



*The negro is bound after the* O.K.

# THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. I. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND ISAAC KNAPP, PUBLISHERS. NO. 27.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.]

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE MANKIND.

[SATURDAY, JULY 2, 1831.]

## THE LIBERATOR

IS PUBLISHED WEEKLY

AT NO. 10, MERCHANTS' HALL.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

### TERMS.

- Two Dollars per annum, payable in advance.
- No subscription will be received for a shorter period than six months.
- Agents allowed every sixth copy.
- All letters and communications must be POST PAID.

### AGENTS.

- CHARLES WHIPPLE, *Newburyport, Mass.*
- BENJAMIN COLMAN, *Salem.*
- EDWARD J. POMPEY, *Nantucket.*
- WILLIAM VINCENT, *New-Bedford.*
- JOSEPH C. LOVJOY, *Bangor, Me.*
- PHILIP A. BELL, *New-York City.*
- EDWIN SCRANTON, *Rochester, N. Y.*
- JOSEPH CASSEY, *Philadelphia, Pa.*
- JOHN CARPENTER, *Jennerville, Pa.*
- WILLIAM WATKINS, *Baltimore, Md.*
- BENJAMIN LUNDY, *Washington City, D. C.*
- WILLIAM WORMLEY, " "

## THE LIBERATOR.

Slavery is unnatural; a violation of human rights, inconsistent with every sound system of national policy, in opposition to every principle of religion, replete with wrongs and cruelties to men, and offensive and insulting to God, who has made of one blood all the individuals of the human race, and with whom there is no respect of persons.\*

### ADDRESS TO SLAVEHOLDERS IN THE UNITED STATES.

We wish to call your attention to an approaching crisis in your affairs, which, although of no small consequence to us all, is of vital and almost overwhelming importance to you.

We shall not attempt to delineate the deplorable features of a system that subjects one portion of the American people to the uncontrolled despotism of another; few are now bold enough to deny that there is water in the ocean, or that the sun shines at noon-day. Yourselves acknowledge and lament the existence of the evil, even while you vehemently deprecate and oppose every effort to remove it. Some of you are sensible that your dangers and difficulties are rapidly increasing, and that your late coercive measures have frightfully filled a cup that it will require a more powerful hand than your own to avert from your lips.

Feeble as are our hopes that any persuasion will be of much avail, a desire to clear our hands of your blood, and of the blood of your victims, soon to be self-inflamed, unless something be done, induces this address. You cannot be ignorant that Great Britain is likely, very shortly, to banish slavery from all its colonial possessions. You have seen how the same system has melted away before the rays of liberty in each of the South American Republics, Mexico, too, has abolished the evil, except (mark the accursed stigma which attaches to it) except as respects a few citizens of these United States,\* who claim the enviable privilege of being the only slaveholders in that Republic. Several of our western, middle and eastern states have also accomplished the work of emancipation, and we challenge you to bring forward a single instance where the voluntary liberation of any body of slaves has been followed by insurrection, or by any alarming consequences whatever. We ask you to produce one solitary instance where those set free have ever resumed to work at reasonable wages. The alarm which slaveholders feel, at the idea of a general liberation of their slaves, has not a single fact to support it, and has no foundation that is in a harassed and guilty conscience.

The dangers that attend a continuance of the system until it be forcibly destroyed, have been written in blood, and are a thousand times greater than could possibly attend voluntary emancipation. It

\* Austin's settlement in Texas. It is said this privilege was obtained by threatening the government of Mexico with the vengeance of our President, if their slaves were liberated.

argues a degree of judicial blindness not to perceive that your present system cannot long be supported. In your desperate efforts to do it, you may trample on the rights of the whites, and free people of color, in hope to rivet more effectually the shackles of your slaves—but beware. Public feeling cannot be always outraged with impunity. The laws to which we allude, you must despise yourselves, for having passed, and you would despise us, if we did not thoroughly condemn and disregard them.

We are aware of the full import of our words, when we say, you are at this moment at war with your slaves!! No man will be a slave any longer than the force of war operates upon him. The American people are awaking to this subject and ere long will demand that you make peace! Shall civil war, a war all on one side, rage in the very heart of their country, and their lips be sealed? Does the negro ask unreasonable terms? Does he even ask a portion of the wealth his toils have procured you? No! he asks only what peace would give among all civilized nations, that you withhold your grasp from his person. And this peace—this short measure of justice he will obtain, with, or without your consent. We shall not dab with untempered mortar and appeal to the mercy, justice, benevolence, or magnanimity of men, who live in the habitual prostration of all those principles, and yet understand as clearly, 'much as we abhor your despotism, we advocate no violent means of redress. Thousands feel that the liberation of this people is an object dear to their hearts, who yet would not sacrifice one of your lives to attain it; though there may be among them, some who would be willing to purchase that boon at the price of their own. Call these men fanatics, if you please, your laws cannot crush, nor your threats alarm them; go on they will, proselyting to the principles of immutable justice. A spirit animates them, that will never rest till the yoke that bows down the necks of two millions of the American people, be broken. They will continue to expose the turpitude of slavery. Public indignation is beginning to respond to their appeals, and you must eventually reform, or be shunned as a moral pestilence.

The time is approaching when few but slaveholders will associate with slaveholders, or purchase from them the fruits of their rapacity. Numbers already see that they cannot buy these articles but at the expense of moral feeling, from a consciousness that you do not obtain them honestly, and (sneer if you please at the remark) there is an amount of female piety and female talent laboring in this cause, that you cannot successfully resist; and why should it not prosper? Was there ever a cause more just, more noble, more obvious to the common sense of man? Were you to rob a man of all he possessed upon earth, and even do this annually, and leave him his own free agency, and liberty to obtain his support, how, and when he pleased, his situation would be enviable, compared with that of your slaves; thus it is demonstrable, that a highway robber obtains his booty more equitably than you do yours. How inconceivably mean it is to be extorting daily, the wretched pittance from your miserable slaves—and yet we are told you are honorable men; men who can insult the general government with impunity—nullify its laws—defraud the Indians of their lands, and dare to show their faces in legislative bodies and halls of justice. Shame on our common country, that these things are suffered! The hall of justice is indeed your appropriate place, and at its bar, and if you cannot be brought there, the bar of public opinion will do it office.

Minds of the first order, in which are sown the seeds of all that can dignify and make man a blessing to his fellow, could they flourish freely, alas! in slavery's soil are choked beneath an exuberant growth of its natural products, cruelty, dishonesty, and insensibility. Indeed, the virtues of slaveholders, extol them as we may, are eclipsed by those of Milton's very devils.

Rise! we beseech you, above the degrading state of things, and assert the dignity of man; tell your slaves, simultaneously, that they are free, and that you will hire and protect them. Temporary inco-

venience should weigh nothing against the immense preponderance of good that would flow in on all concerned, from the adoption of this measure. And should a general co-operation be for a while unattainable, let each individual act uprightly himself; liberate his slaves, and fearlessly call on his legislature to repeal its prohibitory laws.

The writer of the foregoing has recently had the satisfaction of attending a religious meeting, called for the blacks, and could set his seal to the truth of a remark made by one who had labored among them in the West Indies. 'The negroes,' said he, 'are remarkably susceptible of religious impressions. What a glorious field is opening to the benevolent to improve the physical, moral, and religious standing of this people. Do this, and the time is approaching when they will become a most valuable portion of our population.'

The following extracts are taken from a recent communication of an intelligent traveller in Hayti.

On Sunday morning, at 7 o'clock, his Excellency the President, was pleased to appoint me an audience. I passed through the portico of the palace, lined by the officers of his staff, into the hall of audience. Faces of the deepest black, to the light shade, were among them; but the black was the most predominant. The saloon of the palace is a room of excellent proportions, lofty and long. The floor is of marble, in varied compartments; the furniture useful and elegant, but not rich. The secretary-general, who was there to receive me, had just introduced me to the officers in waiting, when the footsteps of a person moving over the floor of an adjoining anti-room, announced the approach of the President of Hayti. His person is small, his manners perfectly easy, and his deportment graceful. He was plainly attired in the costume of a general officer, the only mark of particular distinction being his shoulder belt or bandolier, which was of embroidered crimson velvet. His address was unaffected and friendly. He seated me by him; welcomed me to Hayti; and expressed, in particular terms, his approbation of the object which led me on a visit thither. He gave me the assurances of his esteem and confidence, to which he was pleased to say he felt I was entitled, by the high recommendations contained in the letters I had presented to him.

Port-au-Prince, though by no means a handsome town, is, at this day, in style, and one may say in splendor, far superior to what it was in the colonial period of its history. Whatever may have been the wealth of the old colonists, whatever their refinement and breeding, the external appearance and internal economy of their ancient houses, exhibit an extraordinary disregard to all taste and elegance. If such was the ancient city in its time of colonial prosperity, we cannot wonder that the Haytian, torn in the insecurity of their independence, for that, nature, by the barrier of mighty mountains, had placed beyond all risk of being overturned, but in the insecurity of property by the lee shore, daily liable to destruction from the hostile armaments of France, should be contented to inhabit the old city, not merely without attempting to improve its architectural appearance, but at all times prepared to leave its enemies nothing but its ashes. As soon, however, as the acknowledgment of their independence, by the once sovereign state, placed them beyond the necessity of resorting to that system of desperate defence, which, by the fiftieth article of their constitution, has been made an essential element of their liberty, 'that at the first sound of the alarm gun, the towns should disappear, and the nation should rise in arms,' houses have been erected of elegant character, and of permanent materials. All the prudence which a long futurity of peaceful possession suggests has been attended to in their construction. We see, in these facts, the rare evidence of the country's progress in the arts of civilized life. Unhappily, however, the little wealth of a people who, estimating liberty above all price, had been contented to endure poverty in their sacrifices to possess it, has been greatly dissipated, if not wholly swept away, by the ruin so recently suffered by conflagration. One third of the city, eight years ago, fell by the destructive element. Industry has, in a great measure, repaired this calamity, but the market was not entirely obliterated. Ruined walls are still visible, and the absolute poverty entailed on many families of comparative opulence, and the diminished fortune of those heretofore esteemed rich, have retarded the progress of this better spirit.

Few public objects in Port-au-Prince offer claim to more than empty notice. The palace of government is large and convenient, but not handsome. It is of one story, and situated in front of the parade, to the south-east of the town. Its entrance is a

fine flight of steps, leading through a spacious portico into the hall of audience. The floors of all the public rooms are of black and white marble. The furniture is tasteful and elegant, but not costly. This building, the residence of the governor-general of the same ancient colony, was constructed with more attention to convenience than effect. The apartments are pleasantly cool. Its situation, at the edge of a fine plain beneath the mountains, appropriated as a review ground, is unobstructed by buildings on either side. It has spacious gardens around it, which secure the agreeable influence of the sea and land breezes at all times, early and late.

In front of the entrance gate of the palace, near one of the fountains of the city, with a single tree of the Palma Nobilis growing beside it, is the marble tomb of the President Petion. It is a plain edifice, containing the remains of one, who, by his genius, perseverance and valour, having saved his people, has given to a simple shrine the lustre and importance of a costly and splendid mausoleum. The Haytians, in their deep affection for his virtues, never speak of him, but with six epithets—'his faith or Petion,' or as, 'the man who never ceased a tear, but when he died.'

In a temporary shed, not far distant from this tomb, are sculptured marbles for a superb mausoleum, lately received from Europe, which it is said will displace the existing one, but consecrated as this is, by early associations, it is to be hoped that it will be preserved as a sacred relic, standing where it does. The humble character of the present fabric, erected in the poverty and infamy of the republic, renders it, like the widows mite, not less worthy or less acceptable, than splendid offerings out of the abundant treasury of the rich, since the people who built the simple shrine, gave freely all that they possessed in the midst of poverty and distress.

To the north-west of the town, in a square with the terraces and fountains, erected in front of what was formerly the residence of the intendant-general of the ancient colony, stands the church, a plain, humble building, having a flight of steps at the western entrance, and encircled by a wooden gallery. It is neatly fitted up within, arched and supported by square columns, but without any pretensions to architectural regularity.

The senate house is one of the new buildings just completed. It is well proportioned. The facade has a pleasing effect, though of no architectural order. The projecting front is a pediment containing a sculptured bas relief of the tree of Haytian liberty and independence. It is the Palma Nobilis, surrounded with military trophies. The ground floor is erected with an arched roof of masonry, supported by columns; and contains the senate-hall, with side galleries for the public. In the upper story are the bureaux. This house has not yet been opened for deliberative purposes. It is graced by a full length portrait of the Abbe Gregoire, in his colonial robes.

The Lycee, or public college of the city, is one of the newly erected edifices. It is a large, plain building, supported on a row of arches, and has a convenient extent of garden attached to it. The entire ground floor comprises the school; it is of large dimensions, cool and airy.

The new custom-house, with its warehouses and quay, has been commenced some time, but little progress is as yet made in completing it.

The mint, and secretary of state's office, are neat buildings, but not large. These are among the number of ancient edifices. The arsenal was destroyed by an accidental explosion, in 1820; nothing but the work-shops exist. There are no magazines. The prison is very arid. It is judiciously ventilated, and watered by two fountains, and has a garden within its walls.

THE BENEVOLENT NEGRO. Our readers will no doubt recollect the case of the benevolent negro which we published about three weeks ago, who during the inclement season of the past winter generously presented nine cords of wood for the relief of the suffering poor.—From the circumstance of his driving a cow before his cart, he was well known in the neighborhood of Christie street, where he resided in a small tenement by himself. We were informed, by Judge Hopsen this morning, that he had been called on by Mr Isaac Odell, residing at 88 Christie street, who stated that the negro occupied a small tenement joining his residence, and that he had not been seen or heard of since the latter part of May. Mr Odell was of opinion, from his well known character and the fact of his having several thousand dollars in the Savings' Bank and the Mechanics' Bank, that his mysterious disappearance could not be accounted for in any other way than by supposing it was effected by some nefarious hands.—The name of the negro is George Roberts. A good deal of excitement has been created by his absence, and it is to be hoped that some clue may be furnished to the development of this history.—Journal of Com.]

EXTRACTS FROM THE  
REV. MR. MAY'S SERMON ON SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.  
Delivered in the Rev. Mr. Emerson's Church,  
Boston, May 29th, 1831.

The text of this discourse was Exodus iii. 7. S. Mr May began by speaking of the cruel bondage of the Israelites in Egypt—of Slavery as it existed in Greece and Rome; and of the abhorrence, with which we view those acts of oppression committed in ancient times.

Why then, I ask with high astonishment, why are we so silent, so unmoved, in view of the same enormities, existing in this enlightened age, in our own land, permitted not to say encouraged by that government which we are upholding? In these United States there are Two Millions of our fellow men held in a bondage, as abject as ever was inflicted upon any of the human race; and another Million, who, though they are called free, are enchained by us to degradation! What are the words that will fully express how inconsistent this is with the fundamental doctrine of our Civil Constitution, no less than with the first principles of the Religion we profess to revere? Yet there seems to be no shame among us, nor sorrow for this egregious wickedness. Indeed in New-England there is no consciousness of guilt. We are hardly conscious that Slavery exists in our land; certainly not that we are helping to perpetuate it. Most of our people have never seen the slaves, nor heard their cries. The sight and the sound of their oppression are lost in the distance. And so we go on from day to day pursuing our avocations and pleasures, rejoicing in our own liberty, but utterly regardless of the fact, that in this land, so boastful of her institutions and her laws, there are two Million Slaves, two Million human beings, to whom our laws deny all the peculiar rights of man! To such an enormous extent is our nation of oppressors! But because the victims of our injustice are beyond our sight, we of New-England heed it not. Like that mighty river, which drains the waters of half our North America; so does this vast accumulation of physical, mental and moral evil flow on increasing, through our southern and western States; and we are utterly unmoved at the thought, because we have never seen the sight. Occasionally indeed the Slavery in our land is spoken of; but then in such cold terms of acquiescence as we should use in allusions to the Dismal Swamp. It is allowed like that to be an ugly feature on the face of our fair country; like that too, we regard it as established by nature, an unavoidable evil, beyond the reach of any means of cure which we can devise. But even in this heartless tone, the subject is rarely mentioned among us. The fact is, we are quite indifferent to the claims of our colored brethren. We are prejudiced against them; and therefore consent that they should suffer. How silent are our Halls of Legislation!—our pulpits! and the press! Those who guide public sentiment, make no attempt to enlighten our community on this subject, and bring them up to their duty. On other topics, however exciting, however liable to kindle party and sectional animosities, they have not refused to speak, to write, to print. But on this, our most atrocious wickedness, our most alarming evil, they open not their lips. We owe it to them to consider well, and fairly weigh the reasons of their silence, seeing we have ventured thus to blame them for it. The reason most commonly given is, that Slavery, being confined to the southern and western States, is peculiarly their concern. We have no right to meddle with it. Our brethren of those States should be left to reform their own institutions! But if we see not that they are attempting reformation, shall we not remind them it is necessary, and urge them to their duty? Is not this an office of good neighborhood, ay, of common humanity? Do we not owe as much as this to a foreign nation, and shall we do less for any portion of our own? Is that relation, which subsists between the members of this confederacy, such that we are forbidden to be as faithful and fearless in admonition and reproof of each other, as we should be towards those, who live across the Atlantic? Shall we send the truth abroad to the ends of the earth, and withhold it from those of our own household? What we have to say respecting Slavery may indeed be ungrateful to our southern brethren, may awaken for a time their sore displeasure; but if we are persuaded that they need to hear it—that it will deliver them from calamity and crime, we ought to hazard the consequences—we ought distinctly to utter and reiterate the truth, however painful it may be to them and to us.

But the utter futility of the reason we are considering, will appear, if we look at it again. It is based upon the assumption that if our white brethren at the south object to our interference, we are bound to forbear. This reveals, more distinctly than anything else, the depth of that degradation to which our colored population are reduced. In determining what our duty is respecting Slavery, we are to regard only the wishes and feelings of our white brethren! The slaves themselves then have no claims upon us! We must not attempt to break their yoke, until their masters may be pleased that we do so! Their sufferings should be unheeded!

their rights disclaimed! My hearers, have we reasoned thus in other cases? No. We have been ready enough to denounce oppression elsewhere, be the oppressors and the oppressed who they may. We heartily sympathized with the South American Republicans in their struggles for liberty, not surely because we knew them to be enlightened men, prepared to enjoy and use aright their freedom, but because, and simply because, we recognized their perfect right to it.

The cry for succor, which came to us from Greece, was heard and promptly answered in almost all our towns. And why? Because the Greeks were a more virtuous, intelligent people than their masters? No. We had little cause to think them to be better than the Turks. But they were the injured party, and therefore we roused ourselves to aid them. However our orators and poets gathered up the hallowed associations, which cluster over that classic land, these were but the decoration, not the point of their appeals. It was the cry of the oppressed, which found its way to our hearts, and opened them for their relief.

Coming from any other land, the cry for freedom awakens in our bosoms thrilling emotions of delight. We stop not to ask the character, much less the complexion of those, who claim their birthright. 'T is enough for us that they are fellow men. With what eagerness are we now listening to every day's report from Poland! How do we exult when the Poles are victorious! Yet they are not any more nearly allied to us than the Russians. Nor have they any higher claims to our regard, excepting one, this one, they have been oppressed. Therefore we give them our best wishes, our fervent prayers; and are ready, if need be, to add our contributions.

Thus we reason—thus we quickly feel and act in all cases but one—that one, in which ourselves are implicated with the oppressors. But will this apology, for our inaction and indifference, avail us, think you, at the bar of eternal Justice? Does it even now avail to cover from the observation of the world our egregious inconsistency? No! No! A stinging reproach is often sent home to us from abroad; and we deserve it all.

Another reason, which I often hear, why we at the north should not interfere with the justification of Slavery, is, that our Federal Constitution guarantees to the south the privilege of holding slaves. Guarantees the privilege of keeping fellow men in bondage! I deny, peremptorily deny, that it was in the power of the parties concerned, to make a compact like this, that could be binding. Where, I pray to know, did our Fathers get, or pretend that they got, the right to compromise the liberty of any portion of the inhabitants of the land? Can a conventional agreement change the relations, which God has instituted among the members of his human family? Can a form of words, of man's device, suspend the operation of an eternal truth? Could our Fathers say, at one moment, 'we hold it to be self-evident that all men are born free and equal,' and the next moment vote, or even silently consent, that a portion of the inhabitants of the land should be slaves? They surely could not without self-contradiction. They did so, however, and thus exhibited to the world an inconsistency that has no parallel. The fame thereof will be eternal. 'T is manifest, glaringly manifest, that they did what they had just declared no man could have a right to do. Of course, they could not bind themselves in justice or in honor, by an agreement that involved the subjugation of any fellow men. Much less could they entail upon us the necessity of perpetuating slavery. Therefore, if we sanction their unrighteous compromise, the sin is all our own. We cannot throw it back upon them. Every day that we consent to live under a government, which holds two million men in abject bondage, we consent to live in a state of signal iniquity. No necessity constrains us. If we do not every thing, which can be done, by lawful means, to alter this constitution, we are as guilty of the wrong, as if it began with us. We must bear our full proportion of the burning reproach, that is cast upon the nation. Nor may we complain, as afflicted without cause, if we are overwhelmed by the calamities, which such iniquity must bring over our country, 'if God is just, and his justice does not sleep forever.'

But I have something more to say, touching the respect due to our Constitution.

Was it intended—was it supposed, that that instrument could never be, and should never be changed for the better? Did our Fathers determine that it was perfect, or that their children should not attempt its improvement? Did they forbid us to speak and write against any part of it, which may seem to us defective? Far otherwise. They made provision for the amendment of the Constitution, whenever their successors might see fit to amend it. We are then at liberty (granting that our liberty is defined by the Constitution) at perfect liberty to speak and write freely against any part of that instrument, which we do not approve. For that is it, that all amendments must be begun. Our Constitution, then, does not lay us expressly, or by implication, under the slightest obligation to be silent respecting Slavery. If it secures to our southern

brethren the right to hold slaves, it equally secures to us the right to object to their so doing. Nor can they have any just reason to complain of us, if we exercise this right in a spirit of kindness, with due consideration of the peculiar difficulty of the circumstances in which they are placed.

For the Liberator.

REVIEW ON AFRICAN COLONIZATION.—NO. I.

MR EDITOR—In the Christian Spectator, for September, 1830, there is an article styled, 'Review on African Colonization.' This Review is written in a bold and fearless manner; the writer feeling apparently, that he thoroughly understood the subject, and that the public ought to have no more doubt or hesitation than existed in his own mind. Some statements are likewise made, which are intended to remove the obstacles which the Colonization Society has met with, in extending their cause, and rendering it popular, in the eastern and northern states. There are some things in this Review, which appear to me to require examination; and the discussion of which, if I mistake not, will be useful to the public. In prosecuting this plan, I propose to give you my thoughts in a few separate numbers, to appear once a week, and to be completed as soon as time can be spared from other important avocations.

The first quotation which I shall make is from the 462nd page of the Review:

'This Institution [the Colonization Society] proposes to good by a single specific course of measures. Its direct and specific purpose, is not the abolition of slavery, or the relief of pauperism, or the extension of commerce and civilization, or the enlargement of science, or the conversion of the heathen. The single object which its constitution prescribes, and to which all its efforts are necessarily directed, is African colonization from America. It proposes only to afford facilities for the voluntary emigration of free people of color from this country to the country of their fathers. It is laboring to establish on the coast of that continent, by emigration from the United States, a free and civilized republic.'

This paragraph is a very satisfactory one to my mind. The explicit object, for which the society now labors, is declared; and the declaration is expressed in language by no means obscure; but easily understood. When contributions are now called for, it will be a very easy task to make the public understand the specific object for which the money is wanted. Some years ago, when money was solicited for the Colonization Society, the idea was held out to view, and in a prominent manner, that this Society, in the course of its progress, was to relieve the country from the dark stain resting upon it, from the slavery of a million and a half of its inhabitants. This idea, when first brought before the public eye, was, by many sober minded, calculating men, considered as chimerical; and, in discussions in our newspapers, proved to be so. I rejoice that the public will be held in doubt no longer on this subject. When the contribution is now solicited for this Society, the friend to the universal freedom of all our population will know, that by contributing to the funds of the Colonization Society, he does not advance one inch the object upon which his affections rest with pleasure; for the reviewer says expressly, the object of the Institution is not the abolition of slavery. The Colonization Society certainly deserves credit and respect for these explicit declarations, for, as the reviewer speaks with entire decision, it must be supposed that he has consulted the managers of the Society, and that they accord with his statement.

The reviewer, in the paragraph quoted, states in terms equally explicit and unequivocal, that the object of the Society is not to promote the conversion of the heathen. The most plausible argument, so far as my knowledge extends, which, hitherto, has been urged in favor of the plans of the Colonization Society, has been, that it would immediately extend the promulgation of the gospel, and that the heathen tribes of Africa would in this manner be brought under its influence. It was urged, likewise, that this manner of introducing the gospel, by establishing a colony on the coast of Africa, was far more excellent, and promised more abundant success, than the ordinary mode of sending missionaries with the Bible in their hands. It seems, however, that this was all a mistake. The Society has no such intention. It is altogether foreign from their object. Their object is not the conversion of the heathen. Let this be remembered on the ensuing Fourth of July, and on all succeeding anniversaries of American Independence, by those persons who make it a matter of conscience to obey the last command of our ascending Redeemer; 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature,' and let them act accordingly in the fear of the Lord. We have benevolent societies who have declared, in plain terms, that their object is to promulgate the Gospel of Christ; indeed, they were organized for this express purpose. Now, as we understand the object of the Colonization Society, and know that it is not the conversion of the heathen, there will be no danger, when the agents of the Society solicit our money, that the friends to the conversion of the heathen will be disappointed in having the funds they furnish, appropriated to an object foreign to their

wishes; or that the gifts intended for the conversion of the heathen, shall be diverted from their proper channel.

It is further remarked, in the paragraph quoted, 'that the direct and specific object of the Society; is not the extension of commerce and civilization, or the enlargement of science.' I can easily conceive, that commercial men, such, for instance, as the inhabitants of Holland, or for our large commercial seaports, as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, might feel much interested in sending a colony to any part of the globe, where there was a fair prospect of immediate or remote gain, from the establishment. Sagacious men of business have always reasoned and acted in this manner. Twenty-five or thirty centuries ago, the Tyrians, Athenians, and Carthaginians, the sagacious merchants of ancient times, understood this subject well, and established colonies in Africa and in Europe; and were greatly enriched by them. Had this been the object of the Colonization Society, and could they have made out a plausible story, there is no doubt that commercial aid would have been promptly granted. But the reviewer says this does not enter into the views of the Society whose cause he is pleading. Neither is the extension of civilization the subject of their solicitude. This declaration, I must acknowledge, excited my surprise. The reviewer is describing the field with great rapidity, not to my boldness; and those eminences, gilded by the rays of the sun which rested upon them, and which relieved the eye from the surrounding gloom, he has razed to the common level. The darkness hovering over the prospect becomes more dense and palpable. The extension of civilization is not the object of the Society: in the name of common sense, what is it? What, establish a colony on the shores of Africa where ignorance and barbarism have reigned with undisturbed and undisputed dominion for more than twenty centuries, and yet it is no part of the plan to civilize the people!

Great, very great efforts have been made within fifty years to explore the interior of Africa. Park, and Clapperton, and Denham, and others have braved the dangers of the desert, of robbery and assassination, of pestilence and slavery, in order to learn the state of civilization among the inhabitants, and the geography of the country; but we find that these objects are not of sufficient importance to enter into the views of the Colonization Society. No additional knowledge of the geography of Africa is to be expected from the colony at Liberia; no discoveries as to the literature, government, or history of the interior nations; for it is not the object of the society to promote the enlargement of science.

But the reviewer goes further; he tells us not only what are not the objects of the Society, but what are: 'It proposes only to afford facilities for the voluntary emigration of free people of color from this country, to the country of their fathers. It is laboring to establish on the coast of that continent, by emigration from the United States, a free and civilized republic.' Here, if I understand the writer, are two objects, to accomplish which, all the efforts of the Colonization Society, on the coast of Africa, are directed; one to assist the free blacks who choose to go, and the other, to establish a free and civilized republic on the continent of Africa. The first of these objects may be of some value, but I appeal to the intelligent and compassionate among our citizens, whether it will bear a comparison with many benevolent plans which are before the public. Whether the free blacks in the United States, whose numbers are very small, compared with those who are not free, are removed to the land of their fathers, or not, is of but little importance in a national point of view. It would be well that they should be gratified, if they wish to go. But one quarter of the money which it has cost to send them out, and to support them, would have made them vastly happier in the United States. But a republic is wanted, and wanted on the coast of Africa; and for this object we must bring all our energies into active exertion; we must tax the community, from Maine to Louisiana; we must have auxiliary societies organized in every town, and village, and hamlet; we must send them our agents to raise funds until the people are tired of seeing them. And what is this republic to accomplish? Is it wanted to show the nations of Europe that a republic can exist, and the people remain happy? If this is the object, it is already done in the great republic of America, in a manner vastly more satisfactory than it can be accomplished in Africa. But, perhaps, the influence of the republic is desired in order to affect the neighboring tribes of black people. Can any one be benefited of common sense, as to suppose that King Boatswain's people, or King Peter's, will fall in with a republican form of government, merely because they see an example of that kind of government at Liberia? Really, the reviewer has limited the objects for which a colony is wanted on the African coast, so closely, that little or nothing remains in my view, in which the public will feel much solicitude. If the friends of civilization and of science, and of the extension of the gospel among the heathen, and of the abolition of slavery in our country, are to believe, as this writer informs us, that these objects, which they consider as of primary im-

portance, are not the objects which the Colonization Society directly and specifically propose to accomplish; then, probably, they will say, and in the declaration I should cordially agree with them...

PHILELEUTHEROS.

ANTI-COLONIZATION MEETING.

BROOKLYN, June 3d, 1831. At a numerous and respectable meeting of the colored inhabitants of the village and township of Brooklyn, convened in the African Hall, Nassau-street...

The throne of grace was addressed by the Rev. Mr Hogarth, after which Henry C. Thompson was called to the chair, and George Hogarth appointed secretary.

Appropriate addresses were delivered by Messrs George Hogarth, James Pennington, and George Woods. The following resolutions were then adopted...

Resolved, unanimously, That the call of this meeting be approved; and that the colored citizens of this village have, with friendly feelings, taken into consideration the objects of the American Colonization Society...

It was also Resolved, That the following persons, viz James Pennington, Henry C. Thompson, and George Woods, be appointed a committee to draft an address to the public, expressing our views more fully in relation to the Colonization Society...

ADDRESS

TO THE COLORED CITIZENS OF BROOKLYN, N. Y. AND ITS VICINITY.

Respected brethren, and fellow citizens:—As men and as christians, whose secular and eternal interests are the same, we are seriously called upon by truth and reason, and every thing of which human action is composed, to take into consideration the objects of the American Colonization Society...

When we consider that by abridging men in their moral liberty, we touch their responsibility to the highest authority in the universe, we should shudder at the thought of retaining such feelings, as would lead to any irreligious or impolitic acts; nor should we be willing to yield one particle of ours to others, unless it be on the ground of expediency...

They say, 'that those of our friends, who look for the day, when we shall have equal rights in this country, are mistaken; they may not accept it as an assurance, that they will do all they can to prevent us from arriving to any degree of respectability at home, in our own land? Away then with such false sympathies and friendships! they are as foreign to us as the coasts of Africa!

We truly believe, that many gentlemen who are engaged in the Colonization Society, are our sincere friends and well-wishers; they wish to do something for us, consequently they have subscribed largely to it; because there was another plan on foot. Some of them have been deluded into its schemes, with a view of thoroughly civilizing and christianizing Africa, by our free people of color, and emancipated slaves, who may, from time to time, be colonized on its coasts, with their consent...

Missionary families should be well instructed in the rudiments of our holy religion, that their examples may shine forth as lights, in that much neglected and benighted land. We are much in favor of christianizing Africa; but not according to the plans of the Colonization Society, to purchase their lands of the established king and governors, to erect trading posts, and to establish forts and garrisons, to protect traders and traffickers, without, perhaps, once mentioning the religion of Jesus to them. We well know that the religion of Jesus to them is in no way calculated to induce heathens to embrace our religion...

Many wish us to go to Africa, because they say that our constitutions are better adapted to that climate than this. If so, we would ask why so many of our hearty, hale, and healthy brethren on arriving in that country, fall victims to the malignant fevers and disorders, prevalent in those regions? We would observe, that none are exempt from being attacked with a contagious fever, which operates more severely upon those of the higher climates...

Some of our brethren have come to the conclusion to leave this country, with all its prejudices, and seek an asylum in foreign climes. We would recommend to your serious consideration, the location in Upper Canada; a place far better adapted to our constitutions, our habits, and our morals; where prejudice has not such an unlimited sway; where you will be surrounded by christians; and have an opportunity to become civilized and christianized.

Brothers, it is time for us to awake to our interests; for the Colonization Society is straining every nerve for the accomplishment of its objects. By their last publications we see, that they have invoked all christian assemblies, and churches throughout the Union, to exert their influence, by raising subscriptions, to send us (the strangers within their gates, as they call us,) to the coasts of Africa. They have got the consent of eleven states, who have instructed their senators to do something in the next Congress for our removal. Maryland calls imperatively on the general government to send us away, or else they will colonize their own free blacks. They have by their influence, stopped the emancipation of slaves in a measure, except for colonization purposes.

We owe a tribute of respect to the state of New-York, for her not having entered into the confederacy. Though she is the last in proclaiming general emancipation to the slave, yet we find her slow in adopting any such unchristian measures. We may well say, she is deliberate in her councils, and determinate in her resolutions.

Finally, brethren, we are not strangers; neither do we come under the alien law. Our constitution does not call upon us to become naturalized; and we are as fully American citizens, as the whites were among the first that peopled this country; their sows and their tears have been the means, in a measure, of raising our country to its present standing. Many of them fought, and bled, and died for the gaining of her liberties; and shall we forsake their tombs, and flee to an unknown land? No! let us remain over them and weep, until the day arrives when Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands to God. We were born, and nurtured, in this christian land; and are surrounded by christians, whose sacred creed is, to do unto all men, as they would that they should do unto us. We have our neighbors as ourselves; and which expressly declares, if we have respect to persons, we commit sin. Let us, brethren, invoke the christian's God, in our behalf, to do away the prejudices of our brethren, that they may adopt the solemn truths of the gospel, and acknowledge that God is no respecter of persons—that he has made of one blood all the nations that dwell on the face of the earth—that they may no longer bring their reasonings in contact with the omnipotence of Deity; and inasmuch as the public, that our intellect and faculties are measureably inferior to those of our fairer brethren. Because adversity has thrown a veil over us, and we, whom God has created to worship, admire, and adore his divine attributes, shall we be held in a state of wretchedness and degradation, with monkeys, baboons, slaves, and cattle, because we possess a darker hue?

We feel it our duty ever to remain true to the constitution of our country, and to protect it as we have always done, from foreign aggression. Although more than three hundred thousand of us are virtually deprived of the rights and immunities of citizens, and more than two millions held in abject slavery, yet we know that God is just, and ever true to his purpose. Before him the whole world stands in awe, and at his command nations must obey. He who has lately plead the Indian's case in our land, and who has brought about many signal events, to the

astonishment of our generation, we believe is in the whirlwind, and will soon bring about the time when the sable sons of America will join with their fairer brethren, and re-echo liberty and equal rights in all parts of Columbia's soil.

We pray the Lord to hasten the day, when prejudice, inferiority, degradation and oppression will be done away, and the kingdoms of our God, and his Christ, shall be established in earth.

Signed in behalf of a public meeting in Brooklyn. H. C. THOMPSON, Chairman.

BOSTON, SATURDAY, JULY 2, 1831.

AT HOME.

The Editor has barely time to inform his readers, that, after an absence of four weeks, he is again seated at his table. His visit to the great cities has afforded him the highest gratification, and vastly augmented his confidence and courage in the cause of equal rights. To his colored brethren he tenders his grateful acknowledgments, for their liberal expressions of esteem and enthusiastic reception of his person. A grateful tear or a fervent blessing of theirs, outweighs all the abuse and persecution which he has received, and is constantly receiving, from the enemies of justice. A sketch of his tour will be given hereafter.

MORTALITY IN LIBERIA.

The zealous partisans of the Colonization Society are very anxious to make it appear, that the late account of the shocking mortality in Liberia is highly improbable—foreseeing that, if it be true, it must seriously affect the amount of contributions, on the 4th of July. Until the public suspense be removed, by direct information from the colony, it is not offering an insult to the understanding and humanity of our citizens, to call upon them for donations to supply this African Golgotha with new victims?

The Salem Mercury says, that notwithstanding the doubts expressed respecting the recent painful intelligence from Liberia, 'we fear the first statement will be found literally correct. Capt. Waters got his information from Capt. Weaver, of the brig Henry Eckford, which left Liberia about the 10th of April. The frigate Java left Liberia nearly a month before the Eckford, and of course could bring no account of what had transpired in the interval. Capt. Weaver's account was so circumstantial and minute, that it could not have originated in any mistake, and we shall require better evidence than we have yet seen, before we consent to charge him with a wilful fabrication.'

The Agents of the Wilberforce Settlement, in Upper Canada, have made an earnest appeal to the clergymen in this country, requesting them to take up collections in its behalf on the ensuing Fourth of July, or the Sabbath preceding that day—(tomorrow.) This infant colony deserves the sympathies, prayers and charities of the friends of bleeding humanity, and we hope the request of its Agents will not be superseded by the preposterous claim of the Colonization Society.

We were not aware, until we read the following remarkable sentence in the Transcript of Thursday evening, that the people in New-England consider the observance of the 4th of July, as obligatory as that of the Sabbath. Says the Editor—

'We are firmly convinced that a man, who, in defiance of public opinion, orders his store or shop to be opened on that day, commits a sin as grievous as that same public would consider it, if he should open his shop on the Sabbath!'

The attention of our readers is particularly invited—

1st. To the 'Address to Slaveholders in the United States'—a cogent paper which may be found on the first page. We trust it may fall under the observation of many slave owners.

2dly. To the valuable Extracts from the Rev. Mr May's Address on Slavery. More next week.

3dly. To the communication of 'Phileleutheros,' in reply to a Review on African Colonization in the Christian Spectator. The writer is a gentleman of talent and great respectability.

4thly. To the Resolutions and Address of the colored citizens of Brooklyn, N. Y. against the Colonization Society. These are drawn up in a truly christian spirit, and with much dignity.

Early on Thursday morning, the upper deck of the steam-boat Onatonic, lying at Tilston's wharf, was entirely destroyed by fire—the cabin also was much damaged. Loss about \$2500.

The Capitol of North Carolina, at Raleigh, has been destroyed by fire, and with it the famous Statue of Washington by Canova, which cost \$80,000, and which was said to be the finest piece of sculpture in the world.

The extract of a letter from the editor, which was published in the Liberator of the 19th inst. was not intended for the public eyes.

The press of other matter necessarily excludes our Slavery Record and Juvenile Department this week.

The two pirates, Gadett and Colliet, were executed in this city on Friday morning.

The July number of 'THE NATURALIST' is received, but we have not had time to examine its pages. Its contents follow:—

\* Man. (Hair.)—The Strawberry—The Siphonia (Indian Rubber Tree)—The Great Flowering Cereus—The Passion Flower—Iron.

In Bristol and Essex North Districts, a fourth trial to elect a Representative in Congress, has proved abortive.

Three dogs, supposed to have been mad, have been killed in this city—one in Brattle street, one on Fort Hill, and the other at the North end.

The Dog Law.—The New-York Sentinel, of Tuesday, states that almost every street in that city may be seen crowds of boys eagerly seeking after objects for slaughter, or exulting in the success of their bloody work and hestening to claim their promised reward. On Monday evening, one hundred persons were in attendance at the City Hall to receive premiums for killing dogs.

In Chatham, N. Y. a boy named David Cahart, aged 12, who had recently read the pamphlet containing the confession and execution of Gibbs, the pirate, hung himself, doubtless from curiosity to know the sensation of hanging, and thinking he could stop the experiment when he liked.

A young merchant from Philadelphia or farther south, arrived in New-York last Tuesday, and attempted to cut his throat, but was prevented by some persons in the hotel, who heard him groan after one cut. He tried to keep them at bay with the razor, and when at last overpowered, tore off the bandages at every opportunity. A paper was found saying 'Paha, failure, disgrace—death—firewell.' He is likely to recover.

The National Intelligencer states that a passenger from the south saw twelve hundred of the Fayetteville sufferers in one body, encamped in the neighboring woods—and it is supposed that three thousand people were suddenly rendered homeless and destitute of the means of subsistence.

The citizens of New-Haven have forwarded \$1,500 to the people of Fayetteville.

The Committee for receiving subscriptions in Charleston for the Fayetteville sufferers have forwarded \$725.

Accounts from Warsaw say that the Cholera Morbus is making considerable ravages in the two armies; the Russians lose 500 men by it daily, the Poles from 20 to 70.

A black boy at Philadelphia, belonging to schr. Water Witch, from Petersburg, Va. while dancing violently to the whistling and singing of some white lads, fell overboard and was drowned.

MARRIED.

At New-York, in St. Philip's church, by the Rev. Peter Williams, jr., Mr Jefferson Ellis, of Livingston's Manor, N. Y. to Miss Seneca, daughter of Mr William Baldwin, of that city.

Also, by the same, Mr Thomas Atkins, Miss Mary Stevens, daughter of the late Peter Stevens, of New-York.

WANTED.

THREE respectable COLORED GIRLS, as apprentices to learn the Tailoring business. Likewise a smart Colored Boy. The best of references will be required. WILLIAM SAUNDERS, Merchant Tailor. Hartford, June 30, 1831.

PROPOSALS

For Publishing a Weekly Paper, in the city of Philadelphia, by

JUNIOR C. MOREL, and JOHN P. THOMPSON, TO BE ENTITLED

THE AMERICAN.

We believe that whatever measures are used, or resorted to, having for its objects the removal of our native, free born Colored Population out of these United States, ought, by all true Philanthropists, to be considered and treated as measures taken to perpetuate Slavery, with its beneficial effects, in this great republic.

The primary objects of the American shall be, to convey useful and wholesome information to our colored Brethren, and at the same time endeavor to stimulate them in the paths of education and virtue. Religion, Morality, and Temperance, being the three greatest steps in civilization, shall always find a conspicuous place in our sheets. The Constitution of these States shall be respected by us, whilst we shall necessarily cry against Slavery in any manner, firmly believing there exists no such term in the Philanthropist's Vocabulary, as Humane Slaveholders. The sheets of the American shall never be polluted by advocating such pity Philanthropy as is set forth by the American Colonization Society and its emissaries. For before God we know of no other home for the native born man of color, than these United States. The true interests of our brethren shall be faithfully watched and zealously advocated. Under such impressions and with these promises, we have deemed it expedient to call our friends and brethren to support us in our undertaking, resting perfectly satisfied, that they are sensibly convinced of the utility of establishing such a vehicle in this city. The first number of the American will appear as soon as a sufficient number of subscribers are obtained to warrant the publishing.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

The American will be issued every Saturday morning, printed on a fine sheet of medium paper and large type, at two dollars per annum, payable in advance. No subscription will be received for a less term than six months.

Communications, &c., &c., will for the present, post paid, be received and attended to, by directing to the Editors, at No 194, South Sixth Street, Philadelphia. May 30th, 1831.

