

# THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. II.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND ISAAC KNAPP, PUBLISHERS.

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BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

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

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W. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

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The subject of the practicability of the object resolved into two questions, viz. Can the general government afford the requisite means of effecting the design? And if it can, is it probable that it ever will appropriate them to the object? The first of these questions I examined in my last number, in which I showed the resources of the government to be amply sufficient to meet all its needs, and effectually accomplish this object. The numerical calculations by which I demonstrated this part of my subject, elicited your remarks. But conceiving these calculations to be called for by the communication of "Philo-Africanus," and being aware that it is a question among some of the foes of colonization, whether the American Colonization Society can ever effect the object with the concurrence and co-operation of the national government, I did and still do presume that they were appropriately introduced.

But leaving this point to the judgment of others, I will now submit some brief remarks on the second part of the subject, viz. Is it probable that the general government will ever impart to the Colonization Society the means necessary in order to the accomplishment of its grand object? The legislature of our nation has never given any direct pledge of future assistance to the cause of African Colonization; but, nevertheless, it will afford the necessary aid, if a prediction founded on the most rational evidence that can sustain a probability. The removal of our colored population is a measure which involves important national interests. The existence of this anomalous population among us threatens the future prosperity and repose, if not the future existence of our nation. The fulfilment of these forebodings may be hid as yet among the unknown realities of remote futurity; but it is no false policy to calculate, with careful forethought, the future results of a present evil. Some may treat such expressions of alarm as mere recriminations; but a reference to facts will show that they are. Carolina and Louisiana for instance, in which the slave population actually exceeds that of the whites, and the increase of the former is at a considerably more rapid rate than the latter. Within the last 40 years the slaves have nearly trebled their numbers in these states; while in the same time, the whites were only doubled. A memorial lately addressed to the legislature of Virginia, in which the blacks of the Blue Ridge, not less than 106,716, in 1810, there was a majority of blacks of 3,104; in 1810, there was a majority of blacks of 48,898; in 1820, of 65,955; in 1830, of 81,078. In 1790, there were in the United States 697,497 slaves, and in 1830 they amounted to 2,105,827. In 40 years, a multiplication of more than three-fold. In a nation of slaves exceeding our whole present white population; and thus doubling their numbers about once in every 20 years, they will soon become a majority of the population of the United States, and the Republic of America will become a negro empire. Reflect, also, that these calculations are made in reference to the slaves exclusively; and to these the number of free blacks, calculated to the same period, according to their rate of increase, and the result is truly appalling.

From the above view of the progressive increase of the slaves, it is evident that they will soon become more numerous than our white population. If we retain them in slavery until that period, it is to be feared that there will be a general and a fatal impulsion. For being conscious of superior numbers, and being led by a sense of their rights, they will be inclined to shake off the yoke of their chains, and resist the imposition of laws on them. And this spirit is confirmed by the fact, that in their present discontented and restless state, they have made frequent and desperate attempts at insurrection. If there should be a war, it would be extermination. Either the whites or blacks would exist no more in our country. Emancipation would be no adequate remedy for the evil; for it furnishes no adequate remedy for the evil; for it does not diminish the number of slaves at the present rate, and if it were the case, their numbers will still be the white population; and at a more remote period they will be double the white, and at a still further point of time they will be predominant. At this time, they are not yet predominant, but they are rapidly approaching it. Our country will become a colored republic, and the whites will sustain the same relation to the blacks that the blacks now do to the whites. The republican principles of our country, in this respect, facilitate very much the progress of the evil. All liberties are invested with the doctrine of franchises, which certainly can, according to republican principles, which says that the majority shall rule, appoint men of their own color to the offices of state. And if

they can do it, and are not singularly different from all other men and men, they certainly will do it.

Thus it appears that whether we emancipate them or retain them in slavery, the evils we anticipate will not be obviated, if we retain them in slavery, the time will come when insurrection will liberate them and ruin us; if we emancipate them, the time must come, when superior numbers will give them predominance, and reduce us to inferiority. We must have recourse, therefore, to some other remedy. This remedy presents itself in colonization, and in colonization only. Thus it appears that with the success of this enterprise are identified the most momentous national interests. Can we, then, presume that the general government will look with indifference upon its claims? Slavery has already in a measure paralyzed the energies of the south. The ominous cloud which hangs over our southern states, casts a dark shade upon the prospect of the future. It daily becomes more oppressive in its bulk, and it is pregnant with the fate of our country. Occasional gleams show that the deep gloom, and soon, unless speedily dissipated, it will burst in disastrous convulsions upon us. Public attention will not yet be attracted from other members to the importance of this subject; but as the evil augments, its aspect will become more and more gloomy, and finally the nation will be aroused to fear and to action, and it will become a subject of legislative attention.

If the evils, which we have calculated upon, are the inevitable results of a negro population, the time must come when the attention of government will be directed to some remedy, and nothing effectual can be resorted to, as we have shown above, but colonization. Again, that the plans of the American Colonization Society will meet with national patronage, we infer from the fact that they have met with the almost universal concurrence of public sentiment. The nation has, in every part, manifested its approval of our countrymen's efforts, and the unprecedented success of its efforts, and the national estimates which have been placed upon the national estimates, has obtained the favorable opinion of at least nine-tenths of the community; so that it may justly be said that it is sanctioned by the nation. It is a measure, however, which has been once in our land is favorable to it, and it has been the friendly attention of the good and great, and wherever its principles have become known. A nation, as Alexander, over in the ranks of a nation, and a Wilberforce, names immortals in the ranks of a nation, and a Lafayette. And among those at home are a Carroll, a Madison, a Marshall, a Clay, a Webster, and a host of others. Every day imparts additional interest to the subject, and the whole community seem to be united by a common impulse to advance the interest and promote the object of the Society. Almost every state in the Union contains one or more auxiliary societies, and the legislatures of fourteen states have passed resolutions, expressing their approval of the plans and objects of the Society, and recommending it to the patronage of the inhabitants of their respective states; many have also instructed their senators and representatives in Congress to promote an interest by making appropriations to the cause. Public opinion is also still on the advance; though much excitement prevails on the subject, yet it may be repeated that the public mind is not entirely excited by its members to the ranks of its patrons and advocates, and doubtless will soon enlist universal interest and patronage; and when the unanimous voice of the nation calls for the aid of government, it must be heard and regarded; for this voice is sovereign.

In view of the foregoing considerations, it is not probable that the national government will render its efficient support to this enterprise. As above shown, there are grounds for the apprehension that dissenting views will result from the continuance of a colored population among us, and though the government may be unwilling to interfere with the claims of the people, when these anticipations will become fearful realities, and then imperious necessity will compel it to resort to some remedy. And if, as we have shown, there is no other remedy but colonization, to this it must direct its attention.

The unavoidable inference, then, is that the federal government will, sooner or later, assist that cause; and if, as we have said, the public opinion of the sovereign, of the Society, and call for the plans and projects of the Society, and state legislatures have already, in every part, manifested their approval of our countrymen's efforts, and the national estimates which have been placed upon the national estimates, has obtained the favorable opinion of at least nine-tenths of the community; so that it may justly be said that it is sanctioned by the nation. It is a measure, however, which has been once in our land is favorable to it, and it has been the friendly attention of the good and great, and wherever its principles have become known. A nation, as Alexander, over in the ranks of a nation, and a Wilberforce, names immortals in the ranks of a nation, and a Lafayette. And among those at home are a Carroll, a Madison, a Marshall, a Clay, a Webster, and a host of others. Every day imparts additional interest to the subject, and the whole community seem to be united by a common impulse to advance the interest and promote the object of the Society. Almost every state in the Union contains one or more auxiliary societies, and the legislatures of fourteen states have passed resolutions, expressing their approval of the plans and objects of the Society, and recommending it to the patronage of the inhabitants of their respective states; many have also instructed their senators and representatives in Congress to promote an interest by making appropriations to the cause. Public opinion is also still on the advance; though much excitement prevails on the subject, yet it may be repeated that the public mind is not entirely excited by its members to the ranks of its patrons and advocates, and doubtless will soon enlist universal interest and patronage; and when the unanimous voice of the nation calls for the aid of government, it must be heard and regarded; for this voice is sovereign.

in promoting the best interest of their country. There are bounds beyond which we cannot pass with impunity. If we transcend these limits, we transgress at once the laws of God, transgress on human rights, and violate the principles of justice and equity. The despot may usurp authority, and wield an unlawful power; but let the chief magistrate of the United States do the same, and how soon would the nation be convulsed, and an independent people be avenged!

W. L. G.

For the Liberator.

SLAVERY INEXCUSABLE. NO. II.

Slavery is alike repugnant to the feelings of humanity, and to the principles of our holy religion. Enslave the body, and you take away every means of improvement, and destroy every thing that renders human existence desirable. It obstructs the sources of social enjoyment, and cuts off the possibility of acquiring healthy moral feeling, or of advancing with the progress of human improvement. It withers the sensibilities of conscience, destroys our moral rectitude, checks the holiest aspirations of the soul; obliterates all distinctions between right and wrong; plunges the whole soul into the lowest depths of degradation, and pours contempt upon the Divine original. By its fatal influence, the human mind is subjugated in every stage of its progress; its powers and intellectual activity are depressed; and its vigor and independence are annihilated. Whoever can exert a controlling influence over the mind of man, and direct this formidable engine, is secure of dominion over his species.

But is there any motive, that can induce our colored population to submit tamely to the usurped authority of their superior? Will they always bow the neck in servitude, and kiss the tyrant's foot? Will they not vindicate their wrongs, and seek redress in arms? Shall the Christian name and character any longer be the sport and derision of an abject world? Shall Christianity be prostituted, to gratify the inhumanity, the selfishness, the lusts, and the avarice of men? Shall human race; abuse that power, by flinging upon an unfortunate class, pains and stripes, at which mercy's heart would bleed; and at which the common feelings of humanity would shudder, and weary to inflict upon a best? Shall they, contrary to the express commands of God, and in violation of the pacific principles of Christianity, spread desolation over the coast of Africa, ravage the whole country, plunder every dwelling, and drag the miserable inhabitants, naked, defenceless, and unprotected, into captivity in foreign lands? May Heaven forbid it! May justice and humanity forbid it! May the fresh and bleeding wounds inflicted upon Christianity forbid it!

The Orator also aims at power. Though differing in kind and degree, it is nevertheless calculated to exert the most direct and powerful influence upon the community, either in elevating or lowering the standard of morals, in refining or vitiating the taste, in purifying or corrupting the feelings, in exalting or depressing the mind, in giving to the imagination a bolder flight, or locking it up in rigid and unyielding chains, or leaving it to the unbridled and uncontrolled sway of avarice. He would best a dark and limited command. He would best a sovereign aid in the understandings of men, gain their affections, govern their passions, control their wills, win their smiles, conciliate their fears, and thus enjoy a transient immortality in their memories and prayers.

The Orator also aims at power. By the thunder of his eloquence, his winning address, his persuasive language, and by the introduction of religion into his harangue, he carries away the imaginations of his auditors, controls their passions, overcomes their prejudices, and thus has them at his command.

Such fidelity, although he denies the doctrines of Jehovah, and disbelieves the great doctrines of the gospel, has also resorted to similar means, for similar purposes.

We are not a little astonished, in turning the pages of Biography, to find that most of distinguished talents, incorruptible worth, undoubted piety, benefactors of mankind, celebrated for their truly philanthropic and benevolent spirits; whose names vibrate with pleasing recollections upon the ears of every Christian and Patriot; were so passionately fond of power and so blinded by the love of it, that they employed all the means in their power to obtain it, and when they have obtained it, have seldom failed of abusing it. Thus our venerable ancestors, roused by the unexpected slavery and inestimable immunities of the great principles of Christian liberty—liberty of speech and liberty of the press—fled from the track of oppression and blood, crossed the trackless ocean in a pilgrim bark, and took an awful possession of the western continent; then a howling wilderness, but now the paradise of a world's slaves. Scarcely had they escaped the fangs of the Roman's chariot, and nominally erected a standard of Christian liberty, than the tragedies that were acted in papal Rome were again witnessed in this Protestant country. No sooner had they obtained the power, than they were ready to confound the goods of all, squandering the character and brand as heretics those who discredited them in matters of religious opinion. What is left that the same principle carried out to its full length, that exhibits itself in the conduct of the slaveholder? Conscious of his superiority, he burns to manifest it by reducing millions of his fellow beings to a condition worse than death. Would you know the miseries and crimes occasioned by this passion for power; look over Afri-

THE SIN OF SLAVERY MUST BE FORGOTTEN!—The eyes of the times are swiftly portending. From the towers, bearing treason, on the thrones, to the pauper, shaking from dissection, in the workshop; a conviction that some impending danger threatens to shake, it is to be feared, the bonds of society, seems universal. Hope is that form of prey and fast days are ordered, and talk of even by men, and in places where, and by whom, they would, till now, have been scorned and rebuked. This may be many, be deemed trifling, but it is a speaking a fear of God, either no such fear was, or where none was apparent. It speaks peace and confidence in a truly religious, but terror to the wicked.—ROBERTS.

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The Liberator of the Liberator. You were pleased to pay my last a passing notice, by saying that the arithmetical details it contained were irrelevant to the subject, or did not approach the point of controversy. In commencing my essays on African Colonization, it was with the design of discussing the proposition of our correspondents, "Philo-Africanus," that it was the practicability of the object of the American Colonization Society. This object I defined in my last, to be the removal (with their own consent) of the free colored people in the United States to Africa, or any such place as Congress shall deem most expedient; and showed that the Society designed to effect this object in co-operation with the federal government.





LITERARY.

[For the Liberator.]
LINES ADDRESSED TO AN INFANT SLAVE.
What seal is on thee, child, that man should doom
Thy free limbs to the fetter? ...

Would he turn
To the post-mortem of thy being soon,
Urging thy former wrongs to be forgot? ...

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To the post-mortem of thy being soon,
Urging thy former wrongs to be forgot? ...

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MISCELLANEOUS.

THE GRUMBLERS.
From the Genius of Temperance.
I wish they were less - Come famins, come war, ...

Many of these
Have got one of those
For with far less
Than a farmer's wife with, 'O dear!

What is eternity?
It has neither birth, death, youth, infancy, nor old age, ...

What is idleness?
Idleness is being natural, frank, and free from subterfuge in word or action. ...

What is grace?
Grace is something divine diffused over the whole of our nature in motion and gesture. ...

What is the difference between a handsome woman and a pretty one?
A handsome woman has a powerful charm which excites our admiration. ...

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Answers of the Deaf and Dumb.
The following are the extraordinary answers to questions proposed to some of the elder pupils of the Deaf and Dumb Institution of Paris. ...

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HARRIET DRESSER AND HER FRIENDS.
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