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AN
ADDRESS
TO THE
ABOLITIONISTS OF MASSACHUSETTS,
ON THE SUBJECT OF
POLITICAL ACTION.

By the Board of Managers of the Mass. A. S. Society.

To the Abolitionists of Massachusetts—

The Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, desire to offer you a few suggestions, on the course recommended to you by duty and a wise policy, in relation to the exercise of your political privileges.

The uncompromising character of the early adherents to our cause, compelled the respect of the conscientious and reflecting part of the community. They stood firm, announcing the most thorough principles, not yielding one jot to the most plausible or popular prejudices. Men at first were startled by the boldness of their position, but they had at length the satisfaction of seeing public sentiment slowly turn in their favor. The mighty re-action is felt, and we are now going forward with wind and tide. The grandeur of the principles developed,—the constancy with which they were maintained, through odium and danger,—the magnitude of the interests contended for,—these things ap-

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pealed to every man in the land, who had a spark of heroism or heavenly enthusiasm in his nature. Our cause has gathered into its ranks in the short space of seven years, its hundreds of thousands; and numbers, among its friends, the most fearless, and God-devoted spirits in the land.

We mention these things, not as an idle boast, but that you may lay to heart the responsibilities, that grow out of your present position. Your duty, as citizens of the State, more than ever demands your serious attention and thought. We pray you to consider what we shall say to you on this subject.

There are those who disapprove of every form of political action, on the part of abolitionists. They contend that our cause should be presented exclusively under its religious and philanthropic aspect; that it will be degraded and enfeebled at the North, by connecting it with politics,—while, at the South, our political efforts will rouse a more united and determined resistance to our objects.

We cannot yield to this reasoning. It proceeds, we think, upon a narrow view of the subject. Politics, rightly considered, is a branch of morals, and cannot be deserted innocently. Our moral convictions must follow us to the ballot-box. They are not less imperative on us as citizens, than as members of the church, or fathers of families. In each, we have nothing to do, but to carry out our highest idea, simply and fearlessly. If the public mind is misled or vitiated on the subject of politics,—if politics has come to be considered as a game played by the desperate and unprincipled for power or emolument, it must not therefore be abandoned to them. The worldly and corrupt would like nothing better, than that the good should retire, in

fear or disgust, from this wide sphere of action. It seems to be our mission to substitute, in the minds of men, a new set of associations with the subject of politics. We believe that the tendency of the abolition efforts has, visibly, been to infuse more comprehensive principles into political bodies, and suggest to them purer motives of action, than have prevailed heretofore. Look at the dignified tone of the Reports and Resolves on Slavery and the Right of Petition, in several of the State Legislatures. Mark the high religious and moral stand assumed by Adams, Slade, Morris and others, in Congress. It is worth noting that the abolitionists form the only great party, in our age, who, aiming at a wide social reform, and operating on and through social institutions, yet rest their efforts and their hopes professedly on religious ground;—on faith in God, and faith in the God-like in man. That slavery is a sin against God, has been our rallying-cry from the beginning; heard not merely from the pulpit, but in the courts of justice, the popular assembly, and the halls of government. Our strength lies, and we well know it, in the religious sentiment of men, recognizing a Christian brother in the crushed slave, and at once stimulating, emboldening and sanctifying the efforts for his deliverance.

To think of purposely keeping such a question—a question of essentially moral and religious character, but having important public bearings,—out of politics, is like the view some persons have, that religion belongs to the temple and the Sabbath, but is out of place in week-day life. Religion runs the risk of being sadly profaned, adulterated, caricatured, counterfeited, in encountering or mixing with the common business or amusements of men; but we nevertheless press it in among them. This is, after

all, but a question of time. The subject of slavery must, obviously, sooner or later, enter deeply, into general politics. Slavery is itself the creature of law, that is of political action. It can only be finally destroyed, by the same power that gave it being.

We, however, value political action, chiefly as a means of agitating the subject. The great support of slavery,—without which it could not stand in the United States, two years,—is a corrupt public sentiment, among those who are not slaveholders. The current doctrine of the North is, that slavery is, indeed, an evil, and if southern society were to be reconstructed, slavery should, by no means, be introduced as an element; but that *in present circumstances, and with a view to probable consequences*, it cannot reasonably be expected of slaveholders to give up their slaves. This is what we suppose to be meant, by people's being opposed to slavery '*in the abstract.*'

Now, our first object is to replace these views, by an earnest conviction, embracing the heart and understanding of every man, woman and child we can reach, that duty and interest do now require of every slaveholder, the immediate emancipation of his slaves. We would make the public sentiment of the North a tonic, instead of an opiate to southern conscience; we would unite and concentrate it, until it shall tell, in a manner perfectly irresistible, upon the sense of right, the pride of social standing and character, even upon the interest of the slaveholder; until it shall help to make real to his mind, and he shall feel, in the air around him, the guilt, the danger, the deep disgrace, the ruinous impolicy of the relation he sustains. We believe this course to be enjoined by Christianity, free from all constitutional objections, and consecra-

ted by the example of our elder abolitionists, Franklin, Jay, Rush, and other revered founders of the Republic. Such have, indeed, ever been the appointed means for the removal of great social abuses. These means will not lack their accustomed power, in a country whose institutions are so emphatically the exponents of the popular will.

Another objection originating in a less friendly spirit, but resting on political grounds, is gravely put forth. We are told that our feeling for our fellow man, (at least if he be colored,) must be defined by geographical lines; that we have no right to plead for an oppressed brother if he stands outside of our own political enclosure. To this is added the certainly novel theory, that it is the nature of sin to reform itself, and that the oppression of the slaveholder would soon cease, if we would only withdraw all open sympathy from the injured, to bestow it on the oppressor. However absurd and revolting these sophisms may appear to you, they are reiterated with great confidence and frequency. To state them distinctly seems all that is necessary to expose them to the contempt they merit.

All we need for the overthrow of slavery is to gain the ear of the people. This is done by agitation; and never is agitation so thorough and effectual, as when it begins in the halls of legislation. We laugh to scorn the pomp and circumstance with which Mr. Calhoun, or Mr. Clay, or some other great slaveholding statesman, annually proclaims a final victory over fanaticism. Do they not see that our very defeats are triumphs to us? Have they yet to learn that revolutions never roll backwards? That our opposers are but erecting paper-ramparts, against the surges of an inswelling Atlantic? That their resolutions are but words?

That a breath unmakes them, as a breath has made? They are only doing our work. The country has learned more of the dangerous tendencies of slavery, and of the desperate character and designs of its supporters, by the discussions in Congress, than we could have instilled directly for years. Again, in the mere process of signing a petition,—the simplest form of political action,—strength and clearness are added to the convictions of thousands. So much force and definiteness do our principles and feelings acquire, by expression; so much moral vigor does a man gain, by openly taking his side.

We cannot be justified in abandoning any wide field of action, be it moral, social, religious or political. There can be no vantage ground for the wrong side. The slavery question cannot, and ought not, we think, to be kept wholly disjointed from politics. It should not be made a mere political question, but the religious and moral sense of the people must speak out, on the subject, with precision and authority, to their political representatives.

Unquestionably that voice is to go forth, commanding the use of all moral, lawful and constitutional means to overthrow slavery. We believe the question of abolition is one, perhaps the only one, on which the North can be brought to unite. Our cause is, we think, destined to increase so rapidly, as to threaten political extinction to every public man here, who arrays himself against it. Instructions will go forth from the constituent bodies, that will command the obedience of northern representatives in Congress. When this is done, slavery must cease in the metropolis of the nation, and slavery in the States cannot long survive. We doubt not, before five years are gone, it will be the South, instead of the North, that will be disunited and

vacillating. It does not belong to the character of their cause, or of the age and country we live in, that the South can long keep their ranks unbroken. Even now, there is no real unity of interest or opinion, between the farming and planting slave States.

Political action doubtless brings temptations and hazards ; but so does any successful action. Success is itself dangerous. What then ? shall we not aim at success ? Shall a man seclude himself from the world, lest the world prove too strong for his virtue ? As practical men we cannot proceed on these scruples. We cannot consent to forego the power to do good, from the apprehension that its possession may tempt us to use it for evil.

Is it then our purpose to recommend to abolitionists the formation of a distinct political party ? So far from this, we think such a policy would be in the highest degree dangerous, if not fatal to the efficiency of our organization.—Our most intelligent friends, throughout the country, deprecate our assuming the character of a third political party. Such a course would be opposed to the well settled policy and wise example of the English abolitionists, who have always kept the political aspect of their cause subordinate to the religious. Remember that abolition was carried in England, mainly as a religious question.

If we were a political party, the struggle for places of power and emolument would render our motives suspected, even if it did not prove too strong a temptation to our integrity.

Make our cause mainly political, and it would be at once excluded from nearly every pulpit in the land.

If we were a distinct party, every member of it must vote for its candidates, however

he might disagree with them on other important points of public policy. This would involve two great evils. The sacrifice thus demanded, being greater than we can reasonably expect most men to make, accessions to our party would be greatly retarded ;—and, what is a more serious difficulty, divisions would inevitably arise among ourselves, growing out of the struggles of different sections of our own party, to secure the nomination of candidates of their peculiar sentiments. Whig abolitionists would ask for a whig candidate: the democrats of our party would insist on our nominating a democrat.

Experience seems to show, that under a free government, there cannot be at one time, more than two powerful political parties. The parties that now divide the country are active, zealous and strong. Years must elapse, if we should organize politically, before we could be any thing but an uninfluential minority.

Our position, as a small minority party in politics would be hazardous and perplexing. There is danger that low considerations of expediency would intrude upon our sense of eternal right.

Political adventurers, loud in their professions, unscrupulous in their means, would attach themselves to us. Disappointed men, who have been disowned by other parties, would come among us to use us as tools for their personal advancement, to disgrace us by their inconsistency, to lower our hitherto high standard of principle, and perhaps sacrifice us in the day of trial.

Belonging, as we now do, to the various political parties, we can readily work our principles in, among them. Our present political ties and sympathies give us a strong hold over our political associates. We should lose all this mode

of influence, by withdrawing from them. Our withdrawal would be held equivalent to a declaration of war.

A new political organization would have, of course, the combined hostility of the old parties. It is now the interest of each to conciliate us, for the sake of our votes. Were those votes pledged to our own candidates, the other parties would have a common interest in crushing us.

To form a political party, on anti-slavery grounds, would involve a needless abandonment of our other political preferences, and therefore would imply, not merely that abolition is the *first*, but that it is the only public object, in which abolitionists feel interested. This is not true, and to produce such a state of feeling is as undesirable, as it would be impracticable.

To conclude this part of the subject, our true policy is not to turn party politicians, but in politics as elsewhere to stand firm by our principles, and let the politicians come to us.

Of each of the three forms of political action, petitioning, the interrogating of candidates for office, and suffrage, we have a few words to address to you.

We pray you not to weary in the work of petitioning the national and state legislatures. It is the anti-slavery petitions, mainly, that have unlocked the lips of our legislatures, on the subject of abolition, and slowly compelled the newspaper-press to recognize, and unwillingly to aid, our movements. The agitation, caused by the rejection of our petitions, has spread into every village. This simple mode of action marks our growing strength; indicates, definitely the people's will; enlightens our adversaries with the knowledge of our numbers; and is felt, by our

representatives, as a great support in the discharge of their duty. Depend upon it, the time has come when the members of Congress, from this State, feel relieved, under their great responsibility, by their constituents holding a decided—aye, even a peremptory tone, on the subject of slavery.

We hope women will pour in their petitions to Congress, at its next session, in redoubled numbers. Let them thank God, and take new courage, for they have done great good. We feel deeply the value of the earnest labours of women, in our cause. All admit slavery is to be overthrown by a reformed public opinion; but public opinion is not composed of the opinion of either sex exclusively. In every christian and civilized community, self-devoted, intelligent women are among the most important sources of moral and religious influence. Grievously do they err, who deem lightly of the fact, that in the moral strife between freedom and slavery, the women of the North are with the abolitionists.

Your representatives in the next State Legislature, and for the Congress of 1839, are to be chosen the coming autumn. They should be seasonably interrogated, as to their opinions on the the most important matters connected with our cause, on which they may probably be called to act. After some consideration, the Board have concluded to recommend, that the interrogatories to candidates be limited, for the present year, to the two following subjects:—The immediate abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia; and the admission of new States into the union, whose Constitutions tolerate slavery.

Our Legislature, at its last session, resolved ‘that Congress ought to take measures for the abolition of slavery, in the District.’ This

vague language can satisfy no one. *When* ought Congress to take these 'measures'?—what are the 'measures' that Congress ought to take? and how long a time are these 'measures' to occupy, before the slave is to be free? Remember, that the Senate and the House both refused to assert that Congress ought to immediately abolish slavery in the District, though this proposition was moved as an amendment. The resolution of the Legislature, as passed, would be accorded to, even by some slaveholders. It may mean apprenticeship,—it may import colonization. This State owes it to herself to speak out distinctly, that none may misunderstand or gainsay. She will be shorn of a portion of her moral power, till this is done.

The application of Florida, to be admitted as a slaveholding member of the Union is to be acted on, at no distant day—probably at the next session of Congress. You ought, therefore, to see to it that remonstrances against its admission as a slaveholding State, are presented early in the session. Our northern statesmen should be seasonably taught, that they must not in future misrepresent and betray the rights and principles of New England, as was done in the recent admission of Arkansas.

We request the officers of County Societies, within their respective limits, to see that the candidates for Congress and for the State Senate and House of Representatives are duly interrogated and their answers published in the local newspapers.

The questions should, of course, be in writing; and it seems better that they should be written and signed, not by the officers of societies *as such*, but, as far as practicable, by individual electors, political friends of the candidate inter-

rogated. It is not advisable to ask any pledge from the candidate, but simply to inquire his present opinions. The questions to the State candidate may be, substantially, thus :

‘Are you in favor of the passage of a resolution, by the State Legislature, declaring that Congress ought immediately to abolish slavery, in the District of Columbia ?’

‘Are you in favor of the passage of a resolution, declaring that no new State ought to be admitted into the Union, whose Constitution tolerates slavery ?’

The questions to candidates for Congress should run thus :

‘Are you in favor of the passage of an act of Congress for the immediate abolition of slavery, in the District of Columbia ?’

‘Are you opposed to the admission of any new State into the Union, whose Constitution tolerates slavery ?’

A large school in politics, both in Great Britain and America, deny the right of instruction ; principally on the ground, that if carried out, it would destroy the deliberative character of the representative body, and convert it into a mere instrument to register the edicts of the people. The practice, of exacting pledges from candidates, may be considered liable to similar objections. It is, however, sufficient to advert to the fact, that the presidential electors of all parties are uniformly chosen under an express pledge to vote for particular candidates, in order to shew, that no party has, in practice, scrupled to pledge its candidates. But in order to avoid any doubt or cavil on this point, we think it best to confine your inquiries, as we have already intimated, to the mere opinion for the time being, of the candidate. This you

have a right to know ; as without such knowledge it may often happen, that you cannot exercise intelligently your right of suffrage. It may be said, that a simple expression of opinion would, under the circumstances, be equivalent to a pledge. We deny that such is the fact, or that the thing is so understood. A pledge binds in all events. A previous expression of present opinion is not incompatible with keeping the mind still open to conviction, on listening to the opposing arguments. It is true, that a representative who should vote contrary to his previous professions, would find it necessary, before the next election, to satisfy his constituents that he came honestly by his new opinions ; but this is certainly a very wholesome obligation, and one from which no honest man would desire exemption.

If it be objected, that these interrogatories may tempt candidates to belie their consciences for the sake of gaining votes, we reply, that to men of this easy virtue the whole action of society is full of temptation, but it cannot be suspended for their sakes. If the further objection be urged, that there is an indecorum in submitting to be thus questioned on the eve of an election, it is enough to reply, first, that as candidates are not usually nominated until the eve of an election, inquiries can be made at no other time ; and, secondly, that inquiries of this nature, as they clearly imply confidence and not distrust, must be regarded rather as complimentary, than as derogatory to the candidate. We address him as an honest, straight-forward citizen, and no man of genuine dignity of character will feel himself degraded, either in public or private life, by giving a plain answer to a plain question, where the inquirer has a right to the information asked. As to the fear of in-

decorum, like most overstrained modesty, it will be usually found symptomatic of conscious corruption within. Suppose you were about to engage a commander for your ship, a superintendent of your farm, an agent for your factory, and were to inquire his views as to the principles or details of the employment he was to undertake. Would you endure his insolence if he were to reply, 'I consider it undignified and improper to satisfy you on these points. You are at liberty to gain what information you can of my history and reputation, and thence to infer what are my views on the matter in question?' You would think, and probably but too justly, that he meant to cheat you. Will you bear such language from your political servants? No public man in this country is strong enough to sustain himself long, in this mode of defying the popular will. No party can do it. The right of the electors, to call for a frank disclosure of the opinions of candidates, on all subjects which may come within the scope of their official duties, has been expressly admitted by Martin Van Buren, Henry Clay, William H. Harrison, William Wirt, Edward Everett, and Marcus Morton, and by a host of other eminent statesmen. It is too late to question its validity. No man of plain integrity would shrink from the ordeal. The practice is eminently republican and useful. It is calculated to promote political honesty and open dealing, and to put an end to that double-faced and non-committal policy, by which politicians, of inferior abilities and low arts, sometimes crawl into power.

Your duties as voters are mainly negative. *Vote for no man, however estimable from general character and acquirements, who is not prepared to give a prompt, explicit, and satisfactory answer on the topics we have mentioned.* Be uncom-

promising on points of principle. Have no respect to persons. It is the secret of your strength, hitherto. Shew by your firmness, whether your heart is in your cause. Let not the fervor of political zeal, or the warmth of personal attachment, lead you to forfeit your character for resolution and consistency. Whoso loves father, or brother, or friend better than the truth, is not worthy of it.

We pray you to take no part, *as abolitionists*, in the nomination of candidates. Do not even vote, *by concert*, for candidates already in nomination. Let the act of voting be an individual act, but performed, by each voter, under a deep sense of responsibility. We are aware, that in many towns and districts, where you have considerable numerical strength, and where the answers of the regular political candidates may not be satisfactory, the temptation will be strong, to unite your forces upon a candidate of your own. We entreat you not to do this. Your example will be a dangerous one. On the other hand, do not stay away from the polls. Go, rather; and scatter your votes. This is the true way to make yourselves felt. Every scattering vote you cast, counts against the candidates of the parties; and will serve as an effectual admonition to them, to nominate the next time, men whom you can conscientiously support.

The candidates presented to your choice will, of course, be nominated either by the whigs or democrats. The most prominent individual of the whig party, and probably their next candidate for the presidency, is a slave-holder, president of that stupendous imposture, the Colonization Society, author of the fatal Missouri 'compromise,' and of the slavish resolutions against the abolitionists, lately passed by the Senate of the United States. On the other hand, the leader of the democratic party, 'the northern presi-

dent with southern principles,' has deeply insulted this nation, by avowing his determination to veto any bill for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, which may be passed by a majority of the people, in opposition to the wishes of the slave States.

No consistent abolitionist can vote for either of these individuals. It does not however follow, that he cannot vote for candidates for State offices or for Congress, who may be their friends and supporters. If the candidate before you be honest, capable, and true to your principles, we think you may fairly vote for him, without considering too curiously, whether his success might not have an indirect bearing on the interests of Mr. Clay or Mr. Van Buren. It is a golden maxim, 'Do the duty that lies nearest thee.' Vote for each man by himself, and on his own merits. If you attempt to make your rule more complicated, so as to include distant contingencies and consequences, it will be found perplexing and impracticable.

The independent course in politics, which we have recommended, supposes great prudence, disinterestedness, energy of purpose, and self-control, in those who are to adopt it. May you justify our confidence in you. Do your duty. Come out, in your strength, to the polls. Refuse to support any public man who trims, or equivocates, or conceals his opinions. Beware of half way abolitionists; and of men, who are abolitionists but once a year. Prove that you do not require the machinery of party discipline, to vote strictly according to your professed principles. Do this, and you will rapidly acquire a deserved influence. 'Such a party,' as Mr. Webster justly said, in speaking of the abolitionists, 'will assuredly cause itself to be respected.' Within the next two years, the friends of freedom might

hold the balance of power, in every free State in the Union; and no man could ascend the presidential seat, against their will.

Our cause demands of us entire disinterestedness. We are not to desire power, for power's sake. Our prayers, and toil, and tears are not our own, but the slave's. We need circumspection. The attacks, that were formerly made on our principles and measures, are now turned upon our motives and personal characters. The corrupt and bitter portion of the newspaper press are beginning to discover, that the facts and arguments, in favor of our great doctrine of immediate emancipation, are irresistible, and are carrying conviction to almost every well informed and reflecting mind; and they are now trying to distort our motives, and blacken our reputations. This is making a false issue, but let it not too much disturb us. The true question for the public evidently is, Do we speak the truth? The inquiry, whether we are actuated by a right spirit, is, in reality, of very little comparative importance. The principle is all; the men nothing. Let God be true, and every man a liar.

Beware of forming alliances with any party. Enter into no stipulations in advance, for the disposition of a single vote. The party, or the press, or the politician that courts you most warmly to-day, will perhaps shew most malignance and treachery toward you, to-morrow. We have reason to be grateful to Heaven, that, thus far, we have so little to thank either of the great parties for. The leading presses on both sides, have done their best to outrage and insult us. There has been an eager competition between them, to purchase southern votes, by sacrificing the rights, and aspersing the character of the abolitionists. Even now, though it is

seen by all persons of common sagacity, and is even generally admitted in private conversation, that our ultimate success is certain, the same treatment is, to a considerable extent continued. The class of trading politicians take no far-sighted views even for themselves, still less for their party,—least of all, for their country. They cannot wait for the slow returns of an honest and liberal policy. Their object is to meet the exigency of the moment, to carry the present point; like prodigals lavishing the resources of the future upon the passing hour; like gamblers trusting to chance or trick, to extricate them from the embarrassments they are aware must, by and bye, come.

This competition for southern votes, has saved us from the too dangerous friendship of either of the political parties. The President of the United States, had, (in his first message to Congress,) avowed himself the suppliant tool of the southern slaveholders, when the Whig merchants of New-York, determined not to be outbid, took occasion, in their address to the nation, to assure their southern brethren, that they were men, who ‘thought the *possession* of property [not *its honest acquisition*] was evidence of merit!’ and that persons of such sentiments, would be the last to disturb ‘the peculiar property’ of the south.

By counteracting forces like these, have we been providentially preserved from being absorbed by either of the political parties. With the fundamental principles of those parties, when properly understood, abolitionism has strong affinities. The idea of the whig party in this country is order, the supremacy of law, the sacredness of the person, the inviolability of property. Who has a stronger interest in these things than we? Who have suffered more

than we, from anarchy and misrule? Who have pleaded more earnestly, for the right of every man to that which he produces by his own labor;—a right which is at the foundation of all property?—On the other hand, the great Democratic idea is Liberty, Reform, Progress, Equal Rights;—and are not these our very breath of life?

We are far from asserting, that these noble principles are actually embodied, in the leaders of either of our political parties. So far from this, the principles are in danger of being themselves brought into disgrace, by the selfish and inconsistent men, who pretend to represent them. Still, while these principles are, however imperfectly, represented in the struggle of the adverse parties, it is natural and right, that individual abolitionists should range themselves, in these struggles, according as their political theories may incline them to take one or the other set of views. This must, however, be done in strict subordination to the interests of that hallowed cause, to which we have pledged our character and influence. Be assured, that not one man, in the very first ranks of the political parties, has any sincere attachment to your principles. Therefore, as you have little to hope for the abolition cause, from the sincere good will of the parties, as such, do not be driven to act with the one, or renounce the other, merely because, for some temporary purpose, the one side or the other happens, to-day, to treat you with unaccustomed consideration, or to heap upon you peculiar outrage and abuse. Circumstances may, for a while, induce the presses, of one or the other party, to conciliate you; but depend upon it, there is, at bottom, but very little to choose between them. There is certainly no reason, thus far, why you should

as a body, ally yourselves exclusively with either, but many and urgent reasons against it.

There is much, in the aspect of the times, to cheer us, in our political efforts. The danger of the admission of Texas is, probably, past. Thanks to the abolitionists, the free States have been roused to the disgrace and ruin of becoming a partner, in the crimes of that bloody and slave-trading Republic. Slavery in the United States, and slavery in Texas, will not be suffered to double their strength, by union. The gag resolution in Congress, has received its death blow, from the intrepid, illustrious and venerable Adams. The subject of slavery will henceforth be an open one, in that body. Within three years, we shall probably have a favorable report on slavery in the District, and in less than five, we have little doubt of witnessing its peaceful abolition.

Slavery once abolished in the District, what a vast accession of moral power is gained, both in the process, and from the result! Friends animated,—oppressors disheartened,—all consciences awakened! It is a gain to the cause of virtue every where. The spiritual atmosphere is purified. Each man draws freer breath into his soul. The Lord is seen indeed to reign. The testimony of the nation is thenceforth added to the general reprobation of slavery, and will help to shame it out of existence. Another illustrious proof is given, of the possibility of the highest public virtue.

Instead of calling on you to descend from these heights, from a fear that the elevation may make you giddy, we say to you, your only danger is in looking down. Keep your aims ever upwards, and there is no fear that your footing will not be firm.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President.*

AMOS A. PHELPS, *Secretary.*





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