

THE LIBERATOR.



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

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THE LIBERATOR.

"They do not recognise the false principle, that education, as a preparation for freedom, must precede emancipation; or that an amelioration of the slaves' condition should be a substitute for it: on the contrary, THEY INSIST UPON UNPROCRISTINATED EMANCIPATION, as a right which is unrighteously withheld, and the restoration of which is, in their opinion, the first and most indispensable step to all improvement, and absolutely essential to the application of the only remedy for that moral debasement, in which slavery has sunk its victims."—REPORT OF THE DUBLIN NEGRO'S FRIEND SOCIETY.

For the Liberator.

WHAT CAN THE FREE COLORED PEOPLE DO FOR THEMSELVES?

A great deal, almost every thing I may say, if they will set about it in good earnest, and in the right way. What is the right way? The right way is to pursue such a uniform course of good conduct, so to enlighten and elevate their minds, that people cannot help thinking well of them and respecting them. We cannot, if we would, help respecting any person whose uniformly good conduct proves him to be a thoroughly good man. "Ah! the colored people may say, 'but the whites are so prejudiced against us, that no good conduct of ours will make them respect us, as they would any body else.' But this is a great mistake, as facts plainly shew. The many respectable obituary notices of colored persons in our papers show it, and prove that upright conduct and good character have overcome prejudice, and obtained for them the same respect as for others. I will mention another striking proof of this. I heard it related in conversation, that in a certain place the feeling of dislike was so great against the colored people, that when one appeared in the street, the boys would collect around him, and insult him. On inquiry it appeared, that almost all of the race in that town were intemperate, idle, good-for-nothing people. The person who gave this account afterwards spoke of one in this place who was greatly esteemed, and who

visited among some of the white people. 'How can that be,' was asked with some astonishment, 'when there is such a prejudice against them in that place?' The reply was, that this person's character was well known to be very good, and this explained the mystery. The bad conduct of some had created a dislike to all the color; but notwithstanding this, the good conduct of one had obtained for that one all the respect which it merited.

It must not be supposed, because I say so much about good conduct, that I think the colored people not as good as the whites; for I have no doubt they are so in proportion to their advantages. But in their case, something more than commonly good conduct is needed, in order to overcome the unfortunate prejudice against them. If, as Mr. Garrison recommends to them in his address, they will be *exemplary* in their lives and deportment, the result is certain and inevitable that they will obtain respect and good will.

And here, as one part of exemplary good conduct, I would earnestly recommend that they should never *resent*, but receive with the true dignity of meekness any treatment arising from the injurious prejudices of people towards them, which they should view with pity rather than resentment. Far rather would I be the object of undesired contempt and ill treatment, than to be the one who feels and bestows it. In this respect I have never heard that they have been censurable, which is greatly to their honor. Not that they should weakly submit to any invasion of their rights, if they have lawful means of defending them, but they should defend them calmly, and without allowing in themselves either the feeling or appearance of ill will.

Next to good conduct, which as we have shown is sure to obtain respect even towards the humble and comparatively uneducated, knowledge and ability are of great value. It is the duty of the colored people of Africa, if they wish to rise to an equal station in society with the other inhabitants of this country. They are essential, first because they are favorable to good conduct itself, which plainly shows that it is every man's duty, of whatever color, to gain knowledge, as much as he can. Ignorant persons are the most apt to be vicious, as all experience proves, especially the fact that almost all the inmates of our prisons and almshouses are ignorant in the extreme, many of them being even unable to read.

Another reason why the colored people should one and all seek after knowledge is, because it is impossible for ignorant people ever to be upon an equality with those of cultivated minds, even though they may be equally good. Some persons consider it perfectly absurd when they hear it said that colored people should be placed upon an equality with the whites. The reason is, that they immediately call to mind some ignorant and vulgar colored man whom they know, and imagine him associating with men of education, or placed in some office of government, and they say that it would be ridiculous. And so it would be ridiculous and absurd, but not more so than for an ignorant and vulgar white man to be associated with men of education, or raised to an office for which he was wholly unfit. The absurdity lies not in the difference of color, but in the difference of mind and manners; not in an unfitness of color, but of character.

A man in rather humble life, who had by his own exertions supplied the defects of early education, said that he used once to think that it was because people were proud that they would not visit and associate with the poor, but that since he had acquired knowledge himself and new thoughts from books, he understood the reason; for he now found himself that it was impossible to take the same satisfaction in the society of ignorant people who could not understand his thoughts or feel any interest in things which now interested him most, as in that of those who felt more as he did. It may here be remarked, however, that there is one way in which an ignorant and an enlightened person may take great pleasure in the society of each other; and that is when the latter communicates information, and the former is eager to receive it; but still it is to be observed, they do not meet as *equals*.

The difference of situation between our white and colored population is not wholly owing to the prejudices of the former, but in part also to the want of education among the latter. The case is this. It is the disadvantages of their situation which occasion their ignorance and the low state of their minds, and then these help to keep them in the same situation. It is plain from all that has been said, that till they are equal to other people in knowledge and cultivation, they will not and cannot rank as equals. But when they shall have made themselves thus in fact their equals, they need not fear but what prejudice will die away, and their equality will be acknow-

ledged, and soon no difference will be known between the colored man and the white.

But is knowledge to be desired only as the means of attaining a certain station, and obtaining consideration among men? No; by no means! It is to be desired for its own sake, as a far greater good than wealth, station, or respect. There is pleasure in seeking it; pleasure in finding it, and great good in having it. But on the pleasures of knowledge I need not enlarge, for if any one will fairly enter on the pursuit of it, the love of it will carry upon him. The want of intellectual and moral culture among the descendants of Africa, is not so much to be lamented because it tends to bring contempt upon them, as this contempt is to be lamented because it has hitherto prevented their obtaining intellectual and moral culture. Let them make themselves a virtuous and an enlightened people for the sake of being so, rather than for the sake of being considered equal to others, or of being raised to offices of dignity, or of having better means of acquiring wealth or any other worldly advantage.

I have thus endeavored to point out what the free colored people must do, if they would improve their own condition. The first step has I trust been taken. They are now aware of their need of improvement. They are now all aroused and excited, and let them not suffer their strength to be wasted in mere feelings or mere words. Now is the time, let them go to work and do what is to be done, and help and urge each other forward in the course. There are many I doubt not among their white brethren ready to lend a helping hand, but they must not lean too much on them. It is mainly on their own exertions that they must depend. That which is most important is what they must do for themselves, and no one can do for them. One man can do more for another than ten can do for ten.

It is not in mortals to command success,
But 'twill do more, (my brethren,) we'll DESERVE IT!
It is my intention to make some further remarks on this subject at another time.

S. T. U.

For the Liberator.

THOUGHTS ON SLAVERY—BY A FRIEND TO THE SOUTH.

At an early period in manhood, I was induced to travel into the old Southern States, and to spend several seasons in habits of intimacy with portions of their inhabitants. I was not only well pleased, but truly *delighted*, with many of the better educated of these people. I found a frank, social, confiding and generous spirit in the gentlemen; a delicate, modest, refined sensibility, characterising the ladies; which, added to the general harmony of opinion between them and myself in relation to national politics and political parties, endeared many individuals and families very closely to my affections. The climate and productions, too—the planting pursuits and habits beyond Virginia—secured for their section of the country a decided preference over the frigid and sterile region in which I was born and bred. But there was one feature in the structure of southern society, to which I could not become reconciled—it was SLAVERY.

I had not accustomed myself to cherish much sympathy for Africans; had seldom been acquainted with individuals of the race; and never met with any whose character interested my feelings. But in travelling through these States, stopping occasionally for days or weeks where no other domestics and few other mechanics were employed, I came into frequent contact with the negro; and was frequently surprised as well as gratified with traits of character displayed by them. Patience, perseverance and untiring devotion displayed by these to the wants and comfort of those for whom they labored, and for their guests, frequently awakened my warmest gratitude. And their own wretched condition excited my deepest regrets. It was true, there was a difference in their condition and the treatment they received;—but too large a portion of them were but miserably clad and fed, and sheltered from the vicissitudes of the seasons, to say nothing of the neglect of their mental and moral culture.

I communicated these impressions, sometimes, to the patriotic and excellent men I visited and held discourse with. Some of them appeared to feel deeply the misfortune of their own condition in being left by their ancestors with this reproach entailed upon them. But few appeared to be aware that it was a *pecuniary* as well as a moral

evil. The comparative distance of their settlements apart; the sparseness of their white population; the low prices of their lands; the inferiority of their roads, bridges and facilities of intercourse; the inferior fare but high charges in their hotels; the defective system of culture in practice on many of their farms and plantations, by which after a few years *cropping* a piece of good land would have become quite unproductive; the dilapidated estates and deserted settlements; all, concurring with the squalid aspect of the enslaved portion, and some others, of their population, to impress my mind with a conviction that the amount and extent of the curse of slavery could only be appreciated by him who had explored and compared with each other the slaveholding States with those whose laborers were freemen.

This view of the subject begins of late to be better understood. The disclosures of our national census; the loss of their relative political weight in the Union; and the contrast which their travellers have perceived in the condition of the two sections of the Republic, have opened the eyes of many a slaveholder to the extent of his misfortune; and awakened the desire of many a heart, whose lips are yet unsealed, to rid themselves at once of a barrier to their prosperity and their peace of mind. The late awful events at Southampton have doubtless accelerated the expression of this conviction; and the discussion now going on in Virginia cannot leave the subject in the state, in which it has slumbered for the past forty years.

But there is a consideration or two, possessing much weight in my mind, which I wish to urge upon the good people of the South, as an inducement for them generally to co-operate with Virginia in devising means of relief from the evils of slavery. I believe, by Mr. Jefferson, and recently renewed by some of his sons of 'the ancient Dominion,'—to get the Federal Government to obtain and set apart a tract of country, south of Louisiana, as a colony for emancipated slaves. This done, and a system of gradual abolition and removal to that colony put into operation; I venture to promise my southern friends several benefits which have not yet appeared to enter into their contemplation.

1. As a demand for free labor is created among them, the emigration of laborers, mechanics and farmers from Europe to the middle, northern and western states, will be turned and directed to the southern states and territories.

2. The emigration of young citizens of New-England will be turned from the West, and directed to the more accessible shores and districts of the South. The same feelings which deterred me, when a young man, from settling myself at the south, doubtless have prevented many others. The same chivalrous excellencies of character which, even now, after a long lapse of dreary winters, thrills my heart with gladness whenever I meet a fellow citizen from the south, will, when they are disenthralled from the disgrace of slavery, attract to their valleys and river-sides, to their plantations and villages, to their wild and waste forests, and their commercial depots, thousands of the enterprising and industrious sons of New-England, New-York and Pennsylvania.

3. As a natural consequence of the increased skill and varied capacity for the diversified pursuits of society, incident to the introduction into the southern states of these numerous emigrants from Europe and the north—*CAPITAL—OUR SURPLUS CAPITAL*—will flow to the south. The innumerable facilities for commerce and navigation presented in the bays and rivers and along the shores, from the Potomac to the St Mary's, will be availed of by the sons of our crowded capitals; and the many eligible sites for manufacturing establishments will also command the notice of those for whose funds investment is sought in sure and productive business. The cotton from their plains and the wool from their mountains will be spun and wove at their own doors; and the timber of their forests, constructed into vessels by themselves, and navigated by the sons of Georgia, Carolina and Virginia, will vie with ours of the north, and help us to vie with those of Europe, for the commerce of Asia, Africa, and South America.

I have not time now to continue these rough-written suggestions. If they are received with that kindness which has so happily marked the conduct of those for whose benefit they are intended, towards one who has many a cheerful recollection of southern hospitality and politeness, the subject will with pleasure be renewed when leisure and opportunity shall enable him to resume his pen. In the mean time, it is most affectionately commended to their consideration. W.

For the Liberator.

SOMETHING MUST BE DONE. No. II.

MR. EDITOR—In my last, I endeavored to awake attention to the fact, that not only danger, but certain destruction awaits the south, from its slave population; unless something shall be done to divert present operating causes from running on to their necessary results.

There are two ways in which this result may be avoided: the most desirable is, removing the colored population by colonization: the alternative, cultivating this population into an intelligent, pious, patriotic community, and then selling them their liberty which we have unjustly wrested from them, and the land which they have so long cultivated; and leaving them as the substantial population of the southern states.

That this alternative is practicable, none will deny. The only objection to it is, the repugnance we have been long taught to feel, to admitting men 'guilty of a darker skin than ours,' to an equality of rights with us. If this could be overcome, we might devise means for safely bringing them forward to the capabilities of citizens of several of the free states of our Union. Col. C. C. Pinckney, and others of St Luke's parish, South Carolina, have set a noble example, with respect to the instruction of the 6,134 slaves of that parish, expressed in the following resolution:—*Therefore be it resolved*, That we form ourselves into an Association for the purpose of procuring proper religious instruction for the slave population of St Luke's parish.

The principle of the association is, that every slaveholder shall annually pay to the treasurer the sum of twenty-five cents for each slave he possesses; which will amount (if every slaveholder in the parish shall join in the association) to more than \$1,500 per annum, to be devoted to the support of several missionaries, whose duty shall be to devote their whole time to the religious instruction of the slaves. They forbid (and indeed the laws of the state forbid) every kind and degree of literary instruction. This is beginning in the right place: let the ultimate object be what it may—whether colonizing, citizenizing, or retaining as slaves; for the individuals, whatever may be their destination in this world, are candidates for eternity; and must have religion, or be miserable forever. And religion will certainly make them better colonists; more valuable fellow-citizens, or safer and more faithful slaves.

We hope that this association may carry its philanthropic plans into successful operation, and that the example may be followed by every parish, town and county in the slaveholding states. Thus having the scriptures read, explained and enforced by the missionaries,—and being led by their prayers to the Father of mercies,—the blacks will learn to look to another world, as their compensation for all the ills they suffer in this. They will learn also to feel the force of religious motive to duty, submission, loyalty and philanthropy. This one measure, faithfully executed, would afford ten thousand times greater security to the whites in the slaveholding states, than all the laws which they could devise against instructing the slaves, aided by a standing army—stationed a company on every plantation; and certainly the expense would be a mere trifle. Let this system be once carried into full operation, and the blacks might continue to multiply, till the white population would not amount to one of a thousand of their numbers; and still they would dwell safely, respected and obeyed. But when once the fears of the whites for their safety were removed, then they would find it abundantly for their interest to avail themselves of the intellectual as well as the physical capabilities of their slaves. They know that 'knowledge is power'; it is therefore that they prohibit knowledge from their slaves; because they dread the power which they fear would be employed, and employed irresistibly against themselves. But let them be once secured by the implantation of religious principle, from the fear that the power of their slaves would be employed against them, and every increase of that power would be considered an increase of profit to themselves. A thousand benevolent contrivances for ameliorating the condition of the poor African,—which are now buried under the fear of his avenging arm,—would rise spontaneously into operation as soon as the religious principle should have become so firmly and extensively implanted as to afford security against this fear. For example, the little parcel of ground from which the slave now digs his scanty bread, might be so enlarged as to parcel out the whole plantation among the slaves: who have been habituated to cultivating it; while the irksome daily task, from which alone the master's profit in his slaves is derived, might be exchanged for a rent not to exceed in amount the clear profit of the slaves' labor on the present system. While an encouragement to cheerful

BADIES' DEPARTMENT.



THE SLAVE MOTHER'S PRAYER.

BY MISS HANNAH F. GOULD. O, Thou, who hear'st the feeblest prayer, The humblest heart best see, Upon the chilly midnight air I pour my soul to thee. I bend a form with ceaseless toil Consuming all the day; And raise an eye that wets the soil, As wears my life away. I lift a hand that's only freed Unto tomorrow's task— But hark, O God! does nature bleed Upon the loon I ask! How wretched must that mother be, (And I'm the hapless one), Who begs an early grave of thee, To shield her only son! I would not that my boy were spared To curse his natal hour— To drag the chains his birth prepared Beneath forbidden power. Then, ere the morn'g in my breast Shall feel the tyrant's rod, O, lay his little form at rest Below the quiet sod! And when before thine awful throne My master must appear, A naked spirit, to atone For all his dealings here— His injured slave that by him stands, Emancipated there, And white beside his crimson bands, Will claim the blood they bear. If pardoning grace can be bestowed, And Heaven his pity then, For him who here no pity showed Towards his fellow men— Thou'lt spare him, in thy mercy, Lord, The sinner's fearful doom— The wages, for his just reward, Of death beyond the tomb.

LETTERS ON SLAVERY.—No. IV.

TO ISABEL. With what pleasure do I congratulate you, my beloved friend, upon the noble resolution you have adopted! I fear not now, that you will shrink from, or grow weary of the sacrifices that it may impose upon you; or that the temptations of luxury will overpower your self-denial.—No, dear Isabel! your gentle spirit will appreciate too well the consciousness of having done right. Your simple meal will be sweetened with the reflection that it is at least unpolluted, and though your form may perhaps be arrayed less daintily, there will be a calm satisfaction within your bosom, which the ample gratification of an idle vanity could never afford. Yet although you have thus resolved upon taking an open stand in opposition to slavery, you still accuse me of exaggeration, and unnecessary warmth when speaking of this subject. But believe me, Isabel, I have not done so.—may, I had almost said that it was impossible I could. What, my friend, can it be exaggeration to say that it is a dark and fearful wickedness to make merchandise of men? Why, do we not hold up as fit objects of punishment those who are guilty of purloining the property of their fellows, and those who would willfully become dealers therein? Then what terms of abhorrence can there be sufficiently strong to apply to a system which causes so many thousands to become robbers, or the upholders of those who are robbers, of the property of the immortal God! Is not this trade in human beings carried on in the very bosom of our own native country, tearing husbands from their wives, parents from their children, and trampling down all the holy relations of social and domestic life, as if it were meant by the Eternal that they should be so? And can it be possible, that too much warmth can be used in speaking upon this subject? But even looking upon slavery in its mildest form, allowing the slave to be kindly treated, and well provided for—though he may not at present be miserable, what warrant has he for the continuance of these blessings? Death, or pecuniary ruin, may overtake his master, and the negro be transferred at once into wretchedness. But how seldom it is that these situations are thus favorable! But we will speak more of this anon, dear Isabel. In the mean time, do not rest satisfied with what you have now done. Exert yourself in raising up other supporters to the cause of freedom, and in doing whatever may be in your power to loose the shackles of the oppressed. AGNES.

BOSTON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1832.

ADDRESS ON SLAVERY. An Address on Slavery in the United States will be delivered in the Rev. Mr. Green's meeting-house, Essex-street, on THURSDAY EVENING NEXT, at 7 o'clock, by Arnold Buffum, a highly esteemed member of the Society of Friends. Mr. Buffum is President of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, recently formed in this city, and consequently will speak in its behalf. From his extensive and intimate acquaintance with the most distinguished philanthropists in England and France, and his sound abilities, the public may expect a judicious, forcible and luminous exposition of the evils of slavery. The duty of the people of New-England, to assist in abolishing the system, will be particularly enforced. A special appeal will also be made to the female portion of the audience. It is hoped that they may be greeted with a crowded house, and that the members of the Legislature will generally attend.

Discourse on Slavery in the United States.

—We have received a Discourse on the subject of slavery in the United States, by Rev. J. J. May, delivered in Brooklyn, July 2d, 1831. Published in Boston, by Garrison and Knapp. The subject is treated with plainness and point. The discussion is spirited and candid—and the principle of the abstract right of the slave to be immediately emancipated, is not construed to mean that he should be emancipated at once, come what will to himself and to the community. They have a right to freedom now, and we claim it for them. But we are only too well aware, that time must intervene before they will be freed. 'Surely their emancipation ought to be as immediate as it can be!' The remarks on the Colonization Society will, we think, lessen the usefulness of the Discourse.—Con. Observer.

The Editor of the Observer does not fairly interpret the language of Mr May. When he says that time must intervene before the slaves will be freed, he merely refers to the difficulty of instantly eradicating the prejudices, enlightening the understandings, and changing the hearts of the owners of slaves. He does not mean to recognise the right of the master to hold his victims in bondage a single hour. On the contrary, he declares they have a right to freedom now, and he claims it for them. How different is this from the licentious doctrine of gradual emancipation! Men ought now to abstain from the moderate use of ardent spirits; but we are only too well aware, that time must intervene before they will all abandon it. Does this excuse moderate drinkers from an immediate reformation?

To talk about the 'abstract right of the slave to be immediately emancipated,' as something that justifies a limited oppression or that is distinct from an actual exercise of freedom, is to us prattling nonsense. Of all idle cant, deliver us from the cant of abstractions. Slavery is an abstract question, is the cry! Yes, it is with a vengeance: it abstracts knowledge from the heads, food from the stomachs, raiment from the persons, and flesh and blood from the bodies of the slaves! but in no other view is it abstract. 'O,' says the sinner, 'religion is a good thing in the abstract;' but he does not construe it 'to mean that he should be emancipated at once,' from his guilty pleasures and pursuits, 'come what will to himself and to the community.' He is no madman, or fanatic, or cut-throat; he has a sacred regard for consequences.

We cannot conceive how the remarks of Mr May upon the Colonization Society will lessen the usefulness of his Discourse. They are courteous, liberal and just, and ought to give offence to none who are not ferociously hostile to our colored population.

The recent secret numerous movements of the people of color in some of the southern states, evince the dreadful consequences of slavery, and the absolute necessity of colonizing all free blacks immediately, and of manumitting and colonizing slaves as fast as circumstances will justify the measure. We believe, and have for many years, that this is the only course, which will ensure prosperity and safety to our southern brethren.—New Hampshire Observer.

Superfluous logic! The insurrection of the slaves at Southampton (for not a single free person was implicated in the tragedy) evinces the absolute necessity of colonizing all free blacks immediately! Does it? Then it proves that the innocent ought to suffer the punishment due to the guilty. Will the editor of the Observer inform us how fast circumstances will justify a cessation from cruelty, robbery and oppression, and whether the obligation to do right depends upon circumstances? Does he really believe that the colonizing of the colored population 'is the only course which will ensure prosperity and safety to our southern brethren?' To assert that if the slaves were liberated, treated like rational beings, and fairly remunerated for their labor, evil consequences would ensue, 'is to present to us the double paradox, that we must continue to do evil, in order to cure the evil which we are doing; and that we must continue to be unjust and to do evil, that that good may come.' Query—Suppose the blacks resolutely refuse to emigrate—what then?

THE MARRIAGE LAW. We mentioned, in our last number, that a petition for the repeal of the following nonsensical and unjust section of the Act of June, 1786, had been presented to the Legislature: 'And be it further enacted, That no person by this Act authorized to marry, shall join in marriage any white person with any Negro, Indian or Mulatto, on penalty of the sum of Fifty Pounds, two third parts thereof to the use of the county wherein such act shall be committed, and the residue to the prosecutor, to be recovered by the Treasurer of the same county, in manner as aforesaid; and all such marriages shall be absolutely null and void.'

Mr. Ritchie, of Boston, from a select committee to which the petition was referred, reported on Monday that it was inexpedient to legislate on the subject alluded to in said petition, and that the petitioners have leave to withdraw their petition.—The plain English of this is, that it is inexpedient to repeal an unconstitutional and disgraceful law, to restore a right which no legislative body can lawfully take away, to acknowledge that the blacks are men entitled to all the privileges of freemen, and to cease from an odious persecution of our fellow creatures; or, in other words, that it is expedient to degrade and punish individuals for having skins 'not colored like our own,'—to legalize illicit intercourse and encourage bastardy,—to mark out channels for the flow of human love,—to shackle the freedom of choice,—and to defy prejudice. Shame! shame!

Among the petitions presented to the Legislature of Virginia on the 21th ult. was one from 215 ladies in the county of Augusta, for the speedy adoption of some measure for the extirpation of slavery from the Commonwealth. The Richmond Enquirer, which is publishing the debate on emancipation, remarks, 'There are many things in it—many ultra opinions and strong expressions, which will startle our readers, and lead many of them to wish that the debate had been conducted with closed doors.'

DEBATE IN CONGRESS.

Remarks of Mr. Coke, of Virginia, upon the resolution of Mr. Jenifer to cause an appropriation to be made by Congress for the purpose of removing to the coast of Africa the free people of color. Mr. Coke, of Va. said, that on hearing the resolution now read, he perceived its tendency went further than he had supposed when it had first been introduced, and he could not but say that he considered its introduction into the House as a great evil. The honorable gentleman who had moved it might be justified in *fora conscientia*, having probably been urged on by the excitement existing in his own State, and knowing no means to allay it but the course he had pursued. Though he felt inclined to acquit the gentleman from that sin (for he could apply no lighter term) of introducing such a question at such a time, yet there were many considerations which ought to have led him to a different course. The gentleman had argued the constitutional question confessedly involved in the proposed measure, but had not touched the question of expediency, nor indeed said a single word on the right subject of the resolution. The gentleman might take his choice of either question; he was ready to meet the discussion whenever the gentleman should choose to enter upon it.

As to the constitutional question, did not every body see that this government possessed already more powers than it ever ought to have had? Was this a period for claiming to it yet more? A corps of topographical engineers had been appointed to march in advance of our armies in time of war; and that authority had been perverted in a manner to promote the purposes of gentlemen favorable to the scheme of internal improvement. Was that all? Did not the grasp of the government extend itself in every direction? Was it not contending under the clause which gave Congress power to regulate commerce, that Congress might do almost whatever it pleased to assume to be expedient? He asked, in the name of humanity, what right was possessed by that House to tear the free colored people from their residence, and locate them in a land alien to all their feelings and affections? Was it humanity which led the steps of gentlemen in subjecting to certain punishment, and even to death itself, these very people?

It was known to all, that several sections of the Union were already distracted with controversies on the subject of Internal Improvements, the revenue laws, and other agitating subjects. And here came another in the shape of a proposition to appropriate money from the Treasury of the United States for the removal of a species of population residing but in eight or nine States of the Union. Here was to be a law confessedly partial in its effects, operating for the benefit of nine only in the twenty-four States. And what state of things had the result of the vote just taken by Yeas and Nays on considering this proposal disclosed? The individuals who alone were to be benefited by the scheme, had all been found voting against it, while all those gentlemen who had no interest in the matter, but from feelings of humanity, had voted with one accord in its favor. Was it not most singular to see men thus unitedly declining favors offered them so freely? What could it be that induced their brethren of the North, the East, and the West, to volunteer a boon of such inestimable value? And what could induce the Southern to refuse so dogmatically the North and the West were alike willing to bestow?

There must be some great mistake at the South, that led them to believe that their danger was not as great as it really was; or else there must be some peculiar obtuseness of intellect and feeling on the subject. But the gentleman from Maryland had asked whether Congress did not possess the power to make such an appropriation; and he had looked for an answer into the preamble of the Constitution—that sacred instrument, whose provisions he desired neither to diminish nor enlarge, and there the gentleman had discovered that one of the purposes for which it had been framed was 'to ensure domestic tranquillity.' The gentleman might as well have inferred from that clause that Congress had power to interfere with the minutest regulations of the police of the States on the subject of the transportation of commodities, as that it possessed the power to transport the free people of color beyond the limits of the United States. But the gentleman desired that the constitutional question should be deferred until the House should have heard the report of a committee: well, he was willing to wait till then; but if the gentleman was disposed to argue the question at this time, he would find a sufficient number of gentlemen on that floor abundantly prepared to argue that question with success. The gentleman had been induced to move his resolution by motives of humanity; but would not humanity have pointed out some place to which these poor wandering Jews were to be sent? The only designation of their asylum, expressed in the resolution, was 'Africa, or elsewhere.' Great God! exclaimed Mr. C. are the terrors which prevail on this subject so wild that we must get rid of our free blacks at all cost and all hazards, both to them and to ourselves? Are gentlemen so completely under the dominion of nervous fears? I tell gentlemen that their fear is a mistaken one. And I appeal to the history of my own State in proof that there never has been one period in her past experience at which she had any thing to fear from her free black population; and no more from her slaves. For all acquaintance with the general subject Mr. C. possessed the same advantages as the gentleman from Maryland—he was the representative of a slaveholding State, and himself the owner of slaves; and he slept with as much security in the midst of the slaves on his plantation, as if he had been himself a puffing director of a certain Society. All that was needed to insure the safety of a slave owner was kindness and proper discipline. He could assure gentlemen that the slave, however low his condition, was not dead to the sentiment of gratitude. Virginia had been settled for two centuries, and how many insurrections had she witnessed? One in Southampton; and that originated, carried on, and terminated by the death of a religious fanatic, who, with all his efforts, had been able to get but 30 or 40 followers. They had paid on the gibbet the forfeit of their crime, and there was an end of the affair. He had not the slightest apprehension of witnessing another.

PHILIS WHEATLEY. We commence, this week, under our literary head, the publication of the Poems of this remarkable girl who was stolen from Africa in the year 1761, and brought to this city; and whose effusions have obtained so wide a celebrity, though written in slavery and under adverse circumstances. A short account of her, from Mott's Sketches, shall be given next week.

PETITION TO CONGRESS.

The following petition for the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, signed by the President and Secretary of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, has been transmitted to Congress.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled. The Memorial of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society respectfully represents: That the enslaving of human beings, as practised in the District of Columbia, is viewed by the Society as an invasion of those inalienable rights which are recognised in the Declaration of Independence, a cruel warfare upon a helpless and innocent people, a foul stain upon our national escutcheon, and directly opposed to the spirit of freedom, of republicanism, and of christianity.

The Society therefore earnestly implores your honorable bodies,—by every consideration which humanity can present or duty enforce,—to break without delay the galling fetters of slavery, and to let the oppressed go free; the government of that District being exclusively vested in Congress. To delay the work of emancipation is only to make its accomplishment more difficult. The present is the best time to do right; the obligation is imperious; public sentiment is ready for the measure; policy and justice unite in demanding an immediate restitution. Suffer, then, not another session to pass, without evincing to the world that the odious principle of involuntary bondage is disavowed by the Representatives of the American people.

THREE BLACK CROWS. A week or two since, a writer in the U. S. Gazette, over the signature of 'A Pennsylvanian,' published a ludicrously terrific account of the influx of colored emigrants from Southampton, Va. into Philadelphia: the number he estimated as high as 500 within two months! The unhappy man was struck with horror; he feared that the good citizens of Philadelphia were 'sleeping on gunpowder;' and he fancied that he saw the whole State blown sky-high. The editor of the U. S. Gazette contains the following explanatory paragraph, which makes the statement of 'A Pennsylvanian' as ridiculous as the story of the three black crows: 'We have received a note from a "colored man," stating that the report which has recently been circulated through the city, namely, that "500 colored people had come to this city from Southampton," is entirely unfounded. Eighteen colored people have arrived from Northampton—and six of those have gone to New-Jersey, to work, and most of the others are in employment in this city. We have before us the recommendations for sobriety, industry and capability for good service, which most, if not all of those colored people brought from respectable citizens of Virginia.'

A correspondent of the same paper says: 'To be serious, we do not believe there is the least cause of alarm—the slaves cannot come; many of them have been sent to another world by the whites of Southampton, and the remainder are watched so narrowly, that they cannot get a chance to run away. As to the free blacks, they took no part in the insurrection—not even whilst the blacks were masters of the field; how much less, then, will they be likely to attempt any thing of the kind here, surrounded by whites? It is too absurd and cowardly to merit a serious refutation.'

The American Spectator states that 'the venerable Clarkson, now almost blind, listened to the details of the operations of the Colonization Society with enthusiastic delight,' as given by Elliot Cresson, the travelling Agent in England. No man in the world would more heartily abhor the crusade of colonizationists against the colored population of this country than Clarkson, if he had a correct knowledge of it. The motto on our first page, extracted from the Report of the Dublin Negro's Friend Society, (of which he is Vice President,) shows that he wholly disagrees with the Colonization Society, with regard to the abolition of slavery. 'They insist,' says the Report, 'upon unprocrated emancipation, as a right which is unrighteously withheld,' and which must first be restored before the slaves can be raised from their moral degradation.

The annual meeting of the Massachusetts Peace Society was held in this city on the 25th ult. Addresses were made by the Rev. Dr. Jenks, William Ladd, Esq., Hon. Mr. Rantoul, Rev. Mr. Tucker, and the Rev. Dr. Channing. The remarks of Mr. Ladd, were exceedingly impressive. The Rev. Dr. Channing made a fine effort, but his address contained some objectionable features, which we shall endeavor to notice hereafter. A second address on Peace was delivered by Mr. Ladd, the indefatigable advocate of pacific measures, on Tuesday evening, in the Rev. Dr. Jenks's Church; and a third by the same gentleman on Wednesday evening, in the Rev. Mr. Hague's Church. These addresses were crowded with thrilling descriptions of the evils of war, and with many excellent admonitions; mingled, however, with some heresies.

THE ESSAYIST. A delay of three months has brought us the second number of this magazine. We have given its papers rather a cursory reading, but sufficiently critical to attest to the care and accuracy of their composition. One of them contains an amusing rebuke to the author of an unmanly criticism of Lewis's Poems in the American Monthly Review. Mr. Light has a pretty poetical effusion on Marriage. Contents. John Pierpont; Sketches by a Looker-on; Common Sense; Mucius; Custom vs Nature; Travelling Sketches; American Monthly Review vs Alonzo Lewis; Marriage; Mount Auburn Cemetery; Tricks upon Travellers; Young Men's Association for the Promotion of Literature and Science; Polish Standards, Letter from Gen. Lafayette; Answer to Gen. Lafayette's Letter; Essayist Room; Literary Notices.

Despatches for government have been sent home by Com. Elliott, which are understood to relate to a commercial arrangement negotiated by Lin with the Haytian Government, highly advantageous to American Commerce, which it places on the footing of that of the most favored nation.

SLAVERY IN VIRGINIA.

The debate on the abolition of slavery, in the House of Delegates of Virginia, was closed on the 25th ult. having occupied exactly one fortnight. During that time, says the Richmond Whig, it has interested and absorbed the attention of this community beyond all precedent; and has been conducted with an ability, zeal, and eloquence, beyond any thing the Capitol of Virginia has witnessed since its foundation.

The inquiry and discussion have terminated in the following explicit and implied declarations on the part of the House of Delegates: 1. That it is not expedient at this session, to legislate on abolition. 2. That the colored population of Virginia is a great evil. 3. That humanity and policy in the first place, demand the removal of the free and those who will become free, (looking to an extensive voluntary manumission.) 4. That this will absorb our present means. 5. (undeniable implication,) That when public opinion is more developed; when the people have spoken more explicitly, and the means are better devised, that it is expedient to commence a system of abolition. On the 27th ult. Mr. Brodnax, from the select committee on Slaves and Free Negroes, reported a bill devising the ways and means for deporting free negroes, and such as may become free, to Liberia. The bill is a long one, but its principal features are, the appropriation of \$100,000 for the current year, and \$200,000 per annum, for succeeding years, to the transportation of free negroes to Africa.

Mark this!—While enough free blacks are found willing to go, (or such as may be emancipated for the purpose) to absorb the annual appropriation, coercion is not to be resorted to; OTHERWISE IT IS!!!!!! So says the Richmond Whig. Mr. Brodnax, we believe, is one of the pillars of the American Colonization Society in Virginia.

The trial of Roby, indicted for the murder of a young hapless girl, by stabbing her in a fit of jealousy, was concluded before the Supreme Court yesterday. The defendant had been previously convicted of an assault, with intent to kill, but before sentence was carried into effect the girl died, and an indictment was then preferred for murder and sustained by the Court. The testimony was closed on Tuesday, and Wednesday the counsel made their closing argument to the jury. The argument for the defendant by W. R. P. Washburn, Esq. was a forcible and able appeal to the jury to reduce the offence to manslaughter. The jury retired, but returned into Court at 8 o'clock, and requested to be discharged, not being able to agree. They were then discharged. The case was continued, by consent of parties, until the next term of the Court in March. Counsel for Prisoner, W. R. P. Washburn, and J. Willard, Esquires.

Consistency is a jewel. The following article is circulating in papers which are strenuously advocating the removal of two millions and a half of our colored countrymen to Africa. 'We have a vast uncultivated country' for the refugees of other nations; but not an inch of room for one sixth of our whole population. 'We like the idea of the Poles emigrating to this country. The climate is as fine as theirs, and this is the only asylum to which they can flee. We have a vast uncultivated country, which in a few years their industry could convert into harvest fields, and gardens, and villages.'

Many articles are reluctantly delayed this week—among them, Letter No. II. to J. Q. Adams. We entirely disagree with our esteemed correspondent W., in relation to the expediency of purchasing a tract of country south of Louisiana, on which to colonize the people of color. We also disapprove of several items in the communications of D. W. E. The proposition to make the slaves pay for their freedom is indefensible.

WASHINGTON CITY, Feb. 3. An immense crowd attended the Senate yesterday; to hear Mr. Clay's second speech on his resolution, in reply to Mr. Hayne. Not only were all the seats without the bar, but all the space within, not actually occupied by the Senators, was filled with ladies; and every part of the lobby and galleries was packed with eager auditors. It is our custom not to describe speeches, or to speak of their merits; but to report them, and let our readers judge for themselves. We shall be pardoned, however, on this occasion, for departing from our usual reserve, so far as to express the general opinion of the speech of yesterday; and that is, that it was equal in all points, in power, in eloquence, and effect, to any of Mr. Clay's best efforts of former days.—Intel.

Letters received at this office from Feb. 4 to Feb. 11, 1832. James Watson, Plympton, Mass.; William Hunt, Rochester, N. Y.; Philip Leach, Vassalboro', Me.; Eli Hazzard, Buffalo, N. Y.; E. W. Allen, Newburyport; Prince Swan, Hartford, Ct.; John Switzer, Union Bridge, Md.; Gardner Jones, New-York City. [Mr. J's letter shall be published next week.]

DEATH. DIED—In this city, on Monday last, Mr Joseph Henry, a man of color, aged 32. Mr Henry was a man of uncommon talents, and a sound understanding. He was educated by a professor of Harvard University, and was well versed in all the studies that were taught at that institution. He formerly kept an academy for the instruction of young persons in Philadelphia. He was a man of very steady habits and sterling integrity in all his dealings. Many young students of Harvard University, who have resorted to him for advice and instruction, will lament his loss, which is also felt very deeply by his friends.—[Communicated by a friend of the deceased.]

BOARD FOR GENTLEMEN. MRS. FOSTER, No. 4, Province House Court, can accommodate a few more gentlemen with board. The quietude and central location of this Court, make it a desirable retreat. Terms reasonable. Feb. 11. FOR SALE AT THIS OFFICE, AND AT THE BOOKSTORE OF CARTER AND HENDEE. A DISCOURSE On Slavery in the United States, By Rev. Samuel J. May, Pastor of the First Church in Brooklyn, Ct. This discourse is judicious, forcible and eloquent, richly meriting an attentive perusal and a wide circulation. Price 12c cents.

THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. III.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND ISAAC KNAPP, PUBLISHERS.

NO. 7.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.]

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

[SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1832.]

New-England Anti-Slavery Society.

At a meeting of the friends of abolition, held in Boston on the evening of January 1, 1832, for the purpose of organizing an Anti-Slavery Society, the following Preamble and Constitution were adopted.

PREAMBLE.

We, the undersigned, hold that every person, of full age and sane mind, has a right to immediate freedom from personal bondage of whatsoever kind, unless imposed by the sentence of the law for the commission of some crime.

We hold that man cannot, consistently with reason, religion, and the eternal and immutable principles of justice, be the property of man.

We hold that whoever retains his fellow man in bondage, is guilty of a grievous wrong.

We hold that a mere difference of complexion is no reason why any man should be deprived of any of his natural rights, or subjected to any political disability.

While we advance these opinions as the principles on which we intend to act, we declare that we will not operate on the existing relations of society by other than peaceful and lawful means, and that we will give no countenance to violence or insurrection.

With these views, we agree to form ourselves into a Society, and to be governed by the rules, specified in the following Constitution, viz.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be called the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.

ART. 2. The objects of the Society shall be to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States, to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, to inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and to obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.

ART. 3. Any person by signing the Constitution, and paying to the Treasurer fifteen dollars as a life subscription, or two dollars annually, shall be considered a member of the Society, and entitled to a voice and vote in all its meetings, and to a copy of any publications or communications which may be distributed among its members. Honorary members may be chosen by a vote of the Society.

ART. 4. There shall be an annual meeting of the Society on the second Wednesday in January, at which a report of the transactions of the Society for the past year, and of its income, expenditures and funds, shall be presented by the Board of Managers, and the following officers elected by ballot, viz. A President, two Vice Presidents, six Counselors, a Treasurer, Corresponding Secretary, and Recording Secretary, who shall hold their respective offices until the next annual meeting.

ART. 5. The said twelve officers shall together constitute a Board of Managers, to whom shall be entrusted the disposition of the funds, and the management of the concerns of the Society. They shall have power to fill any vacancy, which may occur in their board, until the next meeting of the Society; and shall be their duty to consider and adopt the means best calculated to promote the objects of the Society, and report the same to the Society.

ART. 6. Meetings of the Managers may be called by the President, or in his absence by either of the Vice Presidents, when they shall judge it necessary, or on application to them from any one of the Managers for any specific purpose; and special meetings of the Society may be called by vote of the Managers, or on application of the members of the Society to the Recording Secretary, and the time and place of the Meetings of the Society shall be determined by the Managers.

ART. 7. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Managers; in his absence, one of the Vice Presidents; and in their absence, the oldest Manager present.

ART. 8. The Treasurer shall collect the subscriptions and grants to the Society, and hold all its funds, and make payments according to the votes of the Managers; and he shall keep a true account of the same, and render an annual statement to accompany the annual report to the Society.

ART. 9. The Corresponding Secretary shall receive and keep all communications or publications directed to the Society, and transmit those issued by them, and shall correspond with the agents, or any other bodies or individuals according to the directions of the Society or the Managers.

ART. 10. The Recording Secretary shall notify all meetings of the Society, and of the Board of Managers, and shall keep the Records of the same and of the transactions of the Society, and shall furnish copies of any votes to any persons, when required by the President, or a Vice President.

ART. 11. The Board of Managers may appoint an agent or agents, to be employed in any part of the United States, in obtaining or communicating intelligence, in the publication or distribution of tracts, books, or papers, or in the execution of any measure, which may be adopted, to promote the objects of the Society. The compensation of the agents shall be determined by the Board of Managers.

ART. 12. Any Anti-Slavery Society, or any association founded on kindred principles in the New-England States, may become auxiliary to this Society, by contributing to its funds, and by sending a delegate, or delegates, to attend its meetings.

ART. 13. There shall be a regular meeting of the Society on the last Monday of every month.

ART. 14. The Constitution may be altered at any annual meeting, by a vote of two thirds of those present.

ADDRESS.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

The object of our Society is neither war nor sedition. Although the sufferings of that class of our brethren, for whose rights we plead, are immeasurably greater, than would be deemed sufficient with any other people to gird on the armor, and march to the field of battle and of blood; yet, we hope ever to imbibe the spirit of Him, who says, 'Resist not evil;—they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword.' Governed by such a spirit, the weapons of our warfare can never be carnal. The only influence we can exert must be that of moral suasion, and not of coercion. In the truth, and the God of truth, alone we trust, for the success of our exertions; and with the truth, and in the name of the God of truth, we plead for the cause of humanity.

The fundamental principle upon which our Constitution is based, is, OUR SAVIOUR'S GOLDEN RULE: *All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.* Hence the grand articles in our creed:—'That God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth;—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; and that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'†

Based upon such principles, guided by such maxims, and holding such articles of faith, our Society must necessarily be what its name signifies. We are, from principle, opposed to Slavery. We believe, too, that such a spirit becomes the very genius of our country. The whole American people ought to be an Anti-Slavery Society. This is the very first principle upon which our government is built. The spirit of civil and religious liberty requires it. The Declaration of '76 requires it. The spirit and letter of our Constitution require it. The spirit of the gospel of Christ, and the voice of public, commutative and retributive justice, imperiously demand it.

We must, then, be wholly inconsistent with ourselves, and the principles by which we profess to be governed, if we do not, by every laudable exertion, induce as many of our fellow-citizens as possible to become anti-slaveholders, and endeavor by all means sanctioned by law, humanity, and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States. To effect this object, we consider it our imperious duty to diffuse, as widely as possible, a knowledge of just and correct principles on the subject of slavery; to arouse the consciences of the wise; to enlighten the understandings of the ignorant; and incessantly to appeal to every principle of humanity, benevolence, justice and natural affection, in behalf of that degraded and wretched class of our colored brethren, who are retained in ignominious and cruel bondage.

We believe that slavery is an evil now; and, of course, the slaves ought to be *now* emancipated. If the thief is found in possession of stolen property, he is required immediately to relinquish it. The slaveholder and the man-stealer are in unlawful possession of the stolen sons and daughters of Africa; they ought, therefore, immediately to set them free. Who will say, 'We must continue supremely and sordidly selfish for years to come, and leave the dispensation of justice to the third and fourth generation of our posterity?' We say, that slavery is an evil and a curse; what right have we then, to entail this evil and curse upon unborn generations? Every principle of humanity, of benevolence, or of equity, which requires that the slaves be emancipated at all, demands that they be emancipated now. Let us suppose ourselves in the place of the African; here then, are two millions of our parents, of our children, of our wives, and of our brethren and sisters in thralldom. Here are our wives, and our sisters, and our mothers, and our daughters, treated like brutes, abused to the most shameful purposes of sensuality, and compelled to the most ignominious prostitution! Do we then content for gradual abolition? Do we say, the time has not yet arrived for our kindred, bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh, to be set at liberty?—that they must be manumitted one, two, a dozen, or a score at a time, and those immediately transported beyond the seas? Who, reflecting and weeping over the bondage of their own parents, wives, sons or daughters, would thus neglect the pain of maniacs? But, all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets. Every principle which proves slavery unjust, an evil and a curse, equally demonstrates the duty of immediate manumission.

Believing the foregoing principles to be established, we cannot but view some of the measures now strenuously advocated and pursued, in our own country, on the subject of slavery; as radically wrong, and calculated to perpetuate, rather than remove, the evil we so much deprecate. Having no disposition to impugn the motives of those who advocate the system of Colonization, and willing to admit that many have put their hands to the work from feelings of the purest benevolence; we must still consider them as guided by a delusive view of the whole subject, contemplating the object of their desire through a false medium, and pursuing a course, which, in its ultimate tendency, must involve our country in remediless ruin. That the grand project of the 'Colonization Society' is wholly chimerical, is demonstrated by the following calculation of the magnanimous Charles Stuart:—

The United States have about 2,000,000 slaves, and about 500,000 free colored people.

The American Colonization Society has existed for 13 years, and has exported yearly, upon an average, about 150 persons.

Meanwhile the natural yearly increase has been 56,000 souls; and nearly a million have died in slavery!!

But it may be said, this is only the beginning—more may be expected hereafter.—Let us see.

The average price of transporting each individual is calculated at 30 dollars: suppose it to be reduced to 20, and then, as 56,000 must be exported yearly, in order merely to prevent increase, 1,120,000 dollars would be yearly requisite simply for transportation. Where is this vast sum to come from? Or suppose it supplied, still, in the mass of crime and wretchedness, as it now exists, there would be no decrease! Two millions of human beings every 30 years would still be born and die in Slavery!!

But perhaps you wish to extinguish the crime in thirty years. Then you must begin by transporting at least 100,000 yearly. In order to do this, you must have an annual income of upwards of 2,000,000 dollars; and if you have not only to transport, but also to purchase, you would probably want yearly, twenty millions more!!

Where are you to get this?—Or suppose it got, and still one generation would perish in their wretchedness; 2,000,000 of immortal souls—plundered by you of the most sacred rights of human nature; of rights always the same, and everlastingly inalienable, however plundered—would have perished unredressed, and gone to confront you at the bar of God.

And will He not make inquisition for blood? And what will it avail you to say, 'Oh, we satisfied ourselves, and traversed land and sea, and spent thousands to satisfy others, that if we transported a few hundreds or thousands of our oppressed fellow-subjects to a distant country, yearly, with care, we might guiltlessly leave the remaining hundreds of

* Acts xvii. 26.

† Declaration of Independence.

‡ We use the terms African, and sons and daughters of Africa, for the sake of distinction. We believe that every colored person, who is either born in this country, or forced to make this the place of his residence, is as really an American, as any white-born citizen of New England.

thousands, or the millions, in slavery, and harmlessly indulge the invincible repugnance which we felt to a colored skin. We really thought it better, to exile our colored brethren from their native country, or to render their lives in it intolerable by scorn, should they obstinately persist in remaining in it—we really thought this better, than humbling ourselves before our brother and our God, and returning to both with repenting and unobscuring love.'

But, supposing the scheme of colonization to be practicable, and that our whole colored population can be removed within the period of thirty years; where is the justice of such a measure? Estimating the whole number of slaves and free colored persons in this country, at two millions, and allowing only for one eighth of the whole number to die on their passage, and by necessary exposure to disease and a change of climate, on arriving in Africa; we have, in addition to the two millions, who must be born and die in slavery, during this thirty years, a sacrifice of two hundred and fifty thousand lives! Here, then, at the lowest possible estimate, are two millions, two hundred and fifty thousand, who are either to be born, and live, and die in slavery, or to literally throw away their lives, by being decoyed or coerced beyond the seas! If this is justice, if this is humanity, if this is philanthropy, we must confess ourselves wholly ignorant of the laws of God, of the principles of equity, of the letter and spirit of the 'golden rule,' and of that great moral precept, which requires us to love our neighbor as ourselves.

Besides, we are constrained to consider the emancipated slaves as really entitled, by right, to a peaceable possession in this land of light and boasted freedom, as any white-born American. He is, indeed, as really an American as any of us. This is his native land. It is the soil which has literally reared, perhaps twenty times over, by the sweat of his brow. To deprive him of this possession, is to deprive him of his birth-right. It is to rob him of that inheritance, to which he has an infinitely better title, than the master for whom he has toiled, to the plantation which he calls his own.

Our colored population have ever contributed, either directly or indirectly, to the support of our government.—Even the slave pays taxes by the hand of his master; and the excise thus demanded for the support of a free government, is the price of his blood. We affirm, then, that our colored population have the right of protection in this their native land, and are justly entitled to every constitutional franchise of free citizens. To deprive them of this right, either by stratagem, or by coercion, is tyranny. If the color of the skin is to give construction to our Constitution and laws; let us, at once, begin the work of excision. Let us raise a army of free whites, if such an army can be found; and let us drive out and transport to foreign climes, men, women and children, who cannot bring the most satisfactory vouchers, that their veins are flowing with the purest English blood. Indeed, let us shut up our ports against our own mariners, who are returning from an India voyage, and whose cheeks and muscles could not wholly withstand the influence of the breezes and tropics to which they were exposed. Let us make every shade of complexion, every difference of stature, and every contraction of a muscle, a Shibboleth, to detect and cut off a brother Ephraimite, at the fords of Jordan. Though such a crusade would turn every man's sword against his fellow; yet, it might establish the right of precedence to different features, statures and colors, and oblige some friends of colonization to test the feasibility and equity of their own favorite scheme.

From the attention with which we have been able to examine the subject, we are convinced, that the system of colonization, so zealously advocated by many in our country, instead of effecting the cure for which they profess to prescribe, must directly tend to perpetuate the curse of which we complain. To remove the free colored population from the slaveholding states, enhances the value of slave labor, and increases the temptation to multiply their numbers. It removes the most fruitful source of information to the slaves themselves; and of course, preserves them in ignorance of their natural rights. This has ever been a desideratum with the planter, and a primary object of legislation at the South. To enhance the value of slave labor, and to hold the slaves in perpetual ignorance, may be reckoned the fundamental principles of slavery itself; and although we might be astonished to hear the logic of tyrants from the tongues of freemen, yet strange as it may appear, these very doctrines are effectually supported by colonization; and the necessity of holding the slaves in ignorance is strenuously advocated by its most zealous and liberal patrons. We hence find that the number of slaves has actually increased since the Colonization Society commenced its operations; and it is no less a matter of fact, that some of the most influential and opulent planters, who were at first jealous of its principles and designs, have since come forward and contributed liberally to its funds.

While we plead for the immediate manumission of those in bondage, and, at the same time, consider it, next to slavery itself, cruel and oppressive either to decoy or coerce the free people of color out of our country; we hold ourselves bound, by every laudable and lawful exertion, to improve their character and condition, to instruct them in the first principles of civil and religious liberty, and to qualify both bond and free for holding rank, and enjoying privileges in common with other citizens of the States and Nation.

Such exertions as these we consider not only as an act of justice to our long degraded and abused colored population; but as an imperious duty which we owe to our country. They are the only means in our power to prevent the effusion of human blood, and avert the judgments of Heaven. Our hearts respond to the sentiment and language of an eminent statesman; 'I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just.' The slaves cannot be long retained in bondage. If their tyrants do not voluntarily break the yoke of their vassalage, the providence of God and the judgments of Heaven will doubtless break it for them; and we venture to predict, that a way will ere long be opened for them to seek and obtain redress. Their sighs and groans have long ascended up into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth, and their blood has long cried to him from the

ground. Is it then unreasonable to suppose, that God is now saying emphatically, both by his word and providence, 'Shall I not visit for these things? and shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?' In what way he will address the wrongs of our colored brethren, we do not pretend to designate; but we are constrained to believe that the time of their deliverance is at hand. It is our heart's desire and prayer to God, that none of our countrymen may be so infatuated as to destroy themselves by fighting against his word and providence, and the eternal principles of truth and equity.

The slaves cannot long be kept in ignorance of the first and most invaluable legacy of nature. The march of free inquiry and the knowledge of equal rights, the very first principles of emancipation, is, 'owwark'. We may forbid the philanthropist to teach and the sapient to learn; but we may as well undertake to clip the wings and stay the course of the celestial messenger, who has received the divine mandate to preach the everlasting gospel to them that dwell on the earth. We may as well forbid the beams of the meridian sun to gild the height of the Andes; essay to roll back the tide of the ocean; command the dew drop to stay itself forever in the sky; puff back the northern blast with the breath of our nostrils; or attempt to compass and bind Arcturus and his sons' with a shroud of flax; as to think of holding our colored brethren in perpetual ignorance and perpetual bondage. If the master will not instruct his slave, still the slave will take it upon himself to learn. Already the toil-worn bondman, who, by his own vigilance and sagacity, has picked up a knowledge of letters, collects, in sequestered groups his fellow slaves, at the close of their daily task, and like the Jewish high priest, rehearses in their ears all the words of the law of liberty. He reads to them orations, dissertations and panegyrics, which embrace the very first principles of our civil institutions and political rights; and which instamp upon their minds the indelible impression, that they have the same title to be free. These intonations and songs of prospective liberty, flow as sweetly from the lips of a fellow slave, and as readily vibrate with their heart-strings, as the most impassioned eloquence of an Adams, a Hancock or a Henry ever thrilled through the bosoms of those revolutionary heroes, whose names are now enrolled upon the pages of history, as having 'bid defiance to the thunders of Britain,' and resolved either to die, or to break to pieces the yoke of foreign domination.

To prevent the scenes of St. Domingo from being acted here, we call upon the nation to be just. To say that immediate emancipation will only increase the wretchedness of the colored people; and that we must pursue a system of gradual abolition; is to present to us the double paradox, that we must continue to do evil, in order to cure the evil which we are doing; and that we must continue to be unjust, and to do evil that good may come. There is, we believe, but one alternative. The master must manumit his slave, or the slave will manumit himself. We have no doubt, that the God of heaven, who is a God of justice, is, at this moment, in his word and providence, setting before the Southern planter this very alternative; and this alternative embraces life and death, a blessing and a curse.—To choose the first, and say to the slave, BE FREE, is to shut the floodgates of human woe and of human blood. To choose the latter, and hold the colored man in vassalage, must, ere long, break up the fountains of the great deep, and have a direct tendency to unseat the sword of vengeance, revolution, carnage and death. On this subject we can hardly feel that any language is too strong. We appeal to the better judgment and patriotism of our fellow citizens; we appeal to the understanding, conscience and heart; we appeal to all the tender sympathies of humanity and natural affection; we appeal to every citizen who deprecates the horrors of St. Domingo and Southampton; and we conjure every one, who is capable of feeling or of reflection, to weigh in an even balance, the present evils and inevitable consequences of slavery. In the language of a distinguished statesman and scholar, on another subject, we do but express the real feelings and sentiments of our hearts on this.—On this theme, my emotions are unalterable. If I could find words for them, if my powers bore any proportion to my zeal, I would swell my voice to such a note of remonstrance, it should reach every log-house beyond the mountains. I would say to the inhabitants, wake from your false security; your cruel dangers, your more cruel apprehensions, are soon to be renewed; the wounds, yet unhealed, are to be torn open again; in the day time, your path through the woods will be ambushed; the darkness of midnight will glitter with the blaze of your dwellings. You are a father—the blood of your sons shall fatten your corn-field; you are a mother, the war-hoop shall wake the sleep of the cradle.

On this subject you need not suspect any deception on your feelings; it is a spectacle of horror which cannot be overdrawn. If you have nature in your hearts, they will speak a language, compared with which all I have said or can say will be poor and frigid.

To do away the horrors of slavery, and prevent such ravages as are here depicted, we do most earnestly invite the co-operation of our fellow citizens; and we can hardly conceive how any one is entitled to the name of a philanthropist or of a Christian, who is either ashamed or afraid to show himself a FRIEND TO HIS COUNTRY AND A FRIEND TO THE BLACK MAN.

* Fisher Ames.

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† Compare the last census of the United States with that of 1820. ‡ Mr. Jefferson.