

## THE LIBERATOR

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## THE LIBERATOR.

I register my testimony against the unprincipled, inhuman, anti-Christian, and diabolic SLAVE TRADE, with all its authors, promoters, abettors, and sacrilegious gains; as well as against the Great Devil, the father of it and them.—Dr Adam Clarke.

### THE LIBEL SUIT.

In the first number of the Liberator, I gave the report of my second trial, as published in the Baltimore Gazette. I now propose to examine it, as briefly as possible; for if the public be not weary of the subject, I am.

In the beginning I would premise,—and Heaven is my witness,—that, in advertising the conduct of Mr Todd and Capt. Brown in the affair of the Francis, I was actuated by no personal hostility. If any of my warmest friends, or any others of my fellow-townsmen, had been implicated in this or a similar transaction, they would have felt the same scorpion lash. In the publication of my strictures, I was governed by the following motives:—

1. A sense of duty, as an advocate of freedom, and a hater of tyranny and of all its abettors.
2. A desire to convince the southern people, that, in opposing slavery, I disregarded all sectional feelings; and that a New-England assistant was as liable to reprehension as a Maryland slaveholder.
3. A belief that the publication would ever afterward deter Mr Todd from venturing into the domestic slave-trade; and that it would be a rod over the backs of New-England merchants generally.

Having proved, on my first trial, my main charges—viz. that the Francis carried away the slaves, and even 13 more than I had stated—that the ship was owned by Mr Todd—and that he was privy to the transaction—I determined to incur no expense, and to give myself no trouble, in relation to the second suit. I knew that my judges must be men tainted with the leprosy of oppression, with whom it would be useless to contend—men, morally incapable of giving an impartial verdict, from the very nature of their pursuit. And here let me observe, *en passant*, that, though I do not say that a *packed jury* has convicted me; yet, knowing as I do how juries are selected in Baltimore, and recognizing also some of my condemners, I consider my trial as having had all the formality, but none of the substance, of justice.

In the report of the trial, it is stated that 'the Plaintiff [Mr Todd] was not consulted, nor apprised of the destination or employment of the ship, until she was about to sail.' Capt. Brown, in his affidavit, also declares, that Mr Todd 'could not have known the transaction, until about the time of the sailing of the ship from Baltimore.'

This mode of expression, 'about the time,' is too indefinite to screen Mr Todd from blame; it amounts to nothing but tergiversation. I challenge his agent in Baltimore, or Capt. Brown, to testify, that he could not have seasonably prevented the transportation by a prompt and peremptory decision. It was stated, on my first trial, by Mr Henry Thompson, (the agent,) that he wrote to Mr Todd concerning the business; and that Mr Todd ratified the contract at the expense of some slight twinges of conscience. Mr Thompson and Capt. Brown, therefore, are at direct variance in their testimony. I leave them to reconcile these contradictions as ingenuity or interest may suggest.

If Mr Todd had been innocent, he would not have instantaneously kindled into a passion, and presented me as a libeller to a jury whom he suspected of cherishing hostile feelings toward the Genius of Universal Emancipation. Charitably believing that I had been unwittingly led into error, he would have corresponded with me on the subject, and demanded a public apology for the injury inflicted upon his character; and I would have promptly made that apology—yea, upon my bended knees. For I confidently assert, that no individual who knows me personally—not even the accused himself—believes that I was instigated by malice, in the publication of my strictures. *I make no other charge against him.* If I have enemies, I forgive them—I am the enemy of no man. My memory can no more retain the impression of anger, hatred or revenge, than the ocean the track of its monsters.

Mr Todd, as a high-minded man, should have been satisfied with the result of the former trial. The second suit betrays the meanness of avarice, and the littleness of revenge. It was not so much a desire to clear his reputation, as to gain a few dollars or gratify a vindictive spirit, that induced the prosecution.

It is averred, that, after his [Garrison's] conviction in the City Court, he was distinctly informed through his Counsel, that as Mr Todd had no vindictive feelings to gratify, the suit would be withdrawn, if a proper apology and recantation of the calumny were put upon record.' This is true; and it is also true that I refused to comply with the demand, because I never will apologise for telling the truth.

With regard to the truth of my allegation, that chains were used on board the Francis, it could not be substantiated except by summoning the crew. Generally speaking, iron is inseparable from the slave trade; nor is this usage a grievance in the eye of the law, but a preservative right on the part of owners and masters of vessels engaged in the perilous traffic. Whether the slaves, in this instance, were confined or not, was immaterial to the formation of a verdict. I am now disposed to believe, however, that no chains were used on board of the Francis.

It is certainly true, as stated in my 'libellous' article, that Mr Todd has been remarkably successful in his commercial speculations; but I do not know that he has ever been guilty of carrying slaves in his vessels, excepting in this particular instance. He says that this was his first cargo of souls, and Capt. Brown corroborates his assertion; and I am almost as sure that it will be his last.

Leaving Mr Todd, (to his relief and my own,) my business is next with Capt. Brown and his fanciful affidavit. He says 'he received on board of the Francis eighty-eight black passengers'—a very delicate substitute for slaves. These passengers, he concedes, belonged to a 'new master, named Milligan, who was present at the time of their embarkation, and assured them that they were to be sold again at New-Orleans—but that he intended them all for his own estate.' No doubt this trader in souls was fruitful in promises; but what security had the slaves for their fulfilment? Nothing but the mere say-so of their unprincipled buyer; or, to borrow the courtly language of Capt. Brown, nothing but 'the honor and integrity of Mr Milligan.'

I do not care whether the slaves were bought expressly for the New-Orleans market, or for Milligan's own use; it does not, in my estimation, alter the aspect of the affair. If they were to be sold, they might get a better—they might get a worse master than Milligan. They are disposable property; and he who bought them to make money, would assuredly sell them for the same reason, whenever an opportunity presented itself. To say that they were not intended for public sale, is a contemptible quibble. Of this I was aware—that they were slaves—the creatures of an absolute despotism; that they were human beings, entitled to all the privileges and enjoyments of liberty; and that no man could

assist in their oppression without participating in the guilt of the purchase. I must ever regret, that New-England men were engaged in the inhuman traffic, but not that I promptly exposed them to public censure.

To show how logically Capt. Brown can reason, I make a final extract from his affidavit. 'Let it be remembered,' he says, 'that he was not the cause of their bondage, but that he has actually relieved their condition, in some degree, by carrying them to a climate much more congenial to their nature.'—he considers his act in carrying these people away as *one of the best of his life!*

Here is a fine exhibition of reason and humanity! The domestic slave trade, therefore, is in the highest degree benevolent!!! The same kind of logic might pacify the conscience of Capt. Brown were he on the coast of Africa, and induce him to engage in the foreign slave trade. After the avowal of such a principle, I would not trust him on that coast, and nowhere else if temptation were in the way. He could easily take a freight of miserable victims from Guinea, and say to them, 'Remember, I am not the cause of your suffering, but merely hired to transport you to the British Colonies or the United States. I shall take you from a land of barbarism, and carry you to a land flowing with milk and honey—a land of civilization and christianity.'

If the transportation of the slaves in the Francis was 'one of the best acts of his life,' how black must be that life! I am not so disposed to view the matter. I sincerely believe it was the *worst* act in the history of Capt. Brown.

The decision of the Court upon my trial forms the paradox of paradoxes. The law says, that the domestic slave trade is a legal business, and no more criminal than the most innocent mechanical or commercial pursuit; and, therefore, that any man may honestly engage in it. Yet if I charge an individual with following it, either occasionally or regularly, I am guilty of 'a gross and malicious libel'—of 'defaming his good name, fame and reputation'—of 'foul calumny and base innuendo'—with sundry other law phrases, as set forth in an indictment! So much for the consistency of the law! So much for the equity of the Court! The trial, in fact, was not to ascertain whether my charges were true, but whether they contained anything disreputable to the character of the accused; and the verdict does not implicate or condemn me but the law.

The hat-making business, for instance, is an authorised trade. Suppose I were to accuse a man of making hats, and should believe, and publicly declare as my opinion, that every hat-maker ought to be imprisoned for life: would this be libellous? It is my belief, that every distiller or vender of ardent spirits is a poisoner of the health and morals of community; but have I not a right to express this belief, without subjection to fine and imprisonment? I believe, moreover, that every man who kills another, either in a duel or battle, is, in the eye of God, guilty of his blood; but is it criminal or punishable to cherish or avow such an opinion? What is freedom of thought, or freedom of expression? It is my right—and no body of men can legally deprive me of it—to interrogate the moral aspect and public utility of every pursuit or traffic. True, my views may be ridiculous or fanatical; but they may also be just and benevolent. Free inquiry is the essence, the life-blood of liberty; and they who deny men the right to use it, are the enemies of the republic.

In conclusion, I would remark—that, on my first trial, his honor Judge Brice informed my counsel that if the case had been submitted to the Court, instead of the jury, it would have been thrown out as containing nothing actionable.

The facts are now before the public. It is for them to judge, whether imprisonment and a fine of *one thousand dollars* (giving the worst construction to my motives and language) are

not excessive punishment; and whether, in the publication of my strictures, I exceeded the freedom of the press, or the legitimate province of an independent editor.

## PANEGYRIC.

NO. I.

IMPETUOUSNESS. A Mr Garrison, who has been lately punished in Baltimore for similar impertinences, presumes to reflect upon this city, in the Boston Transcript, on account of a certain class of our population. Could not this man be provided with some decent honest employment—at the plough or any other vocation which will keep him out of mischief, and prevent him from meddling with the concerns of those about whom he knows nothing, and who are perfectly adequate to the management of their own concerns. (1)

Charleston (S. C.) City Gazette.

(1) The following is the communication in the Transcript, which elicited the above decent and discriminating criticism. The editor of the Transcript is of opinion, that the Charleston scribbler has given 'a fair off-set' to my article. Reader, be our judge. If it were impertinent and meddlesome in me to comment on the conduct of my countrymen, how much more so in the slaves to trouble themselves about transatlantic occurrences!

### UGHT WE NOT TO BLUSH?

How eagerly the American people are watching the progress of republican sentiments in Europe! and yet, at this moment,—tremendous reflection! they are crushing to the earth millions of their own countrymen, who, peradventure, may suddenly catch a spark of the electric fire of freedom, and melt their chains in the flames. Ought we not to blush? OUGHT WE NOT TO TREMBLE?

It deserves especial notice, that our southern slaveholders are the most noisy and exuberant in their joy at the overthrow of Charles the Tenth—particularly in Richmond and Charleston; yet let the fact be remembered, that more than one half of the population of these cities are held in a state of servitude, which, for cruelty and dehumanity, finds no parallel in European despotism. In Baltimore, too—in which city thousands of human beings are held in chains—extensive preparations are making to celebrate the late signal revolution in France. To brand such ostentatious displays with the name of hypocrisy is too mild a term. America! when will you cease to merit the derision and scorn of the world, by your hollow professions of attachment to liberty and respect for the inalienable rights of men? Cease, ye disseminators! cease to provoke the vengeance of heaven by your solemn mockeries! Your hands are red with innocent blood—the land groans under your oppression. Let the banner go free, and redeem the American character from eternal infamy.

NO. II.

GARRISON. We have received a copy of the New England Christian Herald, with a marked reference to an account of the man, GARRISON, whose slave ravings we have had occasion already to notice. The Herald publishes a statement of the nature of the libel suit had against him in Baltimore. The tenor of this was already familiar to us, and we but noticed the individual in question, because he thought proper to remark in terms of censure upon this city and upon a matter, which the very article under consideration proved him to be totally unacquainted with. (2) We gave ourselves no concern about Mr GARRISON until then; and shall certainly not trouble ourselves with him in future, unless he again meddles improperly with matters upon which he has no civil right and but little capacity to speak.—City Gazette of a subsequent date.

(2) How so? Is it not true that men are held in an iron thraldom at the south, and that their masters are intoxicated—with joy at the tidings from France? I shall trouble myself again and again, with this business, notwithstanding my 'little capacity' and want of 'civil right.'

NO. III.

GARRISON, the officious and pestiferous fanatic, who has so long made himself conspicuous in his interference with the slave system, and who has lately issued proposals for publishing a seditious paper at the City of Washington has just been found guilty of a libel upon a respectable gentleman named Todd, in some inflammatory writing relative to the slave trade, and damages awarded against him to the amount of 1000 dollars. We wish it had been fifty thousand, and Garrison been obliged to lie in jail till Arthur Tappan paid it. (3)—Camden (S. C.) Journal.

(3) The writer of this temperate and reasonable paragraph is a renegade from New-England, who also advocates the rebellious doctrine of nullification. He is too ambitious of a controversy to attract my further notice. What a scandal! it is, in the eyes of southern men, to charge a man with transporting slaves!

TO THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR OF  
THE UNITED STATES. No. I.

I address you as men—I address you as freemen—I address you as countrymen. You are the rational creatures of one common Creator; you derive from nature the inalienable right of liberty; you are Americans by birth, and entitled to all the benefits of a republican government.

It is true, that no tyrannical masters domineer over your persons; that your bodies are not mutilated by the lash of a driver; that your children are under your own authority, and are not liable to be sold at public or private auction; that you may worship God according to the dictates of your own conscience, and enjoy the fruits of your own labor. But still you remain under many unjust and grievous disabilities; you do not hold that rank in society, which, as free citizens, you ought to occupy; you are looked upon as an inferior caste, hardly superior in your attainments and circumstances to the slaves; you are not sufficiently protected in your persons and rights. This state of things is owing partly to yourselves, but more especially to the prejudices of community. There are several important points, therefore, to which I solicit your attention. They are all easily attainable by union and perseverance among yourselves. The first point, which deserves deep consideration, is this:

It is a fact, that, in some of the States, free people of color are not permitted to vote at an election, although their property is taxable, and they are subject to pains and penalties.

It is a fact, that, in travelling through the slave States, they are liable to be taken up, in every town and district, on suspicion as runaway slaves, thrust into prison, confined sixty days or more, and sometimes sold into bondage for their jail fees.

It is a fact, that, in the slave States, they are not permitted to testify against a white criminal, in courts of justice; consequently, their persons, property, and lives are at the mercy of every white ruffian, thief or murderer. I may steal the purse, or take the life, of any one of their number, with impunity, if no white witnesses be present.

It is a fact, that, in some of the slave States, they are forbidden to settle as emigrants from abroad; in others, they are compelled to flee for their lives; and in others, their instruction in reading, writing, &c. &c. is prohibited under severe penalties.

The question, therefore, should be quickly settled, whether free colored persons, born or naturalized in this country, are not American citizens, and justly entitled to all the rights, privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States; and whether the Constitution of the United States makes or authorizes any invidious distinction with regard to the color or condition of free inhabitants.

For myself, I have not the shadow of a doubt on the subject. I believe that the rights of the free colored persons need only to be vindicated before the U. S. Supreme Court, to be obtained; that no prejudice or sophistry, no immediate or remote consequence, can prevent their acknowledgment, if justice be not a mere 'nose of wax,' that can be moulded to any shape; and that the present laws, affecting your condition, are clearly unconstitutional. The fact, that you have been treated, by common consent and common usage, as aliens and brutes, is no proof that such treatment is legal, but only shows the strength, the bitterness, and the blindness of prejudice. Had it not been for Clarkson and Sharpe, slavery might have been recognised in England upon this day.

I shall not dwell, at present, upon the subject of colonization, as doubtless the greater portion of you know my views in relation to it, and I believe they fully coincide with yours. It is probable that many of your color, in different parts of the country, may be induced to emigrate to Liberia, Hayti, Upper Canada, and other places. But these will be like the falling away of grains of earth from a mountain. As a body, you will inevitably remain in the United States as long as the whites; consequently, you must strive to get a full and immediate recognition of your rights. Cases of oppression of some of your number are constantly occurring at the south: these are actionable, and must be carried to the Supreme Court for trial. For this purpose, a small fund will be necessary to fee your lawyers.

COLONIZATION.

[From the Boston Courier.]

COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

Having observed an account of a recent meeting in New York, Judge Duer in the chair, the object of which was to advance the interests of the American Colonization Society, I am induced to suggest the propriety of a similar movement in this city. (1) Our citizens, although rarely behind the foremost in the promotion of all good objects, have suffered the uncounted debt due to the degraded African to swell and accumulate upon them wholly uncancelled. (2)

The African exile, (3) whose lot Providence has cast among us, is almost shut out of the 'pale of human sympathies and human regards.' The government, indeed, spreads a shield over him the protection of the law. Its broad shield may ward off from his head the blow of private oppression, but it is not proof against the more cruel shafts of public scorn. Furthermore, the colored citizen is essentially outlaid as to the benevolent features of our government. Our white population is restrained from the commission of crime, not so much by the penal sanctions of the law, as by the healthy influence of public sentiment, which, while it frowns sternly upon the transgressor, rewards private virtue and intelligence with public consideration and public honors. But what is a good character worth to the colored man? Does the purest virtue, the most deep-toned piety, the most exalted intelligence, redeem him from the cruel bondage of public odium which attaches to his color? By what restraint is he withheld from crime, except the cowardly principle of fear? The white man is restrained by a regard to character—the black man by a dread of punishment. To the former our government is a benevolent parent—to the latter a despotism of fear—the worst kind of despotism. It is not wonderful then that the African is a degraded, broken man. (4)

The recent census of this state affords a touching commentary on his situation. While our free and happy white population has increased in the ratio of nearly 17 per cent. within the last ten years, our black population has increased in the ratio of only two per cent. Our State Prison records furnish another fact of more affecting import. In 1826, one sixth of the convicts were black, while they composed only one seventy-fourth of our population. Or, in another view of our whole population, only one to 1665 were confined in the prison; while of our black population nearly 12 to 1665, or one to 140, were confined. (5)

The relief of this wretched portion of our community is the object proposed by the Colonization Society. (6) Whatever doubts may have formerly existed as to the feasibility of its projects, these doubts have all been resolved by its triumphant success. However formidable may have been the difficulties, which it was supposed would render defeat inevitable, it has conquered them all. In the language of Henry Clay, his zealous and eloquent advocate, 'It has survived them all, and still survives to swell the list of false prophets.'

Within the short space of ten years, the society have established a most flourishing colony at Liberia. They have acquired by purchase nearly 200 miles of sea-coast, with a proportional extent into the interior—have protected it by forts, &c.—have transported thither about 1800 persons—have established a republican form of government with courts of justice, in which trial by jury is the cardinal principle—have provided means of education, and conferred upon the happy colonists religious privileges connected with religious liberty in its most comprehensive sense. To all these blessings they have added a printing press, from which is issued a newspaper, conducted by one of the colonists—an anomaly, I believe, to the wide continent of Africa.

As to means of support, the soil is uncommonly rich, yielding to the slightest cultivation, not only the necessaries of life, but all tropical luxuries in the greatest abundance and perfection. Indeed, so great has been the pecuniary prosperity of the colony, that its exports in the eighth year of its existence amounted to \$70,000.

The sole object of the society is to transport to their colony such free blacks as wish to avail themselves of its blessings. (7) If patronized, it will do much towards removing the wretched outcast from our midst, and much towards exterminating the curse of slavery from the land. (8) Here let it be remembered, it does not interfere with the policy of the slave states in regard to their system. In the words of Mr Clay, 'the object of the Society is the colonization of the free colored people, not the slaves of the country. The society, composed of free men, concerns itself only with the free.' (9) The suspicion, that it proposes to take up arms against slavery, when connected with the fact that the most zealous founders and advocates of the Society are slave holders, involves the absurdity of supposing that men would enlist their influence, in promoting an object hostile to their peace and subversive of their dearest interests. (10)

Now, Sir, why should not Massachusetts

join in the support of a society contemplating results no less comprehensive than the removal of our whole colored population? (11) Let then a meeting be immediately called in this city, to which gentlemen now present from all parts of the state shall be invited. Let a state society be formed, auxiliary to the parent society. Our own true interests demand it. The expense incurred by the state in support of the colored convicts in the state's prison, between 1815 and 1826, was no less than \$17,134. The public voice is loud for such a measure. Two flourishing county societies have already been formed. The collections in behalf of the object, in our different churches, on the 4th of July last, amounted to more than \$2300. They are far behind our sister states in the cause. Societies have already been organized in fifteen states—including all the New-England states, except Massachusetts and Rhode Island, together with six of the slave states. If any cause has enlisted in its support distinguished talents and patriotism, this surely has. The names of Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, (12) Charles Carroll, Chief Justice Marshall, Ex-President Munroe, William H. Crawford, Judge Baldwin, and those of a host of others of every political party and religious sect, adorn the long roll of its benefactors.

Let us then co-operate with them in the good cause, and as the result of our efforts we shall, I trust, soon be permitted to bid God-speed to a ship freighted with emigrants, exchanging the hovels and prisons of the land of their exile, for the palm trees and orange groves of their father-land. (13)

H. Y.

(1) We sincerely hope that there will be no such movement, and hereafter we shall give our reasons.

(2) This is true; but it is not a just method to cancel the debt by compelling them to leave the country; for nothing but compulsion can induce the blacks to remove as a body.

(3) 'The African exile'? Is this a correct term? Then are we, the descendants of the pilgrims, exiles from Great Britain. Who thinks of returning?

(4) What an accurate picture is here drawn of American prejudice and cruelty! Let us draw some vitality into our republicanism and piety, or the country is lost.

(5) If this statement be correct, it gives additional proof of the necessity of instructing our colored population at the public expense.

(6) It may be the object proposed, but we are persuaded it can never be accomplished to any considerable extent.

(7) And yet it is pretended, by its advocates, that the Society will ultimately break up the slave system!

(8) Your proof, sir.

(9) Additional evidence, that the people must not rely on this scheme to emancipate the slaves.

(10) It is enough for us to know that 'the most zealous founders and advocates of the Society are slaveholders,' to mistrust the benevolence of their object. Let them first clear their own skirts from the blood of their slaves, before they meddle with our free colored population.

(11) Because, in the first place, the scheme is absurdly visionary; and, secondly, because it is not really benevolent.

(12) What authority has this writer to rank Mr Webster among the advocates of the Society? We have been assured, from Mr Webster's own lips, that he is not a member of it. The other individuals, excepting Judge Baldwin, are slaveholders.

(13) Very pretty language, but too poetical to be true. Nothing is easier than to make a flourish of words, full of visionary bliss but 'signifying nothing.'

[From the Massachusetts Journal.]

LIBERIA COLONY.

From 70 to 100 passengers are soon to embark from Norfolk for Liberia. It is said that a large number of free negroes in N. C. are disposed to go.

In Boston, there appear to be very violent prejudices against Colonization to Africa. (1) The Boston negroes have the impression, that the whites care little whether the poor Africans live or die, provided they can get rid of them with safety to themselves. (2) The negroes therefore say, 'the whites brought us here, in a cruel manner and from sordid motives, for their service and pleasure, and now that we have increased and are increasing so as to be inconvenient, they would ship us off. We won't go from this continent. If we go anywhere, it shall be to Canada, where our friends are treated well, and where we can have good land gratis and a chance to rise in the world; where we can go to church, without being confined to a cage hung up as far off, as the roof

and walls will allow; where we can become respectable, wealthy, and hold offices, as we may under the laws of England.'

We have listened to language like this, but generally more violent, without being able to reply any farther, than that we did not believe that there was any design or wish to destitute them by a conveyance to another climate; and that we considered Liberia to be no other than dangerous, than all climates to strangers. Half of the Plymouth Pilgrims died during the first winter, and several colonies were swept away in Virginia, before any one took root! (3)

The exclusion of negroes of good character and competent qualifications from offices of honor and emolument we consider to be wholly indefensible on principles of natural law, religion, or the constitution of the United States. But in Liberia, this injustice will not continue; they may there form a powerful and glorious nation; they will carry all our arts (except that of reconciling republicanism with slavery!)—all our enterprise; their commerce will penetrate and overspread the rich unexplored interior; their fleets will sweep the western coast, and discharge their lightnings upon the work of pirates; their powerful arm shall separate fighting chiefs, whom fierce cupidity, excited by christian stimulus, has fastened on each other's throat! Their wisdom and valor shall overawe and make to slink back into the desert the insidious and tyrannical Moor, who has so long made the pains of Africa his pastime. (4)

(1) These 'prejudices' are not confined to this city, but pervade the breasts of our free colored population throughout the country.

(2) Are they to blame for this impression? If those very men, who are anxious to send them to Africa, refuse to meliorate their condition here, can our colored people believe that they are actuated by benevolent motives?

(3) What does this prove? Surely not that our blacks should be willing to make such a needless expenditure of life? It does not prove that the tyranny which compelled the pilgrims to emigrate was justifiable, because it has been overruled for good—no, indeed.

(4) The slave trade will never cease until the slave market be destroyed. The close of the article is a delightful hallucination of the writer.

OUR ENTERPRISE.

The editor of the Amateur, in his notice of our paper, says:

'There exists, at present, an apathy toward all matters which concern the national faith and honor, which, in our opinion, renders Mr Garrison's undertaking hopeless indeed. It is exemplified by the indifference with which most authentic reports of the crying wrongs of the southern Indians are received, throughout the union. (1) These come to us every wind, and have, moreover, the attraction of novelty. How then can it be expected that a systematic malady, which has grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength, and baffled the skill of our most eminent state physicians, can be cured at once by a local prescription? (2) Slavery is an evil which is more easily seen and acknowledged than cured. (3) For our own part, we believe that an immediate and general emancipation of the southern black population, without bloodshed, is utterly impracticable. (4) That it will one day take place, we have no manner of doubt, and at that time the children of the present generation will be called to a bloody reckoning for the sins of their fathers. Millions of men cannot be kept forever in ignorance, and when they shall be more enlightened, we to their oppressors. These things we shall not see, nor will Mr Garrison; but they will, nevertheless, assuredly come to pass.' (5)

(1) Those who apologise for African oppression are, in a great degree, answerable for the unjust treatment of the Indians. It is this wicked distinction of color in our land, which finds so many strenuous advocates even among professing christians, that has robbed the red men of their rights.

(2) The truth is, our eminent state physicians, have had nothing to do with the malady: we cannot get them to give a prescription.

(3) Simply because men had rather talk than act.

(4) We believe otherwise: at least, our countrymen had better make the experiment, because you acknowledge that blood must be eventually shed if the slaves are not liberated.

(5) God forbid! And yet there are only two ways to break up the slave system—either by moral force on the part of the nation, or physical force on that of the slaves.

There are three schools in the City of Albany, established for the instruction of the children of the poor, and entirely supported by private benevolence, at an annual expense of \$1200.

THE AFRICAN CHIEF.

CHAINED in the market place he stood,  
A man of giant frame,  
Amid the gathering multitude  
That shrunk to hear his name.  
All stern of look and strong of limb,  
His dark eyes on the ground;  
And silently they gazed on him  
As on a lion bound.

Vainly, but well, that chief had fought;  
He was a captive now:  
Yet pride, that fortune humbles not,  
Was written on his brow.  
The scars his dark broad bosom wore,  
Showered warrior true and brave:  
A prince among his tribe before,  
He could not be a slave.

Then to his conqueror he spake—  
‘My brother is a king;  
Undo this necklace from my neck,  
And take this bracelet ring;  
And send me where my brother reigns,  
And I will fill thy hands  
With store of ivory from the plains,  
And gold dust from the sands.’

‘Not for thy ivory nor thy gold  
Will I unbind thy chains;  
That bloody hand shall never hold  
The battle spear again.  
A price thy nation never gave,  
Shall yet be paid for thee;  
For thou shalt be the Christian’s slave,  
In lands beyond the sea.’

Then spoke the warrior chief, and bade  
To shred his locks away;  
And, one by one, each heavy braid  
Before the victor lay.  
Thick were the plaited locks and long,  
And deftly hidden there,  
Shone many a wedge of gold among  
The dark and crisped hair.

‘Look! feast thy greedy eyes with gold,  
Long kept for soreset need;  
Take it, thou askest sums untold,  
And say that I am freed.  
Take it—my wife, the long, long day,  
Weeps by the cocoa-tree,  
And my young children leave their play,  
And ask in vain for me.’

‘I take thy gold; but I have made  
Thy fetters fast and strong;  
And when that by the cocoa shade  
Thy wife shall wait thee long,  
Strong was the agony that shook  
The captive’s frame to hear,  
And the proud meaning of his look  
Was changed to mortal fear.

His heart was broken—crazed his brain;  
At once his eye grew wild:  
He struggled fiercely with his chain,  
Whispered, and wept, and smiled!  
Yet wore not long those fatal bands;  
And once at slut of day,  
They drew him forth upon the sand,  
The foul hyena’s prey. [BRYANT.]

A REASON.

In attacking the system of slavery, why so vehement? so unyielding? so severe? Because the times and the cause demand vehemence. An immense iceberg, larger and more impenetrable than any which floats in the arctic ocean, is to be dissolved, and a little extra heat is not only pardonable, but absolutely necessary. Because truth can never be sacrificed, and justice is eternal. Because great crimes and destructive evils ought not to be palliated, nor great sinners applauded. With reasonable men, I will reason; with humane men, I will plead; but to tyrants I will give no quarter, nor waste arguments where they will certainly be lost.

SCANDALOUS TREATMENT.

A few weeks ago, a very respectable colored clergyman engaged his passage in the mail-stage for New-Bedford, two days in advance—his business being of a sacerdotal nature that imperiously required his attendance. He was taken from his house to the Stage Office, where one of the passengers refused to proceed, unless the clergyman was expelled from the stage. He was accordingly turned out, and lost his passage! We are sorry that the name of the delicate passenger was not ascertained; but it shall appear in print as soon as we can get it.

HORRIBLE SLAUGHTER.

How dreadful is the situation of slave owners! They are haunted with a constant anticipation of insurrectional movements among their slaves; and wo to the unhappy victim of their bloody and unfounded suspicions! It will be seen, by the following article, that a horrible slaughter has been made among a

party of armed blacks. Such is slavery—a war of extermination on either side.

MILTON, (N. C.) Dec. 25. We have learned from authority of the most undoubted kind, that the inhabitants of Newbern, Tarborough, Hillsborough, and their vicinities, are considerably excited with the anticipation of insurrectional movements among their slaves. Our informant, just from the latter place, states that considerable consternation exists among the citizens: that they have provided arms and ammunition, and are vigilantly patrolling every exposed situation. The inhabitants of Newbern being advised of the assemblage of sixty armed slaves in a swamp in their vicinity, the military were called out, and, surrounding the swamp, killed the whole party. It appears from various rumors, that Christmas morning had been selected as the period of rebellious motions.—Roanoke Adv.

Cases like the following sometimes occur at the south, particularly in South Carolina and Louisiana, where the laws prohibit the instruction and the assembling together of the slaves.

PRAYER PUNISHED BY FLOGGING.

The following extract from a letter from the West Indies, dated June 15, 1830, (from Jamaica, we believe,) which we have received from a correspondent on whom we can depend, will, we doubt not, arouse the indignation of every individual who reads it:—‘A few days ago, a member in one of our churches was publicly flogged with a cart-whip, and afterwards worked in chains, simply, and for nothing else, but praying to his God in a place of public worship, and that too, after his owner had given him full permission to attend his chapel; but this would not serve him. There is a law here, that no slave, or free person of color, shall be allowed to preach; and the magistrate who presided on the occasion would insist upon it that preaching and praying were the same; and consequently, as no slave is allowed to speak a word about his God, he must be flogged, and flogged he was; and then, with a chain about his neck, worked in the public streets as an example to other transgressors who might be so wicked as to cry, “God be merciful to me a sinner!”’—London Free Press.

If there be a pious, just or republican member in our Legislature—one who values his own liberty of choice, or privilege of action—we call upon him to move for the obliteration of the following section of the act of June 22, 1786.

‘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.’

We would thank those sapient individuals who assume the position, that the slaves cannot be instructed with safety to the masters, to treasure up the following fact in proof of their benevolent doctrine:

EFFECT OF EDUCATION UPON SLAVES.

The Committee of the Wesleyan Missionary Society of England, which has instructed many thousands of slaves in the West Indies, assert that, for forty years, no slave in their societies had been either a conspirator, a rebel, or insubordinate.’ Here is a most unanswerable testimony to the influence of religious instruction in promoting the personal security of masters.—Zion’s Aid.

The following extracts from a letter, written by a gentleman now in Martinique, give confirmation to the account or the reception, at that island, of the news of the French Revolution, published by us some time since. The utmost reliance may be placed upon the statements of our correspondent.

‘On Sunday last, the oath of allegiance to the new Government of France was administered, amid many deep and bitter curses. The whites, generally, are very much dissatisfied with the late Revolution, and with the measures of the new Government.

‘The free blacks are proportionately elated, and so high do the feelings of different parties run, that many of the most judicious men in the Island are of opinion, that a word from any one man of influence would place the whole Island in arms. Quietness is desired, but disturbances are very much apprehended. I hear the wish expressed daily that some one would set an example of violence, coupled with the belief, that it would be a signal which the whole Island would instantly answer. However, it appears to me the people are more uneasy than they need be, and that no disturbances will occur. The whole secret of this consists in the order of the Government directing that hereafter, all free blacks shall be entitled to the privileges of whites, and shall be addressed with the appellation of Mr.—New-Haven Advertiser.



BOSTON:

SATURDAY, JANUARY 15, 1831.

TO ‘U. I. E.’

Sir—In consequence of a mistake in the Post Office, which has delayed the receipt of several papers and letters, I did not receive your communication until Thursday evening. It shall appear next week, criticisms and all. I choose to receive the lash in a public manner. I not only excuse but applaud your frankness. Some of your hints are valuable; others, I think, are hypercritical. Your suggestion, relative to a Juvenile Department for the Liberator, is an excellent one, which shall obtain adoption. Accept my thanks for the ‘Family Circle, No. 1.’—and believe me that I appreciate the excellence of your motive, though I should not assent to the justness of all your animadversions.

The office of the Liberator is now removed to No. 9, Merchants’ Hall, (third story,) where we shall be happy to see our friends.

‘BIG GEORGE,’ and the two women who accompanied him, have at length been taken by the citizens of Rutherford county, (N. C.) The pursuit was a long one, and their escape, on various occasions, truly miraculous; but they were finally fairly run down by their pursuers, and taken without serious injury being inflicted upon any of them; although the women were both slightly wounded. ‘Big George’ confesses that he took a prominent part in the murder of Mr O’Bannon, of Chester District, S. C. They will be handed over to the authorities of South Carolina.—N. Y. Com. Adv.

House of Reformation.—A person living not thirty miles from Boston, hearing that one of his neighbors had killed an ox, and thinking that a piece of the sirloin would make a good Sunday’s dinner, called a companion and proceeded, after the family had retired to rest, to the barn where the ox hung suspended, with a stick between the flanks in the usual way. It was agreed that he should mount the cross stick and cut away, whilst the other kept watch. He had scarcely commenced operations when the stick slipped from under him, the ribs closed in and fairly locked him inside the carcass, his arms extended above his head, and his feet projecting from the neck of the animal. His companion fled, leaving the prisoner to be released from his confinement by the owner of the ox, who, upon opening his barn at sunrise, greeted him with a hearty ‘Good morning.’—Transcript.

COBBETT’S LETTER TO THE KING.

‘To the King’s most excellent Majesty.

Bolt Court, 17th Nov. 1830.

‘May it please your Majesty—  
‘Being convinced, that if your Majesty’s Minister, I should cause to be adopted such measures as would, in a very short space of time, put an end to the burnings, which are now a subject of great alarm, and as would, in a few months, restore the country to content and peace, and enable it again to raise its head aloft in the world; being thus convinced, I deem it my duty to your majesty and to my country, to tender my services to your majesty; and having thus discharged this duty, it only remains for me to add, that I am your Majesty’s most dutiful, most obedient, and most humble subject and servant.

WM. COBBETT.’

The Difference.—What an abundance of old maids must live and die as such—and perhaps many will choose to. By the recent census it appears that there are 14,000 more Females than Males in the State of Massachusetts! Men need not despair, for there will always be a surplus to make a choice from. Girls, think of these things—make your election sure, when a good opportunity offers—think of your chance among so many who must live in single wretchedness!—Gloucester Telegraph.

Rev. Dr Channing, and family, arrived at St. Croix on the 14th of Dec. from Boston.

A mother in New-York lately gave her two children poison, by mistake, for medicine, and both died in consequence.

It is calculated, says the N. Y. Courier, that \$12,000,000 worth of domestic goods were sold last year in this city.

SLEEP WALKER.

A young man by the name of Isaac Chandler, residing in Fryeburg, State of Maine, got up in his sleep, went about half a mile to a neighbor’s barn, procured a cord and bundle of hay, and carried them into the woods at a considerable distance from the house. He then ascended a maple tree with the cord and hay: after reaching the height of 28 feet, he placed the hay in a crotch of the tree, ascended about 6 feet higher, tied the cord to a limb, and then fastened it around his ancles, after which he swung off head-foremost, so that his head touched the top of the hay. In this horrid situation he awoke, and with his cries roused the nearest neighbors, who directed their course to the place from whence the noise proceeded. It was about the break of day when they arrived. They there, to their astonishment, found the young man in the situation described, suspended by the heels 34 feet in the air. A number of attempts were made to climb the tree to extricate him, but being large, without any limbs near the bottom, and the bark smooth, they proved ineffectual; and he, after becoming composed enough to relieve his situation, recovered his former posture on the limb, from which he made his descent, loosened the cord and came down, much to the satisfaction of himself and friends.

Since the above took place, he has been confined to his house in consequence of the lameness occasioned by the great exertions he must have made in accomplishing so curious a midnight enterprise.—There are more than twenty who can attest to the foregoing relation as strictly true.—Brunswick Herald.

CONTROVERSY WITH A FOOL.

The celebrated Horne Tooke once made the following just remarks: ‘Nothing is gained in a controversy with an ignorant, low-lived, low-bred vulgar fool.’ You get the better, him in the contest, and the fellow (although he may himself be a more rib-nosed baboon, or a real monkey, in appearance,) will immediately, as the dernier resort of meanness, enter into personalities. This is with him a cardinal virtue; and such a creature would not scruple to rob a hen-roost, were he certain of being screened from the cow-hide and whipping-post.

A FISH STORY.

The fish caught by Captain Franklin’s party, in Winter Lake, froze as they were taken out of the nets, in a short time became a solid mass of ice, and by a blow or two of the hatchet were easily split open, when the intestines might be removed in one lump. If in this completely frozen state they were thawed before the fire, they recovered their animation. This was particularly the case with the carp, which recovered so far as to leap about with much vigor, after it had been frozen for thirty-six hours!!

A great man mostly disappoints those who visit him. They are on the look out for his thunder and lightning, and he speaks about common things much like other people; nay, sometimes he may even be seen laughing. He proportions his exertions to his excitements, having been accustomed to converse with deep and lofty thoughts, it is not to be expected that he will flare or sparkle in ordinary chit-chat. One sees no pebbles glittering at the bottom of the Atlantic.

To give the reader some idea of the importance of weaving, as a branch of the art of manufacturing cloth, the estimated number of looms propelled by water and steam power in Great Britain, as near as any calculation can be made, is 58,000; the average produce, taking it at 22 square yards a day, makes 1,254,000, or 1741 yards a minute; weekly, 7,524,000; monthly, 31,300,000; yearly, 376,200,000. Allowing six yards to each person for yearly consumption, will supply 62,706,000, and will cover 62,700 acres of ground, and in length would extend 213,750 miles, and reach across the Atlantic Ocean seventy-one times.

A blacksmith in Alabama having been slandered, was advised to apply to the Courts for redress. He replied, with true wisdom, ‘I will never sue any body for slander: I can go into my shop, and work out a better character in six months, than I could get in the court house in a year.’

The Militia of the United States amount to 1,228,502—being about one tenth of the estimated population.

Mr. L. L. Macomber, of Gardiner, Me. has secured a patent for an improvement in stiffening hats. One weighing only 4 1/2 oz. has been doubled up, and put into the pantaloon’s pocket, whence being withdrawn and slightly shaken, it sprang out into perfect shape.

Upon an equal space where one man subsists in Iceland, three men subsist in Norway, 14 in Sweden, 36 in Turkey, 52 in Poland, 63 in Spain, 92 in Ireland, 114 in Switzerland, 127 in Germany, 162 in England, 153 in France, 172 in Italy, 192 in Naples, 224 in Holland, and 1108 in Malta!

