

# THE LIBERATOR.

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OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN, ALL MANKIND.

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## THE LIBERATOR

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## THE LIBERATOR.

"Thus far we can say we have gone right, keeping the road of honesty and sincerity, having done nothing but what we are able to justify, not from those weak and beggarly arguments drawn either from success, which is the same to the just and the unjust, or from the silence and satisfaction of a becalmed conscience,—but from the sure, safe, sound and unerring maxims of law, justice, reason and righteousness."—*Memorial of certain Baptists to Charles II.*

### CORRESPONDENCE.

*Extract of a letter from a colored gentleman in Maryland.*  
"I have just been thinking that if Stephen Girard had left you, your partner, and the weather-beaten veteran, B. Lundy, a few thousands a piece, what an incalculable amount of good you might then be enabled to accomplish; but had carriers stand a better chance for riches than reformers. While on this subject, I was led to ponder on the inscrutable ways of Providence, and could not dismiss the subject, satisfactorily, until I read upon the golden page: 'The Lord God is a sun and a shield; the Lord will give grace, and glory; no good thing will be withheld from them that walk uprightly.'  
The Liberator, I perceive, continues to thunder and lighten; but I very much fear that it will be proscribed by our Legislature: this seems to be the general sentiment.  
The times in regard to us seem peculiarly portentous; but strange as it may appear, we do not, in general, give ourselves any undue uneasiness or concern about the event. And why should we? We read, Eccl. v. 8, 'If thou seeest the oppression of the poor, and violent perverting of judgment and justice in a province, marvel not at the matter: for he that is higher than the highest regardeth, and there be higher than they.' We, for the most part, enjoy all that peace of mind and confidence in Divine favor and protection, which a consciousness of innocence never fails to inspire. We know that  
The God that rules on high,  
That thunders when he please,  
That rides upon the stormy sky  
And manages the seas,  
is our Father, our Protector, our Defender. He has told us if we fear him and keep his commandments,

no weapon formed against us shall ever prosper—that he is a very present help in every time of need—a strong hold in the day of trouble—and finally, that all things shall work together for good to them that love God; therefore will we not fear though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be cast into the midst of the sea: though the waters thereof roar and be troubled; though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof.' Ps. xvi. 2, 3. And should our Legislature compel us to remove to Canada, Hayti, or to Mexico, we will sing even on our passage thither:  
\* There's mercy in every place;  
And mercy, (encouraging thought,)  
Gives even affliction a grace,  
And reconciles man to his lot.

But we apprehend little of this.—I was glad to find that the Governor of North Carolina disapproved the enactment of additional sanguinary laws: this is the true, the right policy. I hope his recommendation may have some influence upon our own Legislature.—The memorial from the Friends offered to the Virginia Legislature, is above all praise. The Lord abundantly bless that people for their labors of love; for they have done us much good. We are told that the Legislature received the memorial with 'marked respect'—verily 'the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth.' He is sitting on the whirlwind, and he will direct the storm. I had almost thought that the heart of sympathy had ceased to beat for us,—that the lips of philanthropy were totally sealed.

### From a Clergyman in Connecticut.

The first number of your second volume came to hand this morning. I rejoice that you are enabled to enlarge it—and am much pleased with the contents of this sheet. Your additional vignettes are well adapted to make the impressions you wish. One illustration, addressed to the eye, will do more than forty verbal descriptions. Young minds especially will be attracted by these pictures—and thus the deepest impressions of abhorrence may be made upon them. My little boy seized upon the paper at once, and begged me to tell him over and over and over again, about the cruel white men and the poor black man, woman and boy.  
The principles you have avowed and so ably and fearlessly advocated, are undoubtedly true—they must, they will be acknowledged sooner or later throughout our land. But I am every day grieved and shocked at the reluctance of many, who call themselves christians, to come to the light. Indeed I am coming more and more to the conclusion, that our religion is only beginning to be understood. As yet, it has produced but very few of the beneficial effects in the world which must follow from its reception into the hearts of men.

LYME, (Ct.) Jan. 9, 1832.

At a respectable meeting of the colored citizens of this place, pursuant to public notice, held at the house of Mr Daniel R. Condon, to take into consideration the propriety of patronising the Boston Liberator, a paper edited by Wm. Lloyd Garrison in the city of Boston, Mr Luther Wright was called to the chair, and Mr Daniel R. Condon appointed Secretary.

After some animated remarks by Messrs Wright and Condon, it was

Resolved, That Mr William Condon be our agent for the Liberator.

Resolved, That we earnestly desire to see the establishment of freedom and equality, by its instrumentality, throughout our land; and that we trust the paper will give light and knowledge to every man of color.

Resolved, That it is the sincere opinion of this meeting, that the American Colonization Society is one of the wildest projects ever patronised by a body of enlightened men; and further, that many of those who support it would be willing, if it were in their power, to drive us out of existence.

Resolved, That though we be last in calling a meeting, we feel no less the pernicious influence of this Society than the rest of our brethren; and that we will resist every attempt to banish us from this our native land.

Resolved, That we place unshaken reliance upon the promises of Jehovah, and believe that he will take our reproach away, and give freedom to those who are held in captivity.

Resolved, That we are not for insurrection, but for peace, freedom and equality.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be rendered to Messrs Garrison and Knapp, for their benevolent exertions in behalf of the oppressed descendants of Africa; and that they be requested to insert these proceedings in the Liberator.

LUTHER WRIGHT, Chairman.  
DANIEL R. CONDON, Secretary.

### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

We copy the following judicious and forcible remarks from the *Advocate of Truth*, a paper published by the Friends in Philadelphia:

We have noticed with pain and mortification, the reception, in Congress, of the petitions for abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia. And especially the sentiments avowed, in relation to

that question, by our late president, John Quincy Adams; and a man, who by his talents, acquirements, and long experience in the legislative and diplomatic relations of the government, had acquired the character of a statesman of the highest order. That he, a citizen of New England, an advocate of abolition from his youth, both by precept and example, should now desert the cause, and disappoint the expectations of his friends, is truly discouraging. His example will be doubly injurious to the cause of abolition—by disheartening its friends, and by adding strength to the opposition of its enemies.

The efforts that are making in several slaveholding states to expel the people of color; or to coerce them to emigrate to Liberia, has no parallel in history, except in the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, and the persecution of the Jews by professing christians. In these cases, the Moors and Jews were martyrs to their religion. In the case of the unhappy Africans, their color is their crime. Their treatment will be more cruel and unjust, if ever the designs now openly avowed are carried into act, than that of the Jews and Mohammedans. Superstition and fanaticism, which lead deluded mortals to fancy they honor God, by the extirpation of their fellow-creatures, for supposed heresy, prompted the bigoted Spaniards, in an age of darkness, to drive the Moors out of Spain.

In this country, a land sacred to liberty, in the meridian splendor of an enlightened period, without a pretext, except the color of the skin, combinations are formed to compel the descendants of these Africans, who were forcibly brought to our shores, to exchange the place of their birth for a foreign land. Are these the evidences of the 'march of mind'? Are these the fruits of our benevolent associations for christianizing the heathen, and converting the pagan world to our faith? Where are the leaders of Bible and missionary societies, education and tract associations, and Sunday school unions, whose burning zeal for the cultivation of the 'ignorant wilderness' has covered the land with begging agents to replenish the 'Lord's treasury'? Not a hand is raised—not a whisper is heard from their pious lips for the wrongs of Africa! The running of the mail stage on the first-day of the week, has been denounced as impious and profane; and the judgments of heaven have been invoked upon the nation for this crying sin. But for the oppression and persecution of the African race, no warning voice is heard. Two millions of our fellow creatures are groaning in hopeless bondage, systematically debased from all means of mental and moral cultivation, and those of their color who have been emancipated are denounced as a nuisance and a burden upon the community; yet the professed guardians of religion, the zealous advocates of associations for pious purposes, are silent as the grave. They strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. They tithe mint, annise, and cummin, and neglect the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and truth.

### From the New-England Magazine for Jan.

#### AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

[CONTINUED.]

That the color of the free negroes is a very great obstacle to their improvement is undeniable; and that this bar is insurmountable remains to be seen. The experiment has never yet been tried. The first blacks who came to New-England could bequeath to their children only an inheritance of ignorance, misery and degradation. No hand has been stretched out to aid them; on the contrary, they have not been permitted to help themselves. Prejudice has excluded them from the exercise of most of their civil rights, though the laws have made them our political equals. They have been denied the common privileges of education, and forbidden to associate with those by whose society their morals and intellects might have been improved. Under all these disadvantages, instead of wondering that they have done so little for themselves, we ought to be surprised that they have done any thing.

Yet a very considerable change has taken place in their condition within the last twenty years. There are few of them now who are not at least able to read. Many of them have property, and very many are united with their white neighbors in church fellowship. They are beginning to acquire an *esprit de corps*, and to unite in effecting particular objects. Very many of them are able writers, as the proceedings of their conventions amply testify. Some of the reports of these bodies will not suffer by comparison with any similar documents which have of late been emitted by whites. They have presses, devoted exclusively to their interests, and support them with great spirit. The columns of some of their papers are wholly, and all of them partly, filled with the productions of negroes. Without pretending that this kind of instruction is the best for them, we think we may venture to affirm that it has its use, and that it rouses them to exertion. They are endeavoring to establish schools all over the country—there has been one gathered in this city within a few weeks, and it is rapidly increasing. In a word, they have discovered that knowledge is power, and riches, and honor, and they are strenuously exerting themselves to acquire it.

We very much doubt that color is the sole source of the universal prejudice against the descendants of Africa, though undoubtedly it has served to strengthen and perpetuate it. The name of negro has, in this country, always been associated with the idea of slavery, and the word slave is, and ever has been, a term of reproach all over the world. Our blacks are no longer slaves; and when vice and ignorance shall disappear from among them, will not the prejudice

disappear also? Reasoning from analogy, we think it must. For more than a century, our pilgrim fathers held their Indian neighbors in as much dislike as we now do the blacks. That feeling is no more. For ages, the Jews were as much despised, and as much degraded, in England, as ever the negroes were in Massachusetts. They now rank and mix with other subjects of the British crown. Christians residing in Mahometan states have even now begun to emerge from the condition of our blacks. Color was not the foundation of prejudice in either of these instances, but the feeling was not therefore the less strong. These people have conquered the ill-will of their fellows by raising their own character. The gypsies, and the race called in Europe Cagots, Cretins, &c. have made no such change, and are now despised as much as they were three centuries ago.

We think we may take it for granted that the race, who left the colossal head of Memnon, and the ruins of Thebes and Memphis, to tell of their glory and power, were not despised by their white contemporaries, though their hair was as crisp and their noses were as flat as those of the Congoes now are. There is no prejudice against Africans, in any part of Europe, where they have not been held in thralldom. Our remote Indians, far from regarding negroes with disgust, admire their appearance exceedingly, till they discover that the whites hold them in slavery and contempt. If a stronger proof that our dislike is not wholly founded on color be needed, it may be found all over the union, in the number of persons of mixed blood, in the number of the Mississippi, especially, the national prejudice has been so far overcome, that a very large proportion of the whole population, probably more than a third, are mulattoes.

After all, the voice of interest is louder, and speaks more to the purpose, than reason or philanthropy. When a black merchant shall sell his goods cheaper than his white neighbor, he will have the most customers. When a black mechanic shall work cheaper and better than a white one, he will be more frequently employed. When a black lawyer shall have proved, by pleading for those of his own color, that he has a thorough knowledge of his profession, he will have white clients. The laws do not hinder the blacks from following any honest calling, and the cases we have supposed are, therefore, possible. If, two hundred years hence, the free negroes shall have made no material advance toward political equality, or having made a considerable one, if the prejudice shall not have disappeared, we think it will then be time to adopt the sentiment of the Colonization Society, and to say that a black skin is a natural and therefore a just cause of offence.

It seems to be admitted on all hands, that the presence of slaves is a curse to our country, a drawback on our prosperity, which we would be rid of, could we discover the means. The slaveholders themselves concur in these sentiments. It needs no arguments to prove that the slave states have more reason to wish their slaves in Africa, than the free ones to desire the removal of the free blacks. The condition of the slaves must necessarily be bettered by emigration, even should they perish in the process of acclimation; for death is surely preferable to hopeless thralldom. Why then do not the Colonization Society confer their benefits on those who need them most? Why do they overlook the many utterly wretched, for the sake of the few who are but partially so? But it is now our business to inquire what reason we, the people of the free states, have to desire the removal of the black portion of our population.

We do not believe that the presence of the free blacks is disadvantageous to us. They are too few to taint our blood, being but about half a million in all. These are almost all seamen, or daily laborers, and are as harmless and inoffensive as the whites of the same class. We believe that their capacity to labor is equal. When they are gone, white men must hew bar wood, draw our water, and perform our menial offices. They supply the place of so many whites, who may be spared for higher purposes. If their presence be a disadvantage, indeed, that disadvantage cannot become greater, for they do not increase in the same ratio with the whites. We have still room for them, certainly. They do not resist the laws, or interfere with us in any respect. They are too few to affect white laborers, materially, as it respects the chance of employment, and moreover, these last are mostly aliens, who have not the claim of being our fellow-countrymen. The free blacks do us some good and no harm. If they improve, their usefulness will increase; if they do not, we shall be none the worse. Why then should we drive so many humble and serviceable Helots from our soil? The answer will probably be that they are not satisfied with their lowly condition, that they are becoming more intelligent, and that they will communicate their discontent to the slaves. If this is not the motive of those who wish their removal, we can see no other.

Were the effects of the proceedings of the Colonization Society confined to Africa, we should be among its warmest friends. That civilization and Christianity should take root and flourish, and overspread that unhappy peninsula, must be the desire of every person of common humanity. Would to Heaven that such a consummation might take place! The cessation of the slave trade would be one blessed result. The cruel wars which keep that beautiful land desolate would cease—the lion and the tiger would retire before the face of man—the jungle would become a corn-field—no future Captain Riley would tell how, when wrecked on the coast, he was evil-

entreated and haled away into captivity by the natives—the fetich tree would give place to the village spire, and the church bells would be heard instead of the conch and the war-horn. Above all, we should have repaired a million of wrongs. A glorious picture, indeed. And what are the means we employ to bring such things to pass? We do not send over men of talents and learning, (at least not many of them;) we do not send over artists, we do not send over farmers. We send over yearly about a hundred men, women and children, confessedly the most ignorant, the most helpless, and the most degraded among the lowest of our lowest class. These are not the persons to tame the wilderness, or convert the heathen. They cannot improve by associating with each other. They must sink into the barbarism of the surrounding tribes, unless preserved by the missionaries and other agents of the Society; and these, we are happy to say, have done much, and may do more.

### EXPEDIENCY vs. DUTY.

If any man desire to know, what word in our language is the basest, the deadliest, the most popular, the most agreeable, the most pregnant with falsehood, crime and blasphemy, I reply, it is the word *expediency*. It boldly casts to the earth the standard which God has given as a test of truth and righteousness, and erects, in its stead, a golden calf of selfishness, to which men bow down in adoration. From the time that the devil (who, being the father of lies, must have coined this detestable phrase) conceived it *expedient* to tempt our first parents, and they to become as gods; from that time to the present hour, *expediency* has governed the actions of mankind. It sets at defiance the oracles of the living God: it nailed to the cross the Lord of Glory, as, by its talismanic influence, Judas put thirty pieces of silver into his own pocket; but you will recollect that he subsequently went and hanged himself. And, sooner or later, a just retribution will overtake every man who acts upon this iniquitous principle.

Almost every one admits that slavery is wrong, but then almost every one also admits that it is not expedient to do right, now, by letting the slaves go free! Duty is out of the question. It is best to leave off sinning by degrees—best to cease from the most atrocious robberies by a gradual process—best to let reform be commenced by the next generation. True, the commandments are, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself'—'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them'—'Thou shalt not steal'—these are very good in the abstract; but who is so silly as to believe that they were given as *rules of practice*, intended to govern the actions of mankind; or so insane as to call for the application of that which is safe and beautiful only in theory? Hail, goddess Expediency!

There is a little book called 'A World without Souls,' written by J. W. Cunningham, Vicar of Harrow, which contains some of the most exquisite moral satires ever put on paper. It dissects the doctrine of expediency in the following keen and dextrous manner. Let every reader buy a copy of the work.

'It was only yesterday, my dear Madam, that we paid our promised visit. Our clerical conductor ushered us into the room, and then abandoned us to some antiquated skin and bones which half occupied a three-cornered chair in it. I soon perceived that philosophy, or at least the philosophy of O. does not always smooth the brow of care. M. managed the conversation with the art which is peculiar to him; and our shrivelled companion soon proved himself, if I may be permitted to say it, dull, mistaken, and dogmatical. St. Foy, my dear Madam, has rescued us from all but—the sterling philosophy—the philosophy of God: but you shall for a moment become a student in the school of O.; your rocks and mountains shall laugh to see what inhabitants they have escaped, and glory in the brown sons of labor who climb them. I send you that part of our conversation in which the theory was detailed, by which the animal wisdom of our philosopher proposes to secure the morals of his countrymen.

I had very innocently made use of the word 'Conscience.'  
'You are but too young in these matters,' said the Philosopher, 'or you would have known that conscience is a banished term: we no more think of it than Centaurs or Phlogiston. Expediency is now the only rule in morals.'

'What, Sir,' I asked, 'do you mean by expediency?'  
'I will give you my system,' said the Sage, 'to explain the word. The chief object of philosophy is to answer the question 'what is virtue?' Now then take this fundamental proposition—That 'Heaven wills the happiness of its creatures.'

'If you include eternity,' said M. 'this cannot be questioned. Some would prefer to say that God, here, wills the improvement of his creatures—that he desires to make them happy in another state, by making them good in this. Let it, however, be admitted, that, even here, God wills simply the happiness of his creatures; and that, therefore, plagues, for example, are plainly sent to release superannuated misery; whirlwinds, to keep the sea from corruption; war, to give young earthlings promotion; famine, to rest the earth; earthquakes, to rock our cradles.'  
'Taking this for granted,' continued the Philosopher, 'my disciple in his search after virtue,

will, if true to his system, argue thus: To know what is my duty, or what is virtue, in any particular case, I have nothing to do but to discover what, in this particular case, will promote the happiness of the creatures of God. My virtue is simply this, to promote the worldly happiness of God's creatures. Observe, Sir, the simplicity of this system. It reduces all the virtues within a small circle, and renders them alike accessible to the highest and the lowest.

'Captious opponents,' replied M. 'might say that it rendered virtue thus equally possible to high and low, by rendering it utterly impossible to any; and that it simplified the virtues by lopping away the larger half of them.'

'But captiousness, Sir, is not argument. Perhaps, as you can assert for these cavillers, you can also argue for them.'

'I will attempt it,' replied M. 'They would possibly endeavor to prove the system inapplicable, thus: God wills the happiness of his creatures; therefore virtue is the promoting this happiness. Now, in order to apply this doctrine, we are of course supposed to know by what steps or by what results in each case, this happiness would be promoted; but the misfortune is, that we are in utter ignorance of them.'

'How so, Sir?' said the startled Philosopher. 'Your adversaries would say, Sir,' replied M. 'that we cannot know what will advance the real happiness of any individual, at the present moment; and that if we could, the happiness of to-day may be the misery of to-morrow; or the joys of to-morrow the ruin of eternity. But suffer me still to be the spokesman of your opponents, and to ask you to apply your principles to the solution of a case in life. I see a beggar, almost broken down with the variety of his afflictions. Ought I to relieve him?'

'The Sage knelt his brow. The distortion of his countenance plainly indicated either that cases of charity were not those with the solution of which he was most familiar; or that the solution of any case was not with him the labor of a moment.'

'At length he said, 'You should have argued thus: Is it expedient for the beggar that I should relieve him? Will it benefit him now? Will it benefit him upon the whole? Will it benefit the universe?'

'Let us then,' said M. 'reason the case after this manner: I give the beggar a shilling; he buys nutmeg with it; the nutmeg may be stinky and his health suffer from it—I will give him one shilling. But the disease may dispose him to religion—I will give him a shilling. But if he thinks of religion, and again neglects it, he will have the guilt of neglected opportunities—I would not for worlds give him a shilling. His perdition might make others cautious—I would not for worlds but give it them. Thus, before a point was settled, the chain of reasonings would reach from pole to pole, and the poor wretch would inevitably starve.'

'You push matters too far, Sir,' said the Philosopher.

'Those, Sir, for whom I argue,' replied M. 'would say, this was impossible. In your system, I know nothing, if I do not know all. Before I can justly decide upon the expediency of a single case, and therefore upon what is my duty in that particular case, it forces me to condense infinity to a point; to decipher the map of eternal Providence, to collect, compare, combine and enumerate the ever-shifting occurrences of futurity, and unceasingly calculate their results. If this be true, it is demonstrated that the system of expediency is useless because inapplicable.'

'At this moment Philosophy quitted the bosom of this her favorite son; and those opponents of his theory, whom M. had undertaken to represent, were committed, with considerable emphasis, to all the winds, waves, and furies of the universe. At length, in a voice mingled with fear, curiosity, and passion, he desired M. to attempt the making good his second assertion;—that 'his system simplified virtue by lopping away one half of it.'

'They would reason thus,' said M. 'You have said that "virtue is the promoting the happiness of others." But can any account of virtue be complete which cuts off all the obligations man owes to himself, and all he owes to his God? A monarch would take a strange way to simplify the government of a province, who should begin by a slaughter of two thirds of its inhabitants.'

'Now here, my dear Madam, I cannot but think that M. forgot the presence in which he stood.—Such an argument to a man who had a soul, would have been irresistible; for it seems plainly to be virtue in him to save his soul, and honor the God who gave it him. But a few feet of breathing clay can have little respect for itself, and less for the hands which shaped it. A sneer upon the face of the Philosopher soon taught me that of all arguments, those which related to a soul, the least affected him. I was so lost in my musings upon this extraordinary scene, that I listened to nothing for some time, till I heard M. say, "my objection to the system of expediency is, that it does not take man as it finds him, and employ his nature; but, on the contrary, attempts to square the man to the theory."

'You astonish me, Sir,' said the Sage. 'Man is a reasoning animal, and my system would in every situation make him reason. He is, before every action, to compare events and calculate consequences. He is not even to succour a parent, or nourish a child, till he has reflected upon and calculated the consequences of such conduct. It is thus the Scythian finds it expedient to dine upon his grandfather, because, if he did not eat him himself, his countrymen have so little veneration for age, that they would probably starve him first, and devour him afterwards. In the same manner the Chinese deem it expedient to drown such of their children as they do not admire, in the canals of Pekin; because useless citizens cannot make a better use of a land, full of people and barren of provision, than to find a grave in it.—"Each determines wisely," for whatever is expedient is right.'

'Do you not, my dear madam, tremble? What a system is this, which, if even a world were shaking to dust, would set its disciple, unmoved and indifferent, upon the last relic of creation, to weigh in his balance and number the atoms as they fell? Shall I confess to you, that, bursting with conviction and indignation, I exclaimed, "if Monbodo had given philosophers as many tails as the Grand Seigneur gives his Bashaws, I could believe him." The Philosopher appeared confounded at my exclamation; and it then, I confess, occurred to me, that there might be a secret cause for his confusion. If the theory of Monbodo be not universally true, may not this be a distinguishing curse gone forth against philosophers? Philosophy has always some secret, and may not this be the secret of to-day?'

M. however, soon recalled me from my meditation upon the possible formation of philosophers, and the Sage from his lamentation over it, by addressing this master in ethics: "This is monstrous, Sir. Is expediency to transplant and naturalize the worst crimes of barbarians in the soil

of O.? It has been said, that the virus of no animal returns upon itself; such reasonings, however, happily carry their confutation with them. But I repeat my accusation;—your system is not fitted to the nature of man. Man reasons indeed, as you say;—but then he also feels;—thought works in him, but so does conscience;—the heart speaks when the head is silent;—the moral instinct sometimes lives in him when every other spark of the mind is extinguished. You reduce his powers to those of an arithmetician. You drive him for motives through a ledger-book of profit and of loss, when he would find the best counsellor in his own bosom.'

'Conscience—moral instinct—feeling!' said the Philosopher, and rubbed his eyes, as though to ascertain in what world he was: 'What, Sir! using this term conscience for some blind, unintelligible and capricious feelings of the mind, are you to use her eyes, and lean upon her decisions in morality?'

'As the term conscience,' replied M. 'finds a place in the Bible, it should find a place in every system which pretends to govern the morals of men. But we use it for very different feelings from those which you enumerate. We use it for feelings which the Chinese violates when he exposes his child, and the Scythian when he dines on his grandfather; for feelings, which check ingratitude, which revolt against murder, which persuade to justice, which intimate the being of a God.—Of these feelings we say—they are (with innumerable others like these)—defined—simple—and intelligible—invariable in the same circumstances—always at unity with themselves, and with the word of God—and living alike in the breast of all mankind; we use the term conscience for feelings implanted by God, and instructed and governed by reason and revelation.'

'But would you,' asked our disputant, 'build a system upon feelings?'

'They must lay the first stone, and reason and revelation erect the edifice. Laws grow out of these as their first elements. They are corollaries from propositions, which the feelings, thus taught and regulated, establish. I would add one observation: If mankind were not already agreed as to the point, your own system supposes the very feelings which you refuse to employ.—You would weigh consequences;—but must not the mind weigh consequences before it can number them? Must we not value before we can calculate? In this moral arithmetic, as much as in any other, two is not more than one till we have felt the value of two and one. Your theory, therefore, with patrician hand, would annihilate the very feelings on which alone it depends.'

I then entreated M. to take a case, and compare the influence of the two systems by bringing them to act upon it.

'I will,' said M. 'We are told that the Duke of Marlborough received a letter in an unknown hand, assuring him that his life depended on meeting the writer of it in one of the aisles of Westminster Abbey. Now suppose the Duke to have gone, and the ruffian to have rushed upon him, and by threats of death to have extorted a solemn promise that he would deposit a certain sum in the same spot at some future time—ought the Duke to have returned to deposit it? Of this case I would affirm, and you, Sir, will unite with me, that although expediency should balance the pro and con for ever, she would not arrive at a solution. The Duke must, according to your theory, reason thus: "By going, I save my life; and others, by taking my line of conduct, may, in similar circumstances, save theirs. Expediency therefore directs me to go. But, on the other hand, if I go, villainy prospers, and the success in this case may be the prelude to unlimited excess. Expediency therefore directs me not to stir a step. Thus would expediency undo with one hand what she did with the other."

'But,' said I, 'would an appeal to his conscience in this case have done more for him?'

'The moral instinct,' replied M. 'would have instantly and powerfully taught him, that he must not become a villain because he had to deal with one.'

\*Vide Paley's Moral Philosophy, vol. 1.

FREE GOODS.

To the Editor of the Liberator. Sir—In your paper of the 19th of February last, were published some questions proposed by me, relating to the use of the productions of slave labor. Among them were some requesting information respecting the culture of rice, sugar and cotton by freemen, answers to which were obligingly given by the Committee of the Free Produce Society of Philadelphia, and published in the Liberator of June 11th. I was much interested by these answers; and though so long a time has elapsed, am inclined to make some observations suggested by them. I am gratified to see that there is so good a prospect of procuring an abundant supply of cotton raised by free labor. The small quantity mentioned as having been already procured, both of this and other articles, will serve indeed to excite a smile of derision on the countenances of those, who, viewing the whole project of avoiding the use of slave productions as absurd, compare these few bales of cotton and casks of rice with the ship loads which are daily entering our harbors, and filling our ware-houses. They contemptuously ask if it is expected thus to turn the established course of trade and commerce. All that has been done in this way, is in truth but a drop to the ocean, a single seed to the produce of the harvest. Yet drop joined to drop filleth the ocean, and the single seed may prove the origin of future abundance. Whether it will be so or not in the present case, whether enough will join in the undertaking to accomplish any thing of magnitude, we know not; but should it not be so, they who have made the effort will have done their part, will have forborne to add their drop to the ocean of iniquity in which the rights of the Africans have been sunk. Experience teaches not to despise small beginnings. The first protestant Missionary Society consisted of five persons, and the first subscription to it amounted to less than fourteen pounds. The Temperance cause was long considered a forlorn hope, and the plans of its friends pronounced visionary. The present success of both these undertakings is well known. A moral impulse, be it remembered, has a peculiar tendency to propagate itself, and none can tell where it will stop. A moral effort has undeniably checked the trade of distillers; why may it not that of the employers of slave labor? The production of ardent spirits has been diminished to a sensible and important amount; and why may not that of commodities raised by oppression? Are not the sugar and the cotton trade as much within the reach of moral energy as the

rum trade? Is the taste for sugar more unconquerable than the taste for rum? It may be said that the sin of using the first is disputable, of the last not so. It may be replied,—the time is not long gone by, since the daily use of spirit in moderate quantities was thought by most persons to be as innocent as the use of sugar, and the moderate use of the former to be as little connected with the prevalence of intemperance, as that of the latter with the continuance of slavery. But I must not enlarge. I will only add here, that judging from the numbers I have myself heard say that they would willingly give up the use of slave produce, could they hope that a sufficient number would do the same to make it of any use, there is reason to believe that the very persons who are of this mind are enough to constitute that sufficient number. It were much to be wished, therefore, that all such would immediately begin what they profess a willingness to do, and multitudes would then surprise each other by starting up, simultaneously, though not by agreement.

The account given by the Committee of the Philadelphia Free Produce Society of rice being raised by free labor in small quantities by many different individuals, and of the premium offered to induce its collection, has led me to reflect on the operation of this and similar measures. It is evident that if the premium leads only to the collection of rice now raised, and not to any additional cultivation of it by free labor, nothing is gained. It is to be considered that the rice collected would have been consumed by somebody if not thus sought after, and those who would have consumed it will in all probability supply themselves elsewhere, that is, with rice raised by slaves. The effect of thus collecting the free article, it is true, may be, and to some extent probably will be, to induce some persons to raise it by free labor, who did not do so before; and so far as it has this tendency, it is useful. But it has occurred to me that other premiums might be offered which would be more direct in their operation of inducing cultivation by free labor; suppose in addition to such an one as has been offered, a higher premium for a certain quantity of rice or other article usually raised by slaves, if raised by free labor on one estate; another and still higher for the same if raised by emancipated slaves, emancipated for the purpose or after the offer of the premium. This last should extend to sugar and cotton as much as to rice, and proportionably to any quantity of them however small, and should if possible be of considerable value. I am ignorant of the means which free produce societies possess of offering such premiums; but surely benevolent individuals exist with abundant ability to aid in doing it, and to whom the inclination would not be wanting, could its utility be clearly manifested. Supposing such a premium as the last proposed were offered, it is plain that if it were gained, something real and valuable would be accomplished and secured; and, at the worst, if no one were induced to obtain it, no harm would be done or loss incurred by the offer. But if large enough, some one would be induced to obtain it. To be certain of having procured the emancipation of even one slave, would be no trifling satisfaction; but if that of a larger number should be the result of such an effort, there would not only be the certainty of the direct good of their freedom, but this would be further valuable as an example, and an experiment proving the practicability of cultivation by freed slaves.

I suggest these, I trust not chimerical projects, for the attention of those who are able to accomplish them.

Having been so successful in obtaining answers to former queries, I am encouraged to request from you or your correspondents farther information in reply to the following—

- 1st. How many Free Produce societies are there in the United States?
2d. How long is it since the first was formed?
3d. How large are they?
4th. On what principles are they established?
5th. Do they adopt the principle of total abstinence from the productions of slave labor, or only of procuring free articles in preference when they can?
6th. If total abstinence is not the principle on which these societies are founded, how far is it adopted by the members as individuals?
One of my former questions remains unanswered, viz. What objections are there to giving up the use of articles raised by slave labor? I sincerely wish to see it answered, and that some one of those who do object, would state plainly what is to be said against the reasons which have been brought forward in favor of adopting this measure. S. T. C.

THE SUPPORTERS OF SLAVERY. To the Editor of the Liberator.

ESTEMED FRIEND.—When there is room in your paper, and you think that the following remarks will add any thing in promoting the cause of righteousness and equity, which you appear to have so firmly and fearlessly espoused, you will please to give them an insertion.

I have often thought, in hearing of the cruel and unrighteous acts of many of the southern planters towards their slaves, to whom would the passage of scripture in James, v. chap. more forcibly apply than to them.—Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Ye have reaped together treasure for the last days. Behold the hire of the laborers which have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. And now see also that ye do not condemn and kill the unresisting just, for showing you a looking-glass; for clean people are not afraid to look in a glass: so far from that, or being angry, they will not only thank their neighbor for one, but give their labor to obtain it, and often wipe it, that they may see any notes that may happen to have got on their face, and remove them. Now where were any poor more oppressed by the rich than the poor colored slaves? And is not the just recompense of their labor kept back by fraud? Yes, do not you defraud him of more than nine-tenths of his earnings? Now with us here at the north, there is at times a degree of oppression—a rich man overreaches his poor neighbor, and defrauds him of say a quarter or an eighth part of his just earnings; and

he has to bear a severe censure. And shall a slaveholder escape? But, you say, the negro was made to serve you, and that he is not to be considered as your fellow man. And this plea you make, because you can make no better. The Arabs, too, I leave you, consider it as God's blessing when the European or American is cast away on the coast of Africa or the Great Desert, that they may have it in their power to enslave their fellow man. But I learn that some of you pretend to be christians, and to be led by the precepts left for our guide in the bible: then have ye never read that God made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and that he is no respecter of persons? This was Peter's opinion, and also James's, as left us on record. Thus James 2nd chap. 9th verse.—If ye have respect of persons, ye commit sin and are condemned of the law as transgressors.'

But what is it that tempts you to this spurious reasoning, that the slave is not your fellow-man? Can it be any thing but the love of money? which, says the scripture, is the root of all evil; and among the many evils which spring up from this root, slavery stands one of the greatest, and the most remotely from that love which is the fulfilling of the law.

And now, my friends of New-England and elsewhere, who, through divine help, have been favored to see thus far the errors of slavery, wipe the Looking-Glass once more, and see if you can discover no blemishes upon your own persons. Has not the love of money also tempted many of you to subscribe thousands annually for the product of the labor of the slave? Do you not know that this poison-tree is watered by your money; and that, when you withhold your patronage, the tree must as inevitably die as the tree of the field will without water? Can the merchant live, if he has no sale for his goods? Do you not know that the cruel planters are so attached to this wicked trade, that they will never leave it while you give your money to its support? Have we not proof enough to see, that while we are thus affording nourishment to this root, the planters are willing to throw aside all restraining principle?

Bear with me a little. Shall we bribe the planters to do acts at which men shudder? Shall we bribe them to violate every principle of justice and humanity; and yet be free from guilt? Has not the hope of the reward, which goes in a chain from us to the planter, and from him to the Guinea merchant, been the main if not only source of all the blood which has been spilt in watering this cursed root of all evil? Am I too severe? If your actions are equitable in this respect, you have nothing to fear; and you may call me a fanatic or a babbler. But if they are bottomed on iniquity, instead of equity, you have every thing to fear, unless you repent and return. I shall not regret that I have warned you to avert the sentence of the Judge of the quick and dead, when he shall say to those on his left hand,—Depart from me, ye that work iniquity. I am an advocate for consistency.

RHODE-ISLAND.

SLAVERY RECORD.



HUMAN CATTLE.

As a specimen of southern advertisements, we insert the following, cut out of a Nashville paper, and bearing the following caption:

- PIKE'S INTELLIGENCE REGISTER. Will sell 900 acres first rate Land, near Clarksville, and Negroes will be taken in part pay. Wants for cash, a smart sprightly Negro Girl for Nurse and House Servant, from 10 to 12 years of age. Wants a female servant, for which cash will be paid, age from 8 to 12. Will sell a black man, 21 years of age. Wants 4 or 5 black girls from 14 to 22 years old. Will sell a first rate cook and washer, aged 28 years—has no children. Will buy 15 slaves, male or female, from 16 to 25 years of age. Wants to buy 5 or 6 boys, from 12 to 15 years of age. Will buy a likely boy from 15 to 20 years of age. Will sell two women, one 38, the other 14 years of age—not to be taken to the south. Will buy for cash, five Men, from 18 to 30. Will buy for cash, an active, intelligent Girl, for house servant, from 11 to 14 years old—price no consideration. Will buy a first-rate House Servant, for cash—price no consideration. Will sell a good House Servant, 19 years old. Will buy a good Carriage-driver—will pay cash. Will sell a Man 27 years old, who is a good oster, house servant and cook. Will sell an experienced steamboat fireman, about 27 years old. Will sell an active yellow girl, 10 years old. Will sell an experienced Coachman for cash. Will buy from 5 to 10 good male or female slaves, from 10 to 25 years of age, for cash.

MOB AT NORFOLK.

A very respectable and intelligent colored Baptist preacher, of the name of Raymond, residing in Norfolk, Virginia, was invited to preach at several places in North Carolina. Having complied with the request, he returned home soon after the period of the Southampton insurrection. Without a shadow of cause for suspicion, a lawless mob immediately assembled before his house, charging him with participating in that horrible affair. They were about to take him forcibly from his dwelling, (and would, probably, have executed him summarily,) when a number of more worthy citizens interfered, and with difficulty prevented them from effecting their design. He immediately left Norfolk, and went to New-York, where the writer of this article saw him, and received from him the substance of what is here related. He appeared very grateful for the

justice and kindness of his white friends, but considerably dejected in spirit, on account of his hair-breadth escape from a cruel fate.

Reflecting upon this circumstance, the thought frequently occurs: How many blacks may have recently been destroyed, by the exasperated whites, who were as innocent as the more fortunate Raymond? These are some of the consequences of fostering a martial spirit. These, O War! are the murderous concomitants of thy besom march o'er the world!

Genius of Universal Emancipation.

Persecution of Free People of Color.—A gentleman of New-York writes, under date of December 14th, 1831, that 400 colored persons have arrived in that place, from the South, on their way to the Canada Settlement. They were compelled, no doubt, to leave their native homes, by the fiery persecution that now rages against the free people of color, on account of the misconduct of the SLAVES!—Ibid.

LADIES' DEPARTMENT.

Am I not a Woman and a Sister?



From the Genius of Universal Emancipation. LETTERS ON SLAVERY.—No. I.

TO ISABEL.

We have often spoken, dear Isabel, on the subject of African slavery, and I know that you will again rally me for recurring to what you laughingly term my 'dark-visaged enthusiasm.' But I have extracted from you a promise to listen to me patiently, and no fears of your railings must deter me from attempting to inspire you with a portion of the interest which I feel for the wronged children of Africa.

What would I not give to know that you had entered, heart and soul, into their cause! It surprises me that you have not already done so—and the more deeply I reflect on your character, so in proportion does my astonishment increase.—You fire at the mention of the wrongs of Greece! The name of liberty you cherish like a sacred thing. I have seen your cheek glow and your eyes flash with the ardor of your patriotic feelings—yet you look coldly and calmly on the blot that so foully disonors your country's escutcheon.—Strange!—good too, and pious as you are—gentle and merciful, even to the meanest worm that crawls in its worthless heathenish your tread—with a heart so alive to the impulses of humanity, so full of tenderness and high romantic feeling, and so steadily calm in the execution of its duties—and yet on this subject—one that should long since have stirred every pulse of your heart, every sympathy of your bosom—so carelessly, so culpably indifferent!—Think not that I am harsh, dear Isabel: even you acknowledge that the system of which I speak is a great evil—you admit that it is sinful to press the iron yoke of oppression upon the neck of any of God's creatures, how much more then upon those whom he hath created in his own image! and how can you escape the infection of that guilt, unless you openly lift up your hand in remonstrance against it? It is not sufficient that you are not an immediate participant in this iniquity. You are a willing partaker in its advantages, you share freely in all the luxuries purchased by that deep sin; you hold out a bribe, as it were, for its perpetration; yet, because the blood of your brother is not upon your own hand, you hope to fling from you all its awful responsibility! But when the voice of that blood, crying out from the ground, riseth up into the high courts of Heaven; think you, Isabel, that those will be held guiltless, who have stood by and beheld the iron of his fetters wearing away into his very soul, and yet have lifted no hand to shield, no voice beseeching mercy for the sufferer? Oh, believe it not! Do not, I treat you, soothe yourself into a fatal calmness with this hope! You may shut your ear to the cry of the oppressed; you may persuade yourself that the sphere of your duty extends not thus far;—but when the last shadowy film has gathered over your eyes, and your spirit hath passed through the valley of the shadow of death—when all the deceitful mists you had so industriously folded about you are suddenly scattered, and every sense is rendered feebly—when every unforgiven sin rises up with you recollection with a terrible distinctness—when, with all the intensity of an immortal nature, with a love, to which the warmest transports of earthly enthusiasm are cold and feeble, you shall adore the perfection and the excellence of the Holy One—do you not think that you will then remember, with the bitterness of regret, that when the voice of the agony of his people went forth over the land, you gave it no heed? that when you saw them smitten wrongfully, bruised and wounded without a cause, you went carelessly by 'on the other side,' not stopped to pour over their wounds the healing tears of compassion?

Do not, my friend, drive this subject from your mind as one on which it is painful to reflect! If you cannot bear even a recital of the sufferings of the wronged people; how can they endure, on and on, hopelessly and forever! You shall hear from me again ere long—till then, adieu. AGNES.

The following lines were written in England, and addressed to the British people. We have altered their application.

THE SLAVE'S ADDRESS TO AMERICAN LADIES.

Natives of a land of glory, Daughters of the good and brave, Hear the injured Negro's story, Hear, and help the kneeling slave. Think, how nought but death can sever Your lov'd children from your hold; Still alive—but lost forever— Ours are parted, bought and sold! Seize, oh! seize each favoring season— Scorning censure or applause; JUSTICE, TRUTH, RELIGION, REASON, Are your LEADERS in our cause! Follow I—faithful, firm, confiding— Spread our wrongs from shore to shore; Mercy's God your efforts guiding, Slavery shall be known no more.

JUVENILE DEPARTMENT.



For the Liberator.

THE SLAVE MOTHER.

It may be sufficient preface to the following ballad to state, that it is the plain narration of an incident, which happened in Kentucky, in 1831.

The day had scarce begun to dawn,
The sun, behind the hills,
Had far to journey, ere his rays
Should gild the mountain rills.
A woman with three little ones
Came from a lowly shed,
And out upon a lonely path
Those little ones she led.
The morn was dark and lowering,
And scarcely one might see,
When at a distance they appeared,
What woman she might be.
She led those little ones along,
And not a word she said;
They seemed, as they were passing on,
Like shadows of the dead!
The oldest was a little boy,
Some six warm summers old,
And doubtless to a mother's sight
Was lovely to behold.
The others were two little girls;
Just old enough were they,
Led by their mother's helping hand,
To walk along the way.
'Where are we going, Mother, now?'
The little brother spoke;
'Oh, I was dreaming a sweet dream,
Just as we all awoke!'
'We're going but a little way,
Come children, come along;
You cannot think a mother's hand
Would lead her babies wrong!'
'Oh, I have suffered much for you,
Nor will I live to see,
The dreadful evils come to you
Which long have come to me!'
'When I was old as you, my son,
I can remember well,
How I was brought across the sea,
With wicked men to dwell.
They tore me from my mother's arms,
And brought me here to toil,
And every day my tears and blood
Have dewed this hated soil.
'Last evening I was beat again,
Though faint as I could be—
No children, such a wretched fate
You shall not live to see!'
She stooped beside a little spring,
That in the meadow flowed,
Just as the first faint gleam of dawn
Along the valley glowed.
The morning showed those little ones
Were like the sable night,
But well the wretched mother knew
Their little souls were white.
She took her little flaring babes,
And put them in the spring!
It would have grieved a human heart
To see so sad a thing.
She held her little babies there,
Until they all were dead!
But though her soul was wrenched outright,
Yet not a tear she shed.
Let none who know not suffering,
That mother cruel call;
It was that she had felt so much,
She did not feel at all!
She took her little babies there,
And laid them by side;
'Twas there beside the meadow spring,
Where those dear babies died.
She laid her little babies there,
Three children cold as clay;
And long beside the meadow spring,
She kissed them where they lay.
The wretched mother turned away,
With none her grief to heed;
Then down the valley she returned,
Again to toil and bleed!

BOSTON

SATURDAY, JANUARY 21, 1832.

TO JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,
Ex-President of the U. S. and Representative
in Congress from Plymouth District.
No. 1.

Sir—Perhaps no man has had warmer political friends, or more active political enemies, than yourself. Your signal overthrow, on your second nomination for the Presidency, served to attach the former more closely to your person, and to blanch the animosity of the latter. A great fall may, from its startling fatality, not only assuage the bitterness of party spirit, but even excite its sympathy. Few, it is believed, cherished feelings of regret at your election as a Representative in Congress; the many, among all parties, found in it a proud commentary upon our republican institutions; none doubted the towering ascendancy of your abilities. Not only was our vanity gratified by the prospect of being represented on the floor of Congress by an ex-president of the United States, but we felt that our reputation and interest were placed in security. The political sky of the nation, red with fiery portents, warned us to be ready for an extraordinary crisis. We saw cloud after cloud blackening from the horizon to the zenith, and heard the distant roar of the angry thunder. These admonitions were not lost upon us. We felt that the hour had come when the stability of the nation depended upon our suf-

frages. If we failed to elect our wisest and most inflexible statesmen, we had no reason to suppose that the South or the West would be more jealous of our welfare than ourselves.

It has been your misfortune, Sir, in other years, to be mistrusted by a large portion of your countrymen. Your political conversion, which forms the epoch of your life, was deemed by them to have been effected under circumstances greatly detrimental to your integrity. They believed that it was too precipitate for the reluctant convictions of conscience, and too heady for the monitions of wisdom. They found in you an enemy at a time when they most needed a friend; and they did not hesitate to give your abandonment of the cause the name of apostasy. Perhaps they were uncharitable: they certainly were not fastidious in the choice of epithets. We know that a growing party has power to produce miraculous changes in society: like the sun, it pours day-light upon the benighted vision, and confirms a host of irresolute calculators. It is possible a sudden illumination might have removed the scales from your eyes, and you saw at a glance the benefit of immediate repentance. To leave the side of adversity, however, and jump into the stream of popularity, at all times renders the act suspicious, and takes away a full moiety of its merit. I express no opinion in this matter. Political disparagement is not my design in these letters. I simply recapitulate facts, and leave others to make an application.

Notwithstanding these had opinions of your fidelity, (and they were cherished even to the last hour of your presidential term,) your opponents generously forgave—they could not forget—ancient injuries, and consented to place you in Congress. Do not, Sir, too highly value this singular mark of confidence; for misplaced complacency is always ridiculous. It was the peculiarity of your situation, and not any new discovery of personal integrity, that led them to give you their votes. Had you not been to the topmost round of preferment, they had still left you to rusticate on the family estate at Quincy. Had there been one office calculated to provoke the envy or stimulate the intrigue of an ex-president, in vain would your nomination have been proposed to the high minded, clear-sighted freemen of Plymouth District. They had some reason to expect that the vulgar ambition of political distinction was sated in your breast. The utter improbability of your ever being called a second time to fill the presidential chair, seemed to leave no occasion for the temptation of your virtue. Of all American citizens, an ex-president of the United States ought to be the least affected by popular clamor, and the best qualified to behave independently. Having ascended to an eminence that embraces the world in its view, and makes him conspicuous to the eyes of all nations, the occupancy of a hillock is beneath the dignity of a struggle.

You are, Sir, at the present moment, an object of intense interest to millions of your countrymen. Being the first ex-president who has occupied a seat in the national legislature, your situation has the rareness of novelty. The marked civility which you are receiving from old traders, and the fixed attention with which you are heard as soon as you mingle in the public discussions, must be flattering to your vanity. It is evidently your desire to conciliate all parties. Beware, Sir, lest this pliant disposition lead you astray from the path of duty. An error of judgment is easily forgiven; but a sacrifice of principle is an offence without mitigation.

The object of these letters is not a political one. The nature of my enterprise unavoidably brings me into a collision with you, as painful as it is unexpected. In presenting to Congress the petitions of sundry inhabitants of Pennsylvania, (members of the Society of Friends,) praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, you made an avowal which has shocked the public mind in New-England—I may say in the free States—and astonished even the South. Occupying the station of an advocate for the slaves, the friends of emancipation expect me to interrogate you; and did they not, a sense of duty would force me to the task. Enough for an introduction. Another week, perhaps, may give to the public your reasons why you could give no countenance or support to the petitions: these reasons may be so conclusive as to establish the propriety of ten millions of freemen holding six thousand human beings in abject bondage, and to render unnecessary a second letter from my pen. Still distrusting your ability to make error truth, and fraud equity, and cruelty benevolence, I remain, with unfeigned respect,

Yours, &c. &c.

W. L. G.

A petition for the repeal of the following section of the Act of June, 1786, will be presented, we understand, to the Legislature in a few days. We cannot permit ourselves to doubt, that it will be successful. The law is not only clearly unconstitutional, but ridiculous in the extreme.

And be it further enacted, That no person by this Act authorized to marry, shall join in marriage any white person with any Negro, Indian or Mulatto, on penalty of the sum of Fifty Pounds, two thirds thereof to the use of the county wherein such shall be committed, and the residue to the prosecutor, to be recovered by the Treasurer of the same county, in manner as aforesaid; and all such marriages shall be absolutely null and void.

Our readers will perceive, by an article in another column, that a proposition is before Congress for the removal of the free colored population to Africa. Let the friends of this cruel measure beware of the consequences. We shall oppose it as fraught with all that is contracted in prejudice, malignant in persecution, and disastrous in oppression.

The communication of 'A Colored Female of Philadelphia' shall be inserted next week.

JOHN RANDOLPH. This garrulous shadow, since his return from his mission, has edified his 'dear constituents' with an indescribable harangue some two or three hours long. Among other words of folly, were the following:

'Negro Slavery—was reconciled to it. Had seen more lashes given on board the Concord, between Hampton Roads and Spithead, than had been given to his 300 negroes for 37 years. Put him on his horse Radical, rough shod, with his double barrel gun, and his broadsword, and he could drive five hundred negroes across the Roanoke.'

Well done, Bombastes Furioso! More than a match for the redoubtable Don Quixotte de la Mancha, the admiration of Spain, or Colonel Pluck, the wonder of the city of brotherly love! That terrible double barrel gun! That murderous broadsword! That fiery steed Radical! all wielded and governed by that potent arm of thine! Five hundred negroes dost thou say thou couldst drive? Why, most puissant Falstaff, an army of men in buckram would quake at thy presence! But seriously, John, take care lest some one of thy three hundred slaves should put thy metal to the test, and crush thy skeleton form between his thumb and finger. Put Juba on guard forthwith, and get a coat of mail for thy ribs.

GOOD FOR EVIL. The readiness of the slaves to forgive the injuries inflicted upon them, is seen in every emergency where the property or personal safety of the planters is in peril. This excellent spirit they manifested at the conflagration in Fayetteville, North Carolina; and to such an extent did they carry their zeal, that even the Observer of that place complimented them in exalted terms—drawing, however, the barbarous inference from such magnanimous conduct, that God had appointed them to serve!

At the late disastrous fire in Macon, Georgia, the slaves were, equally prompt and daring in their exertions to arrest the progress of the flames. The Macon Messenger notices the 'devotion and activity' of some of them in the following manner:

'We were gratified to witness the devotion and activity of some negro men; and two in particular, who are worthy of special notice and commendation. Judge McDonald's large two story building was particularly exposed to the danger of taking fire from intense heat and falling cinders. Major Napier's boy Ned maintained his station at the top of a ladder, supplying water, and Mr. Fort's Sam, in keeping the roof wet, which was more than one hundred feet in length, both exposed to the most scorching heat. To their perseverance, may in a great measure be attributed the preservation of this and the adjoining buildings.'

GIRARD'S WILL. The last Lynn Record refers to this Will in the following pertinent style:

'We are not informed what part of his immense wealth was obtained from the product of his slaves; but it appears that while his thoughts were turned towards the termination of all earthly things, he claimed the right to retain the blacks in bondage, and even after twenty years more of degrading servitude, they and their offspring are to be sold, and the proceeds applied to adorn the city of New-Orleans. But in the day of general retribution, the oppressor and the oppressed must be arraigned before a just tribunal, where no difference of complexion or disparity of wealth will avail to avert the awful sentence.'

In providing for the establishment of a College for the education of poor male white orphan children, Mr Girard has enjoined and required that no ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister of any sect whatsoever, shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatever in the said college; nor shall any such person ever be admitted for any purpose, or as a visitor, within the premises appropriated to the purposes of the said college. This exclusion of ministers of the gospel, even as visitors, from the college premises, but too plainly shows that Mr Girard had no friendship for religion. He was a rich man on earth, but we fear he is a bankrupt in eternity.

We are gratified to see, once more, the hand-writing of our esteemed correspondent 'S. T. U.' The queries, propounded by him, will we hope be answered by the Committee of the Free Produce Association of Philadelphia—as they have more accurate information on the subject than is in our possession. We commend the suggestions of 'S. T. U.' relating to the consumption of slave-productions, to the consciences of our readers; and also those of our correspondent 'Rhode-Island.'

POLISH STANDARDS. Lafayette, in a letter to William Rand Stacy, Esq. of this city, acknowledges the receipt of the Polish Standards, and says they have, at the request of several distinguished Poles in Paris, been for the present deposited at his lodgings, where they become an object of patriotic pilgrimage. He adds:

'How much delighted I have been with this new specimen of Bostonians' sympathy for the cause of freedom and patriotic heroism, and with an additional token of your kindness to me, nobody in your beloved city will question. I however beg you to present the young men of Boston, the worthy grandsons of my revolutionary companions, with a particular tender of my gratitude and devoted affection.'

We have received a copy of a Sermon, occasioned by the death of Mr Amos Pettingell at New Haven, by the Rev. L. F. Dimmick of Newburyport. A short extract from it may be seen in our Moral Department. Mr Pettingell was formerly a school-mate of ours, and we therefore knew his worth and can measure the greatness of his loss. His talents were of the first order, and his religious experience rational and vivid.

Even the Richmond Enquirer has panegyrized Ex-President Adams since his remarks on slavery in the District of Columbia! It says—'We confess that Mr Adams's bearing in the H. of R. has hitherto most agreeably disappointed us'—&c.

Twenty-three acts to divorce certain dissatisfied men and women, and three to regulate slaves in certain counties, were passed by the last Legislature of Georgia.

BOSTON MINORS' EXHIBITION SOCIETY. We noticed this Society with particular approbation, in the first volume of the Liberator. It is composed of young colored lads and misses, who have voluntarily associated together for the laudable purpose of improving their minds, by memorizing select articles of prose and verse for public recitation. Their second exhibition was given a few weeks since, which was well received by a large audience. Fifteen Single Pieces and sixteen Dialogues were spoken with remarkable accuracy. Two original addresses on slavery, written by the managers Masters William C. Nell and John Shepherd, were really creditable to the young authors, and delivered in a spirited manner. We would advise the youthful performers not to get too many pieces for a single exhibition, as was the case at the last.

REWARD OF THE GEORGIA SENATE.

A fine comment indeed upon the freedom of which our countrymen boast! A man because he dare advocate the 'equal rights' of his fellow men, is hunted like the thief or the robber, and a great reward offered for his apprehension! We believe that our southern States may offer rewards, be they ever so large, and their offers have no effect upon our New-England population, or our rulers. We have too high an opinion of our northern citizens to think them capable of betraying their brethren into the hands of the enemies of freedom. Mr. Garrison, the editor of the Liberator, is not one of the lukewarm advocates of 'equal rights'—he is engaged heart and hand for the immediate emancipation of the blacks from slavery. He is not intimidated from his duty by fines or imprisonment; but takes hold of his subject with a firm and unwavering confidence and determination to accomplish, as far as possible, the work in which he is engaged. We peruse his paper with a degree of satisfaction, and hope ere long to make some interesting extracts from it. We do not agree with Mr. Garrison respecting the Colonization Society, for it is undoubtedly doing much good. The Liberator is to be enlarged the present month, and we trust it will receive an increased patronage.—Oxford Observer.

FREE NEGROES. The following project was submitted to the committee on Free Negroes, &c. for consideration.

Resolved, That it is expedient, as early as possible, with their assent, to remove the Free Negroes and Mulattoes, from this Commonwealth. Resolved, That the Colony now established at Liberia, on the coast of Africa, presents the most desirable territory to which said Free Negroes and Mulattoes shall be transported. Resolved, That the State will annually appropriate the sum of \$100,000, towards defraying the costs of the transportation of said Free Negroes and Mulattoes to the Coast of Africa; which sum shall be raised by a tax upon land, slaves, and other property now declared taxable by law. Resolved, That for the purpose herein contemplated, the State of Virginia shall be laid off into sections, corresponding with the divisions now established by the Constitution of the Commonwealth.

Resolved, As an inducement to emigrate, each emigrant shall be provided at the public expense with agricultural and planting implements, clothing, and other necessary articles, not exceeding in value one dollar.—Richmond Whig.

CONGRESS. In the House of Representatives, January 12, Mr Jenifer of Maryland submitted the following—

Resolved, That a select committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of making an appropriation for the purpose of removing from the United States, and her Territories, the free people of color, and colonizing them on the coast of Africa, or elsewhere. Mr Jenifer stated that Maryland possessed a greater amount of this population than any other State in the Union; that Virginia stood next, and Delaware in proportion to her population had more than either. These States suffered severely from the evils entailed by this species of population, and the State of Maryland believed that if there was any constitutional remedy within the power of the general government, it ought to be applied. He was anxious for an early decision, as some of the State Legislatures were now in session, and would be looking to the General Government for co-operation; if there was no remedy, they would have to look to their own resources.

Mr Speight of North Carolina said he was in favor of the policy which dictated the resolution, and should be glad to see the measure adopted if he could be satisfied that the General Government possessed the power. Upon his motion, the resolution was postponed to Monday.

J. Q. ADAMS.

The course pursued by Mr. Adams on presenting the memorial for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, is calculated to excite surprise. His motives, perhaps, in this case, we have no right to question; for it ought to be granted that every man acts from honest and upright motives so long as he does not speak otherwise. But we have certainly a right to question the correctness of his principles in coming out the open advocate of Slavery. We are aware that Slavery is an evil entailed upon this country in its days of Colonial dependence, and that to abolish it at once throughout the states where it exists, would be to transcend the constitutional powers of Congress. But we believe the time has arrived, when its abolition in the District of Columbia, over which Congress has the complete jurisdiction, is not only loudly called for by the popular voice, but is called for by every principle of liberty, reason, justice, and humanity.—With this belief, we cannot but deeply regret the course pursued by the ex-president; inasmuch as it will have a tendency to encourage the advocates of Slavery in the Southern States, and to retard the progress of that universal emancipation so important to effect the temporal happiness of the whole family of man.—Lowell Journal.

The unfortunate individual who has the stamp of darkness impressed upon his complexion, seems to be buffeted and repelled from all parts of the land; proscribed from one spot, he seeks another only to be met with contumely and reproach; and go where he will, he is never free from persecuting contempt and insult.—Virginia is considering the importance of expelling the free blacks from her territory, and Ohio has already prohibited their introduction there, and now Pennsylvania, as a matter of self-preservation, is designing to adopt similar restrictive measures. When all the states in the Union have passed similar statutes to prevent an influx of a free colored race, whence shall the liberated black go, and where shall he reside? This seems to us an approximation to a strange state of things, and nothing but extermination, total and entire, can render compliance with such strange legislative proceedings possible.—Northampton Courier.

It is never too late to record a benevolent act. The British Agent, on Christmas day, presented the confined debtors in New-York, a fine lot of warm stockings; and the proprietor of the American Hotel gave them a fine Christmas dinner. Says Shakspeare:

'How far that little candle throws its beams! So shines a good deed in a naughty world.'

MISS GOULD. The editor of the U. S. Gazette pays the following merited tribute to Miss H. F. Gould, of Newburyport, whose recent productions have attracted so much notice:

'This lady has in her the soul of poetry; we may hope to hear more of her composition.'

FROM SMYRNA. The Cleric, at quarantine, sailed 23d October. The captain and passengers report, that the Cholera was raging frightfully at date of sailing; and that the deaths had increased from 40 to 300 per day. At Constantinople it was abating. A letter from an English surgeon in the Persian army, received at Smyrna, stated that the disease was making sad havoc in that country.—Courier.

RICHMOND, Jan. 13.—It is said, that the Committee on Colored Population have determined to recommend an annual appropriation of \$100,000 towards the removal of the free people of color. More was moved, but it failed. We hail this measure with great satisfaction.—Enquirer.

The Richmond Whig states that propositions were made on Thursday last, in the General Assembly of Virginia, which brought on a debate on the whole question of Slavery, physical and moral.

Murder in Newburyport.—Last week, on Friday afternoon at half past three o'clock, Mr Henry Page, a saddler, was found dead in his shop, in Liberty-street, in the immediate vicinity of Market square. Two wounds had been inflicted, the first in the upper part of the right breast, which appeared to have caused almost instant death; the other in the abdomen, when the knife struck against the back bone, and bent the knife, which was found about six feet from him. The knife was one Mr P. used at his trade.

Cholera.—The New-York Board of Health has unanimously adopted a memorial to be sent to Congress, recommending the Government to send experienced persons to England, to collect information on the subject of the Cholera, and that in the mean time general laws should be passed to protect our citizens from its approach to this country.

Fire.—The dwelling house of Capt. Jacob Weston in Duxbury, was destroyed by fire on Tuesday night, with all its contents. Capt. Weston, Mr George Cushman, a revolutionary pensioner, and the widow Southworth, an aged lady, all perished.

The number of houses burnt at Raleigh on the morning of the 7th inst. was about fifty, including the Post Office, and the most business part of the town. The Post Office papers, &c. were saved.

Quarantine.—The Board of Aldermen have ordered a quarantine on all vessels arriving at this port from Sunderland and Newcastle in England, and Smyrna.

Letters received at this office from Jan. 13 to Jan. 20, 1832.

Thomas Williams, Lewistown, Pa.; Nathan Winslow, Portland, Me.; Prince Swan, Hartford, Ct.; Levi K. Brown, Goshen, Pa.; Rev. Otis Converse, Grafton, Mass.; Rev. J. C. Beman, Middletown, Ct.; James W. Janson, Elmira, N. Y.; William Condit, Lyme, Ct.; J. Stata, Newark, N. J.; Alonzo Lewis, Lynn, Mass.; Richard Johnson, New-Bedford, Mass.; Joseph Cassey, Philadelphia.

DEATHS.

In New-Haven, on the 29th ult. Caroline Devoise, a colored person, aged 35. In Woodbridge, N. J. an aged colored woman, named Old Tracy, 105, burnt to death by her clothes taking fire from a spark from her tobacco pipe. The whole number of deaths in Boston in 1831, was 1429; a number larger by several hundreds than in 1830.

A colored woman died in Pittsburgh, Pa. on the 19th ult. at the advanced age of 110 years. She was kidnapped from the coast of Guinea, in the 14th year of her age. She lived ten years in Kingston, Jam.; ten years in another West India Island, and since that period to her death she has been in the United States.

An English paper contains the following: Died, at Pisa, on the 15th of last month; Miss Marie Francoise Amethiste Henri, daughter of her majesties, the late Henry, first King of Hayti, and of Marie Louisa, now commonly called Madame Christophe.

FOR SALE AT THIS OFFICE, AND AT THE BOOKSTORE OF CARTER AND HENDEE,

A DISCOURSE

On Slavery in the United States, By Rev. Samuel J. May, Pastor of the First Church in Brooklyn, Ct.

This discourse is judicious, forcible and eloquent, richly meriting an attentive perusal and a wide circulation. Price 12 cents.

FIVE DOLLARS REWARD.

Lost, between Boston and New-York, a bundle tightly wrapped in brown paper, with the following direction: 'Philip A. Bell, No. 78, Chamber-street, New-York City'—(in the care of the steward of the steam-boat Boston, at Providence.) Paid to Providence, 25 cents. Any person finding the above bundle, and sending as directed, will receive the above on application to the subscriber or to Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Boston.

P. A. BELL, No. 78, Chamber-street, N. Y. City. Jan. 14, 1832.

SCHOOL WANTED.

A respectable colored gentleman, who has been a teacher of youth for the last three years, wishes to obtain a school for the instruction of young ladies and gentlemen of color. He teaches Spelling, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Rhetoric, &c. References respecting his qualifications may be made to the Editor of the Liberator, or to GEORGE HOGARTH, 149 Jay-street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

NOTICE.

The subscriber would inform the colored Ladies and Gentlemen of Boston, that his school for instruction in Sacred Music will be held, for the present, every Sunday evening in the African School-House, Ball's-court-street. Terms for twenty-six lessons—for a lady, \$1.00; for a gentleman, \$2.00. Those who wish to attend are requested to apply immediately. Jan. 14. PULASKI W. FLANDERS.

