

Because the man who has fallen among thieves, and lies weltering in his blood, is *black*.

10. Why are abolitionists fanatics, madmen and incendiaries?

Because those for whom they plead are *black*.

11. Why are they wrong in their principles and measures?

Because the slaves are *black*.

12. Why is all the prudence, moderation, judiciousness, philanthropy and pity on the side of their opponents?

Because the slaves are *black*.

13. Why ought not the free discussion of slavery to be tolerated?

Because its victims are *black*.

14. Why is Lynch law, as applied to abolitionists, better than common law?

Because the slaves, whom they seek to emancipate, are *black*.

15. Why are the slaves contented and happy?

Because they are *black*!

16. Why don't they want to be free?

Because they are *black*!

17. Why are they not created in the image of God?

Because their skin is *black*.

18. Why are they not cruelly treated, but enjoy unusual comforts and privileges?

Because they are *black*!

19. Why are they not our brethren and countrymen?

Because they are *black*.

20. Why is it unconstitutional to pity and defend them?

Because they are *black*.

21. Why is it a violation of the national compact to rebuke their masters?

Because they are *black*.

22. Why will they be lazy, improvident, and worthless, if set free?

Because their skin is *black*.

23. Why will the whites wish to amalgamate with them in a state of freedom?

Because they are *black*!!

24. Why must the Union be dissolved, should Congress abolish slavery in the District of Columbia?

## A Short Catechism

*Garrison's thoughts at this time were never more dangerous and dire toward the church and the state. There was much bitterness, much hopelessness in them. He was acutely conscious of the frantic maneuvering going on behind his back to isolate him and defame him. One of the high points of his soreness and exhortation toward those who began to talk moderation and gradualism comes with this attack on the raw racism existing in this society. He is saying that with us, racism is a kind of religious exercise, and seems to be concluding that redemption by the ordinary forms of social transformation was out of the question.*

November 17, 1837

## A SHORT CATECHISM

Adapted to All Parts of the United States

1. Why is American slaveholding in all cases not sinful?

Because its victims are *black*.

2. Why is gradual emancipation right?

Because the slaves are *black*.

3. Why is immediate emancipation wrong and dangerous?

Because the slaves are *black*.

4. Why ought one-sixth portion of the American population to be exiled from their native soil?

Because they are *black*.

5. Why would the slaves if emancipated, cut the throats of their masters?

Because they are *black*.

6. Why are our slaves not fit for freedom?

Because they are *black*.

7. Why are American slaveholders not thieves, tyrants and men-stealers?

Because their victims are *black*.

8. Why does the Bible justify American slavery?

Because its victims are *black*.

9. Why ought not the Priest and the Levite, 'passing by on the other side,' to be sternly rebuked?

Because the slaves in that District are *black*.  
 25. Why are abolitionists justly treated as outlaws in one half of the Union?

Because those whose cause they espouse are *black*.

26. Why is slavery 'the corner-stone of our republican edifice?'  
 Because its victims are *black*.

We have thus given twenty-six replies to those who assail our principles and measures—that is, one reply, unanswerable and all-comprehensive, to all the cavils, complaints, criticisms, objections and difficulties which swarm in each State in the Union, against our holy enterprize. The victims are BLACK! "That alters the case!" There is not an individual in all this country, who is not conscious before God, that if the slaves at the South should be to-day miraculously transformed into men of white complexions, to-morrow the abolitionists would be recognised and cheered as the best friends of their race; their principles would be eulogised as sound and incontrovertible, and their measures as rational and indispensable! Then, indeed, immediate emancipation would be the right of the slaves, and the duty of the masters! . . .

## The Lovejoy Climax

*With all the turmoil going on as the Abolitionist ranks grew in power and strength, Garrison's now well-known nonresistant views had kept his followers from being badly hurt or harassed by serious legal action. Then editor Elijah P. Lovejoy, whom Garrison claimed never did advocate immediate abolition, was killed in Alton, Illinois, while defending his printing press, with a gun in his own hands, by a vicious proslavery mob. This shocking event aroused some hitherto reluctant liberals and individualists, like Reverend William Ellery Channing, who found Lovejoy much nearer their ideal as a reformer than Garrison and were greatly wrought up over the incident. They had regarded Garrison's verbal intemperance with annoyance and scarcely noticed his 1835 mobbing by the gentlemen in broadcloth.*

Garrison published the story of Lovejoy's martyr's death in columns edged in black and went on to editorialize that in seven years' time there had really been no change in the status of the Negro, slave and free, and that the country seemed to be "diseased beyond the power of recovery." He condemned the whole American people, particularly since Faneuil Hall, hitherto "sacred to liberty and the rights of mankind," could not be obtained for a protest meeting against the slaying of a reformer upholding the freedom of the press.

*Dr. Channing was equally aroused by this last irony and sent a vigorous and rare letter of public reproach to The Liberator, which succeeded, along with many others, in opening the hall for the meeting.*

*When the meeting took place, the Massachusetts Attorney General, James Austin, appeared on the platform, demanded the right to speak, and proved himself as willing to whip up a mob against the Abolitionists as the murderers of Lovejoy. Wendell Phillips, in one of his great spontaneous orations, easily put the attorney general to rout.*

November 24, 1837

## A MARTYR FOR LIBERTY

Slain by the Hands of His Own Countrymen!

An awful sensation pervades the land. It is one of shuddering horror, excited in view of a fearful and bloody spectacle, seldom equalled in atrocity, and never surpassed in infamy. The amiable, benevolent, intrepid LOVEJOY is no more! He fell overpowered by a band of assassins on the night of the 7th instant,

and his mangled body lies covered by the sod! Thanks be to God, though being dead, he yet speaks!—for his spirit lives, and is walking abroad over the land, terrifying a guilty, conscience-stricken people by its presence; and from his grave is heard a cry of blood, in tones that pierce the heavens and shake the earth. The circumstances under which he was sacrificed make the deed one of loathsome turpitude, and most deservedly bring upon our country the worst reproaches of the civilized world,—ay, and the retributive judgment of Almighty God. In his martyrdom he died as the representative of Philanthropy, Justice, Liberty and Christianity; well, therefore, may his fall agitate all heaven and earth!

That his loss will be of incalculable gain to that noble cause which was so precious to his soul, is certain. In destroying his press, the enemies of freedom have compelled a thousand to speak out in its stead. In attempting to gag his lips, they have unloosed the tongues of tens of thousands of indignant souls. In murdering a loyal and patriotic citizen, in order to allay a petty local excitement, they have stirred up a national commotion which causes the foundations of the republic to tremble. O most insane and wicked of mankind! . . .

We cannot, however, in conscience delay the expression of our regret, that our martyred coadjutor and his unfaltering friends in Alton should have allowed any provocation, or personal danger, or hope of victory, or distrust of the protection of Heaven, to drive them to take up arms in self-defence. They were not required to do so either as philanthropists or christians, and they have certainly set a dangerous precedent in the maintenance of our cause,—though the fact does not in the least palliate the blood-thirsty conduct of their assailants. Far be it from us to reproach our suffering brethren, or weaken the impression of sympathy which has been made on their behalf in the minds of the people—God forbid! Yet, in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, who suffered himself to be unresistingly nailed to the cross, we solemnly protest against any of his professed followers resorting to carnal weapons under any pretext or in any extremity whatever.

December 8, 1837

### APPALLING DEVELOPEMENTS

It required a sanguinary conflict of seven years, on the part of the American colonies with the mother country, to maintain the 'self-evident truths,' that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty. That a people who had made such sacrifices, and suffered their blood to be so lavishly shed in the cause of HUMAN RIGHTS, might degenerate even to servility, within half a century, was deemed a possible, though not a very probable occurrence:—That, on achieving their independence, they would immediately begin to doubt or deny the soundness of the doctrines for which they had contended, as applied to all mankind, who would have ventured to predict?—That, instead of emancipating the four hundred thousand slaves whom they held in bondage, while they themselves were struggling for freedom, they would multiply them to MILLIONS within three-score years, and make their yokes heavier and their fetters more galling, was a supposition too absurd, too atrocious for human conception or utterance.

All these dreadful inconsistencies, however, are cherished realities. Nearly one-fifth part of the American people are at this moment held in chains and slavery! by their own countrymen!—and it is far more perilous to plead for their deliverance, than it was for the colonists to denounce the oppression of England. We have been engaged in a moral campaign to redeem them from bondage, for a period equal in duration to the revolutionary war; yet they clank their chains, and their cries continue to enter into the ear of the Lord of Sabaoth!

When we first unfurled the banner of the Liberator, we anticipated a severe struggle with the foul Spirit of Slavery, whose name is BLASPHEMY. . . . We knew it would prove no childish controversy, and that the whole land would rock with the excitement. We were sure, that if a huge system of licentiousness, robbery and oppression could thrive on the American soil, it must be because there were deep corruption and almost total insen-

sibility on the part of the people. But, we confess, of the awful state of this nation, which subsequent developments have made manifest, we had no adequate conception. Whatever scenes of violence might transpire in the slaveholding States, we did not anticipate that, in order to uphold southern slavery, the free States would voluntarily trample under foot all order, law and government, or brand the advocates of universal liberty as incendiaries and outlaws. It did not occur to us, that nearly every religious sect, and every political party, would rally on the side of the oppressor; that Doctors of Divinity, Professors of Theology, Presidents of Colleges, and those who claim to be ministers of the gospel would have the impety to justify the enslavement of men by the Bible; that public halls and meeting-houses would be closed against those who might wish to plead for justice, in the name of humanity, and according to the law of the living God—and opened to those who were the deadliest enemies of freedom and Christianity; or that the right of petition would be denied to the people by Congress, respecting the existence of slavery in those portions of territory over which it holds entire jurisdiction. We did not dream that the free discussion of any system or institution, in the republic, would be regarded as dangerous or unconstitutional;—least of all that it would be necessary for any man to lay down his life, in a free State, in defence of the liberty of the press.

The whole land has been thoroughly proved, by a series of tests, to be diseased beyond the power of recovery. 'There is no healing of its bruise—its wound is grievous.' In the solemn language of another—'The violence of mobs—the fury of oppressors—the violence and madness of their protectors and apologists in Church and State, are but the tremendous convulsions, the fearful delirium, the dying throes of an expiring nation.' The American people are waging war, not against England or France, or the combined powers of Europe; but against the Rights of Mankind, against the image of God, against Divine Revelation, against Life and Immortality, against the Throne of the Eternal.

December 8, 1837

## CHANNING'S LETTER

To the Citizens of Boston

I feel that I owe it to my fellow citizens and myself, to offer some remarks on the proceedings of the Board of Aldermen, in relation to a petition presented to them for the use of Faneuil Hall, in order that there might be an expression of public sentiment in regard to the late ferocious assault on the liberty of the press at Alton. . . .

This petition was rejected by the Board of Aldermen, on the ground, that the resolutions, which might be passed at the proposed meeting, would not express the public opinion of the city, and would even create a disgraceful confusion in Faneuil Hall, or in other words, would excite a mob. . . .

. . . . To intimate that such resolutions would not express the public opinion of Boston, and would even create a mob, is to pronounce the severest libel on this city. It is to assert, that peaceful citizens cannot meet here in safety to strengthen and pledge themselves against violence, and in defence of the dearest and most sacred rights. And has it come to this? Has Boston fallen so low? May not its citizens be trusted to come together to express the great principles of liberty, for which their fathers died? . . . Instead of this, what is Boston now doing? Into what scale is this city now thrown? Boston now says to Alton, go on; destroy the press; put down the liberty of speech; and still more, murder the citizen who asserts it; and no united voice shall here be lifted up against you, lest a like violence should break forth among ourselves.

It is this view of the rejection of the petition, which deeply moves me. That a petition, bearing my name, should be denied, would not excite a moment's thought or feeling. But that this city, which I have been proud to call my home, should be so exhibited to the world, and should exert this disastrous influence on the country, this I cannot meet with indifference.

I earnestly hope that my fellow citizens will demand the public meeting which has been refused, with a voice which cannot