

# THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. II.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND ISAAC KNAPP, PUBLISHERS.

NO. 18.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

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

[SATURDAY, APRIL 14, 1832.]

THE LIBERATOR  
IS PUBLISHED WEEKLY  
AT NO. 11, MERCHANTS' HALL.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

TERMS.

Two Dollars per annum, payable in advance.  
Agents allowed every sixth copy.  
All letters and communications, excepting  
from Agents, must be POST PAID.

THE LIBERATOR.

For it is not, no, Athenians! it is not possible to found a lasting power upon injustice, perjury, and treachery. These may perhaps succeed for once, and borrow awhile from hope a gay and flourishing appearance. But time betrays their weakness, and they fall into ruin of themselves. For as in structures of every kind, the lower parts should have the greatest firmness, so the grounds and principles of actions should be just and true.—LELAND'S DEMOSTHENES, Orat. II.

SLAVERY AND THE MEANS OF ITS REMOVAL.

An Address pronounced at the request of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society on the evening of March 26, 1832. By ROBERT B. HALL.

It is our high privilege to live in the most favored part of a land, pre-eminently distinguished by the special smiles of Heaven. Living under a government, the mildest and most equitable upon earth; enjoying all the rights and immunities of free citizens; and unconstrained in the formation and expressions of our opinions; it is natural, as well as proper, that we should feel for the woes and sufferings of our fellow men. We have learned to prize liberty by enjoying its fruits; and when the tidings reach our ears from foreign lands, that a portion of our fellow men are striving to obtain that inestimable blessing, even though it should be at the expense of thousands of lives, our hearts exult, and all our best sympathies are called into action. When we hear the shaking among the nations, when we see the thrones of despots tottering to their foundations and crumbling to decay, even though the tocsin of war is thundering in our ears, and seas of blood are rolling before our eyes, we rejoice, we sympathize, we assist. Wherever oppression is exercised, there are the sympathies of the American. Whenever the bright banner of freedom is unfurled, then is the American awake and active.

The principle which prompts these ardent, generous feelings, is the love of Liberty; and far, very far distant be the day, when it shall be extinguished in the American bosom. Let it not be absent, during the discussions of this evening.

I come to tell you a tale to night, which should make your hearts weep blood. In this boasted land of freedom and of blessedness, amongst a people proverbial for the love of liberty, with their permission and countenance, there are at this moment more than two millions of human beings pining under the galling yoke of Slavery. Yes, in this favored land, there are those who are deprived of the greatest boon of Heaven to men; bought and sold like beasts, torn by the scourge, and lacerated by the cart whip. Men who are made in the image of God, are here bent under the heavy weight of the iron chain,—here their limbs are manacled, and here their minds are fettered in the bondage of ignorance, which they cannot remedy or avoid. In this land, too, there are females with tender sensibilities, made from the same blood, and possessing kindred feeling with ourselves, claimed as the chattels of men, and abused in the most flagrant and shameful manner. And all this is not forbidden, nor is it merely winked at, by our government; it is directly encouraged, and powerfully supported.

There are, moreover, those among us, who apologize for this oppression, and there are those who justify and defend it. Strange, indeed, but nevertheless true. And when the horrible system which perpetrates these enormities is disapproved of, it is, in a majority of instances, merely disapproved, without feeling, and often without examination. I come before you this evening, to endeavor to delineate to you the magnitude of the crime of Slavery, to enlist your sympathies and efforts in its removal, and to state what are believed, by the Society I have the honor to address, to be the most just and efficient means to accomplish its extirpation from the land. I shall speak plainly; and should any expressions of seeming harshness be detected; it will be borne in mind, that I am addressing you on a subject, upon which it is impossible to speak with that coolness which is calculated to tell the conscience, and gloss over the crime. I do not name the propositions which I shall advance, as opinions merely, but as principles which cannot be denied, and which may not be concealed, without trifling with the immutable principles of truth, and the cause of justice and

philanthropy. With these remarks, I would respectfully solicit your candid consideration of the subject of Slavery, and the means of its removal, reminding you that it is a subject of unspeakable importance, and as I hope to show you, one in which we are all deeply interested.

When we look at Slavery as it exists in the world, and especially in our own country, we, who are born and brought up in New-England, are accustomed from our early education to look upon it as an evil, and too often as a misfortune; and having blessed God that we are not troubled with it, heave a sigh, and dismiss the matter from our thoughts. Many of us who consider the matter a little more deeply, are made to believe, that slavery is not so bad a thing as has been represented. We are told that the slaves are happy, are comfortably clothed and lodged, kindly treated, and on the whole, are as well off, as the laboring classes among us; certainly, they are as pleasantly situated as the free blacks in our midst; and are thus led to conclude that although it may be well to abolish it, no great evil will ensue, if this should not take place in our day. Thus, by the sophistry and cunning of interested slaveholders, we are beguiled of that deep sense, which we ought always to possess, of the outrage upon humanity which is constantly practised, in retaining from the slave his birthright—Liberty. But without detailing to you the griefs of the slave, without rehearsing the sad tale of his sorrows and distresses, I shall proceed to show that in at least two all important particulars, slavery is a great crime, a moral and political evil.

First, then, the retaining of a human being in bondage, is contrary to the principles of the christian religion which we as a nation profess.

Singular as it may appear, this proposition is doubted or denied by many, who, in other things, act and reason correctly. It would be very easy to show that the slaveholder in depriving the slave and his offspring of liberty, and in exercising his tyrannical government over them; by his own act, and by occasioning acts of wickedness in the bondsman, breaks every one of the laws of God, as epitomised in what is termed the moral law. This I shall not now stop to prove. I trust I shall not be controverted when I assert, that 'man cannot hold property in man.' The supposition is self-evident; and if there are any who deny it, they will be obliged to admit, that if the white man can hold property in the black man, the black man can by an equal right hold property in the white man. No man can make himself the slave of another. How then, consistently with justice and right, can another be entitled to make his fellow creature a slave? Nothing less than an express warrant from Heaven can justify a man in claiming or keeping another as his property. Unless God himself, whose property we all are, shall give authority to one of his subjects to hold another as his own, the presumptuous wretch who shall dare to assume this right, is guilty of direct robbery of his Sovereign and his God. I shall not stop to prove to you that slavery is inconsistent with justice, mercy, kindness, and love to man, all of which are duties enjoined by the gospel; for I do not think it will at once be admitted. It will not be pretended that the conduct of the slaveholder, in depriving his victim of his natural rights, harmonises with that fundamental rule of Christianity,—'Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.'

It may be said, however, that those who hold slaves at the present day, are suffering under an evil entailed upon them, and that they are not guilty, as all admit the original kidnappers were. Why not? If it is unlawful, wicked, and unchristian, if it is a violation of the laws of God, to steal a man, and force him into bondage; is it not just as wicked, and just as unchristian, to retain him in that state, depriving him of his rights, however he may have been obtained? Are not his rights withheld? Is not something belonging to him kept back? Do you not consider the receiver of stolen goods, and he who places another's property beyond his reach, equally culpable with the prowling thief? The crime is as great in the one case as in the other, and the just judgment of heaven will overtake the one as soon as the other.

In discussing this part of the subject, the question may arise, in the minds of some—how can these principles be reconciled with the permission given by Jehovah in olden time, to his chosen people, to hold slaves? In reply I would observe, that if the American slaveholder could show a license from Jehovah to hold slaves at the present time, then the matter would end. But every one knows that this cannot be done. It cannot be denied, that a certain kind of slavery was permitted under the old dispensation; but it was a far different bondage from that which the poor negro suffers in our southern states. But it seems to me, that unless the express permission

of the Almighty, to execute oppression, and to tyrannize over our fellow men, can be pleaded in this case, it should be the part of candor, and of reason to abandon so fallacious a plea. It will be conceded, also, that slavery is not, in precise words, forbidden in the New Testament. But I would ask, if the spirit of that blessed volume does not every where condemn even the shadow of oppression? There are many practices common among men, which are undoubtedly wicked and hateful in the sight of Heaven; and yet by name they are not forbidden; but no man is considered as excusable in their commission, for that reason. But the argument need not rest here. There are numerous passages in the word of God, which are equivalent to a prohibition of this heinous sin. It is said in those holy oracles, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself; and we are informed, that each individual of the human species is our neighbor. Can love to our neighbor be manifested, by holding him in slavery and treating him as a brute? Our Saviour's golden rule, before referred to, reprobates the abomination. The great Apostle of the Gentiles tells those who are masters, 'to give unto their servants that which is just and equal'—to forbear threatening; 'knowing that their master is in heaven, and that there is no respect of persons with him.' But what is there in these requisitions consonant with American slavery? What slave receives that which is just and equal? What master is there, who forbears threatening, knowing that his master is in heaven? We are taught also in the same scriptures which are appealed to, to support this system, that we are all on a level in the sight of God—all on a level, in regard to the benefits of the Saviour's death. How then can any dream of the sinlessness of keeping those, for whom Christ died, in a worse than Egyptian bondage? Does not the whole spirit of Christianity rather, militate against the objection, and plainly and pointedly teach the law of kindness and brotherly love?

Before disposing of this part of the subject, I will briefly notice one other objection, which has had weight with many minds. It has been urged, that many pious, zealous Christians have held slaves; and this has been considered as evidence that slaveholding was consistent with Christianity. Now it is very possible, that many calling themselves Christians have held their fellow men in bondage; nay more, it is possible, that some who were really Christians, have done it ignorantly. But is this any evidence of Christianity? Is it not rather true, that no real Christian can continue in the constant practice of any known sin? Were we to admit that slaveholding is consistent with Christianity, we should virtually be saying, that justice is no part of religion, and that injustice and oppression are not crimes. We should declare, that faith without works is not dead. Can the principles of justice, mercy and truth be the rule of life to the slaveholder? Does he follow the golden rule? Does he obey Christ? Assuredly not. The man who professes Christianity, and yet deals in the bodies and souls of his fellow men, has by far the greater claim to the appellation of hypocrite, than he can have to that of Christian. As well might you attempt to harmonize the hideous discord of the pit, with the ravishing melody of the celestial choir, as to blend the characters of the slaveholder and the Christian. Enough has now been said, to convince reasonable men that slavery is a crime, utterly inconsistent with the Christian religion. If this is so, it is a great moral evil, calling for immediate reformation and immediate cure. We come now to the next proposition, viz.:

Slavery is inconsistent with the spirit of our free republican institutions.

The fundamental principles upon which our government is built, as expressed in the Declaration of Independence, are, 'that all men are born equal, endowed with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' The constitutions of almost all the States in the Union recognised the same principles. These principles lay at the foundation of every free and happy government; and wherever they are not acknowledged and practised upon, there human nature suffers wrong, and there the dearest rights of man are trampled in the dust. But what sort of commentary is our practice as a nation upon that instrument, which, under God, has been the fruitful source of unnumbered blessings to us? Do we not controvert and deny it, by the oppression exercised among us towards two millions of our fellow citizens? Strange inconsistency! at one moment we laud and extol the principle of equality, and anon we apologize for, and defend a system, which denies and derides it. In another point of view it may clearly be seen, that slavery is inconsistent with republicanism. It creates and fosters an aristocratical state of society. Wherever this system exists, giving one man

power over the persons and actions of others, there are as many petty tyrants, as there are masters. The command of the master is a law, which, however unreasonable it may be, must be obeyed, or the hapless victim must suffer a punishment, which among us is considered too ignominious to be administered to the vilest malefactor, even by the civil arm. The master riots on the fruits of the toil of his poor bondsmen, enjoying the greatest luxuries at his ease without any exertion or care on his part; and the consequence is, that he becomes indolent, arrogant, selfish and wilful. Accustomed to unlimited control at home, like a spoiled child, he imagines he can govern every where else. As his commands are submissively obeyed by his slaves, he supposes that the expression of his opinion, or the promulgation of his desire or determination, will be sufficient to accomplish his object whenever he chooses to make his sentiments known. Hence that spirit of insubordination, which is constantly manifested in the southern states, and the prevalence of opinions in that quarter, subversive alike of morality and of a free government. It is a well known fact, derived from history, that whenever any nation becomes luxurious, that then the time of its destruction is nigh at hand. To cite one instance—Rome, in her first estate, simple, frugal, and industrious, speedily rose to eminence and renown, and became the mistress of the world. Afterwards, as she increased in riches, pomp and splendor, her citizens revelling in the most luxurious, and consequently, in the most enervating practices, she as rapidly decreased in power and in reputation, until her glory was departed, and she became an easy prey to her enemies. So in this happy republic, the same gangrene is fastening upon us, which caused the destruction of that flourishing empire; and unless we are careful to remove it, at no distant day the sad fate of Rome will be ours; and in our fall, the light of the world will be put out, the hope of all nations forever extinguished. Slavery is a promoter of this very luxuriance, tending to produce all those disastrous consequences which slowly, but inevitably, follow such a state of society. In this pernicious system, I see the seeds of our destruction as a nation. I view it as a moral poison, affecting the whole body politic, working only to corrupt, and to destroy.

But I am asked, what have we of New-England to do with this subject? I will detain you but a moment while I attempt to show, how much we are interested, and how deeply we are guilty. In the first place, then, and with shame I acknowledge it, we, New-Englanders, have contributed greatly to this mass of wretchedness. While the law permitted, it was our ships, manned with our own brethren, which were seen in greatest abundance along the shores of Africa, to bring away her sons and daughters, and to condemn them to servitude and chains. We, for hire, have ministered to the insatiable desires of the planter—our very cities are adorned with the fruits of this nefarious traffic. And are we not interested in the removal of the very cause we assisted to create? Are we not responsible for some portion of its guilt?

But we are interested and guilty in another way. We not only assisted to establish this system, but we do now, even now, contribute to its support. By our constitutional compact, we are pledged to the support of a congress, having power to call forth the militia to suppress insurrection. We contribute largely to the support of an army, which congress has power, at any time, to command to keep the slaves in subjection; and on a recent occasion, the garrison of Fort Independence, in our very harbor, were ordered southward to assist in perpetrating the iniquitous system. Here do not understand me to approve of insurrection or of bloodshed. By no means. I deprecate such events as much as any one; and these facts are only brought to view, as illustrations of the position I have assumed. New-England's bayonets are the constant trust of the slaveholder. He knows that if an insurrection occurs, that all our physical power is at his command; he rests upon this, in his iniquity, and he sleeps secure. We support the system also, by furnishing a market for the productions of slave labor, thus bribing the planter to retain his slaves. And by our listlessness in the cause, and our inactivity, by not using the powers in our possession to overthrow the evil, we are greatly guilty. We have virtually upheld and supported the sin. I do not mean by this that we should take up our arms, and march against the south and compel them by the bayonet to release the slaves; far from it—they are our brethren, and God forbid, that we should spill their blood! And Heaven forgive the man who can hear of such a proposal without horror and indignation! But I do mean, that we should create such a public opinion against the system, that the Planter can remain no longer

easy in his sins. If you ask then, how the monstrous evil can be remedied, you have my answer, by the force of public opinion. By public opinion sitting strongly against this abomination. By public opinion the most effectual, and indeed the only weapon, which can be used in these free and happy states. Let the public be disabused of their prejudices against the blacks, let a correct moral sentiment prevail extensively in our land concerning this subject, and the desired end is accomplished. Slaveholding will become unpopular, it will be considered infamous to persevere in it, and the planter must liberate his slaves. But it is vastly important that the public opinion which is formed, should be correct, and consistent with truth and justice. What then should be the principles upon which this public sentiment should be based? I answer unhesitatingly, the principles of Immediate Emancipation.

Perhaps this doctrine is less understood, and has been the theme of more misrepresentation, than any single theory ever broached in this or any other country. When put in practice, it does not, as is supposed, inevitably lead to bloodshed and to war, but its effects are as diverse from this, as two extremes can possibly be. Its meaning is simply this, and it is a question of right solely, that the Planter should instantly relinquish his pretended right of property in his slave; a right which God never gave him, and which he can obtain in no other way. That the personal liberty of the slave should be no longer abridged, and that he should no longer be considered as a subject of sale. That he should no longer be defrauded of the remuneration due to his labor. Is there any thing in these principles so heinous, so much to be dreaded? It has been observed before, we hold that man cannot possess property in man, and that this is a self-evident principle. It follows then as a necessary consequence, that if this principle is violated, a crime is committed, and an evil is introduced. If we believe then that slavery is an evil, why should we delay in abolishing it? If it is a sin and a crime, the commands of God imperatively demand its immediate relinquishment. It is admitted by all candid and reasonable men that slavery ought, and will be abolished, sooner or later; but does not every principle that requires that it should be abolished at all, prove that it ought to be abolished now? If slavery is an evil, if it is a crime, we have no right to transmit it to generations yet to come. What right have we to entail upon our offspring that, which will assuredly bring down upon them the withering frown and the heavy curse of Almighty God, even if we are so happy as to escape it? Our Saviour has given us a rule of action which will immediately decide the question of duty in the case before us. Hear ye him. 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.' Let us make the application to ourselves. Suppose your own kindred—the wife of your bosom—the offspring of your mutual love—your parent—your brother—or your sister—pining under the galling chain—scourged at their daily task—compelled to labor for another's profit—what would your ideas of duty be in such circumstances? Reverse the case—there are the wives, the children, the parents, brothers, sisters of the black man suffering in a cruel bondage, miseries the half of which can not be told; and he has the same feelings and the same natural sensibilities which you have. On the supposition that this was your unhappy condition, you would hear of nothing less, or else, than that such oppression and tyranny should instantly cease. Let then your sympathies and your sense of duty, act in the case of these your brethren, as in your own; for they are your brethren, and in the sight of God there is no respect of persons. The course proposed then, is plainly the path of duty—as accountable creatures, no consideration can take precedence of this. Act then as duty dictates, and leave the event with God.

I shall next consider the principal objections which have come to knowledge against this doctrine, and attempt their refutation. First then it is urged, 'that the emancipated slaves will be a source of great danger to the whites.' Allow me to remark, before we proceed in the examination of the objection, that the burden of proof rests upon the objector, and not upon the friends of Abolition. It is for him to show that the evils feared will take place. But from what can it be inferred? From the conduct of the slaves here before? When they have arisen in arms, it has been to obtain the very blessing which we propose to give them. When they have it in possession, will the cause of insurrection still exist? Even if they should rise in arms, which, in my view, is granting an absurdity, are we not in possession of the same means of defence, wealth, arms, men, which we ever had? How easily has every insurrection which has yet taken place,

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been subdued. Do we find anything in the enjoyment of liberty, which urges us to deeds of blood and war? The idea is manifestly absurd. How then can it be supposed, that the poor slave, relieved from the tyranny of his master, the shackles fallen from his limbs, and his whole soul enraptured at the prospect of enjoying his rights, looking on his wife and family as those of a free man, will desire to murder those whom he considers as his benefactors? Should the slaves after their emancipation, become troublesome, indolent, or vicious, it is the duty of the government to enact laws adequate to the necessity of the case, and it has power to enforce those laws. We contend for nothing else but the freedom of the slave from personal bondage—not freedom from law. Give him this, and as a subject of government such laws may be made for controlling him as seem to be just and proper. You may then govern him without depriving him of his dearest rights. But it is said, that the negroes know not how to prize their freedom, and the circumstances of Hayti are appealed to, to support this declaration. But what occasioned the terrible scenes enacted in St. Domingo? Was all that bloodshed and woe occasioned by the slaves in consequence of emancipation? No! the fact is far otherwise. White men instigated them against other white men to serve their own ambitious and wicked purposes. They imitated only the atrocities which the whites committed upon each other, and they executed the commands of their leaders. Behold the Haytiens at the present time. What more orderly, industrious, virtuous and prosperous nation is there on the foot-stool of God, enjoying only equal advantages? It seems to me that if any evidence can be gathered from their situation, it is wholly on the side of the friends of Emancipation. But should the most horrible results, which the most timid slaveholder ever conceived, be fully realized, the duty in the case is plain, and must be performed under any circumstances. Nor should we give ear to their fantasies which are evidently the offspring of a guilty conscience. On no consideration should they be suffered to seduce us from the path of duty.

Again, it is said, 'the slaves will be miserable if emancipated at once.' If the slaves were to be turned upon the world, without any means of support, and ignorant of any method whereby they might make themselves comfortable and happy, their condition would be distressing indeed. But is this a consequence inseparable from emancipation? In the event of emancipation, the plantations upon which the slaves are now employed, must employ as many hands to carry them on, as now. The labor must be performed by the blacks, and the blacks must labor also in order to support life, and to obtain the means for the comfortable maintenance of their families. If free, they will receive a reward for this labor, sufficient for these purposes; or in case they refuse to support themselves, they will come under the jurisdiction of the laws, as vagrants and vagabonds, and be compelled to labor for their own subsistence. Picture to yourselves, some unfortunate black man, who, having labored as a slave from morning's dawn to night—ill-treated—worse fed, and unremunerated, returns to his wife and children, uncertain whether they still remain to comfort him and to soothe his sorrows, or whether they have been sold by his cruel master to some other tyrant. Mark his filtering step, by reason of his cruel treatment, and the painful anxiety of his care worn countenance—his lacerated back, torn by the driver's lash, and his heavy heart bursting with grief, without the power to better his condition either by entreaties or by force. See him enter his wretched hovel, scarce a protection from the cold dews of heaven; there to stretch his aching limbs on some miserable bed, perchance the ground, to weep away the night, and to awake early to a repetition of the same injuries, the same sorrows, and the same hard fare, and say whether any condition is not preferable to this. Give him his freedom, and mark the change. Though he should be obliged to labor hard for his daily bread, yet he is subject to none of their abuses. He has an inducement to labor in the prospect of reward, and in the consciousness that he is laboring for his own comfort, and that of his family. He is contented, for he is free. A thousand privations are welcome, for he is free. Freedom, long desired freedom sweetens the cup of bitterness, and turns his very sorrows into joy.

Another objection is 'That it is unjust to take away the property of the planter without compensation.' This objection would be very valid, if it could by any means be shown that the slaves are the property of their masters. But how absurd the idea. It has been shown repeatedly on this occasion, and it is generally admitted that except as a legal punishment for some crime, the liberty of man is inviolable; in other words, that man cannot have property in man. It is a consideration of no importance whatever how the planter acquired possession of his slave, whether by purchase or inheritance. The tenure is unfounded, and contrary to all correct ideas of right. It is opposed to nature, to religion, and to reason. If he purchased his slave, he purchased that which he knew, or might have known, was illegally and unjustly obtained. If he inherited him, the case is not changed, for his ancestors had no right to him; and if he acquired him by stealing him from his native country, he cannot pretend any righteous title, and the law makes him a pirate and a felon. And I will remark in this place, that if the law makes it a felony, punishable with death, to obtain a slave from his native country, there is no good reason why it should not be considered an equal crime to transfer the slave to another, and should not be visited with the same tremendous punishment. If the planter then, has no just right of property in the slave, what claim can he have to compensation if his slave is taken from him? It would be only taking away that which is not his, nor ever can be. Nor can the slaveholder ask for compensation on the plea that

he was ignorant of the guilt and unlawfulness of embarking his property in slaves. In a christian country like this, with so many means of moral and religious education, he might have known the utter enormity of the crime, and is inexcusable for not improving the means of knowledge within his reach. And no planter who has been in possession of his slaves in the present enlightened age, could have embarked in the traffic, without knowing that it was the intention of all the wise and good speedily to put an end to the nefarious system. But allowing that the slaves are the property of the planters, they cannot reasonably claim any compensation. They have been gaining by the system we wish to abolish. The slave has repaid his master twenty times over the price of his liberty. If the system were not profitable, would they not wish to abolish it? Sure am I, that they are not in the exercise of such ardent desires to promote the best interest of their slaves, as to sacrifice their own wealth to their convenience. But when we talk of compensation, is there no other quarter from which it is demanded? Is it not due first to the suffering slave? Think of the many long and painful years of unrequited toil—think of the wrongs, the sufferings, the privations he has endured; think of the stripes, the debasement, and the long black catalogue of unnumbered evils with which he has been visited, and then decide who is entitled to compensation. Satisfy the just claims of the slave first, and then if your coffers are not exhausted, and your conscience will permit, the oppressor may be compensated; but not till then. One word more: the very idea of compensation supposes that some loss has been sustained. But it may be made to appear, that in the event of emancipation, not only there will be no loss to the planter, but eventually great gain; and this is demonstrable from what is known of the comparative value of slave and free labor, and also from the advantages arising from the relation of master and servant, in distinction from the evils attendant on the connection of tyrant and slave. And here I will adduce the testimony of several distinguished men, to show the vast superiority of free labor over that wrung from the miserable slave. Says Mr. Jefferson in his 'Notes on Virginia,' speaking of slavery, 'It has reduced the value of land in Virginia to little more than one fourth of what it is in Pennsylvania.' Mr. Pitt, in the debate on the slave trade, in the British legislature, 1792, uses the following language: 'If you restore to this degraded race the true feelings of men; if you take them out of the level of brutes, and place them on a level with the rest of the human species, they will then work with that energy which is natural to men, and their labor will be productive in a thousand ways above what it has been, as the labor of a man is always more productive than that of a mere brute.' In the same speech, Mr. Pitt quotes, from the answer of the Assembly of Grenada to the queries sent out to them by the privy council of Great Britain regarding the labor of the negroes, these words: 'Though the negroes are allowed the afternoon of only one day in the week, they will do as much work in that afternoon when employed for their own benefit, as in the whole day when employed in their master's service.' 'This,' says Mr. Pitt, 'is their own account. If you will believe the planters, if you will believe the legislature of the Islands, the productive labor of the Colonies would, in case the negroes worked as free laborers instead of slaves, be literally doubled. Half the present laborers, on this supposition, would suffice for the whole cultivation of our Islands on the present scale.' Though a vast amount of evidence derived from actual experiment might be placed before you, yet I will weary you only with the following sentiments of our own Dr. Morse, the distinguished Geographer. He says: 'From repeated and accurate calculations, it has been found that the expense of maintaining a slave, if we include the purchase money, is much greater than that of maintaining a free man; and the labor of a free man, influenced by the powerful motive of gain, is at least twice as profitable to the employer as that of a slave.' The testimony here adduced will be sufficient to convince you that free labor is more productive to the planter than slave labor, and consequently it is really for the interest of the planter, that the principles we have advocated should prevail. It may be shown also, that the effects of a system of free labor are infinitely more salutary on the morals and happiness of society, by how much the more it is superior to that system which violently extorts from the injured slave his daily toil. We are told in the next place, 'That immediate emancipation is inexpedient.' This question of expediency or inexpediency, must be decided only by what appears to be duty; for it is an incontrovertible axiom in morals, that it is always expedient to follow duty, and inexpedient always to neglect it. Whatever course appears to be that of duty; must be followed, notwithstanding the dark forebodings which may arise in the mind with respect to the event. Our actions are our own and for them we are accountable, and so far as we obey the commands of God and the dictates of our consciences, consequences are nothing to us—they belong to God. Though to the eye of a selfish worldly policy, obedience to the claims of justice and philanthropy may appear inexpedient; yet to do justly and to love mercy, are duties which may not be avoided on any such consideration. But we contend that it is not inexpedient—we think we are prepared to prove that the expediency is all on the side of immediate abolition—that that is the only way to secure the object in view. For is there any reason to believe, that there will ever be any more opportune time to crush this Hydra-headed monster than the present? Slaveholders may amuse us by the phantom of gradual abolition, but that plan which would meet their views would be so gradual, that eternity itself would not afford sufficient time to accomplish it. Is the moral sentiment of the community growing more pure, and taking a higher tone every day, that we

are not the contrary rather the fact, and is there not reason to suppose that if the present generation make no progress in this cause, that slavery will be an eternal blot on our national character? Again, it is said, by the opponents of emancipation, 'that the blacks can never be equal with the whites, and therefore all efforts to emancipate or elevate them, are visionary and futile.' I should not have noticed this objection so manifestly absurd, were it not that the force of prejudice is so strong, as sometimes to warp the judgment of the wisest and the best. A prejudice is generated in our infancy against the blacks, which grows with our growth, and strengthens with our strength, until our eyes are opened to this folly by a more correct feeling, which is the result of more extensive and accurate information respecting their character and situation. To suffer this prejudice to usurp the place of reason and our better judgment is a fault exceedingly common; and on examination it will be found, that the objection under consideration is a consequence of this infirmity. Why should not the black man be equal with the white man, in his capacities for enjoying happiness? Is there any thing in his constitution so peculiar, that he may not be educated, that his mind may not be improved? It does not rightfully belong to the assertors of his equality, to prove the fact, for it is held to be self-evident. The *onus probandi* is on the other side. It is for the objector to prove the contrary. But there are principles supported by numerous facts, which are sufficient to establish the doctrine of equality, to the satisfaction of any candid, rational man. Reason, scripture and common sense concur to make it certain. We are told in the word of God, that he 'made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth.' True, the black man is one of the species of the human race, but it would be difficult to prove whether black or white was the original standard color. We have no certain data from which to form an opinion. But can their color make a difference in that immortal part which constitutes all that is really distinctive in man? Can the mind be affected by the color of the skin? The idea is preposterous in the extreme. We will appeal to facts in this matter. One of the greatest and most potent of the cities of the earth—Rome's dreaded rival—the terror of the surrounding nations—the seat of wealth, refinement, and of luxury—Carthage, renowned in history for her warlike achievements, and for her mighty men—was situated in Africa, and peopled by the ancestors of these very men. Egypt, the head quarters of learning, the most civilized of all the ancient nations, with all her stupendous monuments, with her statues, her pyramids, her glory and her pomp, her heroes, her men of genius, and her mighty kings, was an African nation. But to come down to modern times. There are Hayti, Sierra Leone, and Liberia, a nation and colonies composed almost exclusively of blacks. What nations are there on the face of the earth more happy and prosperous, or under better government than these? They stand forth to the world an irresistible demonstration of the truth, that the negro released from his abridgment, and permitted like other men to walk abroad in the undisturbed enjoyment of his rights—knows how to prize those rights; and how to enjoy them. There they are, a spectacle for the world to gaze upon. To them I appeal to controvert the objection we have considered. I would that those who urge this plea to escape from the rigid claims of duty, on the ground of their benevolence, asserting that they believe that the slave would be unhappy and miserable, if released from his bondage, would attentively consider these facts. Then, I am persuaded, they would speedily relinquish that ungenerous prejudice which now perverts their judgment and does violence to their reason. One more objection remains to be examined. It is said, 'that if the slaves are emancipated immediately, those planters who depend upon their slaves for support will be impoverished.' That there are many slaveholders whose wealth consists solely in their slaves, and that there are many whose only business it is to trade in human flesh, are serious facts. That the doctrine of emancipation if carried out in practice, will deprive these men of their victims, and injure their purses is a fact also. It will not be denied. But is this any objection to the performance of duty? It has already been shown that one man cannot hold property in another, and that however the slaves have been obtained, their masters have no right to them. What then is the consequence? Why if you take away from these planters their slaves, you only take from them that which is not their lawful property. What is there wrong in this? The slaveholder is guilty of robbery. He deprives the negro of his liberty, and he defrauds him of the hard earned remuneration due to his toil. To rescue the slaves from the tyrannical grasp of their oppressors then, is only to restore property to its rightful owners. To give the slaves their freedom, is to give them that which is theirs. We ask the slaveholder to do no more than this. The poor slave asks not for the debt which is due him for so many weary years of suffering and of toil; he asks his freedom, and he asks no more. Give him this, and he is contented and happy, and relinquishes all his other righteous claims. But suppose it does impoverish the planters. The case so far as it relates to them is sad, but is no more distressing than what is experienced every day by persons engaged in commercial speculations; and this holding of slaves, this traffic in human flesh, ought to be considered only as an infamous speculation. Look at it in another point of view. Must hundreds of thousands of immortal beings be deprived of their inherent and unalienable rights, be oppressed and ground down to the earth by tyrants, goaded to their daily task, maltreated on the slightest pretence,—in a word, must so many human beings be condemned to suffer all that human nature recoils at, that their masters may live indolently and luxuriously, because they pretend a

right to them? Forbid it, heaven! Where, O where my hearers is your benevolence? where is your sense of justice? where is your love of liberty and right, if you can see these scenes unmoved, and listen to a plea involving such detestable principles, and such soul sickening results? Even if these planters should be impoverished by giving up their slaves, it would scarcely be an adequate judgment upon them for their crimes. Think you, my friends, that in thus denouncing slavery, I indulge in feelings of revenge or malice, towards the authors of the accumulated miseries; far from it. I see, and pity them, in the commission of these heaven daring abominations; but it is time that things should be called by their right names, that the truth should be spoken to arouse their slumbering conscience. If Emancipation can be accomplished only by the sacrifice of some part of the ease and comfort of the planters, let it be done! How much to be preferred are the rights and happiness of the many, to the enjoyment of the few. No great moral evil is ever overturned, without occasioning some distress. Nor will our land be purged of this enormity, without similar effects. We are to lose a troublesome and polluted limb, and the knife must be applied. We are to root out a Babel Ups, which must be eradicated, even though a thousand tender plants, clustering around it, must be expelled also. Thus have I brought before you all the most plausible objections which have been advanced against immediate emancipation, and I flatter myself that I shall now trespass upon your patience, only while you permit me to examine certain theories which have been advanced, to overthrow slavery; and if I succeed in manifesting their insufficiency to accomplish this desired end; we shall consider the proposition defended this evening, as established beyond doubt. While I examine the theories of others, you will not understand me to impugn the motives of any who are concerned in their defence or propagation. I disclaim any such intention. Nor in opposing them can I be supposed to be under the influence of prejudice, inasmuch as I have supposed them both heretofore to be the most proper manner of abolishing slavery. I have objections to the system of gradual abolition because I believe it to be unjust and iniquitous. I am opposed to the colonization scheme, because on examination, it appears to be impracticable as well as unjust. For these opinions, I will endeavor to give my reasons as briefly as may be. The friends of gradual abolition suppose that the most effectual way to extirpate the curse of slavery from the land, is by enacting laws which shall, after a certain date, manumit those who have attained to a certain age. But this is manifestly unjust; for it permits great numbers of the slaves to remain in slavery, and winks at the wickedness of the slaveholders in retaining them in that condition; for every argument which proves that every slave ought to be made free, proves that every slave ought to be emancipated also, the circumstance of his age having no connection whatever with the eternal and immutable principles of justice. This system condescends to compromise with the planter, and does not keep in view the iniquity of his practice, and overlooks that great fundamental principle of Liberty, that man cannot hold property in man. Such a system then, interfering with the claims of duty, ought not to be countenanced or supported. That the system of Colonization as far as relates to the removal of slavery is impracticable will appear on a moment's consideration. As far as I can learn, it does not in reality seek to remove slavery—certainly it does not hold with any great distinctness the guilt of the slaveholder. This I infer from the fact that most slaveholders are as ardent in their attachment to it, as any of our New-England philanthropists. This would not be the case, if it would seem, if its doctrines were such as were calculated to make them uneasy in their sins. If I understand the principles upon which the colonizationists propose to act, they are these: that the free blacks should be removed to Liberia, together with those slaves which may be manumitted by their masters. In attempting to show that slavery can never be removed in this way, I shall avail myself of the calculations made by that distinguished philanthropist, Chas. Stuart of the Royal Navy. The annual increase of the slaves is about 56,000, and to export these at \$20 per head, which is \$10 less than the average price of transportation, it would require \$1,120,000 yearly. And this to remove the increase merely. If you wish to extinguish the crime in 30 years, 100,000 must be exported annually, which could not be done at an expense of less than \$2,000,000, and if this vast number must be purchased, it would require \$20,000,000 more. From whence could this enormous sum be obtained? From these calculations I think it must be obvious to every one, that the scheme is impracticable. But what shall we say of the injustice of this procedure? Even if all the requisite treasure could be obtained to export this great number of slaves, while the process is going on, 2,000,000 would die in slavery. It cannot be denied that this is alike the home, the native country of the free blacks and the slaves. Africa is no more their home than England is ours. To expatriate them, then, is a flagrant act of injustice; which, if attempted to be exercised towards any one of us, would be deemed a sufficient cause for a war of desolation and of blood. To go right forward in the cause of justice and of right, to walk by the evidence of the light of truth, requires not, so immense an amount of treasure; the path is simple, easy, straight. Nothing now remains, my dear hearers, but that I should bring before you some considerations calculated to influence you to put forth your energies in the holy cause of human rights and human happiness. You have seen the enormous evils and crying guilt of that system which withholds from our fellow men all that is dear, and all that is desirable. You have seen, that it is inconsistent with Christianity and opposed to republicanism? You have been shown also how

much you are interested in its continuance or abolition; and I am now ready to submit it to your sober judgment, to your consciences, and to your sense of duty, whether the plan which has been proposed, is not the most just and reasonable method which has been devised, to put an end to this threatening curse. If it is not based on the firmest foundation, if it is not supported by the eternal principles of truth, it is your duty to reject it. If it is, on the other hand, firmly established, and consistent with the word of God, that grand standard of truth and holiness, it is your imperative duty to embrace it, and act upon it. It belongs to you as individuals composing the community, to take sides on this question, to form correct principles, and to extend abroad your influence, in favor of truth and justice. Each one of you must assist in forming that public sentiment which can alone overthrow slavery; and for the discharge or neglect of this duty, you will be accountable to your final Judge. Alas! I see your brother's blood cry out against you from the ground in that awful hour.

Christians! I appeal to you. If you have any regard for the honor of that blessed religion you profess to love—if you have any desire that the glory of God may be promoted—if you would obey the dictates of duty—if you would show your hands from guilt of blackest dye—I call upon you to assist in the emancipation of your fellow men from bondage.

Americans! By your love of your country—by your desire for her prosperity and happiness—by your hopes and fears—and by your regard for your own best interests—I adjure you to assist in banishing from the land, this horrible abomination, which will ere long, if not removed, drench this fair land in blood, and in a fearful manner accomplish our destruction.

Philanthropists, and men! I implore you to consider the wrongs and sufferings of your brethren; to consider the blood and the tears, the groans and sighs, the miseries and woes of two millions of your fellow creatures, and in view of these, to act consistently, to act as duty dictates. Do this, and the bed of death shall be a couch of joy to you. Do this, and when we shall all again assemble around the judgment seat of Christ, you shall hear with rapture, amid the thundering shouts of the whole army of Heaven, the approving declaration of your holy Judge, 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.'

SLAVERY RECORD.



LOOK OUT FOR KIDNAPPERS.

Three men of color and one woman were taken up in this place, last week, as runaway slaves, at the instigation of some prowling villains. The woman was born free in this State, in the town of Bedford. She was, however, leased. One of the colored men, named Ben, fought hard for his liberty, but cut with an axe the hand of one of the men who took him. His accomplice said, 'Knock him down!' Accordingly he took up a club, and beat one of Ben's arms in two places. When Ben was brought to jail, frightened half to death, a hard hearted savage claimed to be his master. The other two victims are still in jail, to be tried for murder? No—but for being black men, and born in the State of Maryland. Assuredly a heinous crime!

Lewistown, (Pa.) March 28, 1852.

RICHMOND, (Indiana), March 21. KIDNAPPING.

A colored boy belonging to this place, about 10 years of age, has lately disappeared, under circumstances calculated to induce the belief that he has been kidnapped. By a man of the name of Burke, who is about 25 years of age, six feet two or three inches high, black hair and eyes, dark complexion, and rather stoop-shouldered. Said Harris came to this neighborhood in the early part of the winter, and has remained here until about a week since. He is said to be from Kentucky, where he has a wife and child. He is said to be a great gambler, and that he trades in horses and negroes. He had taken up his residence about three miles from this place, with a Mr. Hopper, or Harper, and on Wednesday of last week, the 14th inst. he was in town, and went to a very respectable colored man, named Nimrod Sibley, and hired said Nimrod's boy, who is about 25 years of age, to be married, and that the boy might return in a week. On the next (Thursday) night, however, he decamped, taking the boy, and a young woman, Mr. Hopper's daughter with him, and it has not yet been ascertained what course he has taken. The young woman who eloped with him was heard to say, 'for days before he left, that he had five horses, but the brother of the young woman states that he had but three.' The boy is in his 11th year, not so black as a full blooded negro, and somewhat stout of appearance. His clothing has not been described to us. Harris wore a suit of James, and had also a superfine blue cloth dress coat, which was made in this place; he is very genteel in his appearance and address, and a little slow of speech. Neither the person nor dress of the young woman has been described, further than that she had a new saddle.

A number of the most respectable citizens of this town and neighborhood have authorized us to issue a reward of at least one hundred dollars, for the recovery of the boy and the young woman, and their return to their respective owners. We have been shown also how



ANOTHER DISAPPEARANCE—A colored woman, name Rebecca Robinson, upwards of seventy years of age, left her residence in Schuylkill Second street, between Race and Vine streets, on Saturday last, and although inquiry has been made, she has not been heard of since.

From Poulson's Daily Advertiser.

TYRANNY AND OPPRESSION.

I have just been furnished with the following bill, reported a few days since in the House of Representatives, the perusal of which cannot fail to excite the astonishment and indignation of every friend of human liberty.

An act to prohibit the migration of Negroes and Mulattoes into this Commonwealth. SECTION 1st. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That from and after the first day of June next, no negro or mulatto person shall be permitted to emigrate into and settle in this state, unless such negro or mulatto person shall, within twenty days after his or her arrival in any county of this state, enter into bond to the Commonwealth, with one or more sufficient sureties, before the Clerk of the Court of Quarter Sessions of such county, to be approved by such Clerk, in the penal sum of five hundred dollars.

SECTION 2d. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any negro or mulatto person shall remove into, and remain within this state, longer than the term prescribed by the first section of this act, without having complied with the provisions thereof, it shall be the duty of the Constable of any ward, borough, or township, either on his own view, or on the information of any other person, to arrest such negro or mulatto person, and take him or her before some Alderman or Justice of the Peace, who shall indict such punishment as now directed in the case of vagrants.

Tyranny and Oppression.—We read with some degree of surprise an article under this title in Poulson's Daily Advertiser. The people of Pennsylvania from the first settlement of that state, have uniformly borne a character for philanthropy and the ex-

ercise of social and benevolent virtues, which has been denied to some of the other members of our nation. But should the bill, now under consideration in her house of Representatives, pass into a law, her claim to such an enviable superiority may well be doubted.

It appears to us, that such a bill is unconstitutional—unjust and oppressive in its nature. What is to become of the colored population, if they are to be driven from state to state, and allowed no resting place for the sole of the foot, without giving bonds of five hundred dollars? Probably not one in five hundred could comply with such a requisition. If the free blacks can exist only on such terms, they may well cease the day that relieved them from slavery, for slavery must be an enviable state compared with such freedom.—Boston Courier.

BOSTON.

SATURDAY, APRIL 11, 1832.

IMPERTINENCE.

Not satisfied with darning the people of this country, the American Colonization Society some time last year sent out an agent to England, named Elliot Crescon, to impose upon the credulity and kindness of its inhabitants. He has, we believe, partially succeeded; and to him the nation is probably indebted for a petition, signed by forty British subjects, beseeching Congress to favor the colonization, which was presented in the House of Representatives on Monday, April 2. A more impertinent act we have never known.

The following comments are from the Boston Telegraph: The remarks of Mr. Mercer, in the debate in Congress, on the presentation of a Memorial signed by forty citizens of England, on the subject of slavery, in our view, deserves reprehension. It should be known, that this gentleman is a prominent advocate and supporter of the Colonization Society. His sentiments are in exact accordance with the principles upon which that Society is based.

So far was he from desiring it, unaccompanied by this condition, that he would not live in a country where the one took place without the other. Indeed! would Mr. Mercer rather bid a final farewell to his native country, than to see justice take place? So he declares, on the floor of Congress.

The memorial was finally withdrawn, and very properly refused a reading. We pity the ignorance or infatuation of its signers. It is as follows: CINCINNATI, (England,) Jan. 25, 1832.

To the Honorable House of Representatives of the United States of America, the undersigned members and friends of the American Colonization Society, resident in Great Britain, respectfully present the following address:

Deeply impressed with sentiments of abhorrence of the evils of the Slave Trade and Slavery, we resort to your Honorable House as to a refuge for the oppressed, under the sanction of a consoling trust that circumstances are at this crisis highly favorable for effecting a beneficial change in the condition of the colored population of the United States, and in the full belief that you, as conservators of Liberty, will lend every possible aid to the sacred cause. We feel attached by Language, Lineage, and Religion, to our American Brethren, and we sincerely rejoice in the growing prosperity of their beloved country; but we fear that that prosperity may at no very distant period be exposed to danger, should not the system of slavery which prevails in several of the States, be materially corrected, if not wholly eradicated.

It appears that numerous offers of slaves for emancipation and colonization are made to the Society, which, to the extent of its means, it eagerly embraces, but for the purpose of so great an undertaking the means of individuals or of the Society are too limited—happily for America she is about to be exonerated from a Public Debt, and we venture respectfully to ask to what better purpose can National resources be applied?

In conclusion, we presume to solicit such aid to your honorable House may seem; and we shall ever feel ourselves anxious to do all in our power to promote the welfare of the United States, and to sustain the amicable relations which so happily subsist between that country and our own.

YOUNG MEN'S AUXILIARY COLONIZATION SOCIETY OF NEW-YORK.

In our 13th number we recorded the formation of this Society, and reprinted some of the speeches delivered on that occasion. In the address of J. R. Townsend, Esq. we find the following sentiments: With us color is the bar. Nature has raised up barriers between the races, which no man with a proper sense of the dignity of his species desires to see surmounted.

Now we affirm that color is not the slightest barrier between the races, as our southern amalgamations clearly demonstrate. It is so difficult to distinguish in the slave States who is white or black, that witnesses are often summoned to court to solve the problem! Talk of the barriers of nature! Why, this J. R. Townsend, Esq., must either be totally blind or unable to discriminate between shades of color.

But this barrier? no man with a proper sense of the dignity of his species desires to see surmounted. Certainly, then, slaveholders have not this proper sense. The meaning is, we pale faces are superior in dignity and creation to the blacks, and are therefore bound to treat them always as a distinct and inferior caste.

But to emancipate two millions of slaves, and leave them here! Distracting thought! Prove, Mr. T., our right to expel them, and the insufficiency of their claim to freedom. Can you do this? If not, shall we force them away, or continue to oppress them, to escape the 'maddening thought' of emancipation?

But if the Society fail to remove the blacks, we must sit down in quiet submission to the woe but unknown decrees of Providence. Indeed! But suppose the slaves will not follow our example, and should disturb our reverie by an insurrection—what shall we do?

'They have taken the free black that, as a class, dwells among us a living nuisance, nominally free, but bowed to the ground by public opinion—in one part of the country dull as a brutish beast, in another the wild stirrer up of sedition and insurrection—they have shewn him to be capable of quiet and judicious self-government—they have instructed him in the arts of civilized life, and held him up as a model to the rude tribes around him.

'Dull as a brutish beast!—and yet as soon as he touches the shores of Africa, almost as intellectual and majestic as an angel! There must be something miraculous in a voyage across the Atlantic, thus to metamorphose stupidity into intelligence; and we respectfully advise Mr. T. to try its effects upon his own pecuniary.

'More barriers! But we have shown that none exist. Amalgamation may be a day dream, but the night brings its fulfillment. Doomed to eternal degradation here! Americans! do not your cheeks glow with honest indignation at this impeachment of your magnanimity, benevolence and honor? Answer!

More barriers! But we have shown that none exist. Amalgamation may be a day dream, but the night brings its fulfillment. Doomed to eternal degradation here! Americans! do not your cheeks glow with honest indignation at this impeachment of your magnanimity, benevolence and honor? Answer!

FROM LIBERTIA. The ship James Perkins, Capt. Crowell, which sailed from Norfolk last Dec. with emigrants for the colony at Monrovia, has returned. The report that the emigrants had mutinied on the outward passage, was a sheer fabrication. Their conduct on the passage was becoming and orderly.

Next Webster Outdone.—The Emperor of China has published a new Dictionary, in forty large volumes.

For the Liberator.

THE MACON REPERTORY. No. IV.

We pity the ignorance of men who have never realized the beginnings of heavenly instruction; but what shall we say of professed instructors, who first blind their own eyes, that they may lead the voluntarily blind into the Gulf of delusion? Such is the case of the Macon Repertory when he asks—'what means the Apostle in all his holy instructions of obedience? Does he address freemen, and not slaves?'

We cannot expatiate upon this boundless topic; but a few remarks are indispensable. Slavery, as it now exists, was never known among the Jews—and slavery, under any modification, never existed among the primitive christians. If the Macon Repertory wishes to be ranked with the Pagans, we cannot except to his claim. A Jew could not hold his brother as a servant longer than until the next Sabbath day, unless he voluntarily chose to remain until the Jubilee; then the release was unconditional and obligatory.

It is triply asked, whom did Paul address? We reply—Paul addressed two classes of Masters—the unconverted, and christians. When the former made the grand inquiry, 'What shall we do to be saved?' and practised the reply, 'repent and believe'—the next inquiry would be, how man! I prove the sincerity of my penitence and faith? If he had been a slaveholder, he at once emancipated his bondmen; for the Christians of the apostolic era did not comprehend, (as the Macon Repertory asserts,) how a man can aver, that a person who buys, barter, drives and holds slaves has not even a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and yet profess to be a Christian.

The Apostle addressed servants; but even a Pagan bondman was a very different character from a Georgian slave. He was often emancipated—ordinarily a domestic superintendent—frequently the adopted child and heir—and except by persons similar to our modern slaveholders, was considered as one of the family; and amid all the barbarity to which he was exposed, experienced many alleviations of his wretched bondage.

The Macon Repertory states, that 'the Ambassador of the cross enforces the truths of the Gospel at the door of the negro hut.' This is pure fiction, in its true meaning; but what truths does he enforce? We are told in reply, 'the most heart cheering and salutary admonitions from Paul's sixth letter to Timothy, admonitions alike salutary to the present and eternal interests of the slave and his owner.'

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THE PROTESTANT.

REV. ISAAC ORR vs. THE COLONIZATION CONTROVERSY.

To the Public.—The conduct of the Rev. Isaac Orr, in relation to the Colonization Controversy, cannot be considered otherwise than as exceedingly ungentlemanly and cowardly. He took the place of the 'Shade of Ashmun' to discuss the merits of Colonization with any one; he fearlessly challenged the opposers of his favorite scheme to break a lance with him; and when his terms were accepted, he withdrew ignominiously from the Controversy upon a nonsensical and ridiculous plea.

From our native land! Nor can it be considered wonderful that Colonizationists should be cowardly, as they must be conscious that a doctrine, based upon the most palpable wickedness, cannot withstand investigation. Hence we can account for the conduct of that most remarkable of the ghostly tribe—that most extraordinary of all unnatural phenomena—the 'Shade of Ashmun'—(to whom the language of Shakespeare is not inapplicable; indeed 'tis wholesome advice, and 't would be well for the ghost to take the hint.

The personage (if he be really mortal) who has assumed this appellation, in order to gull some unwary Anti-Colonizationist into a discussion, has exhibited to the world a specimen of misanthropic peculiarity and partner. The Shade of Ashmun came boldly forward and accepted the challenge given by me, last autumn; but his worthy conditor, finding that I was adverse to discussing with an irresponsible opponent, challenged any Anti-Colonizationist to enter into a controversy with him. I accepted his terms, and even published the first article of the Controversy, when the Reverend editor (after having arranged matters for skulking away genteelly, with admirable precision) came before the public with the excuse, that he did not 'challenge Mr Jones, but any one to take the place of Mr Jones.'

The readers of the Liberator, good Mr Orr, are not apt to be deceived by appearances, as may be imagined. Although their skin is 'not colored as thine own,' yet they have discrimination enough to discern the difference between true courage and that blustering boastfulness of thine which pretends to be something when it is nothing. But seriously, friend Orr, since you have given us a sufficient indication of your disinclination to discuss Colonizationism with me, it is my intention to publish a number of Essays on the subject, in the Liberator; and you may reply to them or remain silent, (the latter being the most prudent course for a Colonizationist,) at your option.

Let his Reply to the first Letter of the Colonization Controversy, lying at the office of the N. Y. Daily Sentinel, and is at his own disposal. I am totally unacquainted with its contents, having considered it as unfair to convert an unpublished article to my own use. NEW-YORK, April 5th, 1832.

Mr S. H. King, of this city, has issued Proposals for publishing a weekly newspaper with the title of 'The Workingman's Banner,' to be conducted by a gentleman of talent, and handsomely printed on a fine super royal sheet at \$2.00 per annum in advance. Three good reasons may be offered why this enterprise should succeed: the working classes need a paper exclusively devoted to their improvement and the maintenance of their rights—they are abundantly able to support such a paper—and they will be liable to gross and grievous imposition if they have no organ through which to be heard.

Letters received at this office from April 7, to April 14, 1832. Rev. Samuel J. May, Brooklyn, Ct.; Edward J. Pompey, Nantucket, Mass.; Simon Davis, Thompson, Ct.; William Watkins, Baltimore, Md.; Gardner Jones, New-York City; Daniel C. Colesworth, Portland, Me.; Abner H. Francis, Trenton, N. J.; Joseph C. Lovejoy, Bangor, Me.

DIED. In this city, Mr Charles Thompson, (colored) aged 40. He was sick about five months. The greater part of that time he was without hope and without God in the world; but about four weeks before his death he was awakened and converted to God. He said that he had not done any thing for God that he should forgive him his sins, but that it was altogether for Christ's sake that his sins were forgiven. He said that he believed that the Lord would receive his soul into heaven for Jesus' sake. He left an affectionate wife and three children to mourn the loss of a beloved father and husband.—Com.



LITERARY.

LINES WRITTEN IN A YOUNG LADY'S ALBUM.

BY W. J. SWELLING.
The youth and bloom that maidens prize
Are transient, not enduring things;

THE WESTERN WORLD.

BY BRVANT.
Late, from this western shore, has morning chased
The deep and ancient groves, that throw its shroud

And where his willing waves you bright blue bay
Sends up, to kiss his decorated brim,
And cradles, in his soft embrace, the gay

Then, all his youthful paradise around,
And all the broad and boundless mainland, lay
Coiled by the interminable wood, that frowned

Look now abroad—another race has filled
These populous borders—wide the wood recedes,
And towns shoot up, and fertile realms are tilled;

ON THE DEATH OF A YOUNG LADY OF FIVE YEARS OF AGE.

BY PHILLIS WHEATLEY, AN AFRICAN SLAVE.
From dark abodes to fair ethereal light
Th' enraptured innocent has winged her flight;

MISCELLANEOUS.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

The memorial of the people of color of the city of Philadelphia and its vicinity, respectfully sheweth:
That they have learned with deep regret that two resolutions have passed the House of Representatives

At the same time that your memorialists entertain the most perfect respect for any expression of sentiment emanating from so high a source as one of the legislative bodies of Pennsylvania, they cannot but lament, that at a moment when all mankind

Many of the states of this union hastened to wipe out this blot; and foremost in the race was Pennsylvania. In less than four years after the declaration of independence by the act of 1st March, 1780, she abolished slavery within her limits, and from that time her avowed policy has been to enlarge and beautify this splendid feature in her system

Where, in the legislative acts of this Commonwealth, under the constitution, and subsequent to this declaration, do we find a distinction? On what page of our statute book does it appear? It is confidently asserted that in Pennsylvania it does not exist, and has been repudiated and banished from her code.

This is the criterion by which Pennsylvania, who for fifty years has indignantly rejected the distinction, who daily receives into her bosom all men, from all nations, is now called upon to reject from her soil, such portions of a banished race of freemen, born within view, of her own mountains, as may seek within her limits a place of rest.

Here, the free spirit of mankind, at length,
Throws its last fetters off; and who shall place
A limit to the giant's unchained strength?

Perfect in bias, she from her heavenly throne
Looks down, and, smiling, beckons you to come;
Why then, fond parents, why these fruitless groans?

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course with a people whose opportunities of improvement have been greater than theirs.
An upright and independent Judiciary.—When the King of Prussia had determined to build what is called the Palace of Sans Souci, a part of his plan was to erect a new building with the old, by a pleasant ground. A mill occupied part of the ground which he wished to include in his new garden.

While here, in this republican land, which has again and again proclaimed the equality of rights of all men, the judge, the American judge, the Pennsylvania judge, himself a free man, is bound by our laws, to hold and fast, to keep down his own indignation, and sentence a fellow being to chains and to the lash.

WASHINGTON CITY, March 29.
In the senate, on Wednesday, Mr. Clay presented a memorial, signed by a number of citizens of Kentucky, inviting the attention of Congress to the subject of colonizing the free blacks on the coast of Africa, and praying that suitable appropriations may be made towards that object.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN TEMPERANCE SOCIETY will, with the leave of Providence, be held in Boston, on the last Wednesday, in May, at 11 o'clock, A. M. The Annual Report will be read, and addresses be delivered on the occasion.

A Sign.—The pedestrians through Cornhill at the entrance of Washington street, have found much to attract curiosity and much to admire in the large and elegant sign, put up a few days ago by Mr. Redding, a well known painter.

Serious Affair.—We understand that a dispute occurred on Saturday, between one black and two white men, about a dog. One of the white men seized a junk bottle and struck the negro over the head with it.

Pleasure at the South.—There have been one or two masquerades given at Charleston lately, in order, like the recent horse races at that place, at which bets of 10 and 20,000 dollars were lost and won, to illustrate the miseries of the South, as plaintively set forth in the late nullification address.

Villany.—The New Bedford Mercury states, on the authority of a gentleman in Nantucket, that about six barrels of sperm oil belonging to Mr. Samuel B. Tuck, which was a part of 21 hhdts deposited on the beach near his manufactory, was let out upon the beach and lost.

A committee of the House of Lords has reported an important measure for the pacification of Ireland. It proposes an entire extinction of the tithing system in Ireland.

The lease of the Chatham, N. Y. Theatre has been purchased, with the intention, as is said, of having the building converted into a Church.

Extraordinary Birth.—Near the town of Bromsgrove (says a late English paper) are four sisters, named Maria, Mary, Sarah and Elizabeth Richardson, the produce of one birth, who were born on the 23d March, 1819, and now have obtained the age of 15 years.

Deity of Algiers.—It is said his highness the quondam Dey has declared that the dejection of Charles X. was a chastisement inflicted by Providence on him for having meddled with the Regency of Algiers! How true is the shrewd remark of Buonarroti, that 'we always see the finger of God in the punishment of our Joes.'

Ex-officio informations have been filed against the editor of the Bahama Argus for a libel on the Governor; he has been condemned to imprisonment by a jury composed of black and white men, and there are no less than five other prosecutions of a similar kind hanging over his head, as well as two each, over the individuals on the Island.

Portland has become a city, accepting a charter by a vote of 780 to 496. It is to be organized similarly to this city. The salary of the Mayor is to be fixed by the City Council.

MORAL.

THE PRAYER AT SEA.

Father Supreme!—In thee our prayers ascending,
Rise from the bosom of the heaving deep,
From the wide waste of troubled waters—blending
With the free winds that o'er the billows sweep.

Boiling for Water. M. Jabord, of Brussels, announces that he has brought to perfection a new machine for boring the earth to any depth, and through any soil.

The Cherokees.—The correspondent of the N. Y. Commercial writes that the President has declared that, in forty days, he will have a Treaty with the Cherokees, for their removal beyond the Mississippi! I know not upon what ground the declaration is made other than this, that the Cherokees are convinced that there is no power in the federal arm to protect them; and that the Creeks and Choctaws having determined to remove, they alone, of all their race, will be left within the limits of the States.

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Advertisement for 'A DISCOURSE ON Slavery in the United States' by Rev. Samuel J. May, Pastor of the First Church in Brooklyn, Ct. Includes names of agents and a list of names.