every one lacks it who admits slavery to
be a law, for every one would refuse to make such ad-
mission in the case of himself, were he claimed for his
victim. Indeed, this whole question, whether slavery
can be lawful, resolves itself into a question of honesty.
An honest man, having his eyes open to the claims and
scope of honesty, and especially to the duty of doing
unto others as he would have others do unto him, can-
not fail to deny that slavery is lawful. I add, that no
code which cannot be honestly administered can be law,
and that, hence, no slave code can be law.
Would the Wisconsin Judges admit that murder can
be transmuted into law? How dare they, then, admit
that slavery can be? Would they not rather their
children were murdered than enslaved?
I have admitted that the Abolitionists have shown
themselves deficient in the spirit of self-sacrifice. It is
true that they have expended millions of dollars in the
anti-slavery cause. They have employed thousands of
lecturers, and flooded the whole North with their pub-
lications. His zeal for the deliverance of the slave has
cost this Abolitionist five thousand dollars, and that
Abolitionist several times as much, and another Abolition-
ist ten, or twenty times as much. And, what is still
more, there are thousands of poor Abolitionists who, in
their devotion to this cause, have approached the stand-
ard of the woman who 'cast in all her she had, even
all her living.' The pro-slavery newspapers often say
that an Abolitionist is too mean to pay anything toward
purchasing the liberty of a slave. It is true that
there are Abolitionists—very worthy Abolitionists—
whose principles will not permit them to join in such a
purchase. But multitudes of Abolitionists contribute
much in this wise. One has put a thousand dollars,
and another five thousand dollars, and another ten thousand
dollars, into the pockets of slaveholders; and no small
share of Abolitionists have taxed themselves, more or
less, to buy their fellow-men from under the yoke of
slavery.
Considerable, however, as have been the pecuniary
sacrifices of Abolitionists in their cause, they fall far
short of the merits of that precious cause. Then, again,
it is but a small proportion of them who refuse to pur-
chase the cotton, the sugar, and the rice, that are wet
with the tears, and sweat, and blood of the slave. And when
we count up those who have sealed with their blood their
consecration to the anti-slavery cause, we find the whole
number to be scarcely half a dozen.
In none of the qualities of the best style of men—and
that is the style of men needed to effectuate the blood-
less termination of American slavery—have the Abolition-
ists shown themselves more deficient than in magnani-
mity, confidence, charity. They have judged neither the
slaveholders nor each other generously. Slaveholders
are, indeed, great sinners, and we should not hesitate
to say so—always remembering, however, when we do
so, that we ourselves are not 'without sin.' The
sin of slaveholding, like many sins of which we ourselves
are guilty, is largely attributable to a false education;
and the victims of this false education are to be quite as
much compassionate as condemned. Great as should
ever be my abhorrence of the sin of slaveholding, I am
always to temper my judgment of the slaveholder with
the thought that my nature is no better than his, and
that, had our circumstances been exchanged, he would
probably have been the Abolitionist, and I the slaveholder.
It is not to be wondered at that most slaveholders
have but little and some of them none of those
feelings which the South tells them it is not sin; and the
North does likewise. The statement of the North, as
well as of the South, and the clergy of the North, as
well as of the South, tell them so.
The quarrels of Abolitionists with each other, and
their jealousy and abuse of each other, would be far less
had they more magnanimity, confidence, charity. Many
of them delight in casting each other down, rather than
in building each other up. Complain of each other they
must; and when there is no occasion for complaint,
their ill-natured ingenuity can manufacture an occasion
for the very smallest matters. Were even you,
whose truthness to the slave is never to be doubted, to be
sent to Congress, many of your Abolition brethren would
be upon the alert to find some occasion for calling your
integrity in question. And they would find it, too, if
nothing else than in your gentlemanly bearing toward
your fellow-members. Again, as you are a very radical
Abolitionist, the political press would take great delight
in misrepresenting and caricaturing your Congressional
life, and the more because the Abolitionists, having so
little confidence in each other, and being very credulous
and very silly, are eager to be fed in this wise. Slander,
like corn and cheese, obeys the laws of trade; and
the supply of it will always be proportioned to the de-
mand for it.
On all questions connected with the abolition of
slavery, Abolitionists are slow to tolerate a difference of
opinion. For instance, some of them believe that the
Federal Constitution is pro-slavery, and others that it
is anti-slavery; and this honest difference of opinion is
ground enough for their saying the hardest things of
each other. I have myself (if I may be pardoned an al-
lusion to myself) been made the victim of this intoler-
ance. So it was that I had long held that Cuba,
geographically and commercially, belonged to us, and
should, therefore, be made a part of our nation. So
it was, too, that I said this on the floor of Congress. For
having dared to say it, the Abolition crew instantly
threw me overboard. This was my fate, because the
Abolitionists held that the annexation of Cuba would
strengthen slavery. In vain was my plea that I held
the contrary. My doom was fixed. I was unprincipled
and pro-slavery; and overboard I had to go. Of course,
I had uttered the liberty of the Abolitionists to show the
unsoundness of my opinions. But this admission was
not enough to pacify them. I had no right to hold opin-
ions which the Abolitionists do not hold. Then, again,
I am charged with gross inconsistencies for being in
favor of the annexation of Cuba, whilst I am so fre-
quently presenting as an evidence of the desperate pro-
slavery wickedness of this nation its grasping after that
island. The logic here is, that if I wish to get a dram-
shop into my hands, although it is for the purpose of
transforming it into the abode of temperance and every
other virtue, I stand on the same level with him who
would get it for the purpose of making it still more a
dramshop, and still more the resort and nurse of wicked-
ness.
Since I am on the subject of Cuba, I cannot forbear
saying how exceedingly anxious I am, as an Abolition-
ist, for her annexation to this country. Indeed, my
best hope of the abolition of American slavery, since my
hope of it at the hands of Abolitionists began to give
place to despair, has been in such annexation.
The type of slavery in Cuba is, in some respects, more
terrible than in any other part of the world. The
family relation which elsewhere softens the horrors of
slavery, is, to a great extent, unknown among the slaves
of Cuba. The breeding of our own slaves is an alleviat-
ing feature in our slavery, and slavery is light in the
breeding States compared with what it is in the other
States. Plantation after plantation in Cuba has hun-
dreds of males, and scarcely one female. The condition
and character of the laborers on such plantations are,
therefore, as brutal as they well can be. Again, so
severe is the treatment of the Cuban slaves, that they
die under it in a few years. The slaves of our own
country live, on an average, more than thirty years.
The slaves of Cuba much less than half that time; and,
hence, as I pity them, I would have Cuba annexed. I
would have her annexed, too, as I pity Africa, who is
every year robbed of thousands of her children to sup-
ply the murderous waste of life in Cuba. But more
than all do I desire the annexation because I believe it
will contribute mightily to the overthrow of the whole
system of American slavery.
1. It will change Spain into an anti-slavery nation;
and, then, not only will she be arrayed against Ameri-
can slavery, but other nations—especially France and
England—disembarrassed by her change, will be far
more cordially and effectively arrayed against it than
they have hitherto been.
2. The Spanish troops that now uphold slavery in
Cuba will then be recalled; and the creole population,
of more than half a million, will then be the dependence
for maintaining slavery. But that population, never
having possessed political power, and, therefore, ignor-
ant how to use it, having strong sympathies with the
quarter of a million of free blacks, both from being
legally intermarried with them to a considerable extent,
and from having but little more intelligence, (for the
free blacks have none,) and also from other causes,
would be but a poor dependence for maintaining slavery.
Indeed, were there Spanish creoles proving their readi-
ness and ability to uphold slavery? Certainly not in
Mexico and the South American States. There they
proved themselves to be Abolitionists, after they had
escaped from the control of the Spaniards. The truth is,
that the Spanish creoles are too nearly on a level
with the free blacks, in point of circumstances and in-
telligence, and, therefore, of power to be relied on to
uphold slavery. There must, in some important re-
spects, be a wide space between masters and slaves,
or the slaves cannot be kept in subjection.
3. Cuban slavery is so different a thing from Ameri-
can slavery, that it cannot coexist with it, unless
brought into conformity with it. But to attempt the
conformity would be most strongly to invite an insurrec-
tion. The Cuban slave has the legal right to go, every
year, in quest of a new master. Moreover, it rests with
an officer of the Government to fix his price, in case of
disagreement on that point. He has the legal right to
buy himself—to buy himself all at once or in parts—a
quarter at a time, and a half at another—as is most
convenient for him. Then, again, if the slave-master
shall pay a small sum (I believe but twenty-five dollars)
before the birth of her child, the child shall be free—
Now, will the slaves, will the free blacks, will the cre-
oles, suffer these merciful features to be expanded from
the system of Cuban slavery? Certainly not, until
much blood has been spilt. I add, will the free blacks
suffer their schools to be closed—for the closing of
them would be an indispensable part of the conformity
of Cuban slavery to American slavery.
4. But it will be said, that if a standing army of
twenty or thirty thousand Spanish troops can maintain
slavery in Cuba, so, also, can a no greater standing
American army maintain it there. A several times
greater army than this will be required to sustain the
attempt to impart to Cuban slavery the absolute charac-
ter of our slavery. Arouse the hostility of the free
blacks, among whom are men of genius and education;
combine with them the nearly half million of slaves,
the very large majority of whom are from Africa, and
are as barbarous as when they left their shores; and
the victory to be achieved by our standing army would be
no easy one. A bloody grave for slavery did these
classes of men dig in St. Domingo; and a no less
bloody one may they dig for slavery in Cuba. More-
over, that grave may be spacious enough for the whole
of American slavery. Let our infatuated Slave Power
get Cuba if it can. I newly mistake it, when I
shall have added these new elements to our population,

she will not permit him to supply with the sympathy
and buttress of party his lack of self-reliance, nor to
plead the merit of his party in default of his personal
merit.
That Christians run into sects shows their disobe-
dience to the plainest requirements of Christianity, and
their false and low views of her spirit. Christians there
are—immense numbers—Christians who are sectarians.
Nevertheless, there is not the vigorous, manly, inde-
pendent piety, which Christianity calls for. Indeed, a
sectarian Christian is but half a Christian. A whole
Christian will not consent to wear the yoke of party. A
whole Christian, I add, identifies himself with the whole
Christian brotherhood, and, therefore, cannot be a
partisan. No more than Jesus Christ himself can he
refuse Church relations with any—even the weakest
and most erring—disciples of Jesus Christ. Nay, as
the Savior is especially concerned to bring such feeble,
and mistaken, and perilled ones into the safety of His
fold, so the Christian who is most like the Savior finds
a peculiar joy in welcoming to the provisions of the
Church these 'little ones' and 'least' ones, who are
in greater need of those provisions than are other Chris-
tians.
I have spoken of Christians who are sectarians. Let
it not be inferred that I regard all sectarians as Chris-
tians. Of most sectarians it may be safely affirmed,
that nothing at all will remain of their religion after
they shall have withdrawn from it all the interest, and
ambition, and zeal, and strife of sect.
It is often said, that Abolitionists ruin the anti-
slavery cause by running into political parties. They
do. Over and over again have they done so. Over
and over again have they suffered the attractions of the
Whig and Democratic parties to overcome their sense
of duty to the slave. Over and over again have they been
seduced, by the prospect of personal advantage, to go
with these parties. Over and over again have they
allowed themselves to be bewitched and befooled into
the belief that these parties (which, if only from being
national parties, are necessarily pro-slavery) will work
for the slave and deliver him. Well has party been
denied to be 'the madness of many for the gain of the
few.' Truly, it is the curse of the world, and that it
is especially the life of a republic. In the midst of
teachings so pernicious, it cannot be easy to persuade
the party man how much superior is the individual
man, and how much nobler it is to stand collected, calm
and strong in one's self, and to live a self-poised,
independent life, than to exchange his individuality
for the party-frenzy and party-controlled and party-
bent being which party does out to him in return.
We must not, however, be surprised that this ad-
dition to party is so strong and common among Abolition-
ists. If Christians set the bad example of indulging a
partisan spirit, it is not strange that Abolitionists follow
it. If a Christian must band himself with the Presby-
terian, or Methodist, or Baptist party, why may not an
Abolitionist identify himself with the Democratic, or
Whig, or Free Soil party? If a Christian may sink
himself in the current of party action (and this is both
the theory and practice of party-membership,) why
may not an Abolitionist do likewise?
You and I lament that so large a share of the Abolition-
ists have scamped off into the 'Know-Nothing party.'
Well may we lament that they were educated to no
higher point than to be guilty of such folly. But, what
worse have they done than our party-crazy Chris-
tians do? I admit that this party is the most bigoted
and intolerant of all our political parties. But I deny
that it is any more culpable, in this respect, than the
Christian sects. Let us compare them.
It is true that the 'Know-Nothing party' would shut
off men from one of the inherent, most important and
most sacred of the rights of men. For such is the right
to participate in the choice of the rulers of their coun-
try—and that, too, not in twenty-one years from the
time of becoming an inhabitant of the country—no, not
in five years—but now. Suffrage is not a mere privi-
lege—a mere franchise—but a right, belonging to every
man. Whether he shall be allowed to exercise it, in a
given country, should not turn on the question, whether
he was born in that country or has lived in it twenty-
one years, or even five years, but solely on the question
whether it is his country. If it is only his country—and
every man has the right to make whatever country he
will his country—then, if he has lived but a single
year in it, he is not to be denied a voice in choosing its
rulers. This will be acknowledged by all whose eyes
are opened to the dignity of man and the sacredness of
his rights. The right of suffrage may be called the 'right
preservative of all rights.' Hence, to deny this right is
virtually to deny all rights. To postpone the enjoy-
ment of this right in the case of him who has been our
countryman for only a short time, and for no other
cause, is exceedingly unreasonable, unjust and cruel.
The weaker a man is among his fellows—whether it is
because he is poor, or ignorant, or a stranger—the more
does he need to wield that right, which is the defense of
all his rights.
It is true, too, that the plea for excluding

