

THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. III. WILHELM BROYD GARRISON AND ISAAC KNAPP, PUBLISHERS. No. 19.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

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

[SATURDAY, APRIL 26, 1833.]

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

W. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

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

- AGENTS.**
- MAINE.**
Joseph C. Leroy Bangor.
Nathan Winslow Portland.
Rafael E. Cutler Exeter.
David Campbell Acworth.
- NEW-HAMPSHIRE.**
Harvey Kimball Amherst.
Charles Whipple Newburyport.
Benjamin Coleman Lynn.
Edward Johnson New Bedford.
Richard J. Pomeroy Naushon.
- VERMONT.**
G. C. Smith Castleton.
- RHODE-ISLAND.**
Henry F. Benson Providence.
Alfred Nizer Pawtucket.
- CONNECTICUT.**
John Wm. Creed New-Haven.
William Saunders Hartford.
Rev. Abel C. Bennett Middletown.
William Harris Norwich.
William Anderson New London.
William Coodell Lyme.
- NEW-YORK.**
Philip A. Bell New-York City.
George Hogarth Brooklyn.
Charles Marriott Hudson.
Nathaniel Blount Poughkeepsie.
John G. Stewart Albany.
James W. Jensen Elmira.
Isaac Green Rochester.
Erwin Sackett Watertown.
- DELAWARE.**
Abraham D. Sland Wilmington.
- MARYLAND.**
J. Statia Newark.
Abner H. Francis Trenton.
- PENNSYLVANIA.**
Joseph Campbell Philadelphia.
Joseph Sharpes
J. B. Vashon Pittsburg.
Thomas Hamilton Harrisburg.
John Peck Carlisle.
Thomas Williams Lewistown.
James P. Whipper Pottsville.
- OHIO.**
George Cary Cincinnati.
- DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.**
Benjamin Lundy Washington City.
- INDIAN TERRITORY.**
Jonathan Shaw Nettie Creek.
Nathaniel Field Jeffersonville.
- UPPER CANADA.**
Austin Stewart Wilberforce.
- MAYTI.**
William B. Bowler Port-au-Prince.
- ENGLAND.**
Joseph Phillips, Aldermanbury Square, London.

might be expected to be rapid and extensive. How far the aboriginal society is likely to accomplish its object of removing the slave population itself from our soil, we shall more doubtfully question, than that of its success with the free blacks. When we consider the natural increase that takes place among the slaves, amounting to not less than thirty or forty thousand a year; and that the society have not yet made arrangements for transporting annually to Africa more than three or four hundred persons, it is easy to see that the present arrangement must be very much extended before it will be able to approach the accomplishment of their purpose. Add to this, that the moderate and regular emigration has in general little or no tendency to diminish the population of a country, and the case will be found to be still more pregnant, vividly, it may be questioned whether we ought to wish to remove from amongst us, if we could do it peaceably and easily, so large a portion of the working class. The political condition of the blacks is certainly far from being what we could wish it; but such as they are, they are nevertheless industrious and useful laborers, and the southern states would, if approached, suffer not a little from the loss of them. The expulsion of the Moors from Spain, and of the Protestants from France, for reasons not unlike those which are now urged for the removal of the blacks, have been considered as among the most impolitic measures that ever were adopted, and a similar result obtained by a special operation *ad hoc* in the mind of the statesman, will be found to be as impolitic, though somewhat less violent and odious. It is needless, however, to argue against the policy of a scheme, of which the accomplishment is a possible way, the idea that any thing can be effected respecting the blacks, appears to be in the first place, to make them as happy as we can in their present condition, and then to employ such means as may be most expedient for raising them by a slow and gradual process to a higher one. Of these means, one of the most important is to discourage in every possible way, the idea that any thing can be effected immediately and at once; and the Colonization Society, however respectable from the high character of its members and the purity of their intentions, produces thus far a great power of evil, inasmuch as it keeps up in the public mind an impression, that the manumission of the slaves can be violently and suddenly effected, and that the best way of effecting it is by emigration. This opinion engenders a morbid and mistaken sentiment in regard to the whole subject. Mr. King's proposition in the senate is liable to the same objection. In his as in every other project for political improvement, we must assume and build upon the existing state of things. Improve the character of the blacks, and some time or other, in due time without effort; whereas, by a premature zeal for formal emancipation, you destroy the possibility of improvement, and thereby defeat our own object. The society may perhaps effect some good by founding a colony on the coast of Africa, although even in this particular its efforts are liable to the same objection, which is made habitually by so many just and judicious missionaries. In situations, that they employ upon a distant and uncertain object, a part of the time, funds, and good will of the public, for the whole of which there is an ample occupation at home. While, therefore, we express our sincere admiration of the honest zeal and generous philanthropy of the members of this society, we believe that their views, as well as their admirable qualities may receive a different direction, and be devoted to some of the numerous objects of great and undoubted utility, which our country offers in such abundance.

The following communication was received in September last, but has been unintentionally postponed until the present time. Its spirit is too belligerous to suit our views; though we admit it is a noble and patriotic spirit, and we are not without our 'Carpe Diem,' namely,—all people of color, slaves and free, MUST BE REMOVED, *no* *volentes*, (willingly or unwillingly) *no* *physic* *force* of this country can effect the measure!!!

REPLY TO 'CARPE DIEM.'

MR. EDITOR.—A correspondent in the U. S. Gazette of the 7th September, over the signature of 'CARPE DIEM,' seems to have a political eye, and trembles for the future of this country, inasmuch as he is so much concerned for the colored population. That there is cause for alarm all must admit, and that to such an extent as to rouse the attention of every man who pretends to have a concern for the public welfare. Appearances justify suspicion; and when suspicion is at stake, suspicion is the ground of inquiry. He fears that the increase of the blacks, together with their intellectual advancement, will shake them with new vigor, and thus direct their ambition to exercise the rights of freemen, and nullify the laws of white men; and this, he says, must not be permitted.

Oppressive laws must be nullified, notwithstanding his chimerical views and dangerous predictions; it must and will be permitted. Justice demands that we should be as just to the colored population as to the generations of our ancestors demands the redress—the present unconstitutional and tyrannical laws must be broken—the accursed traffic in human beings must not exist—laws which justify man in holding property in man, must cease to be respectability—men must no longer be treated as things, but as men, and as men, they must be treated as such, only a little lower than the angels—they must exercise the moral attributes—live in the full possession of their inalienable rights, cost what it may. The debt between the white and black of this country is of

long standing. The present generation ought to cancel it. We owe to our posterity that rich bequest, the free enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. We are not insensible to those sacred claims—we consider the obligation binding. The safety of this country demands the elevation of the colored population to the rank and standing of men. I do not wish to be understood to say, that there is an unannouncedly revealed disposition in the colored population; no, quite the contrary. Their chief fault is, a quiet submission to a long train of injuries, which, if not removed, will daily have a tendency to increase. It is full time the voice of the nation had reached over the land, and pronounced its bitter anathemas at the unjust distribution of the rights of citizens. When the country is in danger, and the national character at stake, the representatives of a free people should no longer remain quiet—their allegiance to the country, the call of office—and the prospect of a glorious and honorable career, should be the great charter of their liberty—the Declaration of Independence.

Why are the public press (the chief palladium of liberty and the imperial safeguard of the nation) silent, when they should plead like angels trumpet-tongued? Is the body politic diseased? Is the prospect of the land, above a shadow? Is the land forever to be infested with the plague, under the care of a few maleficial physicians?

He farther states, that the world should be told that there is a people, a united American people, as well as an abstract sovereignty of the states, proud in its providential care of future generations, and vigilant in the great cause of the endangered civilization of the land. No information on that subject is necessary—the world knows well that there is an American people united by twenty-four links which compose so many separate state governments, all subject to the central and general government as the constitution directs; but with respect to abstract sovereignty, he so unhesitatingly acknowledges, that he fears he will yet have just cause to blush for his country. That united people have exercised their combined authority, and persisted in expressing an ignorant, weak, and offensive people is likewise known, and that former, as well as present abuses have invoked the hatred of those people, until they are burning with revenge for the slave, which (if not quenched by the pure waters of philanthropy) will in time only cool itself in the blood of its enemies, and the destruction of the country. Notwithstanding the boasted strength of the Union, it must bow its majestic head to the supreme power of justice, when the cries of mercy will be heard with such an effect, and treated with as much regard, as when emanating from the oppressed slave.

C. D. declares that his soul is united with the voluntary or involuntary crime of slavery; and invokes the wisdom of America in favor of his unfortunate brethren, the slaveholders of the south—more unfortunate than criminal, but always his brethren. This is professedly advocating the cause of slavery and the cause of public sympathy in their behalf, and relieving them from the odious criminality attached to this disreputable business. If, as he is pleased to term them, unfortunate, why perpetrate their misfortune on their posterity? why increase their stock in slaves, by purchasing at market prices slaves of all ages and sexes? Why not emancipate them, as that is the only way to free them from slavery? The slaveholder of the present day is equally guilty with his father of the great crime of slavery, and his willingness to bequeath the same to his survivors exhibits his unwillingness to tone; and he who justifies him in such unwholesome conduct, participates of the guilt, and renders himself an advocate of the crime.

It is to be regretted that the cause of the colored population, and the whole revenue belonging to the United States, and the never can transport the whole colored population alive. And should the moral and physical force of the country be called into measure, and attempt to force them into the measure, the scene of horror and bloodshed which has awaited them, and to justify them in the Congress may appear, the transportation will be general, and not confined any more to a single county or state. If we admit, for argument's sake, that the physical power of the American people is sufficient to drive the colored population on board of vessels destined to transport the same to Africa, or elsewhere, who

amongst the whole land of aquatic navigation would undertake the command of the same, when common sense must teach him that he would be buried in a watery grave before he had scarcely lost sight of his own land?

The punishment which might be inflicted for such a crime would be of a minor consideration. An injured, oppressed and exasperated people did not fear the penalties of the law; the latter and greater are preferred by martyrs in a righteous and glorious cause, to the overwhelming domination of tyrants.

Then the American people will find that those very people who have been covered by ignorance, will be united by oppression, and walk forward, and shake off their chains, should it cost them their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred all.

Should the recommendation of C. D. go into operation, and produce the results stated, whether open or shut, his own language, give up the southern states to black, fire, and all the horrors that will cause heaven and men to be invoked,—I say, on the guilty let the punishment fall.

In conclusion, he says that the same will be laughed at by the future Black O. P. Q. from St. Domingo, who will call his friends, the Felps of America. That the good people of St. Domingo would rejoice I have not the least reason to doubt; the humane and benevolent of all ages have rejoiced in the downfall of tyrants and tyranny; and should the final redemption from slavery of the colored people of this country furnish a theme for the joy of any of our brethren in that great republic, where, to dwell with delight, we shall only regret the cause and cost of the same, while we shall sing and shout about honest to the great tree of Liberty, and the blessed dissemination of its precious fruit to all mankind.

PHILOSOPHY. WALKER.

For the Liberator.

DIALOGUE BETWEEN QUERIST AND APOLOGIST.

(Continued from Number 13.)

Querist. What do those people do with their self-will; that all are born free?

Apologist. It requires great knowledge of the ways of the world, and its wise political maxims, to answer this question properly; not can the answer be understood, but by minds prepared to comprehend it. This is impracticable, until they rise superior to a child-like, simple feeling, by some called goodness, supposed to be an infinity all are naturally subject to; but which is found extremely inconvenient in general society. On account of its officious intrusions, eminent, and that have the opening of great plans, it has been thought prudent to discard it. The most successful attempts at bringing it into disrepute, have been the showing how material it interferes with property, and from representing it as a kind of ignifugus adapted to the circumstances of adults. Beside to connected systems of opinions is found to serve no purpose much better; and experience is the only infallible test,—but we seem to wander. Though it is distinctly understood that all are 'born free,' there is a kind of insidious power in the Constitution, afterwards made, that changes the condition of the people, the moment they are born.

Q. There seems to be a contradiction—born free and slave—how is it to be explained?

A. The seeming contradiction is only an inference. The instrument is to be taken literally; though it does say, each is 'born free,' and has rights which cannot be transferred; it does not say, those who are unable to maintain their freedom, from ignorance, oppression, or any other disability, shall be or be held natural or divine?—and their rights are not coercible. In this perceive the advantage of expressions which may be useful in after ages—see in it also the shrewdness of a people availing themselves of the ambiguity.—The powers of man, when fully developed, are certainly very great. What becomes of the innumerable laws, whether civil or natural or divine?—and they are suspended, changed or destroyed?

A. Nothing more common. The protraction of every forest is a case of this kind. Nature pours out each tree freely—man throws it down. He diverts large streams from their natural channels, into artificial ones; and—

Q. These are inanimate things; there is no morality involved in such matters.

A. Well, then, for the moral question. There can be no doubt; but taking life in, is itself, extremely immoral—a violation of divine and human law. Yet governments, which have provided ample against this offence, kill thousands from necessity and expediency. And as for the divine law on this head—they have it in keeping;—and have been set apart for expounders of it, have sacrificed millions of lives to promulgate and establish it—all with a view of pleasing and rendering service to the lawgiver. The propriety of this, has been doubted by some; but low people cannot comprehend high things.

Q. Still there seems an inconsistency in the dec-

larations and practice of these professed republicans, to hold two millions of beings in slavery, who, they say, were born with inalienable rights, among which liberty is one.

A. This apparent discrepancy evinces on the assurance that those people are not recognized in the constitution.

Q. Are they not considered men by the owners?

A. In a sense they are—they claim for each of them a representation in the national legislature, equal to three-fifths of a man; and they hold them amenable to the civil law for all immorality; indeed, it would appear that they consider them more accountable than others, if we may judge from the punishment inflicted for divers offences. For instance, it is no crime in law, for a white man to kill one of them in the presence of a hundred spectators of their own color; whereas if one of them kills a white man in the presence of one witness of any color, it is certain death; frequently rendered as ignominious as their ignominy can make it. Strong circumstances of suspicion constitute a sufficient warrant for removing a dangerous one. This, however, is never done without due sympathy for the owner, and a paper of ransom, whereas if one of them kills the slave, the state pays his price to the owner.

Q. Do those among the slaveholders, who believe in the ever-aging consciousness of the thoughts and feelings, and who profess attachment to the christian system, consider them exceptions as it regards the former; or not included in the provisions of the latter?

A. No uniform opinion prevails on this subject; indeed, it is one of some difficulty;—for if they should decide that jail black or pure Africans have no souls, the mixed breeds of all grades make no trouble to establish any thing to which cavilists might not raise objections. In some cases, circumstances have been such as to have rendered it doubtful. There have been owners who thought it a waste of time, or amounting to a partial disqualification for labor, for the slaves to attend places of worship, on the day set apart for that purpose, or on evenings; some disbelievers have not attended to the positive injunction to disseminate such practices, though frequently and severely chastised for it. Some such owners when about to take a leap in the dark, recollecting that their time had been so engrossed with the care of the slaves, and making disposition of the products of their labor, that they had had neither leisure nor inclination to examine whether the prospect before them had any obstructions which they could remove—having now but little time, and being in great haste—feeling some regrets, and great apprehensions—not knowing well what persons in their situation were recommended to do to make themselves self—and having received a hint from one Paul, that there is risk for any but the clean handed to dabble in such practices, though frequently and severely chastised for it. Some such owners when about to take a leap in the dark, recollecting that their time had been so engrossed with the care of the slaves, and making disposition of the products of their labor, that they had had neither leisure nor inclination to examine whether the prospect before them had any obstructions which they could remove—having now but little time, and being in great haste—feeling some regrets, and great apprehensions—not knowing well what persons in their situation were recommended to do to make themselves self—and having received a hint from one Paul, that there is risk for any but the clean handed to dabble in such practices, though frequently and severely chastised for it.

Q. And could such an one leave such proxy in bondage?

A. Yes; and two reasons offer themselves in justification. First, the party individual would be so exceedingly occupied with his own concerns, that he would be quite incapable for a moment, if he did not mind the concerns of others with them—and secondly, slavery is only an affair of this world; and this world the dying man perceives almost intuitively; but a shadow. Besides, scripture promises are greatly in favor of those who endure prison for the sake of the slave, who may be sold in his own country; for it is there said, 'Let each esteem a brother better than himself.'

Q. And could such an one leave such proxy in bondage?

A. Yes; and two reasons offer themselves in justification. First, the party individual would be so exceedingly occupied with his own concerns, that he would be quite incapable for a moment, if he did not mind the concerns of others with them—and secondly, slavery is only an affair of this world; and this world the dying man perceives almost intuitively; but a shadow. Besides, scripture promises are greatly in favor of those who endure prison for the sake of the slave, who may be sold in his own country; for it is there said, 'Let each esteem a brother better than himself.'

Q. And could such an one leave such proxy in bondage?

A. Yes; and two reasons offer themselves in justification. First, the party individual would be so exceedingly occupied with his own concerns, that he would be quite incapable for a moment, if he did not mind the concerns of others with them—and secondly, slavery is only an affair of this world; and this world the dying man perceives almost intuitively; but a shadow. Besides, scripture promises are greatly in favor of those who endure prison for the sake of the slave, who may be sold in his own country; for it is there said, 'Let each esteem a brother better than himself.'

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

TO REV. ISAAC ORR, LETTER II.

Therefore, all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.—JESUS CHRIST.

Sir.—A few trifling queries, proposed for your consideration in my last letter, remain unanswered. Let me examine their texture. I asked the reason why the blacks were to be removed without their consent? I now ask, how they are to be eventually removed from our shores 'with their own consent,' when they are almost unanimously opposed to the project of the Colonization Society? But a few, very few, are favorable to Colonization; and the greater part of those who emigrate to Africa, are driven there by the relentless persecutions of slaveholders and their accomplices. No man acquainted with facts can, for a moment doubt, (except

LITERARY.

GOLIATH OF GATH.

BY PHILLIS WHEATLEY, AN AFRICAN SLAVE.
Ye martial powers, and ye high tuneful Nine,
Inspire my song, and aid my high design.

While fear and wrath contended in his eyes:
When thus he messengers from heaven replies:
'Perchance no more Jehovah's awful hand

pressed some surprise, that he had not at
least sought him, and set him to his work.
He then gave his wife the reasons for his

SUNDAY AMUSEMENTS.
Mr. Editor.—The following events are believed
to have all occurred on Thursday. If there is any

Disastrous Occurrence.—A disastrous accident
occurred last Haverhill fairness, in a country
where the losses were not less than \$100,000.

Thus challenge'd he: all Israel stood amazed,
And every chief in consternation stood;
But Jesse's son in youthful valor appears,

And now the youth the forcible plume flung;
Philiat trembled as it whizzed along;
In his dread forehead, where the helmet ends,

From this man was a disciple of Tom
Paine, his wife a member of the Baptist
Church. The sequel is short. Jack was

Where did Gov. Hamilton learn, that the proceed-
ings of the late General Assembly, had their origin

Literary Criticism.—It is a remarkable fact,
that Home wrote his tragedy, "The Merchant of Venice,"

When the fair morning blushed with orient red,
What David's air enjoin'd, the son obeyed,
And swift of foot towards the trench he came,

And now the youth the forcible plume flung;
Philiat trembled as it whizzed along;
In his dread forehead, where the helmet ends,

From the Richmond Whig.
GEOLOGICAL, March 23, 1832.
Gentlemen.—The following singular occur-
rence may be interesting to your readers.

The following strange occurrence is recorded in
a recent number of Gallatin's (Paris) Messenger.
It took place in the village of Ercuis (France).

GEORGE PUTMAN,
HAIR DRESSER AND PERFORMER.
HAS removed his Dressing-Room from No.
211, Washington street, to the new build-
ing No. 2, Droumfield-street, which has been

MISCELLANEOUS.

From the Western Luminary.

ANECDOTE OF A MASTER AND SLAVE.

IN 1806, A. E. M. who had been born and
educated in Ireland, came to Kentucky. His father
bordered slaves, and he had been always used

From the Richmond Whig.
GEOLOGICAL, March 23, 1832.
Gentlemen.—The following singular occur-
rence may be interesting to your readers.

The following strange occurrence is recorded in
a recent number of Gallatin's (Paris) Messenger.
It took place in the village of Ercuis (France).

GEORGE PUTMAN,
HAIR DRESSER AND PERFORMER.
HAS removed his Dressing-Room from No.
211, Washington street, to the new build-
ing No. 2, Droumfield-street, which has been