



THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. II.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND ISAAC KNAPP, PUBLISHERS.

NO. 10.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

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

[SATURDAY, MARCH 10, 1832.

THE LIBERATOR

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W. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

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people living in defiance of God. But I have no fear that the stability of our confederacy will be lessened by withdrawing from it that which ever has enfeebled it, and ever must. I have pleaded—and I plead again—for the abolition of slavery, for our own sakes, as well as for the sake of our bondmen. I am persuaded, if it be continued, we cannot long preserve the peculiar blessings of which we have boasted so long and so loudly. We must do justice, or the God of justice will cast us off.

Some contend that we ought not to denounce slavery, until we can show how it may certainly be abolished, without incurring greater sin and suffering, than may be the consequence, if we let things take their course. I anticipated this objection, and made a few remarks upon it in my discourse. None of the great moral changes that have taken place in our world, were effected precisely in the way pointed out by those, who first cried out, "They must be made!" The first step, in all public (as well as individual) improvement, is to make the public feel there is need of improvement. When this is done, and the people are brought to feel and own that a change for the better must be made, then the best minds and hearts are brought to consider how it may be accomplished; and those who seek to do right, will be directed by that good Father of all, who delights to see his children in the right way. How simple is the cure of Intemperance! And yet it was not discovered, until some time after the benevolent and patriotic had begun to cry, Wo! wo! Perhaps some means of relieving us of slavery, as simple as this, may be found out, if we only search for it with our whole hearts. You and I will then continue to cry, Wo! wo! to the people that use oppression, until the Channing's, and Beecher's, and Websters, and Frelinghuysen's in the land are roused to answer the demand of the people, saying, "Men and brethren, what shall be done?"

Light is bursting out on every side—the march of abolition sentiments is onward, right onward—new champions are hastening to engage in the great contest of freedom against oppression—the timid begin to take courage, the doubting to gather confidence, the lukewarm to burn with ungodly ardor, the blind to receive sight. Leap even in your fetters, ye heart-broken captives; for the day of your redemption is at hand. We have perused with considerable satisfaction the essays of a writer in the New-Hampshire Observer, over the signature of 'S. S.' His first number we give below. It is not material whether he agrees with us in every particular, or otherwise, so long as he embraces the fundamental doctrine of immediate abolition. By this doctrine alone, we conquer.

From the New-Hampshire Observer.
IMMEDIATE ABOLITION. NO. 1.

MR. EDITOR—I am not a friend to hasty and precipitate projects, or to rash and unadvised measures. I would be as violent in my opposition, and as determined in my resistance, to those headstrong demagogues and furious enthusiasts, who are ever waiting for some favorable opportunity, to create dissension between the people and the government, or the master and the slave, as any other firm friend of his country. But I nevertheless think, that whenever a plan is proposed to us, as an independent and enlightened people, which promises to free us from any national evil, or offers to us any considerable benefits, it deserves a candid and impartial examination from every philanthropist and patriot.

We must all readily acknowledge, that slavery, as it exists at present in our southern states, is a dreadful evil, that has been entailed upon the present generation. It is a dark blot upon the bright escutcheon of our country. It is a blighting curse, that destroys our dearest hopes and brightest prospects. It is a gangrene on the heart of our republic, which will soon complete our destruction. Yes; unless it be removed, speedily, wholly removed, from every city, town and hamlet, throughout the land, our destruction is certain—the knell of our country will soon strike loud upon the ear, for her glory will be departed.

With this dreadful evil in the midst of us, an inquiry, earnest and solemn, should go to the soul of every lover of his country, what can I do to avert from the nation this threatening judgment? Especially does every man, at this particular crisis, who is engaged in devising and carrying into effect measures, that, according to his best judgment, will mitigate the dreadful horrors of slavery, and speedily banish it from our shores, deserve the commendation of the whole christian community.

A plan has been proposed, and advocated with much warmth, in a neighboring city, for the immediate abolition of slavery in the southern states; and arguments have been brought forward in favor of it, which, I apprehend, carry with them greater weight than those, who have not thoroughly examined the subject, would readily imagine. To every feature in Mr. Garrison's plan, (for it is this to which I refer) I would by no means give my approbation. To it in general, means give my considerable modifications, I could not give unqualified support. But, sir, that the slaves have a right to be free, and that with certain defined restrictions they ought immediately and universally to be emancipated, I do firmly believe. To this belief, I have come by a process

of reasoning, which, with your leave, I will lay before your readers in future numbers. Should you see fit to allow me a place in your valuable paper, which I presume is open to free inquiry, I will discuss the subject in so clear, candid, and cool a manner, that even yourself, however far you may be from acquiescing in my opinions, shall not be able to find fault against me. Respectfully,
S. S.

For the Liberator.
FREE PRODUCE SOCIETIES.
I should have attended, ere this, to answer the inquiries of S. T. U. and I not hoped that some one more competent would have undertaken it; but since none have appeared, limited as is my information on the subject, I will endeavor to impart the little knowledge I possess; and if it ful (as it certainly must) to satisfy his inquiring mind, it may be that we shall hear from him again on this important topic.

He inquires: "How many Free Produce Societies are there in the United States? How long since the first was formed? How large are they? On what principles are they established? Do they adopt the principle of total abstinence from the productions of slave labor, or only of procuring free articles when they can? If total abstinence is not the principle on which these societies are founded, how far is it adopted by the members as individuals? What objection would there be to giving up the use of articles obtained by slave labor?"

There are in Pennsylvania four societies for promoting the use of articles obtained by the labor of freemen. The first was organized in 1827, the second in 1828, the third and fourth in 1831. The recent establishment of the two last evinces the growing interest that is felt; and it is ardently to be desired that they may continue to multiply, until the total extinction of slavery shall preclude the necessity of their existence.

The first Free Produce Society has about two hundred members; the second, near one hundred; the third, five hundred; and the fourth, about thirty-five.

There being such a scarcity of articles manufactured from cotton, raised by freemen, and these only of a very coarse texture, (to say nothing of groceries) for so large a number to adopt, as a society, the principle of total abstinence, would be to attempt an impossibility. This is a gloomy picture; yet it is nevertheless true, that with a population rising twelve millions, it would be impossible for eight hundred persons to abstain entirely from the use of articles obtained at the price of blood. It may be that there is a considerable quantity of free produce thrown into the market among slave produce; and as an inducement to those at the south, who do not keep slaves, to cultivate their land exclusively by the labor of freemen, and keep their produce separate from that which is polluted with the blood of our fellows, I would propose that the Free Produce Societies should offer a premium for such articles at present. Even the paper used in advocating the cause of the slaves, is obtained through the same impure channel as the garments on our forms and the food on our tables.

I believe the members, generally, give a decided preference to, and frequently a premium for free produce. Many of them, also,—some who are not members,—abstain from the productions of slave labor, with the exception of paper and specie. I should not suppose that any one who admits that slavery is unjust, would have any objections to giving up the use of articles obtained by slave labor! As far as I know, the only barrier to the general use of free articles is the difficulty of obtaining them; and it is earnestly desired that the day may not be distant, when it will be possible for all to free themselves from the imputation of the guilt of abetting men-stealers in their iniquitous trade; and the greater the difficulty, the more impressive are the calls upon us to double our diligence—to omit no effort in our power to make—to consider no sacrifice too great, until the barrier is entirely removed, until the sight of an article manufactured by slaves, shall elicit the exclamation of, 'Whence is it? How came it here?'

As free cotton is in great demand at this time, I would request 'S. T. U.' if he knows where any can be obtained, to inform us through the medium of the Liberator. V. W. X.
PHILADELPHIA, 2d mo. 21st, 1832.

For the Liberator.
SOME REMARKS ON THE FORMER AND PRESENT STATE OF ST. DOMINGO OR HAYTI.
A certain class of men, who may properly be denominated counting-house politicians, deem the circulating wealth, the imports and exports, and especially the latter, the true criterion of the prosperity of any country. With them, a nation like Switzerland, with very little foreign commerce, is unworthy of regard; though its general mediocrity of wealth, its temperance, morality and piety, may make it one of the happiest portions of the habitable globe. These politicians are perpetually calling our attention to

the circumstance of the small comparative amount of exports from the before-mentioned island since its revolution, as an evidence that the freedom of its inhabitants does not conduce to its prosperity. Let us carefully examine this subject. Formerly one individual owned ten thousand acres of land, and one hundred slaves. He had his palace, his splendid equipage, his mirrors and costly furniture: to support all these it was needful that his one hundred slaves should toil early and late, and subsist on such fare as it is well known is only allotted to this class; hence a vast amount of valuable exports, and an equal importation of costly luxuries, all at the disposal and converted to the use of this one hundredth part of the population. The revolution destroyed this state of things. The lordlings perished or fled, and each man became his own master. The exports were reduced (say) to one third of what they were formerly; one third of the labor would consequently raise them; but the comforts of the people were increased four fold, when tranquility was at last restored, because they had all the proceeds for their own use. But this view alone does not give a true estimate of the amount of productive labor, since a large proportion of it is now expended in providing the necessaries and comforts of life, consumed on the spot; thus avoiding the losses and vexations with which their commerce is shamefully clogged by foreign powers, and at the same time lessening the exchange of valuable for worthless articles, or such as would at least be worthless to them.

If, as slaveholders would persuade us, the situation of the people of that island be really changed for the worse, convince them of it, and nothing would be easier than for them to step back to their former state, and that without even inviting the whites to resume their charge. It were only for every one hundred persons to select one of their number, build him a palace, carriage, furniture, &c. and the other ninety-nine return to their drudgery and hard fare, and whips and shackles, and immense exports would soon restore their former state of prosperity.

The present commerce of that island is, however, not inconsiderable, and would be peculiarly valuable to this country, did not the unjust and cowardly policy, forced upon our government by southern influence, almost preclude us from it. Before France had acknowledged their independence, that circumstance might have been made a plea for declining to open friendly relations with them; though a like state of things, it seems, did not weigh a straw as respects acknowledging the South American republics; but after an open negotiation by the parent state, we can discover no honorable motive that can induce us to refuse it. Harassed as they are by prejudices, if not by enmities that it is disgraceful to us to indulge, it is even yet questionable whether we do not make it their interest to burn up their sugar establishments and valuable buildings on the sea-board, lest their possession tempt the insatiable cupidity of civilized Christians to invade them.

We would advise the slaveholders hereafter to say less about a people thus circumstanced, particularly as they tell us, and truly, while reveling in wealth unjustly extorted from others, that their own bankruptcy and ruin are at hand. Had the planters of St Domingo acted with the wisdom of the present privileged orders of Europe, and yielded to the just claims of the laboring portion of the community, instead of being swept in vengeance from the earth, they might in all human probability have been at this moment peacefully directing their free contented laborers on their valuable estates, and enjoying their fruits. Their fatal error unfolds a volume of instruction to us: may we profit by it. M.

For the Liberator.
ANOTHER 'VOICE FROM BRITAIN.'
The following is an extract from a monthly periodical published at Belfast, by Scotch Presbyterians, called the 'Covenantant.'

'Liberia: by William Jones. Edinburgh, 1831. This little work, which has just been published, contains the history of the establishment, progress and present state of a colony of emancipated negroes planted by the American Colonization Society, on the Western coast of Africa. However we might be disposed to find fault with the people of the United States for tolerating the slavery of nearly two millions of fellow men throughout their territories; however much we regard this as a foul blot on the character of the nation, which nothing but the speedy and unqualified emancipation of the negroes can efface; however we might feel inclined to think that the efforts of the Colonization Society are misdirected, as long as the great evil is left untouched, we have but one feeling in relation to the publication itself. The work ought to be in the hands of all who are engaged in the sacred quarrel of the injured Africans against the blinded self-interest and cruelty of their heartless oppressors. The facts stated form the best argument wherewith to meet the oft repeated aspersions on negro character; and show convincingly that man held in forced servitude, will soon sink to the level of irrational creatures; but that when the shackles are broken, the ascent in the scale of intellectual and moral improvement is easy.'
The arguments for Emancipation, on the ground of sin, injustice and political evil, are accumulated

around the christian patriots of New-England, like an impregnable wall. Their only way of escape is to yield, or trample them down. Christians and Statesmen in Europe are warning and deriding us. The slaveholders at the South are taunting us with having originated the curse among them. We hear of insurrections around us, and among us; disunion threatened; natural justice speaking in our consciences; the word of God ringing in our ears. And to what are we awakened? When the fearful dilemma of emancipation, or a black republic, shall have been decided, will it be believed by Christians of the twentieth century, we hesitated which of the two to choose? How awfully clear will it be to us in the day of judgment, that habit, hardened consciences, and corrupted inclinations, blinded us to a most obvious duty!

For the Liberator.
GUILT OF OPPRESSORS.
MR. EDITOR—Permit me, who possesses a feeling of regard for his fellow-creatures, to make a few remarks on the subject of Slavery. I will introduce this subject, by offering a few considerations to an enlightened public. Can any man entertain the opinion, that there was more than one being concerned in the creation of mankind? If so, let me ask, where is the ground-work of his opinion? If not so, can he think that being intended to create two classes, for the sole purpose that one might rule the other? Does any one passage or sentence of God's law sanction the act of one man's holding another in bondage, or of buying and selling his fellow-creatures? Surely not! Where, then, is the foundation of such an unholy practice? The answer is obvious:—*in the heart of man!*
Genius of Emancipation! do not tarry, but hasten on thy way! Thy cause is just—sanctioned by the Holy One! With thy arm of power, touch the slender foundation of this barbarous system.

What is there, in the records of crime, so fiend-like and detestable, as that of Slavery? What! Americans, daily boasting of freedom and independence, and, at the same time, suffering a spirit of aristocracy, worse than that which prevailed in the days of Pope Pius, to sway its blood-stained sceptre over the country! LIBERTY! awake! and sound thy victorious trumpet in every quarter of the globe! Bring, quickly bring, the day when color, and color only, shall no longer be considered a CRIME! CANDOR.

For the Liberator.
PRECEPT UPON PRECEPT.
SIR—I have reflected on the condition of the colored population of the Southern States. You and your friends, and wherever there are friends to this depressed race, ought not to be weary, but repeat from day to day, in as many modes as possible, that were the Southern States to free their negroes, and make a liberal provision for their instruction, it would add more to their individual prosperity and wealth, than to their personal safety. What they would seem to lose in the nominal value of slaves, they would gain in the value of lands and other property, and productive labor. Exports would increase in a greater proportion.

Calculations should be made, in a thousand different ways, to show the actual bona fide gain in labor, by employing free men. Cultivate the minds of the colored people, and from examples already before us, it would prove more profitable than working the richest gold mine that ever was opened. You cannot too often vary and repeat such calculations, nor too often show how closely united to duty is interest. Yours,
Z.

For the Liberator.
MR. EDITOR—The enclosed trifle was first sent to the Christian Register, which has formerly shown some interest in the subject to which it refers; but the Editor or Editors of that paper have declined publishing it. Possibly, however, it may better suit your views than theirs; and with this idea it is now offered to you, that if you are willing to publish a rejected article, it may appear in the Liberator. G. X.

DIALOGUE BETWEEN TOUSSAINT L'OUVREURE AND WASHINGTON.
After the excitement of yesterday's celebration, (Feb. 22d,) I returned to my lodging, wearied, yet still reflecting on the scenes of the day, and the character of the illustrious chief we had been attempting to honor. In the quiet of a solitary half hour, I fell into a reverie, when it seemed to me that the shade of the hero stood before me, towards whom another shadowy form approached whom I intuitively knew to be the Haytian chief, Toussaint, and methought the following dialogue passed between them.
Toussaint.—Washington!
Washington.—Brother! Why that averted look? But ah! too well I understand it.

THE LIBERATOR.
Calling one morning on a gentleman (at Cape Town) I was shown into his library; and while waiting for him there, took up Cicero's Letters to Atticus. One of the first Letters which caught my eye was that in which the Roman Orator complains of the stupidity of the Slaves from Britain. Just as I had finished the perusal of that Letter, my eye lighting on two busts placed in opposite sides of the room, Cicero and Newton, I could not help exclaiming, "See what that man says of that man's country!" —*DR PHILIP.*

REV. MR MAY'S DISCOURSE.
This excellent Dissertation has produced a salutary impression on the minds of a large majority of those who have given it a candid perusal. No one ventures to deny the correctness of its assertions and sentiments in the main; yet there are a few who strangely misapprehend or pervert the meaning of the author in several passages. A misconception has been given to the following language:

"If our republic cannot stand but upon the necks of two millions of my fellow beings, let it fall, let it fall, though I be crushed beneath it."

In reference to the above sentence and to its perversion, Mr May writes to us, in a private letter, as follows. Justice to himself, we think, warrants us in giving his remarks to the public.

"You, who know so well my sentiments respecting war, would never be led, even by this language, to think I would counsel a civil war even in the last resort. But such is the inference which some have drawn. No. I would not have the nation plunge itself into one kind of wickedness, in order to escape from another. All I meant by what I have there said was to give a strong paraphrase to the maxim, 'Fiat justitia, ruat calum,' i. e. even if the abolition of slavery would dissolve the Union, we have no right to hesitate about its abolition; for great as is the blessing of union, it is not so great as righteousness. Union cannot uphold a

BOSTON.

SATURDAY, MARCH 10, 1832.

was watching with a calm eye the eager and anti-

JUVENILE DEPARTMENT.



THE YOUNG SLAVE.

When captain Basil Hall, the English traveller,

"He was a short, lean man, with his face deeply

"After various delays, the slave was put up to

"Well, gentlemen," cried the deputy marshal,

"One of the spectators called out. "Come, I'll

"From the spot where I was standing in the

"The interest, after a time, took a different

"We can't help it, however," observed the

"Just at this moment, a farmer who had come

"My tall friend now said, "140," which was

"Upon which, those two bidders, having ex-

"I pitied the boy on the head, wished his new

TEMPTATION RESISTED, AND HONESTY

A poor chimney-sweeper's boy was employed

larily caught his attention, and he could not forbear

"The lady, who was in the room adjoining, having

"The boy burst into tears; he was anxious to

From the African Sentinel.

The world is certainly indebted to Sam for this

Now this is all very benevolent, on the face;

I am no African, nor the descendant of one;

There are thousands of poor, miserable, degraded

But allowing the Colonizationists to be right

With respect to the blacks—the real Simon Pure,

A VOICE FROM NEW-BEDFORD!

At a meeting of the people of color in New-

Resolved, That in whatever light we view the

Resolved, That the Society, to effect its pur-

Resolved, That as great a nuisance as we may

Signed in behalf of the meeting:

RICHARD JOHNSON, Ch'n.

A Question about Slavery.—How is it that so

CAUSE OF THE CHEROKEES. A second

An hour or two before the meeting was held,

We are indebted to the Editor of the Temper-

To the Editor of the Liberator.

DEAR SIR—Permit me, through the medium

FLOOD IN OHIO. Who can say that the late

The last New Haven Advertiser contains an

The 'YOUNG MEN'S ADVOCATE' is the title

A protracted meeting will be held at the

NOTICE.

An Address to the members of the Legislature

Those of our subscribers who do not keep

A large piratical vessel of 28 guns and 230

Horrible Inhumanity.—We learn that a new

Letters received at this office from March 3

whites,—an assertion which we can make good

What a pity it is, that while individual States

WILBRAHAM, March 5, 1832.

DEAR SIR—Permit me, through the medium

FLOOD IN OHIO. Who can say that the late

The last New Haven Advertiser contains an

The 'YOUNG MEN'S ADVOCATE' is the title

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Horrible Inhumanity.—We learn that a new

Letters received at this office from March 3

In former days we used to hear folks talk of

The Ladies having bored themselves to the

MARRIAGE.

In Middletown, Ct. Feb. 29th, by the Rev. Ja-

NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THIS Society was formed in Boston, January 1,

Any person by signing the Constitution, and

Any Anti-Slavery Society, or any association

Resolved, That this Society highly approve

Resolved, That the friends of the people of

Resolved, That this Society request the

Resolved, That this Society will render

Resolved, That colored parents who have

GEORGE PUTMAN,

HAS removed his Dressing-Room from No.

GENTLE BOARDING HOUSE

ROBERT WOOD

GIVES notice to his friends and the public,

FOR SALE AT THIS OFFICE, AND AT THE

A DISCOURSE

On Slavery in the United States,

By Rev. Samuel J. May, Pastor of the First

FOR SALE AT THIS OFFICE, AND AT THE

