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LETTER

TO THE

## HON. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,

ON THE

## OREGON QUESTION.

BY

LUTHER BAKER.

NEW-BEDFORD.

EVENING BULLETIN PRESS.

1846.

£ 47°

79-304753

2568C 10/hy61

## LETTER.

To the Hon. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,

Member of Congress:

DEAR SIR:

I have just read your remarkable and lucid speech, delivered in the House of Representatives, on the ninth day of February, and having noticed the foundation on which you so confidently rely as establishing our title to the whole of the Oregon Territory, I cannot but admire the firmness of mind, and that reliance upon Di-

vine authority, which you manifest.

If there can be no possible mistake in your interpretation of the will of God in reference to our right, ownership, and occupancy of the whole of Oregon, yet things which are clear to some minds may be dark and doubtful to others. And it cannot be deemed strange that in reference to the Territory in question there should exist an honest difference in the sentiments and views of mankind, both on this and on the other side of the Atlantic.

To approach such a man as I esteem you to be in the purity of your purpose, with such universal knowledge of all that appertains to human rights, the governments of the different nations, and your perfect acquaintance with the whole science of jurisprudence, and whatever has existed, or does exist in the purposes or pursuits and policy of them all: To approach you, I say, with the most distant thought of the least possible criticism, would be a folly on my part which could not be disguised or hidden from the most superficial.

I do indeed consider you as one of the most pure, intelligent, and honest leading politicians on earth.—
This is nothing new with me, but I have noticed your course a great part of the time for nearly a half century past, and in all the important stations which you

have filled, I have seen and known much more to which I give my unqualified approbation than in any other public man on whom has rested from time to time such high and vast responsibilities.

Granting all that you claim for our own country, it does not in the whole public mind do away the fact at present that Great Britain has no right to any part

of Oregon.

For myself, in view of all that is passed, I might entertain doubts, if it were not that I must go in the face of your explanation. This I feel loth to do, fearing an exposure of my own weakness, and having such an opinion, as I possess, of your profound understanding, and sound judgment. You will therefore regard me as yielding whatever may have conflicted with your views of the ground, or foundation of our title to Oregon, or to any other territory which we possess. And I will pass on to ask one question on the present state of affairs with reference to that territory. It is this. How ought we to treat another christian nation claiming a right, at least, to a part of that territory? There ought no dispute to exist, but it does exist. There ought not to be any contention, but there is contention.

Sir, it is cause of great regret that you did not go on with your speech, for I presume you would have given further light with regard to the duty of christian nations towards each other, when difficulties arise between them, and it seems unfortunate that legislative bodies pay so little attention to "the little book," of which you spake. I recollect that several years ago a distinguished editor of a newspaper in Boston, expressed his surprise that there were several clergymen in the Legislature of Massachusetts, and he could not conceive how they should be there unless religion was considered all a farce. And I confess my great surprise at learning that "the little book," of which you made mention was at hand "on the Speaker's table" in the Hall of the Representatives of the nation where many scenes of late years have been enacted, which would have disgraced the cabals of a gambling club.

But to the matter in question. If I were in Congress, a member of the House of Representatives, I

would ask the Clerk to turn to "the little book" on the Speaker's table, and read the question in the ninth Chapter of the Acts of the Apostles and the sixth verse, and he would read as follows: Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? In my speech I would declare this is my motto, and in my conduct I mean to be governed by it in reference to Oregon. If any member objected, I would refer to the example of the gentleman from Massachusetts, it being the very best that was ever shown upon that floor. Then I would request the Clerk to turn to Genesis, the thirteenth chapter, seventh, eighth, and ninth verses, and he would read as follows: And there was a strife between the herdmen of Abram's cattle, and the herdmen of Lot's cattle, and the Canaanite, and the Perizzite dwelt then in the land. And Abram said unto Lot, Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen; for we be brethren. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me; if thou wilt take the left hand then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand then I will go to the left, Proceeding then upon the principle that every inch of territory that any man upon earth does, or ever can rightfully possess, the ground of his title is found in tho "little book" upon the Chairman's table, and no where else but there. I should be most deeply impressed, and should ask, most seriously ask, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? I should indeed pay but little regard to popular opinion in any case, if it conflicted with what I should become convinced the Lord would have me to do. I would admit your ground by which you say we hold all the title we have to any of our possessions. And after admitting it, I would frame my speech in the following manner:

Abram should stand for, or represent our Government. Lot should represent that of Great Britain.— The territories where they were should represent American and British territories. The contentious herdmen should represent the war-hawks in England and the United States. And the Canaanite, and the Perizzite should represent the Indians that dwell in Oregon.

In my speech I would allow imagination some play,

and if I could find a little to indulge in I should have no objection to its indulgence within the bounds of pru-The great object would be, not to find out what this party, or that party might think of me. How much it would cost for gun boats or steamers, a navy and fortifications, an army and armor. I should lay aside every thing but just the matter in hand and sav. Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? To be sure, I would bring up all these, or any one of them, should I think I could get any light to teach me what the Lord would have me to do. But my meaning is, that neither profit, nor loss, nor honor, nor disgrace, nor land, nor money should influence me. If I could only find out God's will concerning me, I would do it. I should make great use of what Abram said and did. There was trouble, and I almost wish we could have more of the history of those herdmen. They were an uneasy set of fellows, so are our war-hawks. There seems to have been nothing in Abram's or Lot's mind of an irritable nature towards each other, till the herdmen got at it, and Abram then feared that Lot might be influenced by them, and consequently a strife take place between him and his nephew. Abram was a good man. did not lack spirit, but was very conscientious. knew what to do. So he went to Lot, and did his duty. He said, Let there be no strife between me and thee. How different from what we now see and hear. Now it is, let war come. I believe there will be war, let it come, the honor of the nation is at stake, and that is more than all riches and peace and prosperity. All is to be sacrificed to their God of war. No matter, we must all die sooner or later. And if thousands die by the sword, if they are slain on the battle field, they do but die, and die they must, if not slain by the sword -Shall we act like Abram? Succumb to Great Britain? and say to her, let there be no strife. No! We will have all that belongs to us. And further. Let there be no strife, I pray. Infamous! My blood boils. I pray thee. Horrible! To arms, to arms. Oregon we will have—the whole of it. We will fight you.— We will have the whole or none. What a method to preserve peace, and to promote good temper! To

zettle national disputes about territory! No! Give the bowie knife for our neighbor, the sword, pistol, and rifle for gentlemen, and all these, and gun boats, and steamers, a navy, an army and ordinance, and Oregon is ours forever. If I am not egregiously deceived, the herdmen on both sides, would rather get it, by such means, than that either God, or man should give it to them. All this array, stir, and threatening takes place before any one, at home or abroad, absolutely says, you shall not have it. The true secret is, if there be one, but I think there is none, for it seems that the herdmen would rather fight than not. They seek occasion to set our Abram, and Lot at variance, to effect their own selfish purposes. They are not like our wise, profound, and patriotic statesmen who have the good of the country at heart. With the war-hawks, the catch-word is honor, but the meaning is fight. I would then say, Sir, the foundation of all the title to territory recorded in Genesis, was, I think, as well understood by Abram who saw the day of Christ afar off, as by any man now living. And as a different state of things existed, especially in relation to morals, and the indulgence of human passions at that time, from that which existed when the foundation to the title was granted, for that was before the fall of man, and about two thousand years before Abram's day. I think no man living can be a better pattern for us to follow, than that venerable Patriarch, especially as he knew so well how to manage a difficulty in which he was so deeply interested, and in which his relative and friend had as much at stake probably as himself. He saw at once that his own power, and authority, and that of Lot also was required to put down the villains that were disturbing the peace of both families, without the least profit to either, and to the injury of both. He was a great man. He ruled his own spirit, and showed himself better than he that taketh a city. O that such were our Abram, and that such were Britain's Lot! There would be no more trouble in surmounting the difficulty about Oregon, than a son of Anak would have in getting over a mole-hill. And now for men who keep the "little book" upon the Speaker's table, and who ought to see that the

ground of their title to all that they possess is there, and no where else but there; for them to talk of war, building war-steamers, and of furnishing every thing for offensive and defensive war, I declare, it seems to demand a doubt whether some of them believe that the Lord ever gave them a title to a single inch of ground in the world, for it seems that they mean to fight to get that in Oregon, and if so, they mean, if they can find occasion, to fight to keep it.

What would Father Abraham say to christian nations, to those who believe, who are blessed with him, to see them beating their plough-shares into swords, and their pruning hooks into spears, to plunge them into a brother's heart. Alas! Tell it not in Gath.—Publish it not in Oregon, to the Canaanite, and Perizzite who now dwell in that land, lest they say, the sons of Abram are more cruel than the untutored heathen

who now roam in the forest.

I would say, Sir, as Abram knew how to treat a matter of such serious concern, and to manage such an unruly set of herdmen as his own, and those who belonged to the family of Lot, how should governments learn to treat their citizens and subjects. They should never excite them with inflammatory speeches. They should discourage all recourse to arms until things were brought to extremities. They should speak calmly to each other, and even beseech each other to say, Let there be no strife between me and thee.

Herdmen should not be allowed to say one word, as herdmen, until the governments themselves had decided what to do in every case. Their business is to fight, if they have any, and no one needs their counsel. All know their mind without asking them. Let it not be thought that I include all military men in this country, or in England. No. He that would charge to the cannon's mouth to save his country, is a very different man from the herdmen of either Abram or Lot.

How dignified was the language of Abram to Lot! Let there be no strife between me and thee. Would the power, energy, or courage of an individual, or any number of men be impaired now, were such language used by them? Certainly not. Was the spirit of lib-

erty, the hatred of tyranny, and oppression quenched, or diminished in the great Washington, Franklin, Adams, Warren, and Putnam, and a host of other worthies by their forbearance? No. When they rose up, it was in the majesty of their strength, girt with a consciousness that they had done all they could do to perpetuate peace before they drew the sword from the scabbard. now behold our herdmen are going to show fight at once, and conquer, with six or eight steamers, the greatest maratime power on the globe. I think it would be better for them to read in the "little book," on the speaker's table, what the King of Israel, by his servant, said to Benhadad. Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself, as he that putteth it off. And I think it would be well to send some of them, for the present over the rocky mountain to some sequestered spot, some Jericho, and let them there remain till their

beard be grown.

Sir, the Canaanite, and the Perizzite dwelt in the The Indians are in Oregon, and it is, at least, a weighty question about their expulsion. I know not that Abram wanted to expel those Canaanites and Perizzites that dwelt in the land, for he seems to have been a very peaceable man, and his greatest friend, to whom he was most tenderly united, was Welchisedec, King of Salem, and Priest of the Most High God. He was King of righteousness, and after that King of Salem, which is King of peace. Yet, if Abram was compelled to fight, he fought to purpose. He did not explore the countries every where to find rivers and creeks, and claim them, and then get up a quarrel, lest at some time or other before the end of the world, some body might paddle up and down them in a flat-bottom skiff, or Indian canoe, and fight the world to prevent it. pursued business upon a more dignified and enlarged scale. He did not keep forever changing his policy, and teazing, and perplexing his own family, and disjointing, and clogging, and deranging their pursuits by setting up plans for the support of his government, and upsetting them once or twice a year, so that the herdmen could hardly know where to pasture their cattle. or those who used the mattock, where to prepare the

ground for planting. He, and they all kept about their business steadily, unless they were disturbed by the contentious herdmen, and he knew well how to silence them, and when a proper time came up for them to defend themselves, or their friends by force, Abram did it to purpose, but always in what he considered a righteous cause. So after four kings came down upon Sodom, and sacked it, and carried away Lot, Abram's brother's son; as soon as he got the intelligence, there was no delay on his part, he armed his servants at once. His committee of ways and means had attended to their business, the weapons were on hand and paid for. I tell you, Sir, after all the improvements for about four thousand years, that the present age know not any better how to manage the affairs that concern them, than Abram did; indeed, many of them not half so well. Abram attacked the enemy at once, it was the right time to do it, and rescued his nephew, and with him all the goods, the women also and the people. And the king of Sodom went out to meet him. And the king of Sodom said unto Abram, Give me the persons and take the goods to thyself. There, Sir, look at the reply, And Abram said to the king of Sodom, I have lifted up my hand to the Lord, the Most High God, the possessor of heaven and earth, that I will not take from a thread, even to a shoe-latchet, and that I will not take anything that is thine, lest thou shouldest say, I have made Abram rich. Now, Sir, if any one wishes to see heroic valor, let him read "the little book." If he wants to see a noble mind, let him look at Abram. If he wishes to see a generous, independent spirit, let him look at the holy patriarch. And if patriots wish to support the honor, the dignity and independence of their respective nations, then let our Abram and Lot say to each other, Let there be no strife between me and thee, nor between my herdmen and thy herdmen, I pray thee, and just stop the clamor of war-hawks, and then at least, in a civil and political sense, peace will flow unto us as a river, and righteousness as the waves of the sea. Sir, it is my opinion that Abram as readily acknowledged the rights of the Canaanite and Perizzite that dwelt-in the land as he claimed his own. And as he was a man of God, he

readily gave them every protection in his power. But now it seems that many think that the color of the skin, the straight, or curly hair, and the appearance of the teeth, and eyes, determine who ought to possess Oregon, Texas, California, Yucatan, and all the rest of the world. And if a man be born with a dark skin and curly hair, it is a crime, he is proscribed, and not allowed to own an inch of ground upon the face of the earth. Indeed,

he is not permitted to own himself.

From all the ideas that I have ever formed of Lucifer, son of the morning, even after his fall, I have never thought that he would confess that he was in possession of such sentiments, for fear he might blush at what many of our people maintain with such bold effrontery. Sir, from the manner in which the gentleman from Massachusetts has treated subjects of this sort, I have no doubt he will descend to the grave with the wrath of the oppressor of our race, aimed at him to the uttermost, and with the approbation of his own conscience, of all good men, and that which is infinitely

more, the approbation of God.

Sir, the sentiments of some of our people and the herdmen in particular, seem to be, to keep all we have, and to get all we can. Or in other words to own all the land we have, and all that joins it, and then cross over, and take the islands of the sea. I have no doubt some have in idea cre this, compassed Cape Horn, as part and parcel of these United States. This, indeed, is rail-road speed with a witness, and I am afraid, if we do not lower the steam, and check the herdmen who cry, make it hotter, make it hotter, we shall burst the boiler, or throw the whole train off the track, and kill, at least, one half of the passengers, and that the world passing by will mock, and say, these fellows undertook to run the swiftest, and most unexampled race, and were unable to finish.

Sir, I think by this time, that if I were in Congress, instead of being where I am, I should hear the words, order, order, irrelevant, &c., &c. But to return. I would say, Sir, Great Britain is our relative, Lot was Abram's brother's son. The cases are not exactly parallel. Great Britain is the parent country. It is true,

we have had our family quarrels, but it would have been better for Lot to have said to us, If thou wilt depart to the right hand, I will go to the left. But waving every thing about the cause, prosecution, and consequences of these quarrels, let us turn our attention, more particularly to modern Lot. He has herdmen like our herdmen, and there is strife between his and ours, and I would to God, if there must be war, and if our modern Abram and Lot should prove recreant to the principles of ancient Abram and Lot, and let loose the dogs of war on both sides, that those who compose the two cabinets should be placed in the forc front of the hottest battle, and they together with their herdmen have to fight it out without a single soul to help them. before I proceed further, I ought to tell the reason why I have chosen Abram to represent us. It is because I love my country and its institutions, all but one which hangs like an incubus about the neck of our nation, and will if not removed as surely sink us into ruin, as we now have an existence. But Lot is, and has been very much to blame, he had no right to say that he was prepared to meet us, and contend with us, and then for the herdmen to shout a huzza. It was all wrong. So did not Abram. So did not Lot. And though we call the governments by these names so honored in the past time, yet when we view the contrast in the present, both theirs, and ours, we say as the "little book" on the Speaker's table says, How are the mighty fallen! How is the gold become dim! How is the most fine gold changed! O that our government had the magnanimity of Abram. O, that the British had that of Lot! But if to war they will go, I will say of them, as the Patriarch said of Simoon and Levi, instruments of cruelty are in their habitations. O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honor, be not thou

Now, Sir, it may be objected that my remarks are inappropriate, because the ancient governments were patriarchal, and therefore no example ought to be regarded by us, which they have shown. But so far from this is the fact, that the patriarchal is chosen to show what should be the spirit of our Abram, and Lot toward

each other. Was that of Abram and Lot brotherly?-So is ours. Were they professors of the same religion? So are we. Did they descend from the same parents? So have we. Did they mutually enjoy the advantages of trade, of commerce? So do we. Were they socially and affectionately bound to each other? We have similar ties, and enjoyments, and mutual affections.— And shall we fight? Sooner let our right hand forget its cunning, than to raise it to plunge the dagger into our brother's bosom. Shall we, in time of peace, sit together at the table, in memory of the body and blocd of the Lord, and then in time of war thrust the deadly weapon into each others heart? Does the religion of the Prince of Peace, authorise this? Will he who came not to destroy men's lives but to save them, allow this?-But, O the herdmen on both sides. Let them be silenced, and we shall do well enough. For where no wood is, the fire goeth out, so where there is no tattling. whispering, brawling war-hawks, strife ceaseth. as coals are to burning coals, and wood to fire, so is a contentious man to kindle strife.

I never thought, Sir, of getting up a speech to be delivered in Congress, any more than of going to the moon to deliver one, until I read your speech, which poured such a flood of light upon my soul and mind, that I now think I could not only speak my hour, if I were an honored member of that august body, (for there are honorable men there after all,) but a whole day if needful. For most seriously I do consider you to have presented the true and only ground of our title to every inch of territory that we possess. And that not only scripturally, but also philosophically, with a clearness, and force which sophistry, or artifice, or learning can-

not set aside, or obscure.

To the Speaker, I would say, Sir, my first object is to put down the herdmen, for nothing can be done to purpose until that is done, and this will be apparent to every fair mind when the whole case is duly considered. Between them the strife already exists, and if it continues, and continue it will, until they are made to know their place, Abram and Lot are every day liable to get at variance through their pernicious influence. And

how shall this influence be suppressed? Sir, Abram and Lot both must tell them that they will no longer listen to their bickerings.—And if they do an act of violence hereafter among themselves, they shall be regarded by them as refractory herdmen, and be dealt with accordingly. Let Abram and Lot do this, and the whole business, respecting Oregon will be speedily adjusted and settled. The Canaanite and Perizzite will dwell safely in the land. The territory will soon be replenished, and the wilderness bud and blossom as the rose.

Sir, the contempt poured by some upon commercial pursuits is too mean to claim much reply. Trade conducted upon fair principles is honorable, and I would here say to those gentlemen who reside far back in the country, and who think that the distresses of war can never reach them in their secure retreat, that it would be better for them to have some little regard to dollars and cents in their calculations; for if they go to war for Oregon and take it, every rabbit will cost them more than a yoke of owen does, now, and every squirrel, more than a three year old steer. And your land will be taxed, and you will have to pay for them, at those enormous You cannot prevent it, for when commerce is crushed, the money must come out of you. I then would proceed in a grave and solemn manner, and I believe I should feel it, to tell the gentlemen, that a crisis seems to be approaching, either for the weal or wo of millions of the human tamily, and that now a greater responsibility rests upon us, than at any former period, however eventful. the eyes of all the civilized world are upon us, and that the steps of our government will stamp the nation with a black and indelible stain of eternal infamy, or raise it to shonor and distinction among the nations of the earth far beyond, the most splendid triumphs that Rome ever witnessed.

Sir, in view of what is, and that which may soon come to pass in all human probability, if the wisdom of our national councils does not arrest the apparent progress of things in their present course and direction, we may soon hear that which may cause evern

ear to tingle, and many hearts to melt.

I apprehend it will be ultimately, if war should take place, worse for Great Britain, than for us. But we shall wade through blood and carnage to obtain the laurels which are to deck the brow of the conqueror when he returns from the field, the aceldama of his struggles, and his triumph. Great Britain is probably looking forward to a broad dash upon our trade, which is to fill her coffers with the vast treasures which we have floating upon the bosom of every ocean, and the total wreck of our flourishing commerce, and with the whole world. She will, if we have war, undoubtedly make a great sweep, and then be ready to negotiate, and divide Oregon, but will deceive herself most egregiously in her mistaken calculation, for she will, in the end, for every dollar of gain, have to endure a loss of ten. The Republic, so slow in getting prepared, will be but just ready to begin the contest, and not an ocean will be clear of public and private armed ships, to prey upon her commerce in turn. Let her drive us back from some of our sea ports, it will only be like a river running back upon itself, and it will cost her

more to come and burn our towns, and villages, than the plunder she will obtain, to help pay the expense, and she will not be so well off as when she began, and we shall gain nothing in such a squabble. Indeed I would rather that Sir Robert Peel, in Parliament, should shout, and say all ready for six weeks, and the rest huzza for six weeks together, and General Cass, and Mr. Allen resolve and reresolve, and then resolve again, than to see only one such scene as I one day witnessed in a small town in the war of the revolution.

Sir, I can see our bold, vaunting heroes returning in imagination from the field and standing in the presence of tens of thousands to receive the homage of the nation, and removing the military covering of the head, to receive the hurels which are to deck their brow as a reward of a grateful people for their services in the work of blood and death, and looking to the Presidential chair with intense desire, and imagining with what dignity and grace they will fift that chair. But with them, as with others, the end is not yet.—
They have not yet girded on the barness, and if they do, it is as uncertain who will put it off, as it was to Packingham, or Ross, before they landed on our coast.

I have not the least apprehension that the skill, or prowess in war of our enemy, will outdo that which our own countrymen will manifest in the sharpest, or hottest contest, nor that brother Jonathan will not kill as many of John Bull's men, as John Bull can of his, with equal numbers on both sides. Indeed I would rather have the chance of life with Jonathan, than with John, for Jonathan has learned that there is no fair play in fighting, and that if he only puts a ball through an Englishman's heart, "any way he can fix it," he is as surely a dead man as if he shot him ever so scientifically.

Sir, I would say, after thanking the House, for their patience in hearing me with so much attention, there is but one question more on which I will detain you at present upon the important subject of debate before us, and that is in view of the statement and explanation of the gentleman from Massachusetts, of the ground of our right to Oregon; and that is whether Great Britain, Denmark, or Sweden, have not as much right to it, as we have, if they are christian nations. I only mention this as a thought that crosses my mind in view of that quotation from the "little book" on the Speaker's table, and which is found in the latter part of St. Matthews' Gospel, which reads thus: All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth, go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and lo! I am with you always even unto the end of the world. From the whole connection in the gentleman's speech, I understand him to mean that we have in the "little book" the ground of a title to Oregon, and to civilize, and christianise that people. I ask then, has not Great Britain as good a right to go there, as we have for that purpose, or Denmark, or Sweden, as either? I would say to them all, go by your heralds, if there is room, and people there, and contend carnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints. Subdue the rebel to God, Bring his every thought into subjection to the mind of Christ. And as much as I

am opposed to war I should like to go there myself, and become a humble instrument and leader in such a contention, to subject every herdman to the same blessed government. In this war I glory where the contest and wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, and against spiritual wickedness in high places. Sir, I should say, it I were allowed to go on in this House, I know not when, how, or where I should finish my speech, with the thoughts suggested by the words last quoted from the "little book" upon the Speaker's table. But I am confident I should say enough myself to make a small book for the consideration of the House of Representatives. But I forbear. A word to the wise is sufficient. word more, and I will relieve the patience of the House. must not underrate the power, and influence of the sons of strife.-They have always been the plague of the world and It is great. forever will be so, until they are put down by superior power.

There does not exist the great difficulty which many imagine. There is territory enough for Abram and Lot both, and if there is any danger from any quarter that either of the families will be broken up, or suffer severely in consequence of future changes, it is not because they need more land, for they both have too much already. And it is much more likely that trouble will sooner come by having too much, than too little, for the more they have, the more herdmen will they have of course; and if so, of consequence strife will increase. And in truth there is nothing of an outward nature, more likely to produce collisions among themselves in their own families, than that their respective territories are so much too large. And shall they fight one another for more? Forbid it, reason; forbid it, honor; forbid it, common sense; forbid it, interest;

forbid it, all virtue and humanity.

Yours with the most profound respect,

## RUTHER BARER.

New-Bedford, March 12, 1846.











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