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the political body, must the body be rent and torn when the demon comes out of it. Strange that the politicians would not see long ago that a brute conservatism is more dangerous to the Union than an army of agitators; that this alone makes agitation possible, the Popes and their French tyrant necessitated the Sicilian Vespers; Charles and Strafford made the Hampdens and the Cromwells; the Hapsburgs made the Kossuths and the Garibaldis; and Mr. Pierce and Mr. Buchanan, with their legalized bandits, created John Brown. If American statesmanship will regard the pulse-beats of humanity itself and the action of the moral sense of mankind, as the flicker of some local fanaticism which can be snuffed out, then the moral forces of the age must have their way through commotions and perils. But yielding gracefully to them, they are most peaceful and benign. Three honest words from Charles the First would have saved England the confusions of the great rebellion and the revolution. Slavery might pass away as the snows dissolve in the Spring time, and human nature rise to its enfranchisements which none of the baleful and perplexing omens of change, without any alteration in our form of Government. So the founders of the Republic meant, and so they hoped, and they shaped the Constitution, as they thought, so as to have it flexible to the universal spirit of liberty.

These rather heads and hints of discourse than a discussion of the great question you have opened. But I send them as they are, as it is not likely I can be present at your meeting, and I hold it the duty of every one on those questions to speak out the tho't that is in him.  
Yours respectfully, E.H. SEARS.

LETTER FROM WM. LLOYD GARRISON.  
Boston, December 1, 1860.

DEAR SIR:--Abstaining by medical advice from all public speaking at present, in consequence of bronchial difficult, I can only respond by letter to the invitation extended to me by the committee of arrangements, to participate in the proceedings of the Conventions to be held at the Temple on Monday next, in order to mark the anniversary of the martyrdom of John Brown, and to consider the question, 'How can American Slavery be Abolished?'

My method of abolishing slavery is before the country, and has been for the last thirty years. I see no inducement to change or modify it, in any material respect. Briefly, it is comprised in these particulars:

1. To brand slavery as essentially, self-evidently and eternally unjust, as applied to any portion of mankind; and, therefore, not to be made a debatable question, nor a matter of policy, nor dependent upon any contingency for its abolition; on the contrary, it is to be abhorred, denounced, assailed, in season and out of season, without forbearance or mercy, without compromise or procrastination, by every legitimate weapon, until it cease to pollute and cure the land.

2. Being a system of unparalleled enormity, its upholders and abettors should be the objects of continual warning, entreaty, expostulation, rebuke, exposure and assault. No religious body, claiming the Christian name, and exercising and discipline whatever, should allow any such to



be recognized as competent to membership. None of them should be elevated to any position of public trust and emolument. They should be subjected to universal, moral and social outlawry. Public indignation should burn like fire against them. They are the deadliest enemies of domestic tranquility, of public order, of sound morality, of sacred law, of general prosperity.--Towards the objects of their oppression, they reverse all the rules of justice, all the requirements of humanity, all the axioms of political economy, and consign them to a fate a thousand times more to be dreaded than untimely death. They perpetrate all crimes in the one act of making merchandise of their fellow-creatures, and hence give unbounded scope to licentiousness, brutality, robbery and murder; and when their conduct is called in

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question, instantly their passions are 'set on fire of hell,' and they behave like demons.--Witness the present state of the South, blending as it does the maniacal ravings of Bedlam with the torments of the damned!

3. For the slave, every demand is to be made that one human being may claim of another. Immediate and unconditional emancipation--the recognition and protection of his manhood by law--the power to make contracts, to receive wages, to accumulate property, to acquire knowledge, to dwell where he chooses, to defend his wife, children, and fireside. Were the patriots of 1776 justified in rising up in insurrection, and resisting British oppression unto death? Then are the slaves of the South to be justified, a thousand times more, in imitating their example, and making 'Liberty or Death' their motto--enduring, as they do, to quote the language of Jefferson in their case, 'a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery ages of that which we rose in rebellion to oppose.' Did our revolutionary fathers deserve foreign sympathy, and was it meritorious on the part of France to aid them to achieve their independence? So do the slaves deserve as much sympathy and aid at the hands of all who believe in the Bunker Hill process of making tyranny bite the dust. Was it the immortal honor of Lafayette, that he drew his sword and perilled his life for our deliverance? Still more is it to the glory of John Brown and his associates at Harper's Ferry, that they stake all that was dear to them, and nearly all perished, in the attempt to liberate the sable bondmen in Virginia. 'Sic semper tyrannis!' Brand the man as a hypocrite and dastard who, in one breath, exults in the deeds of Washington and Warren, and in the next, denounces Nat Turner as a monster for refusing longer to wear the yoke and be driven under the lash, and for taking up arms to defend his God-given rights. If the doctrine of non-resistance ought to be spurned for oppressed white men, it is equally to be spurned for oppressed black men. Weapons of death for all, or for none, who are struggling to be free. Let Hancock and Adams be covered with infamy, or the black liberators who aided John Brown be honored in history.

Thus do I defend the manhood of the humblest slave as on a level with that of his lordly tyrant, and thus do I place them together on the same equality of natural rights. Thus do I test the nation by its own revolutionary standard, taking Bunker Hill monument for my measuring line. No matter for race or complexion--'a man's a man for a' that.'--But, for myself, I believe in the inviolability of human life, and therefore disarm, by my principles, alike the oppressor and the oppressed. I believe in the immense superiority of spiritual over carnal weapons, and so seek not the overthrow of slavery by a bloody process. But, assuredly, were I a convert to the doctrine of '76, that a resort to the sword is justifiable to recover lost liberty, then would I plot insurrection by day and by night, deal more in blows and less in words, and seek

through blood the emancipation of all who are groaning in captivity at the South.

Finally, I am for taking away all the props which now sustain the slave system, and thus effecting its speedy and eternal overthrow.

Yours, for no union with slaveholders,  
WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

James Redpath, Esq.

FROM H.H. GARNET--(EXTRACT.)

I doubt whether any one can tell how slavery will be abolished, although it is not difficult to state how it might be done away.--Nor is it a matter of great importance to the Christian and philanthropist how the foul blot and stain shall be wiped from our national escutcheon. God will surely put an end to the crime in his own righteous and just way. Our great concern should be to act up to our honest convictions and do our duty. It is probably that no stereotyped plan devised by human wisdom will be found to be perfect.--The most we can do is to keep our eyes upon the signs of the times, and co-operate with the

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provinces of God, as they shall be developed, and 'act in the living present.' Had it been my privilege to mingle in your council, I should have urged the importance of philanthropists and Christians on all proper occasions of bearing a faithful testimony against the sin of slavery. I should have also endeavored to show the beauty and power of a union of anti-slavery precept and example in respect to the dealings of Abolitionists with free colored people of the North, the purity and sincerity of which could be so clearly illustrated by assisting them in honest labor, trade, commerce, education, and in the principles of pure religion, and undefiled before God, the Father.

FROM THE REV. GILBERT HAVEN--(EXTRACT.)

I should, if I were present and permitted to speak, advocate a Manumission Aid Society, as the most effectual aid for the present time to the work of abolishing slavery. About seven years ago I conceived of the idea of helping, by Northern subscription, such masters as were conscientious in this relation, and anxious to get out of it, but were hampered by two difficulties: First, their act would completely impoverish them, and their conscience was not up to that point of sacrifice; second, they could not free their slaves on their soil, and they had no means of transporting them to a free State, or of giving them a start there.

Mr. Haven relates his efforts to arouse attention to this subject by articles in different newspapers, and by correspondence with Gerrit Smith, Elihu Burrit, and others.

LETTER FROM GOV. PACKER.  
Executive Department, Harrisburg, Pa.,  
November 21, 1860.

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SIR:--In my opinion, the young men whose names are attached to the foregoing letter would better serve God and their country, by attending to their own business. John Brown was rightfully hanged, and his fate should be a warning to others having similar proclivities.

WM. F. PACKER,  
Governor of Pennsylvania.

James Redpath, Boston.

FROM THE REV. M.D. CONWAY--(EXTRACT.)

As to methods, we may safely trust to the vital germ the organization of its flower and fruit. I have no doubt that when Slavery is abolished, the manner in which it is done will be a matter of astonishment even to such clear-eyed prophets as Mr. Garrison. It has seemed to me that if all lovers of Freedom could plant themselves on any one manifest duty relating to this evil, and actually maintain the stand, Slavery could not withstand it. Suppose that stand were a resolve that not another fugitive from bondage should be returned, under any circumstances, even that would presently make the issue so perfect that it must be decided; and we know that every real and permanent decision that is made in the world must be on the other side of the fugitive. If we could only have some one of your best men imprisoned in Massachusetts for disobedience to this law--say Emerson or Longfellow, or Lowell, either of whom would harbor a fugitive--a glorious point would be made with the people, who love their poets more than their preachers.

FROM T.W. HIGGINSON--(EXTRACT.)

Every day is confirming the position taken by the Worcester Disunion Convention nearly four years ago, that the Free States and Slave States of America are not one nation, but two nations--between which harmony is impossible, and ultimate separation inevitable. A dissolution of the Union, is in my opinion, a mere question of time. It will come whenever the North takes a firm anti-slavery position, however mild or moderate, and holds to it. The longer it is delayed, the greater will be the accumulation of mutual hostility and the probability of bloodshed. I wish, therefore, that the slave States might fulfill their present threats; it must come to that, sooner or later, and every year's delay only embitters the feeling.

The Union being dissolved, the fate of slavery  
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