THE LIBERATOR.

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THE LIBERATOR

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TERMS.

, TWO DOLLARS per annum, always payable in advance. All letters and communications must be post paid. The rule is imperative, in order to shield us from the frequent impositions of our sentinels.—Those, therefore, who wish their letters to be taken from the Post Office by us, will be careful to pay their postage.

, An advertisement making one square, or a space of equal length and breadth, will be inserted three times for one dollar.

SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE VERMONT ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Vermont Anti-Slavery Society commenced its second annual meeting at the Town Room in Middlebury, Feb. 16, 1836, the Rev. JOHN IDE, President, in the Chair.

The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Josiah F. Goodhue of Shoreham.

On motion, the friends of the cause of immediate emancipation, who might be present without credentials, were invited to take seats and participate in the deliberations of the meeting.

Letters were read from the following gentlemen and ordered to be published with the proceedings of the Society; Rev. Dr. Hawes of Hartford, Ct.; Rev. Dr. Cox of Auburn, N. Y.; William Lloyd Garrison of Boston; James G. Birney of Cincinnati; Hon. Wm. Jay of New-York; and James Ballard of Bennington.

The Annual Report of the Board of Managers was read by the Corresponding Secretary; and

On motion, the Report was accepted, and directed to be printed under the direction of the Executive Committee.

The annual report of the Treasurer was also presented, accepted and ordered to be printed.

Rev. Beriah Green, President of Oneida Institute, was introduced to the meeting; and on motion of Mr. Murray of Brandon,

Voted, That Rev. Beriah Green of Whitesboro', N. Y., now present, be invited to sit as a corresponding member.

The following committees were appointed.

1. *Committee of Arrangements.*—Messrs. Barber, Bood and Doolittle.

2. *On Resolutions.*—Messrs. Johnson and Barber of Middlebury, Rev. Mr. Goodhue of Shoreham, and Rev. Mr. Eaton of Charlotte.

3. *To nominate Officers.*—Messrs. Murray and Hale of Brandon, Robinson of Ferrisburg, Goodhue of Shoreham, and Eells of Cornwall.

4. *On the Constitution.*—Messrs. Knapp of Montpelier, Murray and Robinson.

5. *On Depositories.*—Messrs. Robinson, Johnson, and Allen.

6. *To prepare a Memorial to Congress.*—Messrs. Cook of Cornwall, Barber and Knapp.

7. *On Finance.*—Messrs. Bingham of Cornwall, Goodhue of Shoreham, and Rogers of Ferrisburg.

The Committee appointed for that purpose, reported a nomination of officers for the ensuing year, and the following persons were appointed:

ASA ALDIS, of St. Albans, *President.*

Vice Presidents.

John Ide, Hinesburgh; James Milligan, Ryegate; Elisha Bascom, Shoreham; Augustine Clarke, Montpelier; Jonathan P. Miller, do.; R. T. Robinson, Ferrisburgh; Josiah W. Hale, Brandon; Joel Doolittle, Middlebury; James Ballard, Bennington; Alva Sabin, Georgia; S. M. Wilson, Craftsbury; Joel Battey, Starksborough; Ithamar Smith, Waitsfield; Charles Phelps, Townshend.

Recording Secretary—C. L. KNAPP, of Montpelier.

Corresponding Secretary—O. S. MURRAY, of Brandon.

Treasurer—E. H. PARKINS, of Montpelier.

Auditor—ZENAS WOON, of Montpelier.

Board of Managers.

William Eaton, Charlotte; E. D. Barber, Middlebury; Oliver J. Eells, Cornwall; Jonathan A. Allen, Middlebury; Sherman Kelliog, Montpelier; Oliver Johnson, Middlebury; Josiah F. Goodhue, Shoreham; Erastus Parker, Waterbury; Wareham Walker, Shaftsbury; Amos Clement, Danville; Sam'l Cotting, Rutland; Robert Harvey, Barnet; Levi P. Parks, Passumpsic; J. Abbott, Burlington; Stephen Hinsdill, Bennington; Aaron McKee, Arlington; Nathan Page, Starksborough; H. P. Leavitt; Strafford; E. B. Goddard, Middlebury; Nathan L. Keese, Ferrisburgh; Orson Skinner, Waitsfield.

Executive Committee.

R. T. Robinson, Ferrisburgh, *Chairman*; Oliver Johnson, Middlebury, *Clerk*; E. D. Barber, Middlebury; Oliver J. Eells, Cornwall; Jonathan A. Allen, Middlebury; E. B. Goddard, do.; Josiah W. Hale, Brandon; C. L. Knapp, ex officio, Montpelier; O. S. Murray, ex officio, Brandon.

The Society then adjourned to meet in the evening at the Congregational meeting-house.

HALF PAST 6.

Prayer by Rev. Mr. Green.

The Rev. Mr. Eaton of Charlotte then delivered an address, in which the principles and purposes of abolitionists were clearly explained and ably vindicated.

Rev. Beriah Green followed in a brief address, after which the Society adjourned to meet in the Town Room to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, Feb. 17.

The Society met pursuant to adjournment.

Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Green.

Mr. Johnson, from the committee appointed to prepare resolutions, reported the following, which were taken up separately, and after remarks by Rev. Mr. Green of New-York, Mr. Barber of Middlebury, Mr. Richards of Bennington, Mr. Battey of Starksborough, Hon. D. Wooster of Middlebury, Mr. Knapp of Montpelier, Mr. Robinson of Ferrisburgh, Col. Bingham of Cornwall, Mr. Murray of Brandon, Mr. Johnson of Middlebury, Rev. Mr. Goodhue of Shoreham, and Dr. Hale of Brandon, were adopted as follows:

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That American slavery is a SIN in view of God's law—an outrage upon the principles of humanity, and at war with the spirit of republican institutions; and that it should therefore meet with uncompromising opposition from the Christian, the Philanthropist and the Republican.

Resolved, That for the people of this country to sanction by their acts, their words, or even by their silence, the existence of slavery, would be to acquiesce in the subversion of the fundamental principles of all freedom—to live down the truths of the Declaration of Independence, and libel the memories of their revolutionary fathers.

Resolved, That the existence of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, is a 'plague-spot' on the face of our government, and should be removed by the exercise of the powers conferred upon Congress by the constitution.

Resolved, That the only eligible and sure means of overthrowing the system of slavery is by enlightening the public mind, by free discussion, and the operation of a correct public sentiment upon the consciences and hearts of the whole nation.

Resolved, That the admission by distinguished advocates of slavery, that the people of the South do not fear insurrections among the slaves from the dissemination of anti-slavery publications, but that they fear the operation of those publications upon the consciences of slaveholders themselves, is proof the most convincing, not only of the efficacy of our measures, but of their expediency and propriety.

Resolved, That we consider the many recent attempts to stifle free discussion by mobs and riotous assemblies, as the most alarming evidence of the decline of public morals, public patriotism and public liberty, and as totally subversive, if acquiesced in by the community, of the principles of our government and the existence of freedom.

Resolved, That we will discountenance and withstand every effort to prevent free inquiry into the merits of every question of public interest, and will uphold the public and unfettered discussion of all subjects relating to public policy, public evils, and public and private rights; and that the more these rights are assailed, the firmer shall be the tone in which we will assert them.

Resolved, That while we speak of slavery in terms of the severest condemnation and reproof, we design not to provoke the resentment or stir up the hatred of the people of the south against those of the north; but wish, by portraying the sin, to ensure the repentance of the wrong doer, and save both the oppressor and the oppressed from the evils which their relation never fails to bring upon them.

Resolved, That we believe the emancipation of the slaves of the south would be attended with no danger to the security of the whites, in their persons or their property—that the blacks would become, when free, if properly treated and instructed, an industrious, orderly, and thriving population; and that the planters would be enriched instead of impoverished by employing them as free laborers in lieu of holding them as slaves.

Resolved, That the opinions which we have heretofore expressed in relation to the American Colonization Society remain unchanged; that we regard the doctrines which it promulgates in relation to slavery and abolition, through its official publications, as tending to obstruct the progress of emancipation; and that the example of that eminently patriotic and benevolent individual, GERRIT SMITH, in withdrawing from the Society, is worthy of imitation by all those of its patrons who are opposed to slavery.

Resolved, That we admire the intrepidity, fortitude, and christian philanthropy of JAMES G. BIRNEY, in the stand he has taken against slavery and in favor of immediate emancipation, and that we commend the Philanthropist, published by him, to the patronage of the friends of human rights.

Resolved, That instead of considering GEORGE THOMPSON and CHARLES STUART foreign emissaries, sent to this country to stir up strife and promote discord, we deem them messengers of truth to a guilty people; and that the reproach which has been cast upon them, and particularly the relentless persecution waged against the former, are eminently disgraceful to our country.

Mr. Barber, from the committee appointed to draft a memorial to Congress, made report, and the following memorial was, after discission, adopted, and ordered to be forwarded to Congress, authenticated by the signatures of the President and Recording Secretary, on behalf of the Society:

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:

The petition of the undersigned, in behalf of the Vermont Anti-Slavery Society, respectfully represents:

That in the estimation of your petitioners the existence of slavery and the slave trade in the Capital of the United States, is an evil of an alarming character and a reproach upon the government of the country, and that it is alike due to the spirit of our institutions and the character of the nation, that they should no longer exist within that portion of the Republic which is under the 'exclusive jurisdiction' of Congress.

While, therefore, your petitioners do not admit that Congress cannot and ought not to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia; yet, as it is alleged that great and insurmountable difficulties attend the legislation of Congress in relation to these evils in that District, and in order to free the nation from the guilt and reproach of suffering them to exist in the Capital of the Republic, your petitioners humbly pray your honorable bodies to pass a law removing the seat of government to the city of Pittsburgh, Pa., or such other place within the limits of the free states as the wisdom of your honorable bodies may deem most advisable. And as in duty bound, your petitioners will ever pray.

The Committee on Finance made a report, recommending that a circular be addressed by the Executive Committee to the several auxiliary Societies in this State, representing the importance of sustaining our cause by liberally providing for the dissemination of light and truth on the subject of slavery—and that measures be taken to raise a definite sum within this State, to be designated in the circular. The report was accepted.

The committee to whom was referred the subject of Depositories of anti-slavery books and papers, made report that in their opinion the success of the cause requires the establishment of at least two Depositories in this State. Report accepted. [The Executive Committee subsequently decided to establish Depositories at Brandon, Middlebury, Vergennes, and Montpelier, where publications may now be found.]

On motion of Mr. Haskell of Cornwall,

Resolved, That we fully endorse the decision of Judge HARRINGTON, once made in *this house*, in relation to the evidence necessary to prove property in man, that nothing short of 'A BILL OF SALE FROM THE ALMIGHTY' is sufficient.

Adjourned to meet in the Congregational meeting-house at 2 o'clock, P. M.

2 O'CLOCK, P. M.

The Society met pursuant to adjournment, and after prayer by Rev. Mr. Goodhue, a deeply interesting address was delivered by Rev. Beriah Green. After which, on motion of Mr. Knapp, it was

Resolved, That this Society will make a vigorous effort to raise $2000 this year for the support of the cause.

[On the adoption of this resolution, a subscription was opened, and various sums were pledged by individuals, which, with the collection taken in the evening, amounted to $675 14.]

On motion of Mr. Knapp,

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be authorised to employ one or more agents as lecturers, at their discretion; and that a circular be addressed to the friends of the cause throughout the State, soliciting contributions to the funds of the Society.

Adjourned till half past 6.

HALF PAST 6.

The Society met at the meeting-house. Dr. Hale of Brandon took the chair. Prayer by Rev. Mr. Ide.

Mr. Knapp offered the following resolution, which was supported by the mover, by Mr. Barber, and Rev. Mr. Green, and adopted:

Resolved, That the spirit of defiance manifested so generally by the slaveholders of the South, in reference to the movements of abolitionists, affords no reason for the relaxation of our efforts, and no proof that those efforts have been either unwise or misdirected.

On motion of Mr. Murray,

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be instructed to appoint delegates to attend the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in New-York next; also delegates to the New England Convention to be holden in Boston.

On motion of R. T. Robinson,

Resolved, That by consuming the produce of the labor of slaves, we are directly sustaining the iniquitous system of slavery; and that therefore, as abolitionists, we are called upon to abstain from using such articles as are believed to come to us through a polluted channel.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be tendered to the Rev. BERIAH GREEN for his able addresses, and that copies of the same be requested for the press.

Resolved, That 1500 copies of the Annual Report and proceedings of this meeting be printed in pamphlet form for general distribution.

Voted, To amend the constitution so as to add two more members to the Executive Committee, and make the Secretaries members *ex officio*.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be tendered to the committee of the Congregational Society of Middlebury for the use of the meeting-house; and to the choir of singers for their interesting performances during our meeting.

Voted, To request the editors of the Vermont Chronicle and Vermont Telegraph, and all other editors in the State, to publish the proceedings of this meeting, together with the letters of Messrs. Cox, Garrison, Birney, Hawes and Jay.

Prayer was offered by the Rev. Mr. Miller; and the meeting was then, on motion, adjourned without day.

C. L. KNAPP, *Rec. Sec.*

LETTER OF MR. GARRISON.

BROOKLYN, Ct. Feb. 10, 1836.

My Dear Friend:

I shall mingle my spirit with the brave spirits who purpose to attend the annual meeting of the Vermont Anti-Slavery Society, at Middlebury, on the 16th and 17th instant. There are many reasons why I should desire to be present with you 'in the flesh,' on that occasion. *Abolitionism is indigenous to the soil of Vermont.* Yours was the first *State* Society that was regularly organized in this country, for the immediate extirpation of American slavery—a system which Lord BROUGHAM brands as 'that most infernal scourge to humanity,' and which JOHN WESLEY described as 'that execrable villany, which is the scandal of religion and of human nature.' Almost my first efforts in the sacred cause of UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION, (for we are struggling to preserve our own rights, as well as to recover the liberties of southern bondmen, hence it is a common cause,) were made in Vermont, more than seven years ago. It was a suitable place,—of all others the best chosen,—to plant the standard of Liberty upon the summit of her Green Mountains, and to blow the trump of Liberty through all her valleys. One of our opponents tells us, that the world is one great whispering gallery, whose faintest echoes reach alike the ears of the oppressed and the oppressor. No wonder, therefore, that the latter trembles when he hears the voice of humanity, and that he commands us to be silent upon peril of our lives. I remember, with lively satisfaction, how readily I procured the names of TWENTY-THREE HUNDRED of your free inhabitants, in the course of three or four weeks, to a petition praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia—the largest petition on this subject, if I mistake not, that has ever been presented to Congress, and procured at a time, moreover, when the people of other States were slumbering in the arms of indifference. 'Honor to whom honor is due.' Of all the northern representatives in Congress, during its present session, who has most ably advocated the cause of insulted, down-trodden humanity, and most firmly sustained the dignity of the North? A representative from Vermont—WILLIAM SLADE. I read an anecdote, some years ago, which is probably familiar to many, but which I quote as characteristic of the spirit which animates the people of your patriotic State. A slaveholder, in pursuit of a runaway slave, finding him in one of your villages, immediately pounced upon him, and brought him before the court, presenting at the same time, what he considered indubitable evidence, that the victim was his lawful *property*. Still, the judge demurred—he wanted other proof. At last, the prowling oppressor passionately desired to know of the judge, what evidence would satisfy him that the slave belonged to the claimant? '*A bill of sale from the Almighty!*' was the memorable reply.* These things make me love and honor Vermont. The anecdote I have related reminds me of the beautiful simile used by the great Bard of Nature:

'How far that little candle throws its beams!
So shines a good deed in a naughty world!'

Henceforth, when the American oppressor attempts to convince us that the slaves are his property, by pointing us to the color of their skin and the texture of their hair, by showing us how large a sum he has paid for their bodies and souls, by proving that they were bequeathed to him by some defunct predecessor, we will kindle at the insult, and tell him that nothing will satisfy us but A BILL OF SALE FROM THE ALMIGHTY!

For what are we battling? It is for the dignity, the equality, the enfranchisement of our common nature. Every sixth man, woman, child and babe, in the United States,—constituting a number as large as the whole population of New England,—is in bondage, and their cries are hourly borne to our ears by the free winds of heaven! If any of us were in their condition, what would be the doctrine we should desire our advocates to preach for our deliverance? What! *expatriation* to a barbarous land as the condition of our freedom! What! a *gradual* unfolding of our chains! No—no. It would be the doctrine of *immediate*, TOTAL, EVERLASTING emancipation. In the mighty conflict of 1776, between the mother country and her colonies, no other doctrine was listened to, for a moment, by our patriotic sires—least of all by the independent yeomanry of Vermont, for the mountains of the earth have always been the chosen abode of LIBERTY, and no wonder that she makes them *Green* Mountains, as her footsteps press their genial soil! Was STARKE a gradualist or an immediatist? Let the battle of Bennington answer! What voice is heard on the plains of Lexington and Concord—from the heights of Bunker Hill? 'INDEPENDENCE NOW—INDEPENDENCE FOREVER!' Tell me, ye whose blood was freely shed to make your children free—would he not have been deemed a traitor, or a madman, who should have maintained, in view of your sufferings, perils and oppression, that the mother country ought to be *compensated*, if she should cease to tread upon your necks, and to spill your blood? Your reply would be, in the emphatic language of an eminent patriot,—'Slavery is a *crime*, and crime is not a marketable commodity, to be bought and sold.' Never was the duty of compensating oppressors urged, but in the case of the oppressors of the colored race—the most flagitious despots who have ever sought to brutalize mankind. If one of these monsters tells me, he has given one thousand dollars for his slave, that he may hold him in bondage; my reply is this—*Jesus Christ has given his life for that slave, that he may bring him into the glorious liberty of the sons of God!* I will give you an anecdote, which puts this matter of compensation in a clear light. At one of the great anti-slavery meetings in Manchester, England, just as the audience were about to disperse, an eccentric but excellent Baptist clergyman, who was standing in one of the aisles, rushed forward to the platform, and cried out vehemently—'STOP, my friends! I've something to say to you. It's about *compensation!* Now, suppose a thief had been stealing the goods of his neighbors for days, and weeks, and months—and suppose he had filled his house with them—and suppose at last the sheriff should find him out—and suppose he should go to the house, and begin to pull the stolen goods out into the street—and suppose the neighbors who had been plundered should cluster around, and one woman should exclaim,—'That's my cradle!' and another should say, 'That's my frying-pan!' and so all the articles should be designated by the lawful owners. Suppose the thief should reply—'I know that's your cradle, and that's your frying-pan; and I know that I have used and abused them, without your leave; but if you take them from me, you must give me *compensation!*' What my friends, would the sheriff say to the thief? Why, this—'Yes, you villain, you shall have *compensation*—you need not be uneasy on that score—that's just what we intend to give you—and you shall get it at *Botany Bay!*' This simple illustration of a plain case electrified the vast assembly, and elicited thunders of applause. And yet how much greater is the crime of using, and abusing, and defrauding the bodies and minds of the slaves, without their leave, than of stealing and maltreating household furniture!

You remember how clamorous were the West India slaveholders for compensation, when they found that England would no longer tolerate the bloody system of slavery in any part of her dominions. This claim upon the mother country was made, in full view of the fact, that, during a period of thirty years, she had added 150 millions (sterling) to her debt, in support of the colonies; that 50,000 British subjects had, during the same space of time, been sacrificed to the climate, to guard the slave system; and that the slave population was diminishing by thousands, annually, in consequence of the cruelty of their masters!

In July, 1833, I attended an anti-slavery meeting held in Exeter Hall, London, at which were present some of the most distinguished advocates of emancipation. In the course of its proceedings, the meeting was interrupted by a Mr. LIGGINS, a person connected with the West Indies, who contended that emancipation would certainly ruin the planters, because it would be impossible to pay the slaves £160,000 a week for their labor, (as all that sum would be required for that purpose,) whereas there were not more than £20,000 in the whole of the colonies. Mr. O'CONNELL instantly rose and said—'He (Mr. LIGGINS) had announced an awful fact, that the colonists could not pay wages to the slaves—that it cost them £160,000 a week. '*What was this but robbing the slaves of £160,000 a week?* robbing them of labor worth that sum? But be told them another fact, which he (Mr. O'Connell) was rejoiced to hear, as it showed that it was inconsistent with the providence of an all-wise and just God, that villany should prosper; he told them that this villany was of the most beggaring description—for though the villains got £160,000 a week for nothing, yet they had not £20,000 in money! He turned to the West Indian, and asked him how he dared to rob the negro of £160,000, when instead of benefit, it was only productive of beggary? How frightful this appeared on the face of it! This £160,000 a week made £8,320,000 a year!'

You can imagine the effect of a retort like this. Remember that we have three times as many slaves as there were in the British colonies: of course, according to this calculation, the southern planters are plundering their slaves of $2,133,333 a week, or $110,933,333 a year!—and yet they want compensation, should they be compelled to be honest MEN!

One other fact, and I have done. The New-York Journal of Commerce contains a letter from a correspondent at Antigua, who says—'A clergyman remarked to me, that it was pretty generally conceded, that the $100,000,000 granted as a compensation to the slaveholders here, *was considered by a big guy* (THE VALUE OF THE PROPERTY NOT BEING DIMINISHED, BUT EVEN RISING.' This is one of the 'awful' consequences of emancipation. It seems, therefore, that the West India planters are retaining in their hands an immense sum of money, which does not belong to them, even granting that slaves are property, because they are gainers by the liberation of their victims. What, then, as honest men, ought they to do with it? Why, either to restore it to the treasury of England, or distribute it among those to whom it justly belongs—their plundered laborers.

We mean to give a rich compensation to southern slaveholders, by emancipating the slaves, viz. to substitute men for beasts, honesty for knavery, purity for lewdness, liberty for despotism, light for darkness, holiness for heathenism.

With strong affection and high regard for you, my dear friend, as one of my early and faithful coadjutors, I remain, Yours, truly,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Mr. OLIVER JOHNSON.

*This was written before the receipt of your letter, which I received yesterday. I hope to be able to answer your letter in two days; and at present, I feel that the time adequate to the preparation of a proper answer, is not at my control. You especially invite my attention to the question,—

WHAT HAVE CHRISTIANS IN THE NON-SLAVE-HOLDING STATES TO DO WITH SLAVERY? OUGHT THEY TO HOLD COMMUNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS OR SLAVE-DEALERS, EVEN IF THE CASES ARE MODIFIED AS MUCH AS THAT OF THE REV. DR. ELY, FOR EXAMPLE?'

There is a manifest difference between principles abstractly and absolutely viewed, and their application to particular cases; these may be qualified and even palliated, just for the same reason that they may be aggravated also, by circumstances. That slavery, the system identically of our own country, is intrinsically and pre-eminently wrong, is as much at variance with the everlasting righteousness of the moral empire of God, or, as the lawyers say, is *malum in se*, is a proposition of almost self-evident truth. I know that all masters are not equally cruel, covetous, or obdurate; and that all slaves are not equally abused; that some are treated comparatively well and kindly, and are comparatively happy. But what of this as it respects the conscience? It is all one system. Every owner of a slave, not even my honored friend above named excepted, upholds the system—lends it the awful sanction of his practice, his influence, and his name; and is, like a temperate drinker, (as it respects another good cause of reform) a mighty obstacle to the ascendancy of correct sentiment and correct action in the community.

I am more struck with the similarities of injury, than with the seeming exceptions of favor, in the privations and degradations of the slaves. The experience of the worst treated, is the liability of the best treated of them all; and every good master, who dies intestate, leaves to the machinery of the law the disposal of his whole estate—he fellow creatures included; and the hammer of the auctioneer invoked to sell them, singly, or in pairs, or in lots to suit purchasers; as are the phrases of stereotyped commercial usage. But, I make these observations, by the way, to show that the system is one,—that the differences are comparatively inconsiderable,—that

* When the reading of this letter was concluded, the Hon. Dorastus Wooster of Middlebury, rose and stated, that the transaction here referred to, took place in THE VERY ROOM where the Society was then assembled! The memorable decision was pronounced by the late Judge HARRINGTON of Clarendon, a man remarkable for his unyielding firmness and practical good sense. The annunciation of this fact, as may well be conceived, produced a thrilling effect!

DR. COX'S LETTER.

AUBURN, N. Y. Feb. 10, 1836.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 25th ultimo duly reached me; for which I thank you. I have hindered this answer for several days; and at present, I feel that the time adequate to the preparation of a proper answer, is not at my control. You especially invite my attention to the question,—

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they very not the principle or the casuistry of the matter,—that the system is utterly and awfully wrong,—that no Christian ought to *do evil that good may come* in favor of it; and that those who care for their souls, and for the approbation of God Almighty, ought not to be driven from the true state and nature of these matters and their invalued issues.

As to the *principle*, as related to the moral code of God, I hesitate not a moment to say, that, other things being equal, a slaveholder of any description ought to be excluded from the communion of the church; and that, by consequence, the members of the church, individually, ought to withdraw communion from slaveholders and slave-dealers universally. Whatever in the system, or in our support of it, is morally wrong, is no small criminality. It is guilt, rather than venial. It is the moral annihilation and perdition of our fellow-creatures,—each one of them a brother of the species—an immortal—a man in body, soul, and spirit. And is it our Judge Eternal, who condescends to wear our common nature in the person of Jesus Christ, on his throne? and to call every man his brother—such emphatically, if he loves the Saviour? and to be represented on the earth, by the poor and the oppressed? *And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you inasmuch as ye have done it* UNTO ONE OF THE LEAST OF THESE, MY BRETHREN, YE HAVE DONE IT UNTO ME.

The application of these reasonings, or of this principle of non-communion, is, as I have said, another matter. I shall view it as related to those who are are actual slaveholders in some way, and to those who advocate and approve their cause. Of these, inversely—

1. In reference to the speculative slaveholders, or the pro-slavery advocates, in church and state, especially among us here at the North, I think, on the principle that light graduates guilt, our church discipline must probably begin with them. We must not be *partakers of other men's sins.*—We must *have no fellowship* with evil works, *but rather reprove them.* Now, our old maxim is a sound one: THE PARTAKER IS AS BAD AS THE THIEF. I say it is sound; for so says God himself. *When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him,* declares the Holy Ghost, in the fifth Psalm: where the day of judgment is described in its principles, and anticipated in its decisions; and where God condemns the castaways, on the principle that they approved the evil that others did. Thus the apostles charged a promiscuous audience with the crimes that their fathers, than theirs perpetrated, against the life of Jesus Christ. *Ye denied the Holy One and the Just, and desired a murderer to be granted unto you; and killed the Prince of Life, whom God hath raised from the dead: whereof we are witnesses.* On the same principle, we have justified the murderers, appropriated their crime, and crucified HIM ourselves. And what is their plea for doing this among us, in the matter of slavery? Whatever be its form or its ingenuity, it is all, so far as I have yet seen, an excuse framed on the principle of expediency. It is all a short-sighted, time-bounded, truth-denying plea of convenience. I should think then that it may be expedient to sin against God, in certain instances and circumstances! What fools the martyrs were! If their 'noble army' could only have gone to school to certain modern casuists, they might have learned how to fear *them that kill the body.* The millennium can never come, nor the gospel spread its genuine influences in our own country, nor missions prosper, till the total system of slavery is abolished. O, what a sin is slavery!

We must do more than not approve, or any other negative. We must wisely, but firmly, testify against it; or, calm conscience aright, for excepting, from our testimony against it, the greatest of its systems. We must *let our light shine*, if we have any. We must practically interpret Heed. xiii. 3, Psalms xii. 1—3, James ii. 4—9, Matt. xxviii. 19, 20, Rom. i. 14. A very great divine in New England, just after I was mobbed in New York for pitying the poor—through the influence of the *pious* editors of a daily paper in that city—them and their satellites, wrote me a letter, the sum of which was, that I had nothing to do with slavery, and better not meddle with about it, as a minister of the gospel, or as a man. I replied, mainly requesting an answer to these two questions: Is the system of slavery, as it exists concretely—not in the abstract—in our country, morally wrong, or morally right, or morally characterized at all? If it is any of these, how can it be proved that a minister of the gospel, a Christian, or a man, in this country, has no moral relation to it? He sent me a verbal message of thanks for my answer—pronounced it very to the point, but eighteen months nearly have passed without its reception.

2. In reference to actual slaveholders in our country, the application of the non-communion principle to their case, is one of solemn moment. It will have to be discussed; and not lately have I first considered it. But my paper, I see, is too near its limits, to authorize me in this communication properly to enter on it. This I may employ an early opportunity to do in another paper. Then the magnitude of its relations—the palliating circumstances of our southern brethren in respect to it—the progress of light—the nature of sins of ignorance, and the proper season and manner of action on our part, will come to be considered in the treatment of the question. I am very far from wishing to say or do one rash thing, subject of thrilling and never-to-be-slighted interest.

In what remains of this paper, I would dwell on the enormity of the whole system of slavery, both as to its original sin, and as to our innumerable actual transgressions that flow from it. It is founded in man-theft, which is high felony and piracy by the laws of all civilized nations. The ancestors of all our colored brethren, were diabolically stolen in Africa, and cruelly forced over the ocean, and sold. Because of them, were bought in our country; they and their offspring with them, prospectively, to the last generation of time, were purchased, and confirmed to their owners and their heirs forever! Now, as to the *equity* of the title. Trace the stream to its south. Can man-theft make equity? Apropos—it is just a year, the 3d instant, since the Rev. Mr. Ludlow, of New York, (known and honored for his hearty faithfulness in this, and every other good cause,) and myself, were taking tea at his house, in the house of one of my beloved families—for I was then a pastor—when a villain or two slipt into the hall and stole our over-coats, in the twinkling of an eye. The next day, we entered a description of them at the police office, in some dubious hopes of their restoration. About three days after, I called alone, and had the pleasure to identify his, in their capacious wardrobe. It was strangely found! One of the thieves actually brought the other, with Mr. Ludlow's coat on him, to the office, complaining, virtually, as the event showed, that his co-thief was not *equitable* in dividing the booty; when they were both taken into custody, and the coat restored to its owner. But where, said I, is my new Boston wrapper, for which I paid a round sum the previous week? Those were the thieves that took it also, and at the same time.—Very like, sir, said the officer, you will never find it. They probably sold it to some equally *honest* purchaser, who encourages the trade; and there are many such in the city. But if sold from one to another a thousand times, and we find it at last, we will take it at all hazards, and restore it to you; for stealing, you know, can never make a title; and buying stolen goods, is no lawful possession.

Well, thought I, let my wrapper go—and gone it is to this day. But let me see—*stealing can never make a title* to a surtout or wrapper. Well then if I had been in it myself—if I had been stolen and sold successively to a thousand purchasers, would not my present owner have an equitable title at last? Why, no—if a man is as important as a wrapper.

I have only room to say,

Yours in love,

SAM'L. H. COX.

To Dect. JOSA. A. ALLEN,

Middlebury, Vermont.

[From the New York Evangelist.]

WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

AUTHENTIC AND RECENT NEWS FROM BARBADOES.

A few days since we had the pleasure of a call from an old and respected acquaintance, formerly a respectable attorney in Vermont, now a merchant in the island of Barbadoes, where he has resided most of the time since September, 1834. His character, as a Christian, and a man of observation, renders his remarks and statements worthy of entire confidence.—We took some notes of his conversation, during the hour that he had to spare us, between the time of his arrival here and his departure to visit his family, after so long a separation; and from these notes we have prepared the following sketch, every particular of which corresponds, we believe, with the statements he made:

The island of Barbadoes is one of the most populous portions of the earth. The inhabitants are reckoned to be at least 120,000, on an island not more than 21 miles long and 12 broad at the extremity. Of these, we estimated that 80,000 were slaves, before the abolition act took effect, August 1, 1834, and 20,000 free people of color. The colonial legislature of Barbadoes did not fully emancipate their slaves, as was done in Bermuda and Antigua, but adopted the apprenticeship system with all its absurdities and injustice to the emancipated slaves. This system of apprenticeship had been in operation nearly a year and a half, when intelligence left the island. Many of the masters are now voluntarily emancipating their apprentices, and such is the progress of this, that it is probable nearly all will be made wholly free before the expiration of the apprenticeship. Intelligent men now generally admit that it would have been better for the island if the emancipation had been immediate and unconditional at first.

As to the effects of emancipation upon the public safety, they now laugh at the idea of fear. They are talking of reducing their military force. Ask them if they are not afraid the blacks will rise and cut their masters' throats, and they reply, 'What should they do that for, when they have got all they wanted?'—The free blacks are organized into militia.

Many who opposed the abolition of slavery, step by step, to the last, are now in favor of it. They say it has been a good thing for the island. All their fears in regard to evil consequences have been disappointed.

The capital, Bridgetown, is very populous, the inhabitants from 10 to 20,000, but our informant had never known sufficient disturbance to occasion a person to walk or ride to see it. Everything was quiet, to be sure, but no combination of the vicious to disturb the public peace. He could lie down to sleep there, out of doors, as quietly as in any place in New England.

There is no general complaint of the want of labor. The crops are got in as usual. The blacks will work for pay, on their own day, and extra hours, as readily and as much as ignorant and depraved white people would do when paid for it. They act just as other people would do in similar circumstances. It is a common remark that a negro goes of an errand quicker, and loiters less, now he is paid, than when he was a slave.

As to the fear that abolishing slavery will lead to amalgamation, our friend avers that it operates precisely the other way, to separate the two races. Amalgamation has had its full run there, under the reign of slavery. You may go into a church now, and see 20 persons at a time, of whom you cannot determine confidently whether they are white or colored. It has been a common thing there for white men to keep colored women. Even married men did it. Every boy was sure to have a colored mistress. Many of the colored women, who used to be kept as concubines of white men, are now getting colored husbands. It has been stipulated in the island, that a freeman of quarter of an hour to publish the banns of marriage.

The aversion between the blacks and whites is dying away, and they meet at church and in business, with more or less indifference. Our informant attended the anniversary of the Wesleyan Mission, at Bridgetown, where one of the speakers was the attorney general of the island, a most respectable and talented man, and the meeting was made up of colored people. They sat on the platform together without disparagement, nor was there any thought of strangeness about it. About three-fourths of the congregation present were blacks.

The Bishop of Barbadoes is a friend of the blacks, and is laboring incessantly to promote their improvement. The Methodists are also doing much good among them. Seven thousand Bibles and Testaments were recently received and distributed. Since the abolition act took effect, all efforts for the advancement of the colored people, in knowledge and religion, are greatly increased, all obstacles are removed, and every body is in favor of it, without a dissenting voice. They see their safety in it. They say, 'We must make them intelligent and moral, for our own safety!' Every teacher and preacher is allowed to have free access to the people, as free as in the free states of America. Saw almost daily a school containing over 140 colored boys, as well dressed and well behaved as any boys. The same is true of the girls' schools. Visited an estate where 30 children were kept at school on its premises. Every body speaks of these boys as the future citizens, legislators and magistrates of the country, and expect them to be as well qualified to take part in the government as any body.

The effect of abolition on the financial condition of the country is quite remarkable. Our informant says that real estate is rising, and for the last six months has risen rapidly, in many instances has risen one-third in a year. 'If person had bought real estate two years ago, great fortunes might have been made. The consumption of dry goods has also wonderfully increased, and dealers in dry goods are making fortunes. The negroes are dress like other people. Some years ago, if a colored woman had been seen in the street wearing a straw bonnet, it would have been almost a signal for a mob. Now they dress as well as any people of their standing.

The imports generally are doubled. A very great increase has taken place in the importation of American products. The island begin to live like human beings. The importations were never so great as the last year.

A gentleman of very extensive acquaintance and travel, one of His Majesty's Council for the island of Barbadoes, said that formerly, when he went home to England, the negroes on his plantation used to receive him on his return with sullen silence, regarding him as a tyrant returned among them. Since the abolition, he had visited England again, and returned, and he spoke with tears in his eyes of the joy his people manifested at his return, professing and welcoming him as a friend and benefactor. [Think of that, ye brethren who hold slaves; when will such pure joy be yours?]

A hurricane in 1831 destroyed most of the parish churches in the island, except in Bridgetown. Many of them have lain in ruins till the past year. Now they are rapidly rebuilding. The gentleman above referred to, said, that when they commenced the work in his parish, the people came together without any suggestion or solicitation, and offered their services to work on the building on their day, Saturday. The offer was at first declined, out of consideration for them, but they would not be put off. They insisted on it, 'It belongs to us, this is our church as much as yours, this is our country now, our children will worship here, &c. The women came with the men, all animated with one spirit, and all taking the deepest interest in the work. [How much more grateful to the heart than colonization!]

The change of feeling on the subject of abolition is entire. Our friend was surprised on his first arrival to hear the subject so freely spoken of immediately after the act took effect. He supposed he should have to talk carefully and in whispers, as at the south. The papers are beginning to publish in favor of the act.—While it was talked of, the people and the papers were violent and furious against it. After the First of August, seeing no disturbance, they began to congratulate each other. Now they are coming round entirely, and already begin to represent advocates for continuing the system of slavery. This change does not seem to have arisen from any new views of slavery as a sin; but from what they see of the effects of abolition they are satisfied that it is a great benefit. And they say it will come to the same result in America, whenever abolition takes place. Said our friend, I felt ashamed of my country, to hear it reproached for the absurdity and inconsistency and sin of slavery, and I could make no reply. How, among our own people, one does not feel it so much; but when we get abroad, we feel it keenly.

It is not the case that the negroes become impudent towards the whites, in consequence of emancipation. On the contrary, it is universally said that they are more civil than they used to be.

In short, one only needs to see the West Indies, to be convinced of the safety and utility of abolishing slavery. The experiment of emancipation has already gone on long enough to prove that negroes are like other people; if you give them their rights they are grateful, and have sense enough to see that it is king for their interest to support the laws, and that if they strike disturbance they punish only themselves.

The whites on the island are rather a pleasure-loving people, hospitable and polite, but there is little serious piety apparent among them. We regret to learn that the Temperance Reformation has yet to begin on this interesting island.

THINGS IN JAMAICA.

We have also recently had the pleasure of conversing with a gentleman who has just come from the Island of Jamaica, and we were truly surprised and highly undelighted by his account of the state of things in that island, so different from the previous reports so industriously circulated in this country, and so nearly corresponding with the view given in another column respecting the state of Barbadoes. This gentleman has had every opportunity for years, of observing the state of things, and noting the effects of the transition from slavery to freedom. Our friend is also a religious man, and has closely observed the effects of religious instruction upon the minds of the slaves; and he represents the improvement in morals, intelligence, order, industry, &c., has been truly wonderful, since the Emancipation act took effect.

Formerly the military force used to lose hundreds of men in a year, by marching about the island to suppress disturbance, or keep the slaves in awe. Now the troops are all concentrated at three or four stations, and there has not been one man marched out for any such purpose the past year. The soldiers have had one quiet winter, for the first time within recollection.

The Christmas holidays used to be attended with the greatest disorders. Throngs of slaves would parade the streets of Kingston, unrestrained for eight days by the authority of their masters. The military were always in attendance to quell disturbance and riots. At the last Christmas, nothing of the kind occurred. Although the slaves had every liberty, of parading the streets night and day, with music, and all night long, for ten days, there was not a single complaint preferred against any of them, nor one confined in any guard house or prison for misconduct. In the midst of their usual pastimes, the people respected the Sabbath day, and most of them were well-dressed and orderly, to their churches. They say, 'We are free now, and it is not respectable to do as we used to.' Formerly, they could not go to church at christmas, without running the risk of getting their backs striped with the lash.

Since the Abolition, the Sunday markets are abolished, and no man goes to market to buy or sell on the Sabbath. Saturday is now the market day. Our informant had frequent occasion to pass one of the most populous roads from Kingston to the country, he could not but be struck with the marked difference in the personal appearance, dress, and behavior of the people in coming to and going from market.

Formerly the slaves used to live in concubinage, now they are getting married, and are universally reputed to be thought Christians, and to have their children baptized, previous to which they are examined by the clergyman as to their knowledge of this sacrament and of religion.

When churches are to be built, the slaves are first to put their names down to give money for the work. Much is done in the way of schools, wherever there are ministers of any denomination. The slaves of all denominations, are zealous and exemplary, and such is their success, as to leave no room to doubt that the whole population of the island will in twenty years be in the enjoyment of all the blessings of civilization, freedom and religion.

It is impossible to look at this people, and not see how essential is religion, as the great means of civilization. They are all ambitious of being able to read the Bible, and feel that it is now a disparagement not to be able to read. In the country parishes, those who have the means of conveyance will sometimes go to work on Saturdays for wages, because they wish to employ the day in receiving instruction. The slaves used to speak a barbarous dialect of broken English, unintelligible to a stranger. Now they are taking pride in being able to speak English, and each is ambitious of speaking better than the rest. That they should make some ludicrous mistakes, and often get hold of a hard word, is not strange. The negro dialect will soon disappear, as well as the negro habits.

A clergyman, a German by birth and a man of science, who has been engaged for years in the Mission, is now engaged in a high school or college. A valuable place has been purchased, and the plan is, to select promising youth from the different schools, and educate them for the church. There is a great demand on the island, who with his lady, supports at his own house some 200 children belonging to another estate, and has them taught at his own expense, and their progress in learning is astonishing, and their moral deportment bears the strongest testimony in favor of the influence of a knowledge of the Bible.

The security which the people on the island now feel, both as to person and property, is astonishing. They no longer have a thought about it. The 'magazine of powder' over which they used to sleep in fear, is wetted and turned out.

The horrid stories with which the Jamaica papers used to feed the Anti-Abolitionists in the United States were so notoriously exaggerated, as to give rise to a strong suspicion among the intelligent, that they were paid for from this country! The most creditable press on the island is the Jamaica Watchman, conducted by two colored men, Messrs. Jordan and Osborn. Even before the Abolition, many gentlemen used to take the Watchman, because they said they could rely on it for truth.

Mr. Osborn, one of the editors, was born a slave, in the parish of St. Andrews. He purchased his freedom, came to Kingston, obtained some education, and made his way along step by step, until he finally became a partner of Mr. Jordan in publishing the Watchman. At the general election last year, he was returned a member of the House of Assembly from the parish of St. Andrews, the parish in which he was born, by a large majority. There were other candidates, and among them some of the most respectable white inhabitants on the island, one of them the *custos* of the parish. Since that period, Mr. O. has been appointed by the governor a magistrate of the parish and judge of the court of Common Pleas. Several other colored men were returned to this Assembly, some high in the profession of the law, and among them a gentleman who, for talents and character would be an honor to any country. The other editor of the Watchman, Mr. Jordan, has long been a member, and holds several civil appointments. Many gentleman on the island said to another, 'I wonder that Osborn should have the effrontery to set himself up as a candidate for the Assembly.' 'I had not thought he was a slave I never could have done it.' 'I think true,' replied his friend, 'if you had been born a slave, you would have died a slave, for you never had spirit enough to draw your foot out of the trough.'

The apprentices work for pay, on their own days, almost without exception. Those who have harsh masters, will not work for their masters on their own days, but will work for another. It is said that the service of an apprentice for the remaining five years of his apprenticeship, will now sell for more than the man himself would sell for when he was a slave, before the Abolition Act. One gentleman, a very large estate holder, who was resolutely opposed to Emancipation, was asked what he expected would become of his people, when the apprenticeship expires. Said he, perhaps there are some thirty or forty who are troublesome fellows, that will go away, but the rest I have no doubt will all stick by me. There is one, whom I manumitted many years ago, and told him he might go where he liked, he was well fitted to be a gentleman's servant and could do well. But he said he had rather stay, and here he is yet. I have thirty or forty more, that were manumitted years before the Act, but they have never left me. I furnished them with a little land, and they choose to keep near me, and now some of them have farms of their own, which they have purchased. They come to me for advice, and when any difficulty occurs among them, I settle it. I expect the rest will do the same. And when the day comes for the apprenticeship to expire, I believe it will be the contentment of better times than this island ever saw or dreamed of.'

Our friend was acquainted with a lady in another island, who with her husband manumitted her slaves, some years ago, a score or so in number. The husband died, and the lady became embarrassed, when these manumitted slaves, some of whom were acquiring property, spontaneously came forward and worked her lands, and contributed of their means, money more than ample supply for all her necessities. When she remonstrates with them and says, they are too generous, paying her more than she can use, the reply is, 'Did you not teach us to read the Bible, and treat us as if we were your own children, before we were emancipated?'

The disorders that took place during the first few months after the first of August, 1834, are accounted for, from the violence of the drivers and overseers, who took advantage of the transition from slavery to freedom, and then they would go and enter a complaint for insolence and insubordination. But this trick is now worn out. Many of the overseers, and some planters, gratified their revengeful spirit by flogging their slaves severely on the last hours of the 31st of July, they being emancipated next morning. One man took an old woman, on her last night of slavery, and shaved her head, flogged her severely, and then put her in ox chains. But unluckily for himself, he left her in chains over night, so that she was chained to the first of August, for which he was severely fined by the special magistrate.

COMMUNICATIONS.

MEETING AT KINGSTON.

Agreeably to previous notice, the Old Colony, Plymouth Co. Anti-Slavery Board of Officers, convened at the house of Geo. Russell, in Kingston, on Monday the 22d ult. at 2 o'clock, P. M. The Board consists of 14 persons, 12 of whom were present, and gave sufficient evidence of their unabated interest in the great and holy cause in which they are engaged.

Rev. Mr. Howe, of Halifax, opened the meeting with prayer. The Board then transacted the following business, viz:

Resolved, That it is desirable, in order to prevent confusion in the appropriation of funds, that Anti-Slavery Societies, and those individuals who may feel disposed to contribute to aid the Anti-slavery cause in this County, should make the Treasury of the Old Colony, Plymouth Co. Society, the channel of their contributions.

Resolved, That the local Societies in this County be respectfully requested to become Auxiliary to the County Society.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Clarke of Plymouth, who stated to the Board, that he had understood that a gentleman in Plymouth, had at the late anniversary of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, pledged $100 for the benefit of that Society; a Committee was appointed to make an estimate of sums necessary to be raised to meet that appropriation and other necessary expenses.

Nathaniel Eddy, Esq. of Middleboro', Rev. L. W. Clarke and Ichabod Morton, Esq. of Plymouth, were chosen a Committee to report what sums were necessary to be raised between this time and the Annual Meeting in July. The Committee reported, 'That the work we are engaged in, is similar to building the ancient pyramids: it requires increased and powerful efforts: it cannot be accomplished without *liberal aid, continually contributed* by all engaged in the cause.' The Committee therefore reported that efforts should be made to carry into effect, as soon as possible, the resolve of July last, proposing to raise $500 in this County the present year—$120* of which was contributed on that occasion, leaving $380 to be raised. The Committee also recommended (in view of the consideration that a 'paper designed to change public sentiment and devoted to the work of *reform*, can never receive adequate support from its subscription list') that $100 be raised by private subscription for the benefit of the Liberator. The Committee further recommended, that the President and Secretary be a Committee to procure an Agent to lecture throughout the County, and to aid in raising the above sums.

Voted, unanimously, to accept the report of the Committee.

Voted, To appoint two delegates, with the substitutes, to attend the Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society in May. Rev. Mr. Howe and Nathaniel Eddy, Esq. were chosen delegates. Ichabod Morton, Esq. and H. G. Wood, Esq. were chosen substitutes.

Voted, To choose a Committee of three persons, to make arrangements for the Annual Meeting in July. Ichabod Morton, L. W. Clarke and John Harlow were chosen.

On motion of H. G. Wood of Middleboro',

Resolved, That we sympathize with our respected brother, Hon. James Barbour of Ohio, late of Kentucky, on account of the ill treatment he has received from citizens of his own state, and from the people of Cincinnati, and that we will endeavor to sustain him by our prayers, in the arduous, self-denying, philanthropic and christian cause in which he is engaged.

Adjourned, sine die.

In the evening, the Society met in the Meeting-house of the Evang. Cong. Society, where, after prayer by Rev. E. Cushman of Plymouth, addresses were made, and resolutions offered by the following gentlemen: Rev. Mr. Howe of Halifax, Mr. J. Morton of Plymouth, Mr. Berry of Bridgewater, Messrs. Bosworth and Stetson of Duxbury, Rev. Mr. Clarke of Plymouth, Rev. Messrs. Allen and Jackson of Kingston, and by the Secretary. A further account of the very interesting meeting of the Society, must be deferred till a future time.

GEO. RUSSELL, Sec'ry, }
of O. C. P. C. A. S. Society. }

Kingston, Feb. 22, 1836.

* 100 of this has been paid over to the Mass. Society, although 80 only was acknowledged in the report through mistake undoubtedly.

BLOOMFIELD MOB.

[A page from my Journal.]

I was within a mile of the inn where I had intended to put up for the night, when suddenly I was startled by the ringing of bells and the shouting of fire. Forcing my wearied beast into a quicker pace, I soon reached the scene of alarm. The lurid glimmerings of a bonfire, built in front of the meeting-house disclosed to me a part of the actors. A parcel of boys were playing their pranks around the fire. A fellow, whom I supposed a fugitive from bedlam, was dashing among the crowd and making all the noise he could with a bugle. In the light of the bonfire, I beheld an old gentleman paying on the meeting-house 'with might and main.' What, thought I, can the poor meeting-house have done, thus to upset the equanimity of the old gentleman? At this instant, one who seemed to be his equal in age approached him and mildly said, 'Mr. ——, I am very sorry to see you thus engaged.' 'I aint sorry,' said he, and kept on pounding. Now is heard a voice saying, 'Strike again, and I'll knock you down.' The logic proved effectual.

Having learned from one of the bystanders that the people had assembled to hear an Anti-Slavery lecture from Mr. T. and that this was the occasion for a mob to collect, not one in ten of whom knew why they had come together, I rode away and put up. In a little while, 'mine host' returned from the lecture, and almost as soon as he was seated, his little girl commenced the following conversation.

'Pa, I always thought till to-night that the Quakers wanted the slaves set free.'

'And what makes you think differently to-night, my dear?'

'Why, did'nt you see those two quakers, Pa, with their hats on, how they kept muttering, and shuffling their feet? and when they went out, did'nt you hear what a stomping they made? And Jerry told me that the one with a hat' on went right up to beating the meeting-house with a cudgel as soon as he got out.'

'Those were not quakers, my daughter.'

'O, I am very glad, Pa; for I did'nt think quakers would act so. But what made the people make such a noise round the meeting-house? Was'nt the devil there with them, to tell them what to do?'

'How did such a thought as that enter your head, my child?'

'Why, Clara, who was in the pew with me, said that she heard the devil was afraid of the bible; and when she saw a dreadful looking face through the window, she held up the bible and he vanished.'

Passing through B. a few days after, I overheard the following dialogue between a little boy and his father.

'Father, what makes people hate Mr. T. so? When he was walking in the street, on the other side of the river, I heard Esq. ——, say, loud enough I should think for Mr. T. to hear, that he ought to be kicked. Is it because he is a bad man?'

'No my son, it is not because he is a bad man. Some hate him because they are afraid of having their wickedness exposed; and others hate him without a cause.'

'Father, what does *respectable* mean? They say that *respectable* men signed that remonstrance. Now is it *respectable* to talk as Esq. —— did, about Mr. T?'

'No, my son; no truly respectable man would use such language as that.'

'And is it respectable to lend a pair of pantaloons, to make an effigy with?'

'Not very *respectable*, except among those who delight in deeds of darkness.'

'And is it respectable to get up mobs?'

'No, my son. But why do you ask these questions.'

'Because I wanted to know how many respectable men there were among those, who signed that paper.'

VIATOR.

* The other wore a cap.

BOSTON:

SATURDAY, MARCH 5, 1836.

A PERNICIOUS PUBLICATION.

'*Slavery and the domestic Slave Trade in the United States. In a series of Letters addressed to the Executive Committee of the American Union for the Relief and improvement of the Colored Race. By Prof. E. A. Andrews. Boston: Light & Stearns, 1, Cornhill, 1836.*' 8vo. pp. 144.

It is not a new thing for a mountain in labor to bring forth a mouse—but here a reptile has been produced, instead of so harmless a little animal. This flimsy volume is the *gigantic* product of twelve months' industry on the part of a society, which we long since accurately described as 'a soulless organization with a sounding title'—to wit, the American Union for the Relief and Improvement of the Colored Race. *American* Union, forsooth! when but nine members could be mustered to attend its annual meeting! This, to borrow the homely language of Dr. JOHNSON, is like placing 'a forty-two pounder at the door of a pig-sty.' Of all moral farces, it is pre-eminently ridiculous; and yet, alas! it has a tragical influence, and excites sorrow and laughter alternately. But, leaving it for the present, we proceed to notice the offensive Letters of Prof. Andrews. They excite our disgust and indignation more than McDuffie's message; for the latter is divested of all cant and deceitfulness, but the former are full of these qualities. Their *excellence* is endorsed by the Executive Committee of the Union, who express their belief that they 'will be read with much interest and profit!' Moreover, 'they give, in the opinion of the Committee, *an accurate account of slavery*, and of the public sentiment respecting it in the district of country visited.' The Committee also say, that the work comes 'from a gentleman who is well acquainted with the whole subject of slavery, from an actual residence of a number of years in a slaveholding State.'

Duly furnished with introductory letters from the Committee, to certain colonization and men-stealing brethren, certifying that he was no abolition incendiary, but one of himself, of the south, cautious, politic and accommodating, Prof. Andrews set forth upon his all-important journey to the region of adulterous amalgamators and the robbers of God's poor, in quest of information; because 'it is conceived,' by this deliberate Committee, 'that there is yet no inconsiderable dearth of well prepared and trust-worthy facts respecting the great national *evil* of Slavery.' Prof. A. seems to have duly appreciated the preservative dogma of that famous knight who vanquished 'eleven men in buckram,' that 'instinct is a great matter,' and that 'discretion is the better part of valor'—for we find that he extended his visit no farther than Richmond, or, as he tells us in his preface, 'the author of these Letters was led to visit the *northern* slaveholding States; that is, Maryland and Virginia. Now, we submit to the Executive Committee, whether their Agent ought not to have been more adventurous and inquisitive, by going to South Carolina and Georgia, inasmuch as the field of inquiry in those States is more prolific, and has been less frequently explored, than that in the other States alluded to. The utmost amount of time which Prof. A. consumed in his grand number-of-fact exploration, was less than a month, including all delays, and allowing a fortnight to enable him to travel from Boston to Richmond, and 'back again!' Thus, only two weeks were occupied in taking the multifarious aspects and almost interminable dimensions of the slave-system! By the date of his letters it appears, that, in going to the Ancient Dominion, he tarried one day in New Haven, three days in New York, two in Philadelphia, four in Baltimore, four in Washington, one in Alexandria, two in Fredericksburg, *one in Richmond!!* Thirteen of his twenty-eight meagre epistles were written in Baltimore!—But, perhaps the Professor is a man of more than ordinary industry—can perform the herculean task of

months in less than a fortnight—and made himself as 'busy as a bee' in hunting up rare and unequalled 'facts,' for the enlightening of two Unions, viz: the American Union at Boston, and the American Union all over the United States. But no—his 'facts' are few, and all of them have been worn thread-bare by the abolitionists. It is an impudent hoax to palm this book upon the community, as one containing fresh and unusual intelligence. True, it is not wholly useless; but all that is good in it is more than neutralized by the poison that is insidiously mixed with it.

But this pseudo American Union is anxious to procure more 'well-prepared and trust-worthy facts' respecting slavery! What facts, already spread before the community, is it disposed to deny, or doubt, or controvert? What facts does it expect to obtain, that will deepen the horror arising from these—that more than two millions of human beings at the south are held in slavery as mere beasts of burden; that the traffic in their bodies is as regular and active as any other branch of commerce; that marriage by law is unknown among them; that husbands and wives, parents and children, friends and relations, are daily sundered at the bidding of avarice, to meet no more on earth; that the holy scriptures cannot be circulated among them; that the hire of their labor is kept back by fraud; that they are liable to be lacerated, branded, maimed, fettered, murdered by their masters, overseers or drivers, with impunity, and for the slightest offence; that their united testimony in a court of justice, (!) against a white person, would not be allowed the weight of a single white witness; that they are generally deprived of education, either by express enactment, or by the negligence of their superiors in knowledge; and that they are generally in a state of heathenism, unsurpassed by the worshippers of Juggernaut. These are 'well-prepared and trust-worthy facts,' which include all subordinate facts; for when men, who are 'created a little lower than the angels,' are degraded to a level with the cattle of the field, and held as articles of merchandize, there can be no higher act of cruelty or impiety. But these tremendous facts, which the Statute Book of every slave State corroborates, are not sufficient to enlist the energies, or touch the sympathies, or command the means of the 'American Union for the Relief and Improvement of the Colored Race'; it wants a higher object with which to grapple; so it gravely deputes one of its officers to go and make researches for the space of—— a fortnight! And who is this individual? Is he more 'trust-worthy' than J. D. Paxton, or J. G. Birney, or Benjamin Lundy, or any other respectable and veracious abolitionist? One might almost be led to suppose, that, till the publication of this collectaneous work, the 'American Union' had not been able to find a single 'well-prepared and trust-worthy' fact, upon which to build an opinion, as to the nature of the disease, or the remedy that was needed, at the south! We are curious to learn what it now proposes to do.

Let us now follow the tourist, and ascertain, as we may, the high and official sources from which he derives his 'facts.'

The first important personage, whom the Professor introduces, is 'a middle-aged stranger,' an inquisitive Yankee on board of the steam-boat, whose conversation we quote, as a specimen of the paltry stuff which pervades the book:

'"May be," said he, "you are a southerner." I replied, that I lived in Boston. He then told me, that he belonged to S——, in Connecticut, that he was a Baptist, and knew some of the Baptist clergymen in Boston very well—having heard them preach in S——. He then remarked, that he thought "it was quite time that something was done about the slaves at the south,—that according to all accounts, they were very badly used, and if their masters would not set them at liberty, they ought to be made to do it." I endeavored, but probably to no purpose, to convince him, that the people of the north had no right forcibly to interfere with the slavery of the south, however much we might deplore its existence. It appeared that he had heard the discussions of a lecturer of the Anti-Slavery Society, and this was the inference which he, in common with many others of the same class of our northern citizens, had derived from them;—*that it was the duty of the friends of humanity to compel the slaveholders immediately to liberate their slaves.*'

High official information, and truly important! Observe the insidious thrust at the Anti-Slavery Society, through a lecturer. It is true, the Prof. remarks upon the sentence in italic, 'this was *probably* a false inference from the positions of the lecturer.' *Probably* it was—why, then, is this nonsense inserted in the work, if not for the purpose of covertly inflicting a wound? In this connexion, we beg leave to introduce another piece of extraordinary information, which we find recorded upon page 87, expressed in the following sublime and graphic language:—'under the stairs by which we ascended to the school-room, *two swine were dozing away the morning*, and [*mirabile dictu!*] merely looked up and *grunted* as we passed'! Unmannerly hogs—they ought to be colonized. This is an item of intelligence that must go far to enlighten the American Union, and abolish slavery! It was a timely visit to Baltimore.

The next individual, with whom the reader is made acquainted, is none other than that prince of 'fanatics,' and worst of 'incendiaries,' ARTHUR TAPPAN! The Prof. gravely says, that he called upon Mr. T. 'for the purpose of engaging his co-operation in measures, for ascertaining the actual condition of the free colored people of the north, especially of those inhabiting the principal cities.' This call was quite ludicrous, not to say impertinent, inasmuch as it was made upon one who is almost wholly absorbed in devising ways and means to relieve, enlighten and elevate the entire colored population of this country. It would be just as decorous for a new convert to the temperance cause, still seeing men as trees walking, to make a formal visit to L. M. Sargent, or E. C. Delavan, or Justin Edwards, and invoke him to 'co-operate in measures for ascertaining the actual condition' of the people, on the score of sobriety. The reply of Mr. T. is marked with his usual good sense:—'He thought we were already sufficiently acquainted with their situation; *that it was not mere information on this subject which was principally needed, but the removal of a cruel prejudice against them.*' The following merited panegyric is extorted from Prof. A., although its connection with such a work is enough to make a good man shrink from it with feelings of disgust:

'His whole conversation left upon my mind an impression of the deepest interest, on his part, in this unfortunate class of our fellow citizens, and a readiness to aid in any proper measure, which, in his view, was likely to relieve them. Indeed a long acquaintance with his principles and views, not only authorizes, but requires me to declare, that in genuine benevolence of heart, and in all the varied acts of beneficence by which kindness can manifest itself to the poor, the ignorant, and the unfortunate, there is no man, in the whole length and breadth of the land, that can claim pre-eminence over the individual of whom I have now the honor and the pleasure to speak, and who needs, to an intelligent and pious community, no other designation than this, that among American christians he has long been distinguished as *first in every good work*. To those who have been so forward in reproaching him for the part he has taken in relation to African slavery, I may be allowed to say, while holding opinions upon this important subject essentially different from his, that for the relief of human suffering, and the enlightening of human ignorance, the entire contributions made by some wealthy states, where his name is the theme of daily reproach, would scarcely equal the numerous, unostentatious, but noble benefactions of ARTHUR TAPPAN.'

From the foregoing extract it is apparent, either that the Prof. is groping in darkness on the subject of slavery, or that the compliment paid to the benevolence of Mr. T. is at the expense of his discernment and intellect. He avows, that he holds opinions upon the subject of slavery 'ESSENTIALLY *different*' from Mr. Tappan's, although from a long acquaintance with his principles and views,' which are directly opposite to the principles and views of Prof. A., the latter is compelled to indulge in a strain of panegyric! Now, what are those 'opinions' of Mr. T. which are 'essentially' erroneous, i.e. if those of this letter-writer are 'essentially' right? Mr. T. believes that the enslavement of our colored population is a sin against God; that, like every other sin, it ought to be repented of and abandoned instantly; that the command of God is binding upon every oppressor to-day, to undo the heavy burdens, break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free; that equal rights and privileges belong to men, independent of the color of their skin or the texture of their hair; and that light and truth ought to have free course all ever our land, and throughout the world. He holds no other opinions that conflict with these. Yet these are 'essentially' different from Prof. A.'s, *and, consequently, from those which are sanctioned by the 'American Union'!* for they agree with him in his sentiments. If, then, we have fairly stated Mr. Tappan's 'opinions'—and if we have not, he will certainly correct us; if Prof. A. has not misrepresented himself, 'essentially'—then, it follows, that the latter does not believe that it is a sin to enslave our fellow-men, or that the act ought to be repented of instantly, or that it is incumbent upon the oppressor to let the oppressed go free NOW, or that all men should now be secured in the enjoyment of their rights, or that every obstruction to the progress of knowledge and liberty should now be removed! The Professor must submit to these influences, until he show the unsoundness of the premises.

The reader is next introduced to 'Mr. M.,' 'Mr. J.' and 'Mr. S.' of New York. It is of no consequence to know who are they, for their 'facts' are contradictory, and reveal nothing new.

The next official and responsible personage is a 'Mr. D.' a native of New England, who had long resided in the south, but who, within a few years past, has removed to New York.' Says Prof. A.:

'I found my old friend *was no abolitionist*, in the present restricted sense of the term; still he cherished all his former kindness of feeling towards the slaves, [no doubt he was a slaveholder at that time,] and the same ardent wishes that some *rational* plan could be devised to restore liberty to them, and security and prosperity to those who have *inherited* so sad a BIRTHRIGHT as the possession of slaves'!

It seems the Professor was quite as ignorant as his old friend, of any 'rational plan' of emancipation, although his wishes were doubtless as ardent for the discovery of such a plan. Thus is the awful guilt of slaveholders extenuated! Let them quit stealing at once, and be honest men; this is God's plan for restoring liberty to the slaves, and giving security and prosperity to the masters. 'Inherited so *sad a birthright* as the possession of slaves'! How the slaveholding gentry will laugh at this lugubrious language! A most consistent and shrewd gentleman is Mr. D.! —e. g.

'He is not altogether a cordial friend of the Colonization Society, for he fears that its tendency is, to prevent the adoption of really efficient measures for the removal of slavery. Still, *he does not wish the labors of the Society to cease*, but rather to be employed, *with augmented resources*, in improving the condition of Africa, *and of those colored persons who may desire to go to the land of their fathers.*'

Verily, D. stands for dunce; for who but a dunce would say, that he feared the tendency of a society was alarmingly pernicious, and in the same breath declare that he hoped it would continue to augment its resources and its power?

Who comes next? 'Mr. Elliot Cresson'! a gentleman whose 'well-prepared and trust-worthy facts,' in England, were so clearly proved to be fictions, as to cause his hasty and inglorious retreat from the presence of an abused and defrauded people. He has much more politeness than appertained to George Fox; and his 'polite attentions' seems to have excited the gratitude of our observant tourist. Prof. A. says that in Philadelphia, Mr. Cresson, 'and other friends of the colored race,' (?) granted him 'facilities for obtaining the *most valuable information* in regard to the condition of the free colored people of the Middle States.' As he does not give this information, it seems that he neglected to improve the 'facilities' thrown open to him. Herein he was blame-worthy. We commend him to the censure of the American Union.

Mr. A., an intelligent and influential member of the Methodist church,' is next brought forward. This 'trust-worthy' individual 'states as his deliberate opinion, that the condition of the free blacks in Maryland is much worse than that of the slaves'!

A Presbyterian clergyman of Baltimore, (name not given, not even its initials, but probably R. J. BRECKENRIDGE,) comes next, and he gave the Professor the following 'fact'—'the only way to approach the subject of slavery, successfully, is *through the medium of the Colonization Society*'—a fact long since proved to be a falsehood.

Next, we are introduced to 'Mr. S., one of the smaller slave-dealers in Baltimore,' with whom the Professor had an interview at his office, by inquiring the present price of good field hands, from 18 to 25 years old. 'Likely fellows,' he was told, 'are worth from $500 to $650: girls of the same age, from $300 to $500.' Mr. S. said he had at the jail, 'a prime fellow, as likely a *nigger* as he had ever seen,' whom he was anxious to sell; and also 'a little girl—*bright mulatto*—seven years old—as fine a servant as he ever saw—quick and handy—will go to market for any small article, as well as many who are much older.' These cases are an instructive commentary upon the folly of those who insanely talk of preparing the slaves for freedom. The spirit of slavery is as unrelenting towards a little intelligent child, or the prime adult, as it is towards the most stupid. This slave-dealer, says Prof. A. 'concluded the conversation, *which he had carried on in the style of a northern horse-jockey*, by asking how many hands I wished to purchase. *I told him that I had not yet completed my arrangements*, and thought I should remain in this quarter two or three weeks, until the harvest was gathered. Finding that he had taken me for a southerner, [i. e. a southern slave speculator,] *and not caring to undeceive him*, by answering other questions which he might put, I took leave without further conversation.' How contemptible such conduct appears! What pitiful skulking, and cowardly dissimulation! The interview with the monster is related as coolly as if he had been engaged in the flour trade. All that the Professor seems to feel in telling his story, is, a high degree of self-admiration on the score of his own deception! Nay, he must even proceed to eulogize a notorious 'broker in the trade of blood,' AUSTIN WOOLFOLK, the brutal wretch who, a few years since, knocked down our Quaker friend LUNDY in the streets of Baltimore, stamped furiously upon his head, and covered him with blood!

'There is an establishment near the end of Pratt-street, owned by Mr. W., who has made himself very rich by this trade. He has, like the other large slave dealers, a prison, or *slave pen*, of his own, in which he keeps the slaves until a cargo is completed. They are then carried on board the vessel, usually at night, and immediately sail for New-Orleans. The business is conducted by him, and by the other regular traders, in such a manner, that there is never any suspicion of unfairness in regard to their mode of acquiring slaves. In this respect, at least, their business is conducted in an *honorable* manner.

Mr. W. has a brother at the south, I believe in Louisiana, who receives the negroes shipped from this port, and disposes of them to purchasers. On hearing of such an agency as this, one is ready to conceive, that the man who has grown wealthy by receiving and selling these poor and defenceless creatures, must be in all respects a monster—one whose diabolical spirit must manifest itself in his very countenance, and in all the intercourse of private life, so that all men, and especially the unfortunate slaves, will instinctively shrink from him as from a demon. And yet, how wide from the truth would such a conclusion be! This very man is reported, upon the best authority, to be *a most mild and indulgent master, and an upright and scrupulously honest man*. His recommendation of a slave will instantly raise his value in the market, for his word is implicitly relied upon by all who know him. When he makes his appearance among his slaves, they gather around him with *every demonstration of affection*; and even the little children manifest the most eager solicitude to share in his attentions.'

But as if the above gratuitous praise of the human tiger, who deals in slaves, and the souls of men, and 'even little children,' were not sufficiently insulting to the moral sense of a humane and religious community; as if the deceitful story, that the victims of Woolfolk's transcendant villany, who are crowded together in a '*slave pen*,' gather around him 'with every demonstration of affection,' were not highly colored enough to raise the admiration of honest men; Prof. A., that he may shield the reputation of a rapacious slave-monger, and stab that of 'the devoted friends of the colored race, and of the oppressed of every name,' goes on to remark:

'Such inconsistencies and apparent contradictions in human character are, however, by no means uncommon; and it would not perhaps be difficult, on the other hand, to instance some, who are the devoted friends of the colored race, and of the oppressed of every name, who have cultivated towards those whose sentiments are opposed to their own, so bitter a hostility, as to have rendered their characters in a high degree repulsive.'

But the Prof. is not yet disposed to cease eulogizing the slave-traders. In his account of FRANKLIN & ARMFIELD's slave establishment at Alexandria, he flatteringly observes that 'Mr. Armfield is a man of fine personal appearance, and of engaging and graceful manners.' O, beautiful and amiable monster! Again—'In the parlor, I again met Mr. Armfield, who, during my absence, had been *negotiating for the purchase of a slave*, and had just concluded a bargain. Here I was *again* treated with *great politeness*, and *refreshments of various kind* were offered me'!! What a bowing and scraping there must have been between these polite and urbane gentlemen! The Prof. seems determined to pay in *puffs* for the refreshments—for he further says:

'I was assured, in Alexandria, that it was not uncommon for servants in that town, when about to be sold, to request that they might be sold to Mr. Armfield; and his clerk told me that they had numerous applications from servants, requesting that they would purchase them. Mr. Armfield has acquired the confidence of all the neighboring country, by his resolute efforts to prevent kidnapping, and by his *honorable mode of dealing*.

Again: speaking of another slave-monger, Prof. A. still remembers the 'politeness and refreshments' exhibited by Mr. Armfield, for he is careful to observe, that 'the appearance of the establishment was not so neat as that of Mr. Armfield,' and that 'he is not thought to treat his slaves so humanely as Mr. Armfield'! In one respect, however, Mr. Armfield is successfully imitated:—'The windows of the buildings appropriated to the use of the slaves, WERE GRATED WITH IRON, *in the same manner as Mr. Armfield's*'!

Again: Who is like unto Mr. Armfield, except peradventure Austin Woolfolk? '*Par nobile fratrum!*' The Professor comes across another slave-trader, a young man of the name of N., who affords another opportunity for the glorification of the polite Mr. Armfield:

'This man, N., is the perfect counterpart in his appearance *to Mr. Armfield*, being vulgar in his manners, and mean in his personal appearance. It is painful to think that such a man should have it in his power to control so great a number of his fellow-beings, and especially women and children.'

N. ought to take lessons in politeness and neatness, forthwith, of the Chesterfield of Alexandria, Mr. Armfield; because it is *not* painful to think that so gentlemanly a man as Mr. Armfield should have the same power over his fellow-beings as that exercised by the rude Mr. N. O no! In justice to Prof. A. we ought to state, that he attempted to excite emulation in the breast of N. by referring to the conduct of the matchless Mr. Armfield. 'I told him,' he says, 'that Mr. Armfield was at great pains to dress the negroes well *when they go to market*. N. says that he does the same, and that *they will sell much better for being well dressed*.' We are thus enabled to appreciate the disinterestedness and humanity of Mr. Armfield, of whom we now take our leave.

It appears that this felon slave-speculator N. and his uncle, are connected together in business, (the latter having followed the piratical employment for fourteen years,) and that they lost seventy-five slaves last winter, who, in being transported by water to Charleston, were driven off by storms to Bermuda, where they all obtained their liberty.

'A by-stander suggested to him that he would find it for his interest to apply to the government of the island. He replied that this would do no good; that Armfield had lost a whole shipment in the same way, and could get no redress. 'But why don't you go there and claim them?' 'Because,' said N.,—mingling with his reply more profanity than I care to record,—'A NIGGER IS JUST AS FREE THERE, AND STANDS JUST AS GOOD A CHANCE IN THEIR COURTS AS A WHITE MAN!' How sad a perversion of justice such a country must exhibit!'

The exclamation of the Professor is somewhat equivocal. Does he mean to intimate, that a sad perversion of justice is exhibited in Bermuda, or in the United States?

Of N's speculation we are told—

'The greater part of the slaves now on board are young mothers, from eighteen to twenty-five years old, with their children, many of them infants. The rest consists of boys and young men; but the latter do not appear to be the husbands of the females who are on board. From my conversation with N., I find reason to conclude that in almost every case, family ties have been broken in the purchase of these slaves. Husbands are here whose wives remain in the District, and wives are now looking back upon the dome of the Capitol, which is still in sight, and near which their husbands reside, whom they are never more to meet.

In selling his slaves, N. assures me that he never separates families, but that in purchasing them he is often compelled to do so, for that 'his business is to purchase, and he must take such as are in the market!' 'Do you often buy the wife without the husband?' 'Yes, very often; and frequently, too, they sell me the mother while they keep her children. *I have often known them take away the infant from its mother's breast and keep it, while they sold her.* Children, from one year to eighteen months old, are now worth about one hundred dollars. That little fellow there,' pointing to a boy about seven or eight years old, 'I gave four hundred dollars for. That fellow,' pointing to one about eighteen, 'I gave seven hundred and fifty for last night, after dark. I sold seven fellows the other day, to Armfield. He just made me an advance of fifty dollars a head.''

Painful as the subject is, we are forced to smile at the gullibility of the Professor, in swallowing the mendacious statement of N. 'that he never separates families' in *selling* slaves, although he habitually sunders all conjugal and filial ties in *buying* slaves. Our tourist tells how skilfully he wore the garb of deception in the following confession:

'N., who takes me for a southerner, as most strangers do, is quite communicative. Finding that I have recently been in Baltimore, where I was acquainted with some of the traders, and that I was yesterday at Mr. Armfield's, he seems to suppose me a planter deeply interested in the price of slaves.'

No wonder that Prof. A. was so often taken for a southerner, ay, and a slave speculator. Alluding to a slave establishment in Fredericksburg, he says:

'The slaves were well dressed and clean. They were in groups in the yard, conversing together *with all the seeming indifference of persons in possession of their liberty*. As we turned a corner of the yard, I observed two or three negro women, from without, conversing through the fence with some who were confined in the yard, but *apparently cheerful and happy*.'

What is the obvious tendency of language like the foregoing, but to divest the slave-trade of its horrors, and to abate the sympathy that is now cherished for the slaves? Indeed, as if determined to make us think kindly of this nefarious traffic, Prof. A. further says:

'Great numbers of slaveholders have recently removed, and are now removing from Virginia and North Carolina to the south-western states. These carry their slaves with them, and, settling in a fertile country, their own situation, and that of their slaves, is greatly improved. The negroes who remain at the north soon become acquainted with the improved condition of the emigrants, and are desirous of following them. Even when sold to a slave trader for that purpose, they manifest less concern than formerly. A number of negroes in a neighboring county lately ran away from their master, and came to the trader in this city, requesting him to purchase them from their owner, and send them to New-Orleans.'

Again:

'Removal at mature age from one's parents, kindred, and early friends, and separation from the scenes of childhood, though often painful events, are unfortunately not peculiar to the African slave. They are the lot of the European emigrant, who seeks in the new world an asylum from the oppression and poverty of the old, and they are voluntarily encountered by a large portion of the enterprising youth of this country, who leave kindred and friends for a settlement in the western wilderness. These, indeed, are all animated by the hope that their circumstances in life may be improved by their removal; but the slave too may be animated by the same hope, for slavery, like freedom, has its different degrees of joy and sorrow, of fear and hope, of pleasure and pain. The domestic slave-trade then is not, *under all possible circumstances of the slave*, an evil. To be accounted the property of an other, is an evil, but being so accounted, it will be advantageous to him to be transferred to a better situation, even while he continues in slavery.'

'How charming a virtue is consistency!' exclaims the Professor. Who would expect to find in this work, after reading so plausible a defence of the slave trade, the following paragraph, describing a group just purchased for transportation?

'As they sat in a circle upon the forward deck, and ate their corn-bread and bacon, and looked around with childish wonder upon the strange sights and faces with which they were surrounded, it was difficult to act the part of an indifferent spectator, and not to execrate openly the man who, to increase his own wealth, is hurrying these unconscious little beings into a distant and hopeless slavery.'

Here, too, is a positive contradiction of all Prof. A's pleas in extenuation of this dreadful traffic; for, in another place, he says—'To a stranger, one of the most revolting features in American slavery is the domestic slave-trade.' And further:

'A literary friend, who is a native of North Carolina, remarked to me to-day, that he could tolerate every thing else about slavery, better than *the shocking separations which he saw continually caused by the removal of slaves to the south and west.*'

Verily, 'Consistency, thou art a jewel!'

But we are protracting our review of one of the most offensive publications which the times have produced on the subject of slavery, we fear to a tedious length. The absurdities and contradictions which appear in the work are really surprising, and shall be duly made manifest to our readers. The work itself is beneath criticism on the score of ability; and would fail to command our serious notice, were it not endorsed, and sent forth approvingly to the public, by the 'American Union for the Relief and Improvement of the Colored Race'—a society which is now fairly unmasked, and which is proved to be as hollow as it is impotent.

NEWS OF THE DAY.

O'CONNELL.

From the accounts contained in most of the papears, this side the Atlantic, the public are led to believe that Mr. O'Connell, at his late visit to Liverpool, was hooted and hissed from that city. The following paragraph, from the Correspondent of the N. Y. Journal of Commerce, is probably much nearer the truth than the statements above alluded to.

'All our papers are filled with long accounts of his 'sayings and doings,' at Dublin, Liverpool and Manchester. At the former place he was surrounded by the principal personages of the Hibernian aristocracy; at Liverpool, the Town Council formed his body guard, whilst forty thousand of the inhabitants assembled to greet him on his arrival, nearly nine hundred of whom sat down to a dinner prepared to do him honor; and, at Birmingham, he was received in a manner the most flattering, and with a magnificence of display that was perfectly gorgeous. The dinner is described as that of a banquet worthy only of Royalty. At the latter place the American flag was suspended beside the British Union Jack; another proof of the cordiality of feeling that is now existing between the people of both countries. The speeches delivered by the Great Liberator are detailed at considerable length. The morning papers were not ready for publication until nearly twelve o'clock yesterday, owing to the expresses not having arrived with the reports of the honorable and learned gentleman's speeches. The success, the triumphs, the orations, that have signalized the advance of Mr. O'Connell, have terribly annoyed the Tory press, and they are now become still more rabid than before. But all the venom that they can spit forth will be harmless; they cannot write such a man down.'

At a very very large Anti-Slavery meeting, held in Birmingham, Mr. O'Connell thus alludes to the abuse which has been so profusely heaped upon him by the pro-slavery party in this country:

'Liberty was abroad upon the winds of heaven, and would be wafted over the Atlantic, and teach the yellow savage who still perpetuated slavery in America, that a day had come when they could be no longer allowed to trade in human flesh. It was gratifying to him that the advocates of slavery in America were abusing him as heartily as ever he was abused by those who were anxious to perpetuate slavery—political slavery—in these countries.'

TERRIBLE PRICES. The prices of a moderate pair of ducks in market yesterday was $2 50, of a little pair of chickens $1 50, of good pieces of beef 12 a 16 cts. lb, of veal hind quarters, 14ct, of eggs 6 cts each, and none to be had at that, apples $1 31 a bushel. The country people seem to have no more compassion on us than the landlords, and even the men who are constantly brawling about oppression and high prices, if they have any thing to sell, stickle for the last cent, like real Shylocks. In spite of Free Trade we would almost recommend a strike against such enormous prices were it not for the grave inquiry of what we should do in the mean time, before the refractory country people should be brought to terms, a circumstance too little considered in strikes generally. But to be quite serious, these extremely high prices are sad indeed for the poor, whose means are in no small degree reduced by the weather, which prevents out door labor a great part of the time. Their wants call for a liberal relief from the overflowing abundance of the wealthy with whom the expenses of going to market be they more or less, are of very little importance.—*N. Y. Jour. of Com.*

NATURALIZATION LAWS. Memorials are in circulation in Brooklyn and New York, praying congress so to alter the naturalization laws as to extend the term of residence required of foreigners previous to being admitted to Citizenship to twenty-one years. In New York, it is said 8000 signatures have been already obtained. The native americans of Patterson, New Jersey, are wide awake on the same subject, and are procuring signers to a similar petition. A Memorial will also be put in circulation for signatures in this city to-day, to be forwarded next week to our representative in the Assembly, Mr. Dikeman, the object of which is to obtain an expression of opinion by the Legislature as to the expediency of *altering* the Naturalization Laws. A very interesting letter, has been received in New York, from the Native American Association in Louisiana, setting forth their principles, and the flattering prospects of their rapid extension.

JOICE HETH.—It turns out, as far as can be judged from physical appearances, that Joice Heth's wonderful old age, turns out to be a wonderful humbug. Dr. D. L. Rogers held a *post mortem* examination on her body yesterday, and stated that there was no indication whatever, of extreme old age about it. The body was generally in a healthy state, except the left lung, which was diseased, and which, in the opinion of Dr. Rogers, was the cause of her death. But even before she died, Dr. Rogers had given it as his opinion, that she could not be so old as she was represented to be. He visited her about three months before her death, and on examining her pulse, found it was seventy-five; and as to the loss of her eyes, it was evident to him that it had arisen from disease, and not old age. From the examination he held on her before and after her death, Dr. Rogers stated that she could not have been much more than eighty years old at the utmost.

RIOTS IN NEW YORK.—There was a grandke stri of the riggers and ship laborers on Monday of last week in New York. The riggers want $1 75, and the ship laborers $1 50 per day. Another occurred on Tuesday among the laborers, principally Irishmen, on the ruins of the late fire. They accumulated to the number of 500, and demanded a rise of 25 per cent on their wages, making 10 shillings per day. They were mostly dispersed by the Police, two of the ringleaders were apprehended, and some have returned to their work.

FIRE AT NEW HAVEN. The extensive coach making establishment of Messrs. Brewster & Collins, at New Haven, was destroyed by fire on last Thursday night, with most of its contents, including a large amount of finished work, not sent abroad in consequence of the obstruction of the harbor.—The loss is estimated at $60,000, of which there was $35,000 insurances at offices in Boston, to which it was transferred since the great fire at New York.

SANDWICH ISLANDS. The "Supplement to the Kumu Hawaii," dated Honolulu Oahu, Oct. 10, 1835, informs us that the missionary packet, Capt. Procter, had recently returned from the Georgian and Society Islands. Rev. Mr. Baldwin who took passage in her for his health, was much gratified with his visit. The mission was thought to be more prosperous than at some former periods. [Traffic in ardent spirits was prohibited at most of the Islands. The South Sea Academy was continued under the care of Mr. and Mrs. Simpson, and contained fourteen girls and four boys.

The Governor of New Hampshire has appointed Thursday, March 31, to be observed as a day of public fasting.

INCENDIARIES. Four attempts were made, on Monday evening, to fire the city.

NOTICE.

An address will be delivered in behalf of the Samaritan Asylum for indigent children, by Rev. J. S. C. Abbott, in Rev. Mr. Blagden's meeting-house, Salem-street, on Sabbath evening next, at 7 o'clock. A collection will be taken up in aid of the Institution.

NOTICE.

By leave of Providence, a special meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, will be held on Wednesday, March 9, at 3 o'clock, P. M. at No. 46 Washington-street. Punctual attendance is requested.

By order of the Board,

March 3, 1836. M. V. BALL.

LIST *of Letters received at the office of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society since our last number was issued.*

MAINE—N. Winslow, Portland; D. Dole, Brunswick; Asa Heath, Windsor. N. H.—J. Curtis, Pittsfield. MASSACHUSETTS—S. J. May, Uxbridge; (2) John Allen, Kingston; George Russell, do.; N. Eddy, E. Middleborough; Willard Allen, Valley Village. NEW-YORK—R. G. Williams, New-York city; (2) Timothy Seaman, do.; John Rankin, do.; S. H. Gimber, do.; N. Blount, Poughkeepsie. PA.—A. Buffum, Philadelphia; Susan H. Luther, do. MICH. TER.—Moses Kinsley, Webster.

PROPOSALS

For publishing the Poetical Works of Elizabeth Margeret Chandler: with a Memoir of her Life and Character, by Benjamin Lundy.

ALTHOUGH this amiable and highly gifted author was not extensively known, *by name*, yet some of her writings have been widely circulated, and greatly admired. She wrote, occasionally, for some of the popular periodical works of her day, in Philadelphia and elsewhere. During a period of more than eight years, she contributed largely and regularly to the pages of the '*Genius of Universal Emancipation*.' She also acted as the principal editor of the *Female Department* of that work, (and was the author of nearly all the original matter in that department,) upwards of four years, previous to its temporary suspension in 1834. But, owing to her retiring modesty—her particular aversion to public notoriety, she very seldom permitted her name to accompany the articles which she sent to the Press. Thus, while a great number of readers even of the most refined taste in the circles of philanthropy and literature, were delighted and edified by the excellent productions of her pen, her exemplary character was little known beyond the pale of her family connexion and private acquaintance.

In order to furnish the reading community with some of her most admired poetical works, in a separate and convenient form for preservation and use, a choice selection has been made. This will shortly be published, together with a memoir of her life, if a reasonable patronage should be obtained.

The whole will be comprised in a volume of about 200 pages, 18mo. It will be neatly printed, on fine paper, with a beautiful type, and handsomely bound in fancy muslin.

The price will be 62 1-2 cents per single copy—a liberal discount made to those who take ten or more copies, and become responible for the payment.

Orders for the work must be forwarded (free of expense to the publisher) to LEMUEL HOWELL, No. 400 Coates Street, Philadelphia. It will be put to press about the middle of the Fourth Month, (April) next, provided a sufficient number of copies shall be subscribed for, to defray the expense of publication.

Philadelphia, 2nd Mo. 19th, 1836.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

MR. CHARLES WHIPPLE of Newburyport has lately issued from the press several little tracts upon Slavery, from the pen of our esteemed friend, Mrs. Child. Two of them, viz: 'Authentic Anecdotes of American Slavery,' 'the EVILS OF SLAVERY and the CURE OF SLAVERY' may be found at the office of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, where the friends of the cause, if they wish to purchase, may be immediately supplied. Jan 9.

LITERARY.

[For the Liberator.]

COLONIZATIONIST & FREE BLACKS.

Colonizationist.

O could ye understand,
Where lies your truest bliss,
Ye'd seek your father land,
A brighter clime than this:
There all your woes you might forget,
And form a happy people yet.

Free Blacks.

The land that gave us birth
Can only yield us bliss,
There is no clime on earth
So dear to us as this:
Why should we bid our homes farewell,
And far in barb'rous countries dwell?

Colonizationist.

Here, ye must be forlorn,
Despised and trodden down;
Must meet the white man's scorn,—
Endure his cruel frown;
Ye cannot be his equal now,
While slavery's brand is on your brow.

Free Blacks.

But there's a God on high,—
To Him do we appeal:
He hears each deep-drawn sigh
When we in sadness kneel.
He never gave the stern command
To drive us from our native land.

Colonizationist.

But prejudice destroys
The rights ye here may claim;—
Instead of constant joys,
Your lot is constant shame:
Flee, then, to Afric. There will cease
The ills that here despoil your peace.

Free Blacks.

Ye call this Freedom's home,
And we are slaves no more;
Why exiled should we roam
On distant Afric's shore?
We love the land that gave us birth,—
No other home have we on earth.

BRUNSWICK, ME. D.

POOR JACK.

Who cares for Jack?—Not one, not one;
Each has his selfish care,
But for the friendless Sailor, none
Kind word or thought can spare.
Who cares that still alone in his
The ocean's rugged way;
By night, unquiet rest, and toil
And bitterness by day?

Who cares for Jack?—He has no friend
To sooth his weary wo:
If tears are his, no heart is his
On which those tears may flow.
Who cares when pallid sickness bends
On him its angry frown—
Or when from the ship's plank he sinks
A thousand fathoms down?

Who cares for Jack,—his voyage done?—
The eager landlord cares;
And to the utmost farthing strips
The victim of his snares;
Yea, there are spoils along the deeps,
And ocean has its shoals,—
But the dry land has more than these,—
The hopeless wreck of souls.

Hallo! hallo! the flag is up,
'Tis nailed unto the mast;
Thank God! the sailor's battered hulk
Is near the BETHEL cast.
Hallo! hallo! a friendly port,—
From cruel landsharks free;
Now comrades! bear a hand and look,
The SAILOR'S HOME'S for thee!

There shall thou meet with noble hearts,—
A willing mess will share;
And none to mock thy true attempt
To seek thy God in prayer.
Who cares for Jack!—and who will not?—
When seas have past away,
His soul with ransomed souls may shine,
A gem as bright as they. W. B. T.

[From the Woonsocket Advocate.]

[The following stanzas, we are informed, are the production of a girl, aged about 16—any imperfections, therefore, will undoubtedly be overlooked by the reader, or at least attributed to the inexperience of the writer.]

SLAVERY.

Oh, when shall our country be free from those chains
That bind our dark brethren fast?
When shall tyranny yield unto freedom the reins,
And liberty conquer at last?

Oh, when shall America's highlands resound
With the heart-cheering sound, Liberty;
And her hills and deep vallies re-echo, rebound
With one sweet accord, 'WE ARE FREE!'

Oh, when shall her songsters in unceasing strain,
Be chanting this praise-worthy theme,
And the iron-bound fetter, the yoke and the chain
Be immersed in the wide-swelling stream?

That the cruel oppressor's tyrannical heart
May yield unto pity's soft call,
And reward those who would, for poor Africans, part
With their kindred, their country, their all;

That the slaves now in bondage, unfettered may be,
And know and enjoy the pure air;
To seek them a home in 'the land of the free,'
And shout liberty, liberty, there;

That the voice of oppression no more shall be known,
Nor the sound of contention or pain;
But tyranny bow at humanity's throne,
And worship her image again;

May the sons of New England engage in the cause,
And scatter their labors abroad;
Then, then they will merit their country's applause,
And God their brave toil will reward.

Join, then, ye dear youths, in this laudable plan,
To abolish dire Slavery's reign;
To restore freedom's right unto poor, oppressed man,
And loosen his fetters again.

And thou,* noble man, in the cause persevere,
Success may thy labors attend,
And Afric's poor sons yet thy name shall revere,
For deigning assistance to lend.

M. B. T.

* H. B. Stanton.

MAN.

How poor, how rich, how abject, how august,—
How complicate, how wonderful, is Man!
Distinguished link in being's endless chain!
Midway from nothing to the Deity!
A beam ethereal sully'd and absorpt!
Though sully'd and dishonor'd, still divine!
What can preserve his life?—or what destroy?
An angel's arm can't snatch him from the grave;
Legions of angels can't confine him there.

SLAVERY.

EXTRACTS

From the Fourth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, lately published.

'In this connection, and in the order of time, we would now call your particular attention to 'Dr. Channing's book on Slavery.' The appearance of this book we consider very auspicious. Not that he explicitly favors the Abolitionists. Nor because he proposes any other plan better than ours. But because he has given to the public a luminous exposition of the rights of man, of the evils of slavery, and of the sin of reducing a rational and moral being to the condition of a piece of property. And, more than all, because he has given the sanction of his example to those, who would make the circumstances of our enslaved countrymen a matter of investigation, and call in question the right by which they are subjected to degradation. We have seen in the occurrences alluded to above, how many there are, who would persuade, ay, compel us to believe that because the Constitution of this confederacy permits the continuance of slavery, it is therefore improper in us to expose the wickedness of the institution, and endeavor so to change public opinion, as to procure its abolition. As soon could we be made to believe, that because our magistrates license the manufacture and sale of ardent spirits, and theatres, and lotteries, and gambling houses, we ought not to expose the sin and misery, which flow from these sources, and endeavor by all righteous means to put a stop to them. We thank Dr. Channing for helping us, with his most eloquent pen and wide spread influence, to repudiate a plea, which, if it be sufficient to bar our procedure, would likewise put a stop to the progress of all reformation. According to his precept and his example too, every one who can is bound to assist in bringing slavery to an end, whether by the thrilling appeal, or the cogent argument, or the pertinent fact—by whatever may help to expose the wrong, or to illustrate and enforce the right. Being, as he is, one of the most distinguished and popular of American writers, his book has introduced the cause of the slaves to thousands, who would turn contemptuously from our pages, without a perusal.

We are not ungrateful to Dr. Channing for his generous commendation of the characters and intentions of those Abolitionists, with whom he is acquainted. But we cannot therefore permit the objections, which he urges against our procedure, to pass without questioning their validity.

He finds fault with our doctrine, or rather with our phrase, 'immediate emancipation,' because it is liable to be misunderstood. But, we think, if the phrase expresses the true doctrine, it ought to be used, and explanations be patiently given, until the true doctrine, expressed in suitable phrase, has come to be generally understood, received and obeyed. Now, we regard the doctrine of 'immediate emancipation,' as the inference, which an upright mind would unavoidably draw from a due consideration of the rights of man, the evils of slavery, and the unparalleled iniquity of subjecting a human being to such degradation. On each of these points Dr. Channing's views are clear, and he has exhibited them, we think, so that the feeblest eye may see them. And it is plain to us, that he has drawn the same inference, that we have, although he rejects the words, in which we have expressed that inference. On the 119th page we read:

'What then is to be done for the removal of slavery? *In the first place*, the slaveholders should solemnly disclaim the right of property in human beings. The great principle that man cannot belong to man, should be distinctly recognized. The slave should be acknowledged as a partaker of a common nature, as having the essential rights of humanity. This great truth lies at the foundation of every wise plan for his relief. The cordial admission of it would give a consciousness of dignity, of grandeur, to efforts for emancipation. There is, indeed, a grandeur in the idea of raising more than two millions of human beings to the enjoyment of human rights, to the blessings of Christian civilization, to the means of indefinite improvement. The slaveholding States are called to a nobler work of benevolence than is committed to any other communities. They should comprehend its dignity. This they cannot do, till the slave is truly, sincerely, with the mind and heart, recognized as a MAN, till he ceases to be regarded as property.'

Now, we should have supposed, if the writer of the above paragraph had not forbidden the supposition, that he intended therein to inculcate the immediate emancipation of the slave—for surely he would have the first thing, that is to be done for the relief of the down trodden man, done immediately. He would have the foot taken from his neck at once. He would have the heavy yoke that crushes him, broken without delay. Surely he would have the *foundation* of the wise plan for his relief, laid *immediately*. He would not, could not counsel the slaveholder to postpone the recognition of the right of his slave to be treated as a man. There is a remarkable resemblance between what Dr. C. says ought to be done *in the first place*, and what the Abolitionists have insisted ought to be done *immediately*. We have not room to quote the passages, but confidently refer our readers to our publications generally.* The objection, that the phrase 'immediate emancipation' requires an explanation, lies with equal force against every phrase expressive of a doctrine in theology, or a principle in science, until that term has come, by use and repeated explanation, to be readily understood. If the Abolitionists are teaching any truth, or inculcating any duty, which is unknown or disregarded by the people, then is it necessary for them, if they would arrest attention, to adopt a comprehensive phrase, expressive of the truth and the duty, on which they insist. Now, 'immediate emancipation' is the phrase, and the only phrase, that expresses the right of the slave, and the duty of the master. No man can hold his fellow being as a mere piece of property, as a domestic animal, one moment without tremendous sin, unless he does it ignorantly. And, if his ignorance be his own fault, (and how can it be otherwise in this country?) then is his sin the same. We insist upon immediate emancipation from slavery, as the right of the oppressed and the duty of the oppressor. It is the first thing to be done. Instead of being, as some suppose, the consummation of the great work of raising the slave to the stature of a freeman, it is the very beginning. Break the yoke that bows him to the earth as a brute, before you bid him try to walk erect as a man. Renounce all claim of property in him, before you instruct him to learn and do the will of God. Let his right, his inalienable right, his birth-right to the improvement of all his capacities as a man be recognized and secured, else will your efforts for his improvement be feeble, ineffectual, liable to be frustrated at any moment by a caprice of passion, or an incident in fortune. This is the doctrine we preach. In whatever sense we use the word immediate, whether in regard to time or order, it is the word that expresses what we mean. We insist upon it, in opposition to that doctrine, which teaches slaveholders to defer to another generation, or to some future time, an act of common humanity, that is due to their fellow men now, and will be due until it is done. We insist upon it, in opposition to that scheme, which proposes to liberate the slave, through the medium of a voyage to Africa.

Dr. Channing objects, that the use of the phrase 'immediate emancipation, has contributed much to spread far and wide the belief, that the Abolitionists wished immediately to free the slave from all his restraints.' But ought we to be held responsible for this senseless, this wanton misconstruction of words? Is emancipation from slavery equivalent to a release from the righteous and wholesome restraints of civil government? Freemen—republican freemen—are subject to the control of equal laws. And is it not a wanton misconstruction of our words, to suppose they imply release from the restraints to which freemen are subject? We would indeed have the slaves immediately set free from all those restraints which operate to keep them slaves—for no men, however ignorant, however degraded, however wicked, ought to be slaves a moment. But we would have them subjected to righteous laws, and to any other salutary control, that may be found necessary for their good, and the good of the community. From the beginning of our enterprise, our claim for them has been, that they ought to be admitted to all the privileges and prerogatives of freemen, only upon the same conditions, after they shall have acquired, (those of them who do not now possess) the qualifications demanded of others.

If the misapprehensions, into which others may fall, or the misrepresentations they may be pleased to make of our language, are good reasons why we should not use language, that is properly expressive of the truth or the duty we are laboring to enforce, why, there is an end to all improvement in the theories or the practices of the world.

But Dr. C. says the Abolitionists 'have fallen into the common error of enthusiasts, that of exaggerating their object, of feeling as if no evil existed but that which they opposed, and as if no guilt could be compared with that of countenancing or upholding it.' We grieve that he suffered this censure to drop from his pen. It will repress, we fear, in many bosoms, the concern which was beginning to rise for the slaves and the slaveholders in our land. There is no danger we shall esteem the evil of their condition to be greater than it is. We see all about us an alarming insensibility or indifference. 'Suppose,' to use the words of Dr. C. on the 137th page, 'suppose that millions of white men were enslaved, robbed of all their rights, in a neighboring country, and enslaved by a black race, who had torn their ancestors from the shores on which our fathers had lived. How deeply should we feel their wrongs!' Yes, how deeply would the whole community feel their wrongs! Ay, how much more deeply would even the Abolitionists feel in that case! Yet, why should we not all feel as much in the case that actually exists, as in the one supposed? We are unable to find a reason, of which we are not ashamed. Let any person who thinks we may be in danger of estimating too highly the guilt of countenancing or upholding slavery, read Dr. Channing's chapter on the 'Evils of Slavery,' and then show us, if he can, wherein we have exaggerated them.

Again, Dr. Channing objects to our *manner* of forming associations. 'The Abolitionists might have formed an association; but it should have been an elective one. Men of strong principles, judiciousness, sobriety, should have been carefully sought as members. Much good might have been accomplished by the co-operation of such philanthropists.' About as much good, we opine, as has been accomplished by the American Union, which is, or was an *elective* association. Why did not Dr. Channing himself, years ago, seek out men of such strong principles, judiciousness, sobriety, to co-operate with him, or with one another, for the relief of our enslaved countrymen? Doubtless because he was not moved thereto by as deep a sense of their wrongs, as he now feels; or because the considerations which have at length impelled him to lift up his voice, in the cause of the slave, did not then press upon his mind. Or in other words, perhaps, because he was not an enthusiast in this matter. 'Enthusiasts,' we are aware, is an epithet of reproach. Yet it is the epithet bestowed upon a sort of men who are adapted, in the providence of God, to do as important services as any other. They are the men who begin all difficult enterprises. They are the pioneers of reform. If it be not so; why, we ask it before the world, why, we ask it before the Searcher of all hearts, why did the judicious and the sober leave it for enthusiasts to begin this great work in our land? And why have they not come to our aid before now? If we had elected the wise and prudent, would they have associated with us? Are they the men to bear the brunt of a moral conflict? Not many wise, (as this world counts wisdom) not many rich, not many mighty, ever were found among the leaders of reform. God has always chosen *the foolish* to confound the wise.

By the foolishness of preaching the simple truth that the slaves are men, and ought to be immediately recognized and treated as men, we have confounded, moved, aroused, our guilty nation. And now that the 'men of strong principles, judiciousness, sobriety' are, or soon will be constrained to speak and act, we and our enslaved brethren shall have the benefit of their counsels and co-operation. We followed the example of our Lord, who went himself, and sent his disciples, at one time twelve, at another time seventy, preaching the truth in every town and village, not to select audiences, but to such as had ears to hear. We elected no man; but we prayed the Father of Spirits to elect many to this great work, by convicting them of the sin of indifference to the awful transgression of our land, baptizing them unto the spirit of *impartial* love, and filling their hearts with sympathy for the wrongs of the down-trodden slaves.

We are aware of the evils, which may arise, and often do arise, from the associated action of large numbers of men. Dr. Channing has hinted at some of them, and we thank him for the admonition, which cannot be too often given, unless it prevent men from associating for the promotion of any good object. We would have every individual so deeply conscious of his individual responsibleness, that the influence of no numbers, however large, shall overbear his personal conviction of what is right. But on the other hand, we see not what individual action would ever accomplish for the general good, if it should continue individual. Surely it is not until the individual, who has discovered some new truth, or detected some error at the foundation of the existing state of things, has brought others to see with his eyes, and to act in accordance with their new views, not till then, that he can be said to have effected any thing for the good of society. All will allow, that the discoveries or conceptions, which have led to the improvements that have blessed the world, have originated with individual minds. This has been the case in science, politics, and religion. And they, who have thus given the first impulse to any reformation, are remembered as among the chief benefactors of the world. But how have they done the good, for which we bless them? We answer by giving rise to associated sentiment and action. We care not for the outward forms, the ceremony and circumstance of societies, any farther than they manifest to the world the existence and diffusion of the sentiment, that is to effect the desired good. But we demand how will this renovated sentiment be diffused, without associated influence and action? If it be confined to the bosom of the individual, will it not be like a talent wrapped up in a napkin? How does 'the enthusiasm of the individual,' which Dr. Channing says, 'is a mighty power,' how does it operate for good, but by carrying the truth, which has aroused itself 'far into other souls,' enkindling them with devotion to the same good cause, and thus ensuring their co-operation, their associated action? We have the authority of our Saviour and the Apostles, for resorting to the instrumentality of associations. One of the first acts of Christ's public ministry was to call to him, and associate with him, twelve men. 'Tis true, they did not form, what in our day, is technically called 'a society.' They did not appoint officers, excepting only a treasurer.* But they certainly were associated, and acted for one common object. And at an early period, societies for the maintenance and promotion of the Christian faith, were instituted by the Apostles, in the chief cities of the Roman Empire, having their officers, whose titles are so familiar, they need not be named. Now we will not deny, that the evils pointed out by Dr. Channing, were found to arise from these associations, and subsequent ones like them. Yet we trust much greater good has resulted from them; nor do we believe that Dr. Channing would venture to intimate, that the religion of Christ would have been preserved and diffused in the world, if such associations had not been formed. After all then, the only objection that can rest against associations is that (like everything else) they are liable to abuses. He does a valuable service, who points out the abuses to which they are liable. But he would do an immeasurable evil, who should persuade men to renounce or refrain from them.

We have commented thus at length, and freely, upon this work, because we know that few writers in our country act upon more minds, than Dr. Channing, and therefore we especially deprecate the influence of any mistakes, into which he has fallen. Still we are not behind others in our approbation of a very large proportion of his work; nor in our admiration of the man, who enjoying as he did in the utmost serenity, the highest reputation as a writer and a divine, has, for the love of humanity, put at hazard the repose perhaps of the rest of his life; and sacrificed thousands of the ardent admirers of his genius and his eloquence.

Once more then. Dr. Channing expresses his belief that the Abolitionists have been signally unsuccessful in the course they have adopted—'that nothing seems to have been gained, and something may have been lost to the cause of freedom and humanity.' Now to quiet his apprehension, it were enough to point to his book, and ask, would it have been written, if the country had not been so agitated by the discussion of this great question, over which until lately the wise as well as the foolish were in a deep sleep, as to create a demand for such an exertion as he could make to give direction to the public mind? If we had done no more, than call out his book, we should have done some good, for surely his book is a gain to the cause of freedom and humanity. He has called the attention of our community back to the consideration, nay more he has given them a new and higher exposition, of those momentous principles on which our salvation as a nation depends. And the disclosures of the past year have shown, only too plainly, to what a frightful extent these principles have been and are disregarded, or unknown, even in New England.'

* Especially to the Lectures of Rev. A. A. Phelps.

* Judas was appointed to keep the bag.

PEACE MESSAGE.

The following Message in relation to our affairs with France, was transmitted to both houses of Congress on the 22d of February:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit, herewith, to Congress, copies of the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Charge d'Affairs of his Britanic Majesty, relative to the mediation of Great Britain in our disagreement with France, and to the determination of the French Government to execute the treaty of Indemnification, without further delay, on the application for payment by the agent of the United States.

The grounds upon which the mediation was accepted will be found fully developed in the correspondence. On the part of France the mediation was publicly accepted before the offer of it could be received here. Whilst each of the two Governments has thus discovered a just solicitude to resort to all honorable means of adjusting amicably the controversy between them, it is a matter of congratulation that the mediation has been rendered necessary. Under such circumstances the anticipation may be confidently indulged that the disagreement between the United States and France will not have produced more than a temporary estrangement. The healing effects of time, a just consideration of the powerful motives for a cordial good understanding between the two nations, the strong inducement each has to respect and esteem the other, will no doubt soon obliterate from their remembrance all traces of that disagreement.

Of the elevated and disinterested part the Government of Great Britain has acted, and was prepared to act, I have already had occasion to express my high sense. 'Universal respect, and the consciousness of meriting it, are with Governments as with men, the just reward of those who faithfully exert their power to preserve peace, restore harmony, and perpetuate good will.

I may be permitted, I trust, at this time, without a suspicion of the most remote desire to throw off censure from the Executive, or point it to any other Department or branch of the Government, to refer to the want of effective preparation in which our country was found at the late crisis. From the nature of our institutions, the movements of the Government in preparation for hostilities must ever be too slow for the exigencies of unexpected war. I submit it then to you, whether the first duty we owe to the people who have confided to us their power, is not to place our country in such an attitude as always to be so amply supplied with the means of self-defence as to afford no inducement to other nations to presume upon our forbearance, or to expect important advantages from a sudden assault, either upon our commerce, our sea coast, or our interior frontier. In case of the commencement of hostilities during the recess of Congress, the time inevitably elapsing before that body could be called together, even under the most unfavorable circumstances, would be pregnant with danger, and if we escaped without signal disaster or national dishonor, the hazard of both unnecessarily incurred, could not fail to excite a feeling of deep reproach. I earnestly recommend to you, therefore, to make such provisions, that in no future time shall we be found without amply means to repel aggression, even although it may come upon us without a note of warning. We are now, fortunately, so situated, that the expenditure for this purpose will not be be felt; and if it were, it would be approved by those from whom all its means are derived, and for whose benefit only it should be used with a liberal economy and an enlightened forecast.

In behalf of these suggestions, I cannot forbear repeating the wise precepts of one whose counsels cannot be forgotten: 'The United States ought not to indulge a persuasion that, contrary to the order of human events, they will forever keep at a distance those painful appeals to arms, with which the history of other nations abounds. There is a rank due to the United States among nations which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are, at all times, ready for war.'

ANDREW JACKSON.

February 22, 1836.

[From the N. Y. Journal of Commerce of Feb. 25.]

EIGHT DAYS LATER FROM FRANCE.

FOUR DAYS LATER FROM ENGLAND.

By the packet ship Charlemagne, we have Paris papers to the evening of Jan. 15th, and Havre dates to the 16th.

The C. was boarded by our newsmen far off on Tuesday night, and the papers were sent up by express across Long Island.

The Charlemagne has on board the body of Francis Depau, Esq., who died at Paris, Jan 13th. Mr. Depau was among the originators of the line of packets between this port and Havre—one of which bears his name.

Great excesses had been committed at Barcelona. About 100 Carlists were murdered by the rioters.

The city of Guetaria has been captured by the Carlists and burnt. The Citadel, by the last accounts, remained in the hands of the Constitutionalists.

Much sympathy is expressed both by the London and Paris papers, on account of the late calamitous fire in this city. In Paris a subscription was opened for the relief of the sufferers. It was anticipated that a great many bills would come back dishonored, but in this there will be a happy disappointment.

PARIS, Jan. 12.—The dreadful calamity at New York, has excited a feeling throughout Paris which proves more than a thousand written volumes could do, how little the sentiments of ancient friendship, which have so long united this country with America, have been disturbed by the present—or, we trust we may now say—the late misunderstanding between the two Governments.

The expression of sympathy which the melancholy catastrophe has thus spontaneously called forth is universal, as the feeling is profound. In the course of yesterday, after the lamentable intelligence became known, several gentlemen, both French and American, called at the office of this Journal, with suggestions for opening a subscription in aid of the more indigent sufferers by the deplorable event. Need we add that we are most gratified in lending our humble assistance to carry these benevolent proposals into effect. Subscriptions will therefore be received for this charitable object, from this day, at the office of the Messenger.—*Gallignani's Messenger.*

Extract from the address of the Chamber of Deputies in reply to the speech from the Throne.

'The Chamber regrets with your majesty that the Treaty of the 4th of July, 1831, has not received its complete execution. In the friendly mediation of Great Britain, the Chamber has seen a fresh proof of the alliance which unites both countries. The declarations contained in a recent act enables us at length to hope for a determination equally honorable to two great nations.

'Peace, Sire, can serve only to augment the prosperity of our finances; their satisfactory condition, as your Majesty informs us, will permit us at length to obtain, in all its reality, that equilibrium which is so desirable between the revenues and the expenditure of the State. To attain and preserve this important result, we are aware of all the maturity that is required in the regulation of the credits, of all the steadiness that is necessary in the maintenance of their limits, and of all the prudence that must be observed in the valuation of the receipts which are to provide for that object. In this spirit we shall examine the financial laws that may be presented to us. A well-advised economy is a sacred duty for the Government, and also for a Chamber which is the guardian of the public fortune.'

LONDON, Jan. 12.—The monied community have been concerting such measures as have appeared necessary in consequence of the distressing event in the United States, as there is little doubt that a very considerable amount of bills drawn in this country on New-York will be presently returned on the drawers under protest. Money is to be raised, we understand, in the expectation that such may be one of the results of this calamity. Subscriptions for the relief of the sufferers upon the spot have been under consideration also, though it is thought probable that any assistance of this nature would be superfluous, as it is taken for granted that, under the circumstances, the American Executive will make every pecuniary arrangement that the emergency of the case may seem to demand.

BOARDING.

RESPECTABLE persons of color can be accommodated with board in a pleasant and retired part of the city, by applying to the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 46, Washington-street.
Feb. 13.

FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

JUST PUBLISHED, and for sale at the office, 46, Washington-street, the FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, with some account of the Annual Meeting—the Speeches of Dr. Follen, Wm. Goodell, Orange Scott and C. P. Grosvenor.—72 pages, 8 vo. Price 25 cts. Feb. 13.

FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT.

THE members of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society are hereby notified that the Annual Report is ready for delivery at the Office, 46 Washington-street. All those who have paid their annual subscription, are entitled to a copy, gratis. Feb. 20.

SLAVERY and the Domestic Slave Trade in the United States, by Prof. E. A. Andrews, in a series of Letters addressed to the 'American Union for the Relief and Improvement of the Colored Race,' while travelling in the Slave States. This day published by LIGHT and STEARNS, 1 Cornhill. Feb. 2.—3t.

PAXTON'S LETTERS ON SLAVERY.

THE few remaining volumes of these letters, which were published in Lexington, Ky., in 1833, have just been purchased by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and are for sale at their office. They were written by the Pastor of the Cumberland Congregation in Virginia, and were sufficiently sound in principle to cause an immediate separation between him and the people over whom he was settled. His Letter on 'ministerial prudence in regard to slavery' should be stereotyped and placed in the hands of every clergyman in the United States.—Price 50 cts.
Jan. 9.

☞ PHILADELPHIA SUBSCRIBERS—TAKE NOTICE.

THOSE who wish to receive the Liberator the present year must call on one of the subscribers and *pay in advance*. The publisher having adopted this rule, and finding it receives very general approbation, is determined to adhere to it strictly. Old subscribers who have not received any papers this year, will probably find the reason by referring to their last receipt.

JAMES McCRUMMELL,
266, North 3d St.
JOHN P. BURR,
113, South 5th St.

Philadelphia, Feb. 1, 1836.