

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

THE BRUTAL DOUGLASS

Extracts from a speech of STEPHEN A. DOUGLASS, at
his house, on Monday, May 1, 1854.

We were told by Lincoln that he is utterly opposed to
the present decision, and will not submit to it. I
think the reason, as he says, that it deprives the ne-
gro of the rights and privileges of citizenship.

For any, I am opposed to the Government now made
up of the white men—made up of the white men, and
the white ladies. I believe it was made by white men
for the benefit of white men and their posterity
forever, and I am opposed to the Government now
made up of the white men—men of European descent, in
place of the negro men—men of African descent, in
place of conferring its rights on negroes and Indians, and
other inferior races. But Mr. Lincoln, following
the lead of the slaveholders, says that the Government
is the property of the white men, and that they are
entitled to the management of your churches and schools,
all men are made in the Declaration of Independence that
all men are created free and equal, and then says
"How can you be equal?"

He says in the Declaration of Independence
"all men are created free and equal," and then says
"How can you be equal?" He and they maintain that negro
equality is guaranteed by the laws of God, and re-
spected in the Declaration of Independence. If that
be so, they ought to show to you.

I do not question Mr. Lincoln's conscientious be-
lief that the negro was made his equal, and hence in-
heritor of his rights. But I do not regard him as
my equal, and I positively deny that he has
any brother, or any kind to me whatever.

The Liberator

FRIEND GARRISON:
The generation of those who, in their emergent call to 'Good Lord, good devil,' in order that, preposterous as it may seem, they may be safe, in which case, if things they may fall, has not yet passed from the stage, and there are to-day multitudes, both in and out of the Church, who are still 'delicious of so serving God as not to offend the devil.' To accommodate this generation of 'Mr. Facing-both-ways' with appliances for their difficult task, it is satisfactory to know that many institutions are in existence, among which may be ranked the American Missionary Association, which has, during the past week, held its twenty-second meeting in this city.

Of course, it is not to be charged that this association was organized for the express accommodation of this class; but, being organized, it serves the class ends remarkably well.

This Society was created because of the pro-slavery character and action of the American Board, in that the friends of missions, who were opposed to slavery could aid in the former work without complying in the latter wickedness; and, thus, far, it is good.

exhibited clearly and strongly the corruptions of the American Board and Tract Society, Mr. Worth saying that they do less good, more in corruption, than he does, converting the same number of souls. These speeches were not endorsed by the action of the meeting, and were looked upon as the excited ebullitions of fanaticism.

When shall we find, at the hands of 'Evangelical Christians' a more decided tendency to be formed to a distinct and consistent action against slavery? Patiently we wait.

J. A. H.

PRO-SLAVERY IN INDIANA.
SILVER LAKE, Kosciusko Co., Ind.,
October 1, 1855.

FRIEND W. L. GARRISON:

Soujourner Truth, an elderly colored woman, we know throughout the Eastern States, is now holding a series of anti-slavery meetings in Northern Indiana. Soujourner comes well recommended by H. B. Stowe, yourself, and others, and was gladly received and welcomed by the friends of the slave in this locality.

Her progress in knowledge, truth and righteousness is a source of surprise to those who knew her in her former low state as a slave. The border-ruffian Democracy of Indiana, however, appear to be jealous and suspicious of every anti-slavery movement. Soujourner was immediately circulated that Soujourner was an impostor; that she was, indeed, a man disguised as a woman.

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2. What is true of religion is also true of education. The schools have multiplied since emancipation and the number is increasing. Efforts are made by all denominations to bring the children of the emancipated under moral and religious training. This has been true to all the schools. The education in the higher schools has been improved. The children of the emancipated willingly attend those schools where they are not crowded. The children of the free folk only or mostly for instruction, and the free folk send their children to the Sabbath schools which are not only secular instruction, which is demonstrated by the fact that the children of the free folk who were once slaves, or their children, were often

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they said was, 'the sum of all villaines,' that is, a carnal diabolum. Now, 'what fellowship has Christ with Belial?' Can those who believe in, and practice, or endorse and promulgate, a religion that is in antagonism with slaveholding or slaveholders— a religion that of necessity denies the God who hath made man a free being, and who hath commanded Christ who gave us the Golden Rule as the sum centre of our duty, be Christians, or any thing but atheists and infidels, however devoted or exalted they may be? And do not those who allow the Christian name become guilty of labelling God and Christ, and the Christian religion?

This Society is composed of those who believe slaveholding to be so wicked that they cannot fraternize with a Society that enforces it, or with the men who practice it, in missionary work, and yet, for as long as it appears to be necessary, they will co-operate with those who teach and doings, they do not deny the Christian character or name to those men, but, in full fraternal fellowship with them as 'evangelical believers.' They believe, to be sure, as one of their Resolutions at this meeting declares, that the religion of slaveholders is a 'defective' religion, but their practice shows that they do not consider it a vital defect, for when in the invitation to the Convention, they took pains to exclude all but 'evangelical believers,' they took pains to exclude slaveholders and their abettors. The social slaveholders are not good enough to work with us, but they are good enough to sit at their Lord's table with them, if they are 'evangelical.'

Rev. Mr. Thurston, of Maine, said, we should

At her third appointed meeting in this vicinity yesterday, which was held in the meeting-houses of the Unitarian Brethren, a large number of persons were present. Dr. W. W. Strain, the moderator of the meeting, Dr. T. N. Strain, the mouthpiece of the slave Democracy, requested the large congregation to 'hold on,' and stated that a doubt existed in the minds of many persons present respecting the sex of the speaker, and that it was his impression that a majority of them believed the speaker to be a man. Thenceforward he asked (which was not believed by the friends of the slave) that it was for the speaker's sake that he should not be believed to be a woman, and he submitted her breast to the inspection of some of the ladies present, that the doubt might be removed by their testimony. There were a large number of ladies present, who appeared to be ashamed and some of them at each a proposition. Sojourner's friends, some of whom had not heard the rumor, were surprised and indignant at such rudely surmises and treatment. Confusion and uproar ensued, which was soon suppressed by Sojourner, who, immediately rising, asked them why they suspected her to be a man. The Dr. answered, 'Because she is a woman.' Sojourner replied, 'Woman, it is the voice of a man, and we believe you are a man.' Dr. Strain called for a vote, and a bold chorus 'Aye' was the result. A negative vote was not called for. Sojourner told them that her breast had sucked many a white babe, to the exclusion of her own offspring; that some of those white babies had grown to man's estate; that, although they had

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lie somewhere else, or it is nowhere, and fearfully
 and cruelly wrong to suppose that men and
 commodities, he must cater to popular vice. With
 such a system of education, and such examples, it
 is strange that there are men who cannot conceive
 how any body can represent Mr. Garrison worse
 than he represents himself. Many have the absurdity
 to found his principles upon what in olden times
 was said to be a self-evident truth, and some higher
 precepts of unquestionable authority, and when he
 asks men who claim the principle to be so in-
 consistent as to practice accordingly.

Of course, it is an absurdity so palpable that a
 school-boy can fathom it. Have we not, as a nation,
 had some principles for many years, and yet have
 not our condition to-day belie our professions?
 Mr. Garrison cannot mean that we shall carry our
 principles into practice: we have got along without
 them some principles for many years, and yet have
 not our condition to-day belie our professions?
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 principles into practice: we have got along without
 them some principles for many years, and yet have
 not our condition to-day belie our professions?

Oh man, Creation's pride, Heaven's darling child,
 When Nature's best, divinitest gifts adorned;
 Why from thy home are truth and joy exiled,
 And from thy favorite haunts with tears and blood be-
 diled!

Sept. 6, 1858. A.

From the National Era.

FREE LABOR IN TROPICAL PRODUCTIONS.
 Emancipation in the British West Indies.
 CIRCULAR.

LONDON, W. L. J. January, 1853.

To the

tion work.

3. My conviction is, that there is much less crime, of an atrocious character, than formerly. I have not heard of any capital crimes in the past year, but it must be remembered that punishment, which was formerly inflicted by the owner, must now be awarded by a tribunal; and offences once committed are more easily forgiven in the present than in former times. The offenders are sent to prison before a magistrate, and the offenders are now paid for periods ranging between one month and twelve months. There is less indolence and idleness, and the people are more diligent in the seasons of crime, and they are therefore rare.

4. I remark, generally, on the question of labor, that it is more regular, efficient and satisfactory, than during slavery. Job work is commonly done by the day, and the people frequently happen to be so busy that the people perform two, and sometimes three crops per diem. Cultivation has extended the production of the staples of the island has been considerably increased, and the most universally recognized appearance of a garden.

5. If Enslavement is acknowledged, universally, it must be a blessing. I have never met with an individual who avowed a dissent. A few poor white or colored people, who depended on the labor of one or two, or three, or four slaves, are laboring under the weight of their consciences, and are laboring the monthly or weekly wages; but even those profess to the blessing of emancipation.

6. I have never heard of a single manifestation of unregarded feelings, on the part of the colored people, who have been emancipated, in the presence of those in which owners have been separated, in whole or in part, by their former slaves. One such case came under my knowledge only yesterday. The female had been separated from her husband, and was in circumstances, and in her old age and poverty finds an asylum in the house of her former slave.

IN the Dred Scott case, it was decided by the Supreme Court, that the Constitution of the United States does not confer any authority as a legal instrument to a large proportion of the slave population, and that the rights of citizens of the slaveholding States to carry slaves into the common Territories was constitutional right. It decided, consequently, that Congress, which had but a trustee for the common benefit of the people, could not deprive the citizen or prohibit slavery in a Territory; and that the clause of the Missouri Compromise Law prohibiting the institution in the common territory of the United States of a prescribed line, was unconstitutional, null, void, and that the slave was a free principle, that what Congress could not take away from the common Territories, no provisional government or agency it might establish in them could do so. It was also decided, that the act of Congress prohibiting slavery in the Territories, was unconstitutional, and that many parts of the act were unconstitutional, *a fortiori* would be the act of a territorial legislature, a mere agent, he also unconstitutional.

and so, necessarily, examined that matter, in the darkness of night, came to the conclusion that piety without holiness is a vain and hypocritical show, and that holiness without piety. Both were necessary to a perfect Christianity; but while the former was a defect that could be tolerated, the latter was so entirely defective as to be worthless—nothing but infidelity.

Now, while Christianity is held to be a life, modelled after that of Christ, or upon the principles he taught and exemplified; and while it does not merely profess that he taught a 'evangelical' principle, but is necessary to 'salvation', or to meet his approval, but ways made 'humanity' the test of goodness, and indeed made that the sum and substance of Christianity, as especially portrayed in the parable where he condemns the evangelical priest and Levite, while it approves the infidel but humanitarian Samaritan, in that other parable, where, at the 'Judgment of the great day', he shows himself as receiving the humanitarians, *en masse*, solely because they were humanitarians, it does not admit that humanity is Christianity,

per, far more than they (his persecutors) as-
pired to be; and she quietly asked them, as she did
before her bosom, if they too, would to such I
vindication of her truthfulness, she told them that she
would show her breast to the whole congregation
if that was not to her shame that she uncovered her
breast before them, but to their shame. Two young
men (A. Badgley and J. Horner) stepped forward
while Scjourner exposed her naked breast to the as-
sistance. One of the Democrats present cried out
"Why, this does not make an article of the board."
The Democrat says, as they were screaming from
fearing some from among them had been un-
der the skin. Dr. Sirin had, previous to the examination
offered to bet forty dollars that Scjourner was a man.
So much for the physiological anatomy of a western
physician.

As "agitation of thought is the beginning of
wisdom," we hope that Indiana will yet be redeemed.
Yours, truly, for the slave,
WILLIAM HAYWARD.

shades all who are unscrupulous with darker blood
than theirs. It is not a great consolation to be so
that a great compensation for all the services they
can render? Is not that a humane institution?
Away, then, with equal rights, with a unity of
blood of all nations! Great is Diana of the South-
sea. Great is our mode of dealing with
all Northern socialists and fanatics! To the
rack, to the rack! and as to those negroes, who
were cursed by Canaan! The Union is saved!

H. S. T.

FROM THE STAGE.

REVIEW OF A CRITIC.

Ms. Errors.

In your paper of last week, I noticed accounts of
William Lloyd Garrison's meetings in Montpellier
by correspondents who were present. His evening
addresses being reported, all on poor judgment upon
their merits. Nothing is more certain than that
foreign persons are differently affected by the same
cause, and there will, doubtless, be a great variety
of opinions with regard to Mr. Garrison.

Your correspondent "Amateur" gives his opinion

from the Abolition of Slavery?

1. What is the religious condition, at this time, of the Island generally, and the emancipated classes in particular, compared with that during Slavery?
2. And how far has the emancipation been supposed to have benefited the Island?
3. What is the state of education now, compared with what it was under Slavery?
3. Is there less crime now than formerly, and to what extent?
4. What is the price of land now, and what was it under Slavery? And whether the investment is considered more advantageous now than it was then?
5. Is there greater security of person and property now than there was in the state of Slavery?
6. What is the average yearly work of the free laborer for wages greater or less than was that of the slave? And in what proportion?
7. What was the estimated cost of slave labor per diem—taking into account the proportion of *covertures* to the *freemen*, the cost of maintenance in the present system, the law and other charges to keep them in order, as well as maintenance in food, clothing, &c.—and what is now the daily cost of free labor?

in the parishes have been laboring to remove themselves from the stigma of being and to remove the stigma from labor, to induce us to undertake field work, to enter situations as grocers, eaters, and herdsmen. In the towns, many suffering might have resented, but it has passed away, or is passing quickly away.

And now, my dear sir, accept my sincerest wishes for the success of your mission. I am glad to hear of the cause in which you are enlisted. The prayers of the millionaires and of their congregations in this island will follow you. You will often remember the happy faces of the emancipated you saw, the Sabbath school children, the young men in our church, and the intelligent children with whom you spoke in our schools. You may now in tears, when you will reap in joy. May the day not be distant, when every creature shall see its duty and its interest in abolishing slavery, and the spirit in our land in permitting the oppressed to go free, is the heartiest prayer of yours, very faithfully,

J. Y. EDGILL.
Ministry of the Church of the United Brethren.

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Christians, whatever their theology may be, who are who are devoid of it should be considered infidels, whatever amount of piety and evangelism they may lay claim to.

But this Society takes no such ground; it stands with the American Church upon that fatal heresy, piety rather than humanity constitutes essential Christianity, which has resulted in making the American Church the bulwark of American slavery.

And so it occurs that men can do the devil's work in the pro-slavery church, and then serve God in this Anti-Slavery Missionary Society, without in the least changing the devil.

And sometimes men who are in full support of both the Board and the American Missionary Association which they could not be, if there was any vital difference between them; for no man can serve masters.

Thus is Dr. Cheever making addresses at the meetings of the A. M. A., and in the Independent call for 'the debt of the A. B. C. F. M.' to be paid

SELECTIONS.

FROM THE YERMAL WATERMAN.

THE UNION SAVED.

NINO'S SUNDAY SCHOOL PROHIBITED IN RICHMOND.

A law of Virginia, prohibiting any gathering of colored persons, except for religious worship, and under the provision, the Mayor of Richmond, last Sunday, arrested the attendants at a colored Sunday School in number 43 of whom were slaves—recorded their names, and then discharged them. The pastor of the church, who was a white man, stated, however, held to show cause why he should not be dealt with according to law.—*Boston Courier*, April 25.

But it might not be impertinent to inquire if all or but all the retailers of grog and cigars, on Sabbath, were arrested? Were the rowdies who lodged in the city, and who were the cause of the law of purity all put to shame? Or how many scoons of debauch and of ruin were left to the bosom of that community, while the noble

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9. Or, sold. And how many years constitute a sale?
10. Are the slaves, generally speaking, better or worse cultivated under free labor than they were under slave?
11. In comparing the cost of production, on the one hand, with the quantity of produce raised, and sold from its actual market value, has that cost been increased or diminished under the free labor system?
12. And are there any modifying circumstances, other than Emancipation, that might be supposed to have contributed to this result?
13. Has it generally been acknowledged in this island to be a blessing? And if not, by what is the particular class or classes it is considered their greatest curse?
14. Has there been, at any time since Emancipation, any manifestation of repugnant feelings on the part of the laborers, for the things endured in Slavery?
15. Do the laborers usually take a greater interest in the State than under Slavery?
16. What time do the usual engagements for the laborers, for hire for house rent, or work in their own grounds?
17. Are the slaves furnished them real rent for the same?

From the Police Magistrate of Barbadoes.

1. The religious condition of the emancipated is decidedly superior to that of slavery. There are no more idolaters and child-murders; no more idleness and crime; the clergyman, the magistrate, the policeman, the schoolmaster and minister, and the attendance of the emancipated on the means of grace is generally good.

2. Education is now generally imparted. Where good schools exist, and the people have confidence in the teachers, the children are sent to school. The laborers, for the most part, are willing to pay, according to their ability, for the education of their children.

3. There is more apparent crime now than in the days of slavery; nine-tenths of the cases being thus disposed of by the proprietors, and not brought to the notice of the public.

4. Average, \$500 the acre, the value of the slave having merged into his land. In the days of slavery he was sold as a chattel.

5. There is greater security of person and property. As the laborer becomes impressed with a sense of his worth, he respects the persons and pro-

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jects of the grace of God during this year's revival religion."

Now, as the Doctor shows in another article this debt was contracted by their diligent labor promulgating a slaveholding religion, which is really devil's work, why should the "subjects of the grace of God," in gratitude and love, offer to pay the ill-gotten debt?

The churches in this city, which were meeting cordially open during the week for the freeing of the M. A., are today open so freely and cordially to the Secretary of the A. C. P. Y. F., to present his claims upon their sympathy and aid.

Thus Mr. Fearing both ways can serve God as well as to offend the devil, and call on both heaven and a wretched world.

There are some redeeming features in this case. The speech of Rev. John G. Roe of Central Pier, David W. North, Clinton, and Henry B. Walker of North Carolina, and Hiram C. Peck, of New York, who said, "We took up arms against the sound of no' enemies, and we will with 'slaveholders,' or their slaves, and their

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what are the conditions?
 16. How much would you be inclined to pay any taxes, particularly affecting the condition and circumstances?
 17. Have they the right of voting equally with other classes?
 18. On the whole, have they been benefited or otherwise by emancipation, and in what respects?
 19. What is the present condition of the poor whites? And how have they been affected by Emancipation?
 CHARLES TAPPAN.

From Res. J. Y. Edgill, Moravian Missionary.
 MINNAPOLIS, January 27, 1858.

MY DEAR SIR: I must, at the last moment, write a few lines in answer to your queries, received some time ago. The many duties devolving upon me, as the missionary in charge of one of our new stations, and of a new year, must be a sufficient reason with you for not extending my replies as I would do if time permitted.

1. "The religious" section, at this time, of the population, and the emancipated classes in particular, are well, and the colored Slaves, in numbers and condition, I am not in a position to give the statistics of. I am, however, satisfied that the colored people are better off than ever before. A more satisfactory state I am sure is not desirable.

work now than under slavery.

7. Not taking into consideration the investment, the cost of slave labor, when hired, was 25 cents a day, and the cost of the slave, 100 dollars a head. And, according to the day and by the job, according to the description of work, nine hours constitutes a day's work—from 6, A. M., to 4, P. M.—allowing for the time of meals.

8. Cultivation under free labor so far exceeds that under slave labor, so scarcely to bear a comparison, being more like garden than field cultivation.

9. Decreased. The risk of capital invested in the purchase of slaves is not so great as the risk of the negro now derives upon himself. The compensation money for the negro will give as securing interest on that capital.

10. Re-education is generally considered a blessing.

12. **News.** On the contrary, more sympathy between employer and employed, and mutually increases.

13. **Where** instead of being so far separated by the laborer, he is now so near, and so completely separated by the laborer to working his own land; and constantly making his own use of emergency; he readily does the whole work of the farm, and has a house, he pays the