

FRAGMENT

OF AN ORIGINAL LETTER

ON THE

SLAVERY OF THE NEGROES,

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1776.

By Thomas Day, Esq. Author of 'Sandford & Merton.'

Cette soit insatiable de l'homme a donné naissance au plus infame, au plus atroce de tous les commerces, celui des esclaves. On parle de crimes contre nature, et l'on ne cite pas celui là comme le plus exécrable.—Histoire Philosophique des deux Indes.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The following Letter was written in the year 1776, at the request of an American gentleman, who desired to know my sentiments upon the Slavery of the Negroes, and professed an intention of restoring all his own to liberty, could he be convinced that duty required the sacrifice. I therefore sent him the following Essay, the imperfections of which perhaps he something extenuated by the precipitation with which it was written. It has lain by me many years in obscurity; nor did I choose to produce it during the progress of the American contest. Since the happy termination of that disastrous war, I have shewn it to some of my particular friends, who have honored me so far as to desire copies, and to suggest that its publication might not be unattended with utility. After reflecting upon the subject, I have chosen to comply with their wishes, and present this Fragment to the public; because, whatever discredit it brings upon my head, it may contribute to establish the sincerity of my heart; and if a single human being should by my means be restored to happiness, it is an ample recompense for all the dangers I may incur as an author. Should this Essay ever reach America, it perhaps might displease those who have not learned to discern friends from flatterers, and to distinguish between the language of truth and calumny. Those, on the contrary, who are enlightened by a more extensive knowledge of human nature, may perhaps respect an Englishman, who, after daring to assert their cause through all the varied events of the late Revolution, dares now, with equal intrepidity, assert the cause of Truth and Justice, and of that part of the human species whose wrongs are yet unredressed, and almost unmentioned. Should it be asked, why I rather publish a Fragment than a complete Essay, I can only answer, that I respect truth so much, that I am not inclined to violate it even as an author; and that this Letter having been really written in the year 1776, and being still in the possession of the gentleman to whom it was sent, I do not choose to piece it with additions in the year 1784.

FRAGMENT, &c.

SIR—I was extremely surprised at receiving a Letter, in an unknown hand, which desired me to give my sentiments relative to the SLAVERY OF THE NEGROES; till reading to the end, I recollected the name of a gentleman, whom I had the pleasure of seeing with Mr Laurens.* Much as I am flattered by finding my opinion of any consequence with a gentleman, of whom I have heard so advantageous a character, I am still more surprised, that he can ask it upon such a question; a question which I am sure his own humanity and good sense will be sufficient to decide, if he attend, for a moment, to their dictates. I respect you, Sir, too much to doubt the sincerity of the declaration you make, when you profess to be guided by reason and morality upon this question; for this is the only arbitration which any man can have to consult upon a subject like this: where they are silent, the voice of the whole world ought to be disregarded; and where they approve, the dissent of all mankind can have no influence upon a mind like yours. But as you expressly desire to know my sentiments, I must waive both preface and ceremony, and address you with the modest freedom that becomes one man when he is speaking to another upon the most important question in the universe.

As a member of that society which has now made a solemn Appeal to Heaven, and taken up arms against the nation to which it owes its establishment, you must admit that there are such things as RIGHT and JUSTICE, to which the whole human species have an indefeasible claim. Indeed, unless there be such a thing as justice, it is in vain to inquire about its precepts, or refer to its arbitration. He that admits no right but force, no justice but superior violence, arms every man against himself, and justifies all excesses. If it be lawful to injure, because we can; if we may seize the property

* Colonel John Laurens, son of Henry Laurens, Esq. formerly President of the Congress. This young gentleman was sent over to England for his education, where he endeared himself to all who knew him, by his abilities and affectionate temper. In the beginning of the year 1777, he joined the American army, and from that time was foremost in every danger. He was present and distinguished himself in every action of the army under General Washington, and was amongst the foremost that entered the British lines at Yorktown. He fell August 27th, 1782, one of the last victims to this disastrous war, in an obscure skirmish with a foraging party. For several days preceding the action, he had been confined to his bed by a raging fever, but left it at the call of duty, and met his death.

Those who were intimately acquainted with this young man, will rank his martial qualities by which he is chiefly known, as lowest in the catalogue of his virtues. They will lament the untimely loss of a clear discerning mind, that united the solid powers of the understanding with inflexible integrity. In him, his country has lost one of its noblest and most useful citizens; his father, the kindest and most affectionate friend; and all the wretched, a generous and disinterested patron.—O my unfortunate country! must I add, that when I consider all the leaders of thy factions, all thy hereditary magistrates, all that are destined to engross thy dignities or share thy spoils, I seek in vain a Colonel JOHN LAURENS!

of another, insult his person, or force him to labor for our luxury or caprice, merely because he is weaker; this principle will be equally fatal to ourselves, when fortune shall strip us of that power which is our only prerogative, and shift the plea of superiority. You are to remember that, upon this supposition, your slaves, the instant they shall become the strongest, will have a right to the services of yourself and every other gentleman of the southern colonies; will have a right to force you to labor naked in the sun to the music of whips and chains; to rob you of every thing which is now dear to your indolence, or necessary to your pleasures; to lead you to every species of servile drudgery, and punish you for their amusement and caprice; will have a right to exhaust your youth in servitude, and to abandon your age to wretchedness and diseases: in one word, Sir, they will have a right to use you, as you do them.

Let us, therefore, leave principles which can be maintained by no one but a professed enemy to mankind; who would at one stroke extirpate every thing which alleviates the evils of life, and arm every man in an eternal war against his fellow-creatures,—to inquire what are the real dictates of that justice, whose existence, I am persuaded, we both allow. You, therefore, admit there are certain claims, which, for want of a better name, we call rights, to which the human species has an indisputable title. To express myself in other words, 'There is a method of pursuing our own happiness in such a manner, that we may promote the general good at the same time; or, at least, not interfere with it.' This, our reason assures us, is the privilege of every created being; and while he confines himself within these bounds, we feel the most cordial approbation of his conduct. We love, and esteem, and sympathise with him, from the very constitution of our nature. On the contrary, whenever any one disturbs or injures a being acting in this manner, or prevents him from attaining the good to which he is impelled, we feel our hatred and indignation most forcibly excited against the aggressor. We consider such a character as armed against the welfare of the world, and as one who is endeavoring to make the common good subservient to his own selfishness. I appeal to the generosity of your own nature, for the existence of these principles. Have they not, a thousand times, animated you to acts of virtue and humanity, as well as inspired you with an involuntary reverence for all who acted from their impulse? Have they not often pleaded the cause of the wretch that lay trembling and defenceless at your feet, and, in spite of the prejudices of your country and education, whispered to your mind that one human being ought not to hold his existence by the tenure of another's will? Do not these principles now inspire you, and frequently impel you beyond the bounds of prudence and safety, while what you call your country's cause animates you to exertion? But this cause is only the united cause and interest of every particular man; those rights which the great Creator taught him to discover when he gave him reason, which he urges him to defend by passion, and which a mind like yours prizes beyond all the gratifications of sense, and dares to grasp at even while it is perishing. This appears to me a plain and concise deduction of morality, which means nothing more than that method or rule of conduct by which the whole human species may attain the greatest possible degree of happiness. And I rather choose to express myself so, because I thus comprehend all sects and opinions. The religious man allows that the happiness of the species is the great end of the Deity, which he promotes by the rewards and punishments of a future state: the disciple of Shaftsbury understands this, when he talks of the beauty of virtue and the love of order; and even the gloomy pupil of Hobbes, who resolves every thing into self-interest, must allow the existence of moral distinctions, so far as they influence the welfare of the species.

This universal morality appears to me to be the only rational and legal foundation of all human government; which ought to be nothing more than the application of this general rule to particular societies, and the enforcing it by civil establishments. If, therefore, it be granted, that the rights of a nation are nothing more than the rights of every man in it, and that all just and legal authority supposes a delegated power entrusted solely for the purpose of promoting the general good; it will appear evident, that every individual in the universe possesses certain rights, which no man can divest him of without injustice, unless he be guilty of some crime against society which exposes him to its vengeance.

Hence it follows, that whenever any nation attacks the rights and happiness of another nation, it deserves to find its own destruction in the attempt; and whenever any individual presumes to exercise this species of authority over his fellow-creatures, he must be a tyrant and an oppressor, whom it is permitted to destroy by every possible method. Whoever would deny this, must either deny the existence of right and justice entirely, and then it is in vain to argue; or must show some natural distinction, by which one part of the species is entitled to privileges from which the other is excluded.

The first supposition I have already considered, and the second is altogether absurd; for all alterations and distinctions among mankind solely arise from civil government, which has no other foundation than natural right; and natural right, for that reason, must be a principle of higher authority than civil government. Whenever, therefore, civil government tends to destroy and confound the rights of nature, it ceases to have any claim to our obedience; it becomes tyranny, corruption and despotism—a pest instead of a blessing—and subversive of every purpose for which it was instituted, or ought to be continued.

I am extremely fearful of expressing myself obscurely upon so abstract a subject, and must, therefore, though with the hazard of prolixity, attempt to place it in a different light. If you imagine any number of the human species assembled in some particular part of the globe, without any form of government established among them; it is evident, that these

individuals may either live together in such a manner as to produce mutual comfort and assistance, or may be the cause of continual misery to each other. No proposition in the mathematics can be investigated with more precision than the methods of conduct which have these contrary tendencies. Every disposition which inclines one man to assist another, or to avoid giving him offence and doing injury, must necessarily contribute to the common welfare; which would be perfect, were these dispositions cultivated in the greatest possible degree. On the contrary, every disposition, which, either by fraud or violence, tends to interrupt the personal security of individuals, or to deprive them of those things which they have acquired by their industry, is detrimental to the sum of happiness, and would, if carried to the greatest possible degree, entirely destroy that part of the species. In this view of things, morality arises from necessity, and comprehends certain rules of conduct founded upon the relations which beings endowed with particular faculties bear to each other; which rules, when properly observed, produce happiness to society; but when violated or neglected, as necessarily occasion misery as fire or pointed substances excite pain, when they act too forcibly upon the nerves.'

I hardly think that the greatest sceptic will deny these distinctions, founded upon facts as certain as the impression of any material substance upon our senses. If we now proceed a little farther, we shall find that the dispositions which produce these different kinds of conduct are by the moralists expressed by different names, and enforced by different motives, according to their several systems; while natural religion adds its sanctions, and inclines us to believe that the Deity himself, who has displayed so great an attention to the happiness and preservation of his creatures here, may extend his benevolence to another stage of existence, and compensate the evils sometimes suffered, unmeritedly, below. But, if we admit the evidence of revealed religion, the scheme of human things is perfect as it is august; the clouds which overshadowed our horizon are dissipated; and the gradual progress of triumphant virtue, through dangers and difficulties, to eternal happiness, is displayed and ascertained.

Having laid down these principles, it is easy to apply them to the particular case in question. Slavery is the absolute dependance of one man upon another; and is, therefore, as inconsistent with all ideas of justice, as despotism is with the rights of nature. It is a crime so monstrous against the human species, that all those who practise it deserve to be extirpated from the earth. It is no little, indirect attack upon the safety and happiness of our fellow-creatures, but one that boldly strikes at the foundations of all humanity and justice. Robbers invade the property, and murder the life of human beings; but he that holds another man in bondage subjects the whole sum of his existence to oppression, bereaves him of every hope, and is, therefore, more detestable than robber and assassin combined. But if no one who has common feeling will commit the outrage, no one of common sense will attempt to justify it by argument; since it would involve him in the grossest and most inextricable contradictions. He must allow that every man has by nature a right to life, yet that every other man has a right to rob him of it; that every man has an equal right to subsistence, yet that every other man may deprive him of all the means; and that while every individual is justified by nature and the Deity in pursuing his own happiness by all innocent methods, every other individual is equally justified in making him miserable. In short, it is reducing every thing to the state before described, a state of contest and desolation, from which right and justice are equally excluded.

Of you, Sir, who say that you have several slaves, I beg leave to ask, what are the rights you claim over them? Have you a right to torture them when they are guilty of no faults? Have you a right to kill them for your diversion? Is your power circumscribed by no bounds, and are there particular beings who bring into the world all the rights which you yourself can pretend to, but have so entirely lost them by being transported into another country, as to be beyond the protection both of Nature and of Nature's God?

Surely, Sir, unless I am deceived in you, you are a man both of honor and humanity. You start at the idea of wanton and unprovoked barbarity. You would not murder a slave to shew your dexterity, nor maim him to prove your strength; you would not dash an infant upon the ground to feed your dogs, even though he was black; nor would you rip up the belly of his mother while she was suckling him, to improve your skill in anatomy. You neither would, nor dare you commit actions like these; you feel that you have no right to do them; or, if you have, that every other man has an equal and superior right to destroy you like a beast of prey. What then are your rights? I anticipate your answer: You will feed and clothe your negroes; you will treat them with humanity and tenderness, and then you have a right to moderate advantage from their labors. All this, Sir, is well; and could I conceive you ever had acted in another manner, I should never have troubled you with this tedious letter.—While your negroes choose to stay with you upon these terms, this is a fair and equitable compact. But what if they choose to leave you, will you let them go? If you do, you are a man—a man of honor, sense and humanity; but, I fear, no West Indian.

Are there no whips, no gibbets, no punishments more dreadful than death itself for contumacious slaves? And what is this but claiming the detestable power I have mentioned above, that of making other beings miserable, for your interest or amusement? Who, Sir, gave you a title to their labors, or a right to confine them to loathsome drudgery?—And, if you have no right to this, what are the punishments you pretend to inflict but so many additional outrages? Has a robber a claim upon your life because you withhold your property? or a ravisher a right to a woman's blood because she defends her chastity? Either then prove your right to their labors, or acknowledge that the punishments inflicted

upon the fugitive slaves are a flagitious insult upon justice, humanity and common sense.

Permit me, here, to examine for a moment the nature of the title by which you claim an irredeemable property in the labors of your fellow-creatures. A wretch devoid of compassion and understanding, who calls himself a king of some part of Africa which suffers the calamity of being frequented by the Europeans, seizes his innocent subjects, or engages in an unnecessary war to furnish himself with prisoners;—these are loaded with chains, torn from all their comforts and connexions, and driven (like beasts to the slaughter-house) down to the sea shore, where the mild subjects of a christian government and a religious king are waiting to agree for the purchase, and to transport them to America. They are then thrust by hundreds into the infectious hold of a ship, in which the greater part frequently perishes by disease, and the rest are reserved to experience the candor and humanity of American patriots. If you have never yet considered it, pause here for a moment, and endeavor to impress upon your mind the feelings of a being full as sensible, and perhaps more innocent than you or I, which is thus torn in an instant from every thing that makes life agreeable;— mutual affection with mistress, lover or child; which, possessed of feelings more exquisite than European hearts can conceive, is separated for ever from all it loves; that, reduced to a depth of misery, which, even in the midst of freedom and affluence, would be sufficient to overwhelm the most hardened disposition, finds itself surrounded with unrelenting persecutors and un pitying enemies; wretches who, by long intercourse with misery, are grown callous to its agonies; who answer tears with taunts, and complaints with torture! I shudder at the horrors which I describe, and blush to be a human creature! Yet these are not the colors of description, but a recital of facts less strong than the reality. Can any man reflect upon these things without unutterable remorse? Can he know that, perhaps while he is wallowing in luxury and sensuality, there are beings whose existence he has embittered, mothers shrieking for their children, and children perishing for want of their mother's care; wretches who are frantic with rage, and shame, and desperation, or pining in all the agonies of a slow and painful death, who might have been at peace if he had never existed? Can any man know this, and hope for mercy, either from his fellow-creatures or his God? After the arrival of the surviving wretches in America, you well know in what manner they are transferred to their conscientious masters;—how they are brought into the market, naked, weeping, and in chains;—how one man dares to examine his fellow-creatures as he would do beasts, and bargain for their persons;—how all the most sacred duties, affections, and feelings of the human heart, are violated and insulted;—and thus you dare to call yourselves the masters of wretches whom you have acquired by fraud, and retain by violence! While I am tracing this picture,—which you and every man, who has been in the islands or southern colonies of America, knows to be true,—my astonishment exceeds even my horror, to find it possible that any one should seriously doubt whether an equitable title to hold human beings in bondage can be thus acquired.

With what face, Sir, can he who has never respected the rights of nature in another, pretend to claim them in his own favor? How dare the inhabitants of the southern colonies speak of privileges and justice? Is money of so much more importance than life? Or have the Americans shared the dispensing power of Saint Peter's successors, to excuse their own observance of those rules which they impose on others? If there be an object truly ridiculous in nature, it is an American patriot, signing resolutions of independency with the one hand, and with the other brandishing a whip over his affrighted slaves.

If men would be consistent, they must admit all the consequences of their own principles; and you and your countrymen are reduced to the dilemma of either acknowledging the rights of your negroes, or of surrendering your own. If there be certain natural and universal rights, as the Declarations of your Congress so repeatedly affirm, I wonder how the unfortunate Africans have incurred their forfeiture. Is it the antiquity, or the virtues, or the great qualities of the English-Americans which constitutes the difference, and entitles them to rights from which they totally exclude more than a fourth part of the species? Or do you choose to make use of that argument, which the great Montesquieu has thrown out as the severest ridicule, that they are black, and you white? that you have lank, long hair, while theirs is short and woolly?

The more attentively you consider this subject, the more clearly you will perceive; that every plea, which can be advanced upon it, is the plea of interest and tyranny combatting humanity and truth. You cannot hide from yourself, that every title you can allege must be a title founded upon fraud or violence, and supported by open and avowed injustice.—Can any thing be clearer, than that a man, who is born free, can never forfeit his inheritance by suffering oppression;—and that it is a contradiction to urge a purchase of what no one has a right to sell? Nor does it make any difference, whether the unfortunate victim pass from one to another, or from one to a thousand masters, any more than whether a nation be enslaved by a first, or by a hundred tyrant. There can be no prescription pleaded against truth and justice; and the continuance of the evil is so far from justifying, that it is an aggravation of the crime. What would you say to a man, in private life, who should pretend to be no thief, because he only bought stolen goods; or that he was no villain, because he did not forge a deed himself, but only paid another to do it, and enjoyed the estate by that honorable security? Yet this is literally the title which the Americans plead to the unfortunate inhabitants of Africa.

You do not go to Africa to buy, or steal your negroes; perhaps, because you are too lazy and luxurious: but you encourage an infamous and pitiless race to do it for you, and conscientiously receive the fruits of their crimes. You do not, merciful men, reduce your fellow-creatures to servitude! No—men of your independent spirits, that have taken up arms against the government that had protected and established them, rather than pay a tax of three-pence; that have laid the axe to the root of all human authority; and, instead of drinking the bitter waters of civil abuses and prescriptive obedience, have ascended to the living fountain of truth, jus-

tice and nature, would never make flagitious attempts upon the liberties and happiness of their brethren! Yes, gentlemen, men of liberal minds like yours, acknowledge all mankind to be their equals. Leave hereditary tyrants and their flatterers to make distinctions unknown to nature, and to degrade one part of the species to brutes, while they equal the other with gods!—You know that this is the greatest of all corruptions; and as such, you detest it:—What! are not all men naturally equal? And are not all civil distinctions, when legitimate, the permission of the people, and consequently subordinate to their power and control? Did you not carry the rights of men into the uncultivated desert and the howling wilderness? Not of Frenchmen, nor of Germans, nor of Englishmen, but of men;—men, the first and supreme distinction, who, created for freedom and happiness, transport to every soul the inherent prerogatives of their nature.

'Some n'est plus dans Rome, elle est partout on je suis. Yes, gentlemen, as you are no longer English, I hope you will please to be men; and, as such, admit the whole human species to a participation of your inalienable rights. You will not, therefore, drag a trembling wretch from his cottage and his family; you will not tear the child from the arms of his frantic mother, that they may drag on a loathsome existence in misery and chains; you will not make depredations upon your unoffending neighbors, and, after having spread desolation over a fertile country, reduce the innocent inhabitants to servitude. To do this, you must be monsters, worse, I fear, than the majority of the House of Commons and the English ministry.* But you are men tremblingly alive to all the rights and feelings of the kind, and I believe, some of you at least, are christians. Your worst actions, therefore, the greatest crimes to which even your enemies can object, are only that you are the voluntary causes of all these mischiefs! You, you encourage the English pirate to violate the laws of faith and hospitality, and stimulate him to new excesses by purchasing the fruits of his rapine. Your avarice is the torch of treachery and civil war, which desolates the shores of Africa, and shakes destruction on half the majestic species of man!

* Should this doubt appear absurd, the reader is desired to remember it was written in the year 1776.

LIBERIA HERALD.

The writer of the following communication uses pretty strong language; but it may serve to show in what light Mr Russworm's conversion is held by our colored people.

To the Editor of the Liberator.

Sir,—Notwithstanding the many preposterous arguments of colonizationists, and their wild and incoherent freaks, in support of their imaginary schemes of civilizing Africa, by draining the people of color from this their original and only home; notwithstanding the many hyperbolic accounts, which they so assiduously and conscientiously circulate about their manumission claim;—I never felt so indignant at any of their manoeuvres (for every step they take to facilitate their plans, tends but to expose their inconsistency) as at a piece of composition which appeared in the twelfth number of the 'Liberia Herald,' written by its editor John B. Russworm. This John B. Russworm is, I presume, to every one of us, by his ingratitude is but too deeply stamped on the minds of many, who have been requited in a manner, which neither time nor space will ever obliterate. After he subverted the pledge he made to his colored brethren, he left, to our satisfaction, his country—suffused with shame—and branded with the stigma of disgrace—to dwell in that land for which the tempter money caused him to avow his preference. He has resided there more than a year, publishing doubtless to the satisfaction of his supporters, their many glorious schemes, and eulogizing to the very skies the prosperity of his goodly LIBERIA. Not contented with lauding the retreat in which and about which he may flume with impunity, he has the audacity to reprove those with whom he played the traitor. Out of much he said, let this suffice as an example:

'Before God, we know of no other home for the man of color, of republican principles, than Africa. Has he no ambition? Is he dead to everything noble? Is he contented with his condition? Let him remain in Africa.'

To this we reply, that before God, we know of no surer burial place than Africa, for men of any color; that we will never envy John B. Russworm his ambition; and that we will pray God, that his notions of nobleness may never enter our hearts, and that we will not be contented with our condition, but will make it better in this our native home. R. Philadelphia, April 8th, 1831.

For the Liberator.

THE SLAVE.

Our sires who once in freedom's cause,
Their boasted freedom sought and won,
For deeds of glory gained applause,
When patriot feelings led them on,
And can their sons now speak with pride,
Of rights for which they bled and died,—
Or while the captive is oppressed,
Think of the wrongs since once redress'd?
Oh, surely they have quite forgot,
That bondage once had been their lot;
The sweets of freedom now they know,
They care not for the captive's woe,
The poor wronged slave can bear no part
In feelings dearest to his heart;
He cannot speak on freedom's side,
Nor dare he own a freeman's pride.
His soul is dark, as dark as night,
O'er which is shed no gleam of light;
A cloud of error, doubt and fear,
O'er him is ever hovering near;
And sad and hard his lot must be,
To know that he can ne'er be free;
To feel that his is doomed to be
A life, and death, of slavery.
But will not justice soon arise,
And plead the cause of the despaired?
For oh! my country, must it be,
That they still find a foe in thee?

Philadelphia.

To the Editor of the Liberator.

Sir—I desire to thank God, that He has given you a heart to plead the cause of the poor, oppressed Africans; and that you have raised your voice in the capital of New-England; and in their behalf, I heartily wish you "God speed;" and that you may plead the great and glorious cause with equal success; and that, in prosecuting the work, you may have united in you the boldness of the lion, the wisdom of the serpent, and the harmlessness of the dove. Two methods have been proposed to remedy the great evil of slavery in our country; one, the plan of colonizing; the other, of immediate and unconditional emancipation; both of which appear to me to be inadequate to the accomplishment of the object in view—the first, as being a tardy process, and not keeping pace with the increase of the colored population; and the second, highly dangerous, both to themselves and to the community, by letting loose, at once, an immense number, who, on account of their existing habits and mode of life, are by no means fitted for self-government, and the proper use and enjoyment of liberty, which had been long confined in the stable, or run themselves down, and run over others, who stood in their way, through excess of excited feelings and passions. Such being the condition, I would suggest for your consideration, whether it would not be highly desirable, and expedient, either to have a missionary society formed on purpose; or that the existing Domestic Missionary Society of the United States, should make the slaves in our country an object of special attention; and adopt and pursue the same methods in forming and establishing missions among them as are done in forming missions among the heathen in the East Indies, and elsewhere; or among the Aborigines of our country; and in establishing schools connected with the missions. It does appear to me, that much more may be expected from the establishment and well conducting of schools among the black population, where the rising generation may be trained in the habits of industry and virtue, and their minds imbued with religious and useful knowledge, than from any other source whatever. Nothing effectual could ever have been accomplished among the heathen, or the aborigines, without the establishment of schools. Since that plan has been adopted and pursued, the work of amelioration and evangelizing, which before languished, has greatly prospered. Let the same plan be pursued with regard to the slaves of our country, and, I am confident, with the blessing of God, it will succeed. There may be objections and obstacles, I know, but they are not insurmountable. In some States the slaveholders look with such a jealous eye upon all attempts to interfere with their slaves, that they would spurn at, and resist any effort to establish schools for their instruction and improvement. But there are other States, perhaps bordering on these, when such efforts would be well received and countenanced; and opportunities offered to make a fair experiment of the practicability and utility of the plan; and by exhibiting living proofs of its beneficial effects, recommend it to the adoption of those who would now reject it. Should the rising generation, among the slaves, be properly trained up and educated, there would be no danger arising from their emancipation; and there would be no need of sending them to Africa; or any other place, as there is ample room for them in the Southern States, at least for the present, in a climate, whose temperature is congenial with their constitutions; and where they could obtain an inheritance, and be admitted to the enjoyment of the rights and privileges of free citizens. A FRIEND TO EMANCIPATION.

Martinique.—On the 13th of February, an insurrection broke out in this island among the negroes, founded upon circumstances which all must admit justifiable, at least justifiable upon the same principle, which justify the late burst of public feeling in Belgium; and the present noble efforts of the Poles to be free. The Negroes, it seems, had heard of the revolution in France, the three great days in Paris, and the establishment of a Constitutional government, and sympathizing with their more fortunate brethren in Europe, they came at last to feel the generous flame themselves, and strove to work out their own freedom. Vain delusion! They might sympathise in joy or in sorrow with their white brethren; but the white man has no sympathy, no feeling, no kindness for the negro, and the chain that has held him so long, is riveted still stronger.—Rochester Dat. Ado.

Colonization.—A Washington paper demonstrates as clearly a "problem in Euclid," that the conveyance to Africa of the present annual increase of blacks, would, in less than thirty years, remove the whole.

Perhaps it may be so, and so it may be in time. But no resource within the power of the government, or of the Society, will cover the expenses of removing and colonizing that annual increase. The evil of a colored population, dwelling with, mixed and mixing with the whites, in the United States, is irremovable.—Boston Pallad.

West Indies.—A journal entitled the 'Watchman and Jamaica Free Press,' is established in Jamaica. It is conducted by free men of colour; and its object is to maintain the right to all the civil and political privileges of English subjects. This journal is the organ of the blacks, and when we consider that the population of Jamaica comprises, besides 300,000 slaves, 40,000 free negroes, most of them capable of reading and writing property is at least as considerable as that of the 13,000 resident whites, we may form an idea of the importance which this publication is calculated to obtain.

The editor of the Portland Athenaeum, commenting upon the insertion in the Address lately put forth by the New-York people of color.—If we wish to give our boys a classical education, they are refused admission into your colleges'—says:

'Is it indeed so? Is it indeed the truth, that in the enlightened state of New-York, the intelligent men who govern their colleges decline to receive pupils who are black? Or is it, that no precise law exists to their exclusion, but that the proud blood of the white aristocrat impels him to spurn from his company, his brother who is black? In either case, an indignant community and press, should blacken the characters of these skin-deep aristocrats. We are proud that such things are not so, and that a black man, a negro, has graduated at our first institution—and we know that his associates did not consider themselves degraded by his contact.'

Gradual Emancipation.—The following gentlemen (says the last Lexington, Ky. Luminary) wish their names added to the number of those persons who desire the formation of a society to prosecute the gradual abolition of slavery, in this state:

- James M'Call, of Rockcastle county.
- John Wallace, of Fayette county.
- Norman Porter, of Lexington.

By the recently published census of Chatham county, Ga. we learn that the city of Savannah contains 7308 inhabitants, of which 8620 are whites; and the population of the whole county is put down at 14,181, of which number 4228 are whites. The total number of inhabitants in 1824, was 16,702; of which 4902 were whites;—the increase in six years, 1827, of which 679 are whites.

ADA.

SLAVERY RECORD.

For the Liberator.

SLAVERY IN FLORIDA.

In the March number of the Genius of Universal Emancipation, I read a short extract from a pamphlet written by an inhabitant of Florida to advocate slavery. One might suppose that his opinions could only have been formed in a region where slavery was only a new form to be exhibited...

A day or two ago, talking with a gentleman on the subject of slavery, he said he had no idea of the subject he was on the spot. He was a short time since at a plantation about twenty miles from here, and had a good deal of conversation with the overseer, and this man boasted of the power he had over the slaves...

I questioned H., the woman hired by Mrs. —, if she could read or write. She said no, she wished she could; and complained much that she could not be taught to sew, but must all the time be hired out as a drudge...

The big Claudia, which arrived at Sag Harbor on the 30th ult. in thirty-five days from the Island of Ascension, reports that she left his Britannic Majesty's frigate Sybille, Commodore Collier, at that island. The officers of this ship stated that they had re-captured together thousands of slaves since they had been on the African station.

A horrible murder was recently perpetrated near Vienna, Maryland, upon the body of a Mrs. Inley, by a negro man and woman. They fractured her skull with an axe, broke one of her arms, and cut her throat! A desire of money, supposed to have been in her possession, was the cause which led to the deed.

The last Lynn Record contains some ingenious remarks on 'Capital Punishments,' lately delivered before the Lynn Lyceum, by Stephen Oliver. Mr. O. (with ourselves) believes these punishments to be unwholesome, and sustains his opinion in a creditable manner.

The fourth number of 'THE NATURALIST,' was issued promptly on the first of April, filled, as usual, with valuable matter, and accompanied with a good lithographic print. Its contents are—Mineralogy, Man, The Beaver, White Ants, The Vine, Silver.

'S.' 'A. O.' 'C. D. T.' 'Medora,' next week.

JUVENILE DEPARTMENT.

HARRY LEWINGTON.

'Beg, Frisk, beg!' said little Harry Lewington, as he sat in state on an inverted basket at his grandmother's door, discussing with great satisfaction, a huge porringer of bread and milk, whilst his sister Lucy, who had already despatched her breakfast, sat on the ground opposite to him, now twisting the long wreaths of the convolvulus-major into garlands—now throwing them away.

The little boy and the little dog were great friends, notwithstanding that Harry, in the wantonness of power, would sometimes tease and tantalise his poor pet more than a good boy should have done. Frisk loved him dearly, much better than he did Lucy, although Harry gave him every day part of her bread, without making him beg, and would tie pretty ribbons round his neck, and pat and stroke his rough head for half an hour together.

Poor Frisk had come as a stray dog to Aberleigh. If he could have told his own story, it would probably have been a very pitiful one, of distresses and wanderings, of hunger and foul weather, of kicks and cuffs, and all 'the spurns that patient merit of the unworthy takes.' Certain it is that he made his appearance at Mrs Lewington's door in a miserable plight, wet, dirty, and half-starved; that there he encountered Harry, who took an immediate fancy to him, and Mrs Lewington, who gave him off with the good-bye, and her grandson, Harry persisting in inviting him in, Mrs Lewington in frightening him away; that at first it ended in Frisk's being established as a sort of out-door pensioner, subsisting on odds and ends, stray bones, and cold potatoes, surreptitiously obtained for him by his young protector, and sleeping in the identical basket, which, turned topsy-turvy, afterwards served Harry for a 'nut.'

WANSLEY, the colored man, who, with the pirate Gibbs, lies in the New-York prison, under sentence of death, for conspiracy and murder, on being asked by the Judge, at the trial, if he had any thing to say why sentence should not be pronounced, replied: 'He would say a few words, though he did not know that it would be of any use to him. He said that he had always known that a difference of color produced a difference of treatment, where the white men were the judges. They had taken the blacks from their own country, and scattered them over their own settlements, and treated them differently from those of their own country. There was an antipathy, as he knew, entertained by the whites against colored persons. He had found it so, himself, both as regarded the witnesses and jurors in this case, and at the hands of the District Attorney.'

The Judge observed, in reply, that whatever evidence he might imagine existed, growing out of the distinctions of color, the utmost impartiality had been observed in his case.

We predicted, before we saw it, that our friend Mudge's Lynn Democrat was an entertaining sheet. We were right—it is so. In yesterday's paper, for instance, there is a very 'good-natured' scribble on colonization—and in reference to our humble self. But by far the most amusing part of it is, the grave rebuke given to the editor of the Record, for having altered his opinion relative to the American Colonization Society—as if a man cannot honestly change his mind! Why, friend Mudge, if we recollect aright, some time ago thou wast strenuously opposed to the Military Chieftain, and now thou art whirled around in a twinkling—for sound reasons, no doubt, which, like an independent man, thou dost wisely choose to keep to thyself—nevertheless, good bread-and-butter reasons, we dare say, and dost laud him to the skies; yea, thin'st every 'dab' of sycophancy is most 'outrageous,' inasmuch that the old General, 'in his sober moments, much as he enjoys a good dose of adulation, must discard it!'

Frisk loved him dearly, much better than he did Lucy, although Harry gave him every day part of her bread, without making him beg, and would tie pretty ribbons round his neck, and pat and stroke his rough head for half an hour together.

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peeped, half afraid, through the half-open door. But it was not Lucy's head; it was Frisk's—poor Frisk whom Harry had been teasing all the morning, and who now came into the room wagging his tail with a great gear in his mouth, jumped on the bed, and laid it in the little boy's hand.—Miss Mitford.

BOSTON,

SATURDAY, APRIL 16, 1831.

VANITY FAIRS.

Two or three Fairs have been lately held in this city for benevolent purposes; among them one by the Ladies of Christ Church for the benefit of their Sunday School! We entertain very decided objections to these trumpery exhibitions. Their origin, we fear, may often be found in a love of display, than in a philanthropic spirit; and their tendency is unquestionably pernicious. It has been truly remarked, that the only argument which can be used in favor of Fairs, is their success in extorting money from those who have not principle enough to produce good works.

A Ladies' Fair was held last year, in Baltimore, in behalf of the American Colonization Society. We were shocked, on entering the Assembly Rooms, to see a crowded audience busily engaged in gambling. As there were but few purchasers, a resort to raffleing was made, in order to dispose of the articles! The dashing young ladies who superintended the sales were the daughters of slaveholders, whose fiery was the product of slave labor. It is curious to remark, that many owners of slaves professed great philanthropy in the removal of our free colored population, who yet feel no compassion for the unhappy victims of their tyranny.

A SEVERE REPROOF.

WANSLEY, the colored man, who, with the pirate Gibbs, lies in the New-York prison, under sentence of death, for conspiracy and murder, on being asked by the Judge, at the trial, if he had any thing to say why sentence should not be pronounced, replied: 'He would say a few words, though he did not know that it would be of any use to him. He said that he had always known that a difference of color produced a difference of treatment, where the white men were the judges. They had taken the blacks from their own country, and scattered them over their own settlements, and treated them differently from those of their own country. There was an antipathy, as he knew, entertained by the whites against colored persons. He had found it so, himself, both as regarded the witnesses and jurors in this case, and at the hands of the District Attorney.'

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We want of room prevents our making some comments upon the communication of 'A Friend to Emancipation.' We may refer to it in our next paper.

At the last accounts, France was in an uproar. The cry of the people was, 'In our turn last July, we forgot the priests; but their hurry is now come, and we must not forget their acquaintance!' Accordingly they went to work, and soon demolished the archbishop's splendid palace, scarcely leaving one stone upon another. His hawks were first torn and kicked, and then thrown out of the windows. Bits of bands and rent sacerdotal garments were handed about and sold as trophies of the spoils for a few half-pence! The church of St Germain l'Auxerrois and the church of St Paul were attacked, and not an altar, nor a glass, nor a chair, nor a bit of wood was left! However, nobody perished. Tricolored flags had been hoisted upon many of the churches. The flames-de-lis had been removed from a variety of places. The French Senate was tumultuous—Members rushing in crowds from their seats to the tribune: facing with clinched fists the Ministers of the King; making, in fact, all kinds of violent gesticulations, and uttering the wildest exclamations.

The gale of last week was eminently destructive along our sea-board. On land, much damage was sustained in various places; and accounts of disasters on the water are multiplying upon us. Many vessels have been lost, with all their crews, and many more injured. The gale was apparently more severe in New-York than elsewhere. The shipping was driven together in a perilous manner. The Transcript says that a young woman, whilst crossing a road at East Cambridge, enveloped in a cloak and calash, was lifted from the ground by the force of the wind, and driven with such violence against a stone wall, as produced wounds and bruises of an alarming character.

IMPORTANT!—London dates to the 20th, and Liverpool to the 21st ult., have been received from New-York. The news from Poland is of the greatest interest. The first blow of importance appears to have been struck upon the 14th of Feb.—Gen. Dzwernicki is said to have been victorious at Serozyzn on the Vistula, and to have taken eleven pieces of cannon and 280 prisoners. On the 16th, he crossed the Vistula, and repulsed the advance of Prince Wurttemberg. On the 19th, Gen. Ciekli fought a battle at Goucho, in which the Russians are said to have lost 10,000 men. The Poles mustered 16,000, and the Russians 40,000 men. The former admit a loss of 2,000 killed. On the 20th, a fresh battle was commenced, and it is reported that Marshal Diebitsch was wounded. On the 21st and 22d, an armistice was agreed upon, for the purpose of burying the dead. The two last battles lasted 48 hours, and were to be resumed upon the conclusion of the armistice.

The Belgians decline choosing another King. 100,000 Austrians are marching on Piedmont.

SUNDAY LECTURES at LOWER JULIEN HALL. ABNER KNEELAND will lecture at the above place to-morrow (Sunday) morning, on the question, What are we to understand by the soul of man, and can it exist, or does it exist, independent of the body? Evening at half past 7 o'clock, on the question, What evidence is there of the coming of Christ, as mentioned Matt. xvi., 27, 28—in answer to Rev. Hosa Balou of Boston. April 16.

MARRIAGE. At Charleston, S. C., on the 29th ult., by the Rev. Dr Gadsden, Mr William Wall to Miss Mary Huger, after a courtship of 15 years and 6 months.

DEATHS. At Charleston, S. C., 1st inst., Mr Nelson Parker, aged 25 years and 7 months.

At New-York, on Tuesday last, Hon. James Lloyd, aged 61, formerly a distinguished merchant of Boston, and a Senator of the United States for this Commonwealth. He removed a few years since to Philadelphia, and was on a visit at New-York at the time of his death.

We mentioned, in our last number, the death of the Rev. Richard Allen, First Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, in Philadelphia. It is our painful duty, to-day, to insert the death of the Rev. THOMAS PAUL, (for many years Pastor of the African Baptist Church in Belknap street,) which took place in this city on Wednesday afternoon, at 5 o'clock. He died of consumption, aged 61 years. Few men ever deserved a higher eulogy than Mr Paul. In his manners, he was dignified, urbane and attractive;—his colloquial powers were exuberant and vigorous;—his intellect was assiduously cultivated, and produced the choicest fruits;—his influence was as beneficial as extensive. As a self-made man, (and, in the present age, every colored man, if made at all, must be self-made,) he was indeed a prodigy. His fame, as a preacher, is exceedingly prevalent; for his eloquence charmed the ear, and his piety commanded itself to his hearers. Though severely afflicted, by a long and distressing illness, he bore his sufferings with marvellous resignation; not a murmur escaped his lips; death came to him as an angel of light. And truly he might exclaim with an apostle, in view of his ministerial career, 'I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand—I have fought a good fight, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day.'

The funeral will take place to-morrow afternoon, from his late residence in George-street.

LITERARY.

THE VOICE OF THE WAVES.

BY MRS. HEKMAN. Answer, ye chiming Waves, That now in sunshine sweep! Speak to me, from thy hidden caves, Voice of the solemn Deep!

Hath man's lone spirit here With storms in battle striven? Where all is now so calmly clear, Hath anguish cried to Heaven?

Then the Sea's voice arose Like an earthquake's under tone: Moral! the strife of human woes - When hath not Nature known?

Here to the quivering mast Despair hath wildly clung, The shriek upon the wind hath past, The midnight sky hath rung.

And the youthful and the brave With their beauty and renown, To the hollow chambers of the wave In darkness have gone down.

Alas! thou haughty Deep! The strong, the sounding far! My heart before thee dies - I weep To think on what we are!

MISCELLANEOUS.

RESULTS OF THE LATE CENSUS.

Table with columns for State/Territory, Free white persons, Free Col'd Slaves. Includes Maine, New-Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, North-Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Alabama, Louisiana, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, District Columbia, Florida.

On comparing the above returns with the result of the census of 1820, it appears that the increase of the population of the United States, during the last ten years, is about 3,223,000, and the rate of increase about 33.6 per cent.

WEIGHT OF TESTIMONY.

In the due administration of justice, how important is direct testimony - as may be inferred from the following statement of a case that not long since had place in the goodly city of New-York.

ELECTION SCENE.

The following amusing account of a scene at the late election, is from the New-Bedford Mercury. In the election of a Representative to Congress, on Monday last, more than usual interest was excited, and a larger number of voters came to the polls than ever before perhaps had been collected on a like occasion in this town.

An advertisement in the New-Orleans Courier of 2d inst. publishes an 'Order of the Day' that the Louisiana Legion will start out on Sunday, March 6, for a sham fight, if the weather permits.

BEAUTIFUL EXTRACT.

There is a truly sublime sentiment, elegantly and feelingly expressed, in the following extract from a speech delivered by Benjamin Watkins Leigh, before the House of Delegates of Virginia, when his right to a seat in that body was contested.

He knew it was supposed by many that his political life, or death, depended upon this decision, and that the consideration swayed his mind at a time when he might have offered for Richmond. But, said Mr Leigh, I know perfectly well, that my political life depends on no such thing.

EXPERIMENTS OF THE INDIANS TO PROVE WHETHER THE SPANIARDS WERE MORTAL.

The poor Indians soon found the difference between the Spaniards as men, and the Spaniards as masters. They were driven to despair by the heavy tasks imposed upon them; for to their free spirits and indolent habits, restraint and labor were worse than death.

EXPEDITION.

A traveller in one of the steam carriages between Liverpool and Manchester gives the following graphic sketch of his journey:

'With such a noble consort, therefore, as the Meteor, we set out on our journey, "Like proud Apollo in his glittering car," and in a little more than an hour, found ourselves at Manchester - distant from Liverpool, as I have before stated, thirty-two miles.

IRA ALLEN WYMAN AND BETSEY CARR WYMAN.

Of Stockbridge, Vt. have advertised in the Woodstock Observer, that they were married last August, but cannot live quietly together; and caution all persons against harboring or trusting either on the account of the other.

The Abbe Mariti in his travels through Egypt, Palestine, and Cyprus, gives us the origin of the phoenix. He says, the palm tree, from its superior beauty and usefulness, is called the phoenix, and that when they cut down one of these they burn the stump, from the ashes of which arises a vigorous young shoot.

The black princes of Africa estimate their power and greatness by the number of wives they possess. His majesty, the king of Yarriba, boasted to Captain Clapperton, that his wives, linked hand in hand, would reach entirely across his kingdom.

MORAL.

THE SABBATH DAY.

Faint prototype of heaven, blest Sabbath Day! Emblem of an eternal rest to come; Emancipator from vile Mammon's sway; At whose approach a noisy world is dumb; Unerring regulator; sacred pledge; Best friend and soother of the poor and weak; A resting place in our drear pilgrimage; Where soul and body may refreshment seek...

WEEP NOT AROUND MY BIER.

Weep not around my bier, When I am dead; Nor shed the friendly tear Upon my head. The cold and lifeless clay Heeds not thy sigh, Nor will it wipe the tear That dims thine eye.

Raise not the coffin's lid To spy farewell, Nor start when thou shalt hear My funeral knell.

Pass quickly by my grave, When I am there, Lest thou should'st sigh for me, Or shed a tear.

Weep not upon the mound, Where I shall rest; Nor strew wild flowers around Upon my breast.

The soul which thou hast lov'd Will not be there: It will have plum'd its wings, And soar'd afar.

Then weep not o'er my chains, When I am free, When I have left my cell, And gained my liberty.

Upward, in yonder sky, I'll find my home; And wait, in realms of light, For thee to come.

Call me not back to earth, To leave my crown; I've fought with sin and hell - The victory's won.

'Priestcraft Exposed.' - It is said that Mr Coley, who formerly published this virulent work, has become a subject of the revival of religion at Lockport. May he resemble Paul as much in active benevolence as he did Saul of Tarsus, in being exceedingly mad against the saints, and persecuting them even to strange cities. His past celebrity may now be of service to the church of God; and he to whom much has been forgiven should love much.

A CARD. FRANCIS WILES.

RESPECTFULLY informs his friends and the public generally, that his House, No. 115, Church-street, is still open for the accommodation of genteel persons of color with BOARDING AND LODGING.

THE LIBERATOR.

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