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THE PHILANTHROPIST

The Philanthropist



UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, BALTIMORE, AT \$1 PER ANNUM IN ADVANCE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Dec. Ind. U. S.*

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THE EDITOR TO THE PUBLIC.

Again I find myself, alone, at the editorial desk; and again I resume a *monthly* correspondence with the readers of the "Genius of Universal Emancipation." I yet hope to have the assistance of an amiable and talented writer, whose services in the cause are invaluable, but the care and responsibility of the publication devolve entirely upon myself.

Nine years have nearly elapsed, since this work first made its appearance. During that period I have witnessed many vicissitudes in the affairs of life; have experienced something of the fickleness of fortune, and a goodly share of what the world calls hardship and privation. From the commencement until very lately, however, it gradually increased in size, and it is believed in interest. The many difficulties that presented themselves, have occasionally produced some irregularity in its publication; and this, together with the unpopularity of the subject upon which it treats, in a portion of the country, and the general apathy among those who are friendly to the undertaking, have prevented as extensive a circulation as had been anticipated. The strong desire that I have ever felt to contribute my mite towards the promotion of the good cause, has induced me not only to make great exertions to issue a *weekly* publication, devoted to it, but also to

render what assistance I could in every other way. But I find that the people are not yet prepared to go with me quite so far. To speak in phrase, *a la militaire*, I am too near to the entrenchments of the enemy—and, of course, like a prudent soldier, must retreat a little, until our troops can "screw up their courage" somewhat more. That they *will*, ere long go much farther, I feel well assured; and I shall still "fight on," and "keep the faith," hoping and believing that a glorious victory will ultimately crown our efforts.

That I shall yet have a severe struggle, for a time, even with the monthly publication, is to be expected:—and I submit it to the consideration of those who profess a willingness to aid in promoting the work of emancipation—those who approve the course I have pursued—whether it be reasonable, or just, that I should thus be subjected to inconveniences and hardships, almost intolerable, when they are equally as much interested in the matter as I am myself, and have it in their power, by giving a little further assistance, to relieve me from a portion of the burden, and enable me to labor much more efficiently for the attainment of our great and important object.

I do not wish to speak boastingly of what I have done, or proposed to do, in advancing the question of African Eman-

cipation: and I detest the idea of making a cringing appeal to the public, for aid in my undertakings. *I am willing to work*; and can support myself and family by my own labor. But after a *ten years struggle* to promote the cause to the best of my humble abilities, and in every possible manner, it may not be amiss to inform those who take an interest in this publication, that I have (within the period above mentioned) sacrificed several thousand dollars of my own hard earnings; have travelled upwards of five thousand miles on foot, and more than twenty thousand in other ways; have visited nineteen of the states of this Union, and held more than two hundred public meetings, with the view of making known our object, &c.—and in addition to this, have performed two voyages to the West Indies, by which means the liberation of a considerable number of slaves has been effected, and I hope the way paved for the enlargement of many more. What effect this work has had, in turning the attention of the public to the subject of the abolition of slavery, it would not become me to say, though I have carefully noted every thing relative thereto that came within the range of my observation. Of this, others, who have acquainted themselves with the matter, must judge.—But I am fully persuaded that something of the kind is greatly needed, and may be instrumental in doing much good. *There is not another periodical work, published by a citizen of the United States, whose conductor DARE treat upon the subject of slavery as its nature requires, and its importance demands.*—And, viewing the matter in this light, I shall persevere in my efforts, as usual, while the means of doing it are afforded, or until more efficient advocates of the cause shall make themselves known. I shall now devote my undivided attention to this publication, and endeavor to make it as interesting as possible. I will

neither be cajoled by the smiles nor awed by the frowns of any to a dereliction of principle, or an abandonment of the cause. My humble exertions shall be directed to the one great end—my whole self shall be devoted to the holy work—my march shall be steadily *onward*—and neither sectarian pride, party zeal, nor even persecution itself, from the “powers that be,” or that *may be*, shall turn me to the right hand or the left. If I obtain a reasonable patronage for the work, *it shall go on*, upon the principle that it ever has done, when under my immediate direction, notwithstanding all the opposition that tyranny and malice can array against it.

B. LUNDY.

JAMES JONES,—LATE OF TENNESSEE.

“A great man has fallen!”—one of the brightest stars in the galaxy of American philanthropists has set, to rise no more! JAMES JONES, President of the *Manumission Society of Tennessee*,—the steady, ardent, and persevering friend of Universal Emancipation, is numbered with the dead.

In the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, of March 5th, this melancholy event was announced; but I was then from home, and had not an opportunity to advert to the subject myself.

To those who were acquainted with the deceased, nothing need be said relative to his merits. No language could impress on the mind an adequate idea of his many virtues. Suffice it to say, that *few men living* can fill the station that he held, with equal honour and usefulness. Long shall the poor, oppressed African, mourn his irreparable loss.

It is due to the cause of humanity, that a complete biography of this excellent man should be laid before the public; and this shall be done, as soon as it can be prepared. In the mean time it may not be amiss to say, that for many years he was one of the most efficient la-

borers in the great work of African emancipation. His education was very limited, but he possessed a strong mind; and his whole soul seemed, as it were, wrapped up in the cause.

For several years I have enjoyed a personal acquaintance and extensive correspondence with him. The following extract from his last letter to me, written a short time previous to his death, shews that he still continued the unfaltering advocate of the holy cause in which he has long been engaged. Who, alas! will supply the vacancy occasioned by his demise? There are a few strong and valiant philanthropists yet remaining there; but on whom will the broad mantle of his spirit descend? Who shall succeed him, and complete the glorious work that he so diligently and unceasingly laboured to promote?

"This may inform thee that I have been in a bad state of health for two months past. I received thy letter a few weeks since; and it gratified me to find thee still firm in advocating the great cause of justice.

"I am fearful that a portion of the professors of religion will yet blast our efforts in Tennessee; or, at least, retard the holy work for awhile. They will do nothing for the cause themselves; and those who are willing to aid it, they even hinder."

Speaking of memorializing Congress upon the subject of abolishing Slavery in the District of Columbia, he says:

"I am in hopes that the people will yet compel Congress to notice their prayers for justice. Some time since I received the printed memorial, to obtain signers. I was highly gratified to find such a request going from the people to that body. I was then confined at home by ill health, and it came too late for the last session. I have been desirous that the people should take the matter in hand, for several years. But I am equally, or even more anxious, that Congress shall put a stop to the *internal Slave trade*. We have, for several years past, in our memorials from the Convention of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, asked of the national legislature, the passage of laws for that purpose.

"Enclosed is a true copy of the memorial of our last Convention. I wish thee to give it a place in thy paper, as soon as may be practicable; for if the Congress will not listen to the voice of humanity, until destruction cometh, I wish posterity to know that some among us are now desirous to have justice done."

EMANCIPATION IN KENTUCKY.

Several of the newspapers in Kentucky, continue to advocate the abolition of slavery, in that state, with a freedom and boldness calculated to inspire the hope that the day of political and moral redemption is drawing near. In addition to this evidence, so conclusive, that the good cause is there fast gaining ground, it will be recollected that the Legislature recently had under consideration a resolution to amend the Constitution of the State, when the advocates of that measure avowed that their ultimate object was the eradication of slavery from their soil. A letter from a gentleman of high standing, in Lexington, to the Hon. Charles Miner, of Pennsylvania, states that this was the principal inducement with many to support the proposition: and it will be remembered that the resolution was negatived by a majority of *one vote only*. We may safely assert, that if the friends of the measure persevere in their laudable efforts, a glorious triumph awaits them at no distant period.

Among those who are the most active in urging the abolition of Slavery in Kentucky, is the editor of the "Western Luminary." This is a weekly religious and miscellaneous periodical, ably conducted by *Thomas T. Skillman*, a gentleman (I believe) in the Presbyterian connexion. It is a valuable publication, and deserves the support of every friend to the Anti-Slavery cause. The "Kentucky Reporter," also, one of the best conducted political papers in the State, frequently contains severe animadversions upon the system of Slavery and the internal Slave trade.

Let Slavery be annihilated in Kentucky, and the example will soon be followed by several of the other States.— Delaware, Maryland, and Missouri will soon follow suit, and a large portion of our country thus be rescued from disgrace and ruin.

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FREE OR SLAVE LABOUR—NON-INTERCOURSE.

A correspondent, in the present number of the Genius of Universal Emancipation, over the signature of "*Civis*," boldly proposes the establishment of a *system of NON-INTERCOURSE with the advocates of slavery*. Societies have been in existence, for some length of time, in the states of Pennsylvania and Delaware, whose object has been to encourage the use of the production of free labour, in preference to that of slaves, when convenient. They have in view the making of experiments in the south country, to shew the superior advantages of the former, compared with those of the latter. This writer goes further. He would act up to the principle that the Americans did, (so far as *pacific* measures can extend,) when their rights were denied them by the British Crown. He would adopt the same means to bring the violators of justice to their senses, that the American government used, when Britain and France, at a subsequent period, gave licence to their marine freebooters, and regular naval forces, to cut up our commerce and murder our citizens.—He would break off all connexion with them, individually, until they might evince a willingness to abolish the abominable system of hereditary bondage, and the accursed traffic in human blood and souls.

Whether the sentiments of this writer will soon be *publicly* responded, by any considerable portion of our citizens, or not, remains to be ascertained.—That they now are, *privately*, I well know. The subject is one that merits discussion:—and the columns of this work are

open for brief and well written communications, on *both sides of the question*.

It will be seen, on a perusal of our Ladies' Department, that large numbers of the female sex, in the United States, are turning their attention to this subject. In England, they are doing more than all their brethren (in the same way) towards preparing the public mind, for the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies.

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THE CANADA COLONY.

Never, since the spirit of colonizing the people of color first manifested itself in the United States, has a project been revealed, apparently so full of promise, as that of their settlement in Upper Canada. In the space of a few months, nearly as many have removed thither, and settled themselves, (without assistance in most cases,) as have been taken to Africa, at the expense of others, *in twice as many years*. In addition to this, extensive preparations are making, in many parts of the middle and northern States, for the emigration of vast numbers more.—In Baltimore, meetings have been held, and many are expected to go. I have myself seen the country, near the place of their location, and think it very suitable for those accustomed to our climate. If they will be permitted to enjoy their natural rights and inalienable privileges there, I would advise every one to go that have a legal right to do so, north of the 34th degree of latitude. It is believed that the climate is nearly or quite as mild in that region as at the city of New York; and the land, in general, is very fertile.

But it is feared that the same demonic and unrelenting spirit of persecution is at work against the colored race, in that Province, that is now driving them from these States. Resolutions have passed their House of Assembly, expressive of the strong aversion of that body to the settlement of the people of color there,

as contemplated. A Committee has been charged to bring in a bill, the provisions of which shall be calculated to check the emigration of such persons thither; and the governor has been requested to apply to the British Parliament for the future prohibition thereof.

It seems that the arrangement was made by the Ohio colored people, with an association entitled the "*Canada Company*;" and whether the act will be ratified by the British government, is yet uncertain. I am not without hope that it will be, in due season.

LOUISIANA.—"THE LIBERALIST."

I have received the first number of a *Daily Paper*, recently established in *New Orleans*, by Milo Mower, entitled "THE LIBERALIST." Surprising as it may seem to us of the more northern states, this work is *avowedly an advocate of the rights and interests of the people of color!* A disposition has manifested itself in the Legislature of Louisiana, to follow the example of Ohio, in expelling the free colored people from the State. The "Liberalist" boldly contests the justice and policy of the measure; and forcibly appeals to the wisdom and humanity of the Legislature, depicting at the same time, in glowing colors, the difficulty and danger, as well as the cruelty and misery, that would necessarily attend its execution.

SPAIN AND HAYTI.

The demand recently made by Spain, upon the Haytien government, for that portion of the island formerly held by her, attracts the attention of many political speculators in this country. It is not believed that Ferdinand can possibly force a compliance with the requisition; and it is certain that the Haytiens will not yield their assent to it unless compelled. By the last accounts, it appears that the government was making every necessary preparation for defence.

It is fortunate for Hayti, that her dispute with France terminated before this demand was made by Spain. From the latest information, we learn that the annual payment of the indemnity to the old French colonists, has been fixed at 3,600,000 francs, (\$720,000) part to be paid in various productions of the island. Spain probably entertains the hope that Hayti may be induced to make a similar arrangement with her: but, if so, she will be disappointed. The Spanish colonists were not *compelled* to leave the island, as the French were. They were few in number; and it was their *wish* to be taken under the protection of the Haytien government. That government did not infringe the law of nations, by extending its authority over that part of the island, without indemnifying the former proprietors, as they *were not required* to abandon their lands, &c. Such as left the island, did so voluntarily; and, of course, have no claim for restitution, whatever.

Other motives may probably actuate the imbecile monarch of Spain to make this demand. Hayti has proven to be an *excellent cemetery for European malcontents!* Some of Ferdinand's "liege subjects" may, perhaps, be a little refractory, after so long a season of peace; and it may be desirable, to get them *out of the way*. This is "a game that kings play at" but too often. The funds raised to fit out the late expedition to Mexico, were said to be principally furnished by the exiled colonists, in the hope of regaining their lost possessions in that country. That attempt having proven abortive, the Spanish monarch may, also, be desirous to silence their murmurs, and forage his myrmidons, by some mode of plunder, while they remain on the West-India station. A blockade of the Haytien ports might enable them to subsist, for a time, by preying upon merchant vessels, and occasionally laying a defenceless village under contribution.

But whatever may be the inducement to

make an attack upon the Haytien Republic, Spain will find, in the end, that she will gain comparatively nothing, but add another young and vigorous nation to her list of enemies, in the new world. And, in all probability, it will hasten the period when the tide of aggression shall roll back upon, and seriously disturb, her quiet possessions in the Caribbean sea. *Cuba will no doubt soon be revolutionized.* Already, we are told, that a treasonable correspondence with Mexico has been detected in that island: and a combination among the Spanish American republics may be calculated on, that shall, ere long, wrest from the haughty Dons every inch of soil in the American hemisphere. In fact, this may be expected, in the *natural course of events.* The struggle will probably be short, but bloody.

FRANCES WRIGHT.

The last advices from Hayti, state that this lady had arrived, *with her Slaves*, at Port-au-Prince; and had also taken with her a cargo of provisions, to be disposed of for their benefit. Thus, between twenty and thirty more human beings have been rescued from degradation and Slavery; and I rejoice that it is done, as sincerely as though it had been accomplished by myself, or any other professor of Christianity. However we may disapprove her sentiments on religious subjects, it would be unchristian and *unmanly*, to withhold the meed of merit for her philanthropic exertions, relative to the poor and oppressed Africans. I trust that even the gallant Col. Stone, of the New-York "*Commercial Advertiser*," will respond "*amen*," to this.

PASSAGE TO LIBERIA.

A vessel is expected to sail from Norfolk, to the American colony in Africa, about the 10th of this month. Applications, for passage, should be made to the

Rev. R. R. Gurley, Washington; J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq. Baltimore; or John McPhail, Norfolk.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Those who take an interest in the cause of emancipation, and are accustomed to the use of the pen, are solicited to forward their productions, as they may have leisure to do it. But they will now see the necessity of studying *brevity.* Long articles must necessarily be excluded. Several communications are on hand, that are quite too prolix for the contracted limits of this work. With some abridgement, they may be inserted hereafter.

☞ I regret to be under the necessity of stating, that the paper, for this number of the Genius of Universal Emancipation, is not such as I intended to have. The sheet is (for a part of the impression) too small, and the quality inferior, to what I propose to use. None of the kind that I wish, can, at present, be procured in this city. Before the next number appears, I hope to obtain a supply of paper more suitable than that which I am now necessitated to make use of.

Biographical Sketches.

ELISHA TYSON.

It is my intention to insert, from time to time, in this work, a series of biographical sketches of men who have distinguished themselves as advocates of African Emancipation, but are "gone from works to rewards." These Sketches must necessarily be brief, as the limits allowed them will, of course, be very contracted.

I had designed to begin with the earliest laborers in the cause; but as I wish to accompany the different articles with *likenesses* of the persons of whose actions they may treat, when practicable, and as I cannot immediately procure such as it would be desirable first to in-

roduce, I have commenced with *Elisha Tyson*, the

ANTI-SLAVERY PATRIARCH OF MARYLAND.

The Life of this distinguished philanthropist was lately published, in a neat volume of 142 pages, by a citizen of this place. A few copies may yet be had, by inquiring at this office. To that, the reader is referred, for a more particular statement respecting his character and conduct, as an advocate of justice and humanity. The book is replete with valuable information, both instructing and edifying to the friends of our cause. The engraving, accompanying this number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, was prepared for that volume; and to the politeness of the author I am indebted for the use of it upon the present occasion.

Elisha Tyson was born in Pennsylvania, near the city of Philadelphia. His ancestors were of German descent, and, for several generations back, members of the Society of "Friends." He was, himself, a member of the same Society, until the time of his death.

At an early age, he removed from Pennsylvania, and settled in Harford County, Maryland. Soon after this, however, he changed his residence to the city of Baltimore, which was then in its infancy. Here his philanthropy soon displayed itself in behalf of the oppressed Africans. A vigorous intellect, in addition to a liberal education, and a robust frame and strong constitution, enabled him to render very important services to the cause of humanity, in advocating the rights of those mal-treated, abused, and miserable beings. The horrible traffic in human flesh and blood, which disgraces the present age and is hastening the destruction of this nation, was even then carried on through this city to a great extent. Cases of outrage, cruelty, and illegal transportation, frequently occurred. By his fearless and intrepid conduct, in

a multitude of instances, Elisha Tyson was the happy instrument of relieving many of the unfortunate, unprotected descendants of Africans from a cruel bondage, to which the wickedness of the soul-hardened monsters had doomed them.

Much might be said in praise of this great champion of the cause of universal emancipation. Many things might be related that would be exceedingly interesting, and I would willingly extend these remarks further: but as his biography has so recently been published, and is easily attainable, the foregoing must suffice. He closed his exceedingly useful life on the 16th of February, 1824, aged seventy-five years. His remains were followed to the grave by a large concourse of the most respectable citizens of Baltimore, besides several thousand persons of color, who deeply lamented the loss of one of their best earthly friends.

Correspondence.

For the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

TO THE PUBLIC.

Slavery being acknowledged in every section of the Union as an evil, and the foreign slave trade denounced as piracy by the National Legislature, it is believed to be incumbent upon the good citizens of our republic to make every constitutional effort to eradicate it from our soil. The friends of universal emancipation had, from the foundation of our government, been unceasing in their entreaties with the slave-holding states, to abolish a system of oppression and outrage, palpably at variance with the spirit of our original compact. Proposition after proposition have been made, emanating from the most patriotic and philanthropic intentions. Scheme after scheme have been proposed, originating in wisdom, and practicable and pacific in their operations. Numerous appeals have been sent forth, addressed to the feelings and understanding of the oppressors of their fellow-men. Still the voice of truth and justice is unheeded—and a fixed determination proclaimed, to pursue the unhallowed course, regardless of the laws of God and man.

There yet remains another mode of appeal, viz: to the pecuniary interests of the slave-holder. It is the right, it is the duty of every christian philanthropist, to abstain from the use of such produce, as is wrung from the unrewarded toil of mankind. That the slave is degraded to the level of a mere beast of burden, the statutes of the south have amply shown, being by them denominated "goods and chattles."

Under these considerations, we deem it a duty to call your attention to the subject, with the hope that you will candidly and coolly inquire whether you can consistently with your conscience, strengthen the hands of those who are enslaving your own species, by purchasing their commodities.

Although the foreign Slave Trade is, *by law*, abolished—yet the Domestic Traffic is as heinous and destructive of human happiness. The dearest ties of social relationship are as heartlessly torn asunder, within the jurisdiction of our boastedly "free country," as under Brazilian or Spanish despotism. Whatever you may have known of the appalling scenes witnessed on the coast of Africa, may be pointed out in our own favoured country. As little regard is paid *here* to the wailings of bereft parents, and the cries of innocent children dragged away to interminable bondage, as *there*. We beseech you to ponder these things—bring them home to your own happy fire-sides—ask yourselves as parents, brothers, sisters, what would be your emotions, were the perpetrators of rapine and murder to break in upon your homes, brutally bear you off to some distant land, put you up at the public market to be sold to the highest bidder, and wantonly separate husband from wife, brother from brother, and sister from sister, and forever deny you the inalienable *rights of man*, by the imposition of regulations suited only to the beasts that perish?

We believe, from evidence which to us is conclusive, that the real interests of the slave-holder would to him be more secure, were he to change his slaves into hired freemen. That the expenses of free-labour are less, compared with its profits, than those of slave-labour. That the happiness and safety of our beloved country can be alone perpetuated by the entire abolition of slavery. These propositions, however, we leave for the present, with the view of drawing your at-

ention to the main object, viz: *The use of the produce of the labor of freemen, in preference to that of slaves.*

Although you may enquire, individually: "Of what benefit can my abstinence be to the great body of slaves?" Yet when you reflect that the whole universe is composed of atoms, and that the union of these, constitute the great and wonderful visible works of God—that by the combination of *units* any given *sum* is to be obtained—and that the independence of these United States was procured by the alliance of the several states and provinces, in resisting the tyranny of Great Britain—you must be satisfied that if each member of community, unfavorable to slavery, would exercise his *will*, and refuse to partake of the gains of oppression, the existence of a slave among us would shortly be looked upon with general abhorrence.—In truth, we should fearlessly claim for ourselves the glorious character of "a nation of freemen."

Again, you may enquire: "How shall we do without the articles alluded to?" This is not now absolutely necessary. The feeble efforts of a few individuals have brought into the markets of New York and Philadelphia, a large quantity of cotton, and groceries. The manufacturers are beginning to consider it an object to prepare the former for its various uses, and its cultivation by freemen is rapidly increasing.

Cotton fabrics being more necessary for the convenience of the female part of the community, we look to our republican matrons and daughters for the most efficient co-operation. It is measurably with them to decide this all important subject. It is with them to say whether or not the heart of woman is less sympathising, in this nation, than among their transatlantic sisters; whose efforts, in England, are accomplishing much towards destroying West-Indian slavery. In the city of Philadelphia is witnessed the powerful influence of a "Female Association" to whom we are largely indebted for the advancement of our cause. We fervently hope that the annunciation of this fact will induce thousands to unite in breaking in pieces the shackles of the slave, and redeeming our common country from an evil which must eventually, if not removed, bring upon us anarchy, revolution, and a train of horrors, consistent with the just judgements of an offended God.

CIVIS.

LADIES' REPOSITORY

Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

After having been for several months engaged in advocating the cause of Emancipation, we find no reason to abandon our efforts, however limited may have been their usefulness. We know that millions of our fellow creatures—hundreds of thousands of our own sex—are suffering under the most ruthless bondage; and though our hearts may be wrung and our feelings harrowed by the contemplation of their misery, we cannot withhold our sympathy, or close our eyes on their varied wretchedness, because our power may be insufficient for its alleviation. We feel that the present is no time to be silent. A compassionate interest in the suffering and degradation of our negro population is manifestly obtaining a wider place in the hearts of American women. If we may in any degree be the means of deepening and extending this interest, by placing the subject in its different lights before the eyes of those who may perhaps have suffered themselves to think upon it as scarcely a real evil, we shall feel that our labor has not been spent in vain.

FREE COTTON SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.

We are highly gratified to hear of the increasing prosperity of this Association. Little more than a year has elapsed since its establishment, and it has gone quietly on through discouragement and difficulty, with unabated efforts and a steady progression, till now we believe its friends have no reason to fear for its success, and its perseverance is rewarded by a widening extension of its influence and usefulness.

The articles which it has had manufactured have met with a ready sale, and the demand for them has increased beyond the ability which the association has possessed for meeting it with supplies. This difficulty will we hope be at least partially obviated by a fresh supply of material. A number of calicoes of different patterns are expected to be ready for the market during the early part of this month.

We have frequently said that we considered the extension of free labour one of the most effectual means of combatting slavery; and we believe that opinion is fast gaining ground. This is proved by the anxiety manifested in distant

and different sections of the country, for productions of this class. It is proved by the success of the interesting society of which we have been speaking; it has found friends and kindness, where neither were expected; and offers of service and assistance, from sources the most unlooked for. May its success be as a rallying word to the female sex.

HISTORY OF THE NEW-YORK AFRICAN FREE SCHOOLS.

We have not often had the good fortune to peruse a work with greater pleasure, than we have received from the one above mentioned. It touches in its details the best feelings of the heart, and affords a gratification of the highest nature, in the exemplification of the successful efforts of philanthropy. The author, Charles C. Andrews, has been long a teacher in the institution; and besides a succinct narrative of its rise and progress, has given a very interesting account of the manner in which the school is conducted, of the exercises of the pupils, and their proficiency in different branches of study. The examples he has given of their talents and acquirements, ought to be sufficient forever to silence the prejudicial misrepresentations of those who would portray the character of the negro as naturally of an inferior order in the scale of creation.

The first African free school of New-York was established by the Manumission Society of that State, in 1787; and notwithstanding the difficulties and discouragements its supporters have had to encounter, it has been maintained with increasing usefulness to the present day.

In 1790 the aid of a female teacher was obtained for instructing the girls in needlework, and in 1809, the year after its incorporation, the Lancasterian system was introduced into the school, with very beneficial effects. The number of pupils rapidly increased, and their orderly behaviour was such as to render them the objects of creditable remark. In 1815 the female department, which had been for some time discontinued, was again resumed, and, under the direction of several instructors, continued to sustain a high character for order and usefulness, while its productions at the public exhibitions have been uniformly noticed with approbation."

We are glad to find that, in both departments, considerable attention has been paid to the formation of the manners, as well as the minds of the pupils; for we believe that an attention to this point would, in many instances, be instrumental in removing the prejudices that are so

generally entertained against their color. The success that has attended their moral and intellectual education, may be inferred from the fact, that not one instance is known of a pupil who had gone through a regular course of instruction in this institution, having been "convicted of crime in any of the courts of justice;" and but three of those who have partially enjoyed its advantages.

Among those of the pupils who are distinguished for their superior acquirements, the name of George R. Allen stands deservedly pre-eminent. His address to the American Convention; the unaided, and, except the erasure of a few superfluous words, the unaltered productions of a boy of twelve years, is really excellent, and would not disgrace a white scholar of twice his age. His answers to doctor Mitchell, and his school exercises in Astronomy &c. display habits of reflection, and a fund of information, remarkable for one so young, and highly creditable to his talents.

We have only time to mention, in conclusion, the very praise-worthy "African Dorcas Association;" formed several years since by some benevolent colored females, for the benefit of such scholars as were destitute of comfortable clothing. Seventy-four children, it is stated, were clothed by this Society during the year 1829. We sincerely hope its charitable and noble-minded members may be rewarded for their kindness, in the well-doing of the objects of their bounty.

The following paragraph is extracted from an Epistle, prepared by a Female Meeting of the Society of Friends, in an adjoining State, and directed to a similar Meeting in Baltimore. The solicitude therein expressed is very commendable, and must have originated in the purest sympathetic feelings, prompted by a sense of religious duty. Let the pious and the philanthropic of our sex use their exertions, upon every occasion, to plead the cause of the oppressed, and great will be their reward, at least in the consciousness of doing good.

"The minds of many among us have been weightily impressed, and an increasing concern felt, on account of the condition of the Africans— heirs alike with us of immortality, and who are at this time, groaning under one of the most oppressive systems of slavery known in Christendom; whose silent prayers and secret tears are poured out before *Him* who has made of one blood all the families of the earth, and who cannot regard one part of his rational creation more than another. Many among us have been renewedly engaged to enquire, how far we are clear in this matter. Here let us adopt the language of David: "Lord, send forth thy light and thy truth."

COMMUNICATIONS.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

REPORT OF THE LADIES' "FREE COTTON" SOCIETY.

At a stated meeting of the Association, held 3rd mo. 17th, 1830, the following report was read:

"The joint committees met on the evening of the 15th inst. Two of their number have contracted with Samuel Comly, who is willing to undertake the printing of 40 pieces of muslin, into two or three different patterns of calico, as soon as the fabric is ready.

We are at times animated with the belief, that the concern is progressing, which the subsequent circumstances confirm. A merchant in this city has recently received an order from his correspondent in the western country, for two bales of muslin manufactured from free cotton;—and from another source we are informed that Nathan Hunt, jr. of N. C. has 40 bales, or more, of the same kind, which he intends for the Philadelphia market, and which is probably now on its way hither. As this lot of cotton will amount to a considerable sum of money, (perhaps near 2000 dollars,) the finances of the Association will be by no means adequate to its purchase; we therefore deem it expedient to engage a person of veracity to purchase it on his own responsibility, keep it separate from other cotton, and have it manufactured into such goods as are best suited to the market. One of this character has presented himself, who, upon consultation, is willing to undertake the business, under the above arrangement.

As the cause of Emancipation depends upon the exertions of individuals, we would encourage each of our members, wherever her lot may be cast, there to use her influence to promote the purchase of such articles as are ascertained to be free from the labor of slaves. A steady perseverance is all that is wanting to the accomplishment of the desired object; and though discouragements may abound, and opposition assail, we believe this foundation will be sufficiently secure to withstand every argument which may be advanced in favor of that traffic, which may be materially injured, and finally undermined, by the mode of opposition which we have adopted, viz. the manufacture and use of free produce."

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE SLAVE'S APPEAL.

Christian mother when thy prayer
Trembles on the twilight air,
And thou askest God to keep,
In their waking and their sleep,
Those whose love is more to thee
Than the wealth of land or sea,
Think of those who wildly mourn
For the lov'd ones from them torn!

Christian daughter, sister, wife!
Ye who wear a guarded life—
Ye whose bliss hangs not, like mine,
On a tyrant's word or sign,
Will ye hear, with careless eye,
Of the wild despairing cry,
Rising up from human hearts,
As their latest bliss departs?

Blest ones! whom no hands on earth,
Dares to wrench from home and hearth,
Ye whose hearts are shelter'd well,
By affection's holy spell,
Oh forget not those for whom,
Life is nought but changeless gloom,
O'er whose days of cheerless sorrow,
Hope may paint no brighter morrow!

AGNES.

LITERARY.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE ENFRANCHISEMENT.

It was a pretty looking cottage—with its roof half covered with the boughs of a great tree, and vines creeping up about the doors and windows. The garden, with its gay flowers, tempting berries, and fine vegetables, was almost without a weed; while the pailing that surrounded both that and the grass-plot, in front of the house, fairly glistened with its fresh covering of white-wash.

The old woman was seated in a large arm-chair, just outside of the door. Her countenance was one of the finest I have ever seen. She had probably passed seventy summers, but her brow yet remained as dark as the still brilliant eye over which it was arched. The lines of age were distinctly, but not deeply traced upon her cheek and forehead; and her mouth and chin, though wearing them much more visibly than her other features, retained their characteristic marks of firmness and dignity. Her whole face was beaming with mingled benevolence, gratitude and devotion. By her side was sitting a little dark-faced urchin of some half dozen years—and grouped round them, either seated on the grass, or on a long bench beneath the tree, several other descendants of Africa, whose happy

faces, glowing with intelligence and feeling, spoke nothing of that consciousness of abasement and degradation, which is so often written upon the countenances of their race.

Shall I tell you the history of that group? It is a tale of female generosity, and negro gratitude.

That woman—she in the elbow-chair, with the open bible upon her knee—was a native, and till within these few years, a resident, of Kentucky. Her husband was an owner of slaves—her father had been—and in her youth she thought but little of the sinfulness of laying unrighteous hands upon the property of God. But when the gentle creatures that called her “mother,” gathered about her with their loving eyes, and she listened to their soft voices in the evening twilight, she felt how wretched would be *her* lot, if it were in the power of man's hand to tear them from her arms forever; and she thought of them, and commiserated the condition of the miserable slave. At first, it was compassion only that led her to sympathise with their unhappy fate; but the conviction soon came to her heart, that slavery was unjustifiable wickedness in the sight of the Almighty. She entreated her husband, almost with the earnestness of one beseeching for her own life, to liberate their slaves. He refused—and she wept secretly and in silence—but by every means in her power she strove with tireless perseverance to alleviate the bitterness of their lot. She was their instructor, their friend, their benefactress, moving about among them more like a parent than a mistress, preserving their respect by the quiet dignity of her manner, and winning their enthusiastic gratitude and love, by her kindness and affection.

When her husband died, they were distributed among their children, who had all married and left the paternal roof. Again she renewed her solicitations for the freedom of those objects of her care—and again she was repulsed—ay, even by her own children was her prayer refused to be granted. She did not stoop to remonstrance, but her resolution was taken—and great as was the sacrifice, she accomplished the holy purpose of her heart. She purchased those slaves, from the oldest to the youngest—she accompanied them here, to Ohio, where she might bestow on them the blessing of liberty—she expended almost her last

cent in the performance of her high deed of justice; and they flung themselves at her feet in an overwhelming burst of gratitude—disenthralled—enfranchised!

And they have never forgotten her kindness. She owes all the comforts, by which she is surrounded, to their unwearying industry: to labor for her, to serve her, and to obey her lightest word, is alike their pride and their happiness—and on this evening, they are all met together at her cottage, to celebrate the anniversary of their emancipation.

Is it a true story?

Why—recollect 'tis summer twilight, and there is the moon, just rising over the tree-tops; so a little embellishment may be pardonable. But the circumstance of that widow having thus purchased and manumitted those slaves, and the story of their gratefully laboring for her support—is really the truth.

MARGARET.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

“Who is my Neighbour?”—Luke, X, 29th.

Who is thy neighbour!—see him stand
With sunken cheek and eye,
Where hunger shows the empty hand
Thy bounty can supply!

Go where the widow'd mother pines
For what thou well canst spare—
Where palsied age in want reclines,
And see thy neighbour there!

Behold him in the stranger, cast
Upon a foreign shore,
Who, homeless, in the cutting blast,
Is shiv'ring at thy door!

Go seek him 'mid the dungeon's gloom,
And carry comfort there;
And on the living in that tomb
Call blessings down by prayer.

He's in thine enemy, who gave
Thee wounds that open still!
For him of Heaven forgiveness crave,
And pay him good for ill.

Look, where the son of Afric sighs
For rights enjoy'd by thee!
He is thy neighbour—loose his ties,
And set the bondman free.

Columbia, favour'd of the skies!
How can thy banner wave,
While at thy feet thy neighbour lies
A crush'd and fetter'd slave?

There is a blot among thy stars—
A chord is in thy hand—
A stain upon thy face, that mars
The beauty of our land!

Thou noble Tree of Liberty!
Should not thy verdure fade

O'er him who would his neighbour see
Excluded from thy shade?

Did they who rear'd thee by their toil
Not will thy fruit to be
Alike, for all who tread our soil,
A harvest sweet and free?

Philanthropy, from every breast
Thy streams should ceaseless flow,—
Our neighbour's in the weak, th' opprest—
And every child of wo!

H. F. G.

Newburyport, March, 1830.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

STAR-LIGHT.

“They are all up—the innumerable stars!”

There is something inexpressibly solemn in the silence of a starry moonlight. The splendor of the moon is beautiful, but it has less of high magnificence, less of the upliftedness of thought, with which we gaze on those immeasurably distant constellations. The moonless sky has nothing of that surpassing loveliness that presses with a tangible weight of pleasure upon the heart; but there is more of unearthliness in the high imagination that gather around the spirit, when the dark blue concave is bended over the raised brow, and written all over with a visible sermon of light, teaching the heart a holy lesson with its unapproachable purity.

The wearying coil of the day has given way to a deep repose, and the very slave hath sunk into a short lived slumber. Alas, alas, bright watchers! that ye should look down in your pure light upon a world of so much sinfulness. That ye should behold man fettered by his brother, and the heart of woman crushed by those who should seek to shelter it from the blasts of all sorrow. Wo for man's cruelty! that hath made so many anguished hearts to keep ward with you, and send up the beseeching cry of wretchedness, instead of the deep hymn of adoration, beneath your beams!

ELA.

Department Français.

LOUISIANE—“LE LIBERAL.”

J'ai reçu le premier nombre d'un papier journalier, établi récemment à la Nouvelle Orleans, par Milo Mower, intitulé “LE LIBERAL.” C'est suprenant pour nous dans états du nord de voir un ouvrage dévoué aux intérêts et aux droits du peuple de couleur, publié dans cette place. Une

disposition s'est manifestée dans la puissance législative de Louisiana, pour suivre l'exemple D'Ohio, en expulsant les personnes de couleur qui sont libres. Le Liberal conteste librement la justice et la politique de cette mesure; et appelle fortement à la sagasse et l'humanité de la puissance législative, représentant en même temps, en couleurs ardentes, la difficulté et le danger aussi bien que la cruauté et la misère qu'ils attendent de l'exécution de cette mesure.

Cet ouvrage est imprimé très bien et composé avec abilité, est publié en anglois et en français—et fait une bonne apparence. Je serai bien aise pour assister la circulation de ce papier—d'obtenir les souscriptions des citoyens.

Le premier nombre parut le 24 février, j'ai copié l'adresse de l'éditeur et je regrette que je n'ai pas, de place pour insérer d'autres extraits.

Du Liberal.

Dans notre prospectus nous avons déclaré que notre journal serait consacré à la cause de la justice, non, comme quelques uns la conçoivent; mais à la justice dégagée de toutes les considérations de la naissance, de la fortune et de la couleur, qu'il était principalement établi pour défendre les droits de cette portion opprimée de la société, les gens de couleur libres de cet Etat—Nous le répétons et dès aujourd'hui nous commençons ce que nous avons promis.

En entreprenant une telle tâche, nous en connaissons tout le danger; l'opinion publique contre nous; exposé, aux injures, aux menaces de quiconque se glorifie d'être blanc—au danger même d'être arrêté dans notre projet par l'autorité publique, nous nous trouvons obligés pour ainsi dire, de forcer les barrières qui sont entre nous et le terme de nos travaux.—La phalange de l'opposition est rangée contre nous; la rompre est certainement difficile; mais non impossible, nous l'espérons. La justice de notre cause nous donnera des forces proportionnées à notre entreprise; et si nous succombons, nous trouverons notre consolation en pensant que nous n'avons échoué que pour nous être établi le défenseur de l'opprimé.

Nous avons étendu le cri de ceux qui nous sont opposés; si nous en croyons un grand nombre d'entr'eux, l'étendard de la révolte est déjà levé et déjà les affreuses scènes de St. Domingue vont se renouveler; "Quoi"...semblent-ils dire. "Quoi...ils nous disent que nous n'avons pas le droit d'opprimer cette partie de notre population! Qui l'a osé? Que pour lui les portes de la prison s'ouvrent, qu'il soit enchainé, qu'il soit chargé de fers? la mort est un supplice trop doux pour un tel scélérat."

Mais que nos ennemis ne se trompent point sur nos vues et qu'ils veuillent nous entendre.

Nous sommes maintenant devant le public, et nous sommes prêts à prendre le mousquet pour nous opposer à tout complot, à toute révolte quelleconque. Quelques uns ont dit que nous favorisons l'émancipation générale des esclaves. Notre voix et notre plume sont prêts à s'élever contre quiconque tendrait un ce moment, à un affranchissement général. Nous combattons ceux qui soutiennent la justice de cette mesure maintenant en discussion dans notre législature, qui a pour objet de chasser de l'état toutes les personnes de couleur libres qui s'y sont introduites depuis 1807. C'est ici que nous varions avec ceux qui nous sont opposés; et c'est là l'opinion des nôtres qui choque le plus leurs vieilles idées et leurs préjugés si profondément enracinés.—Mais si ces personnes ne sont point sourdes à la voix de la justice, si chez elles la raison peut encore se faire entendre, qu'elles nous écoutent attentivement, sans passion; qu'ils donnent à nos argumens toute leur force, et nous espérons que s'ils ont été une fois nos ennemis, ils seront désormais nos amis car certainement jamais cause ne fut plus juste, plus d'accord avec la raison que la nôtre.

D'abord, nous demanderons pourquoi les partisans du bill demandent l'expulsion des gens de couleur libres de cet état? Qu'ont ils fait? pourquoi expulser cette population du pays et la forcer à abandonner ses propriétés? pourquoi l'obliger à laisser le certain, pour courir après l'incertain? jusqu'ici pas un argument pour appuyer cette mesure n'a été soumis au public.

Un bill de cette importance, passerait il? une telle loi doit elle être rendue sans que toutes les parties, toutes les classes de la société sussent pourquoi elle a été faite? Dimanche 7 courant le bill fut porté pardevant le sénat pour la discussion, un membre objecta à quelques unes de ses dispositions;—un de ses défenseurs se leva et demanda que la considération du bill soit différée et donna à entendre, comme il s'asseyait, qu'il avait intention de parler au premier en particulier* qu'est ce que ceci veut dire? Si les principes et les argumens sur lesquels le bill est fondé sont exacts, pourquoi être éfrayés de les déduire au public? pourquoi préférer une chambre privée, à la salle du sénat.

Si ce bill passe et devient loi, son exécution aura certainement d'effrayantes conséquences. Le cœur du philanthrope en scignera et beaucoup de pleurs amers seront versés à cette heure de désolation. Les intérêts, et la réputation de l'état recevront un coup terrible. La partie Sud Est de notre Etat perdra plus de la dixième partie de sa population. Car bien peu de gens de couleur nés ici n'ont pas parmi ceux émigrés de St. Domingue quelques uns de leurs plus proches parens bien peu qui puissent ou qui voudraient s'en séparer. Par de fréquens mariages ils se sont tellement identifiés les uns avec les autres que toute division est impossible. Si vous en expulsez quelques uns, tous les autres les suivront. Notre ville, si cette classe d'habitans et chassée de l'Etat, perdra presque tous ces utiles et industrieux artisans qui y restent pendant l'été. Ainsi pendant ce temps tous les travaux seront suspendus. Et

*Nous pensons que la même chose est arrivée à la chambre.

même en hiver qui peut nous assurer que nous pourrions les remplacer car qui sait si les ouvriers, dont nous aurons plus besoin, surabondent suffisamment pour satisfaire à toutes nos demandes, dans les pays dont ils préfèrent le climat à celui ici.

Mais arrêtons nous un moment et peignons à nos imaginations les scènes qu'amènerait une telle loi.

Là nous voyons des parens qui avaient espéré passer ensemble une longue, paisible et heureuse vie se séparer les uns des autres; leurs yeux baignés de larmes, en se disant un déchirant adieu. Ici un père entouré de ses enfans en pleurs, accablé de tristesse, et le désespoir sur le visage abandonnant la terre où il avait passé vingt trois ans d'une vie utile. Il l'abandonne pour chercher dans des climats éloignés un asile que notre ingrat pays lui refuse. L'un se suicide, un autre préfère être vendu comme esclave plutôt que d'abandonner cet Etat. Une femme à genoux implore l'autorité de lui permettre de rester. Ma tête est blanchie par l'âge, s'écrie-t-elle, ne m'exposer pas seule et sans protecteur à aller chercher un abri chez un peuple étranger. J'ai ici quelques amis que j'aime et qui m'aident à gagner ma frugale nourriture. Où irai je? qui sont ceux à qui je serai obligé de demander l'aumône? quand la mort viendra, qui fermera mes yeux? qui me descendra dans le tombeau? qui pleurera une créature pauvre et misérable comme moi? maintenant voyez la se traînant vers le bâtiment, elle y entre et dans son désespoir elle appelle la mort pour la délivrer d'un monde dans lequel elle a été victime d'une telle barbarie, d'une telle cruauté. La mort n'est point sourde à ses prières, elle vient bientôt la délivrer de tous ses maux; sa santé, sa fragile existence ne peut supporter les fatigues et les privations d'une traversée.

O! sages législateurs ceci sera votre ouvrage; ceci sera le résultat de la loi que vous aurez rendue. Vous que vos concitoyens ont placé dans le poste élevé que vous occupez pour chercher les intérêts et le bonheur de notre pays. Que penseront de ceci les autres Etats de l'Union; quel rang les nations étrangères assigneront elles à vos principes moraux et politiques. Et ceux qui s'opposent à une telle mesure seront ils terrassés, méprisés? La bonne volonté, l'appui des vrais républicains seront ils refusés à ceux qui cherchent à faire échouer de tels projets?

Afin de ne nous jamais écarter des bornes du bon ordre et *decorum*, nous avons établi pour règle de ne jamais rien publier qui puisse troubler la paix et la tranquillité publique. Nous disons ceci parceque nous savons qu'il y a quelques personnes qui sont d'opinion que parler en faveur et même exprimer des opinions telles que les nôtres peuvent avoir cet effet. Si nous pensions qu'une telle idée fut juste nous poserions la plume et effacerions tout ce que nous avons écrit; mais nous sommes convaincus du contraire—car c'est dans l'intérêt de ceux qui veulent éloigner de cet Etat tout trouble, tout désordre que nous parlons. C'est pour ceux qui desireront sa prospérité et des améliorations que nous sommes aujourd'hui en présence du public.

Maintenant nous comptons sur la générosité et l'indulgence de nos lecteurs. Nous espérons

qu'ils ne considèreront que les motifs qui nous animent. De leur pureté, Dieu en est témoin.

Les Editeurs du Génie de l'Emancipation Universelle se trouvent dans l'impossibilité de continuer la publication de ce papier par semaine, pour le besoin du patronage. Ils ont en conséquence dissout la société; et la publication sera conduite à l'avenir, par Benjamin Lundy, l'éditeur d'autrefois, et paroitra une fois par mois. Dans la forme d'un octavo, et aura une couverture. Prix de l'abonnement, un gourde pour l'année en avance.

BLACK LIST.

KIDNAPPING.

A most daring and atrocious case of kidnapping has very recently occurred. I have been made acquainted with some of the particulars; but they are withheld from the public, at present, in the hope that the violators of the law may be brought to justice. The facts shall be stated in due time. Meanwhile, I advise all young colored persons to be cautious in venturing out, at night, where they are not known. There is as much danger of being kidnapped and enslaved in this country, as on the coast of Africa. However unwelcome this may be to our religion professing, Church-going people, it is nevertheless a fact! Americans, ponder and blush.—Blush, not for your country, but for—YOURSELVES!

SLAVE TRADE IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

We learn, from official documents, that the number of slaves decreased in South Carolina, 32,727, in one year, from 1824 to 1825!—There must have been a pretty brisk traffic, there; or else the horrors of the "murderous system" are rapidly increasing.—Take which construction we will, it is a state of things that few places in the known world can parallel.

TYRANNY IN LOUISIANA.

From the New-Orleans "*Liberalist*," we learn that a bill was under discussion,

in the Legislature, at a late date, which provides for the expulsion of all free colored persons from that State, who have entered it since 1827!!—It would seem that hypocrisy and tyranny have so long swayed the hearts of many of our southern nabobs, the “measure of their iniquity” must be nearly full.

PREJUDICE AND TYRANNY IN OHIO.

Not only were the inhabitants of some particular parts of Ohio sufficiently influenced by a spirit of cruelty to drive the people of color to a distant land; but when application was made to the Legislature for pecuniary aid in their removal, *that body contumeliously denied them!* At the same time it must have been borne in mind, that in case of compulsory transportation, as the law contemplates if they refuse a compliance with its requisitions, it will cost, perhaps, tenfold the sum that they asked. Many have removed, at their own expense; but others are not able, and it was fair to presume that assistance would have been given. We need scarcely wonder, however, at these proceedings of the Legislature, when we recollect that a considerable portion of the people themselves have manifested a willingness to support so unjust and tyrannical a law as that which demands the expulsion of the colored race from the State.

But it is consoling to learn that, notwithstanding the want of liberality on the part of the Legislature, *individuals* have been found, in that state and elsewhere, who have kindly assisted some of the needy to place themselves beyond the pale of this cruel prejudice and persecution. The governor and some of the representatives, in their individual capacities, contributed something for that purpose. The colored people, in Philadelphia and other places, have also rendered them assistance, in the same way.

It appears that a degree of commotion has been raised in the public mind, by

the severe measures adopted relative to the colored people, here alluded to; and there is some doubt as to the ultimate issue. An Ohio paper, now before me, of recent date, mentions that the Society of Friends had petitioned the Legislature for a repeal of the odious law, but the members were not disposed to do this; yet some of them admitted that “*the law could not be enforced,*” being probably unconstitutional. Whether this will be the interpretation that will be given it or not, it is to be hoped that a majority of the citizens will soon discover that it is both oppressive and disgraceful to their statute book.

WALKER'S BOSTON PAMPHLET.

I had not seen this far-famed production until within a few days. A more bold, daring, inflammatory publication, perhaps, never issued from the press, in any country. I can do no less than set the broadest seal of condemnation upon it. Such things can have no other earthly effect than to injure our cause. The writer indulges himself in the wildest strain of reckless fanaticism. He makes a great parade of technical phraseology, purporting to be religious; but religion has nothing at all to do with it. It is a labored attempt to rouse the worst passions of human nature, and inflame the minds of those to whom it is addressed.

Granting that the colored race have as much cause for complaint as this writer intimates, (and I readily grant it,) yet this is not the way to obtain redress for their wrongs. The *moral*, not the physical, power of this nation must be put in requisition. Any attempt to obtain their liberty and just rights, by force, must for a long time to come end in defeat, if not the extermination of the colored people. It is to avert so direful a catastrophe, that the wise and the good are now exerting themselves, in various parts of our country. How painful, then, must it be to such, to witness a fiery ebullition of rage,

like that under consideration, when every appeal should be made to reason and the judgment, instead of the malignant passions. There can be no impropriety in an expression of sentiment, on the part of the colored people, relative to their wrongs, provided it be done in a truly Christian spirit: but acrimonious language should not be indulged, and even revengeful feeling should be repressed, as much as possible. A disposition to promote turbulent and violent commotion, will only tend to procrastinate the march of justice, and defer the enfranchisement of the colored race among us; of course every appearance thereof should be discountenanced by persons of every color and condition. And I am glad to find that some of the coloured people have *publicly* condemned the pamphlet in question.

SLAVE TRADE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

It is stated that the British Government has expended about 5,000,000 pounds sterling in endeavoring to abolish the foreign slave trade:—and yet, little or nothing to the purpose has been effected. —The *market*, the MARKET, ye wise ones!—DESTROY THAT, and your work is done:—but IT NEVER WILL BE, until then.

Extracts, Selections, &c.

FLORIDA SUGAR CULTURE.

The extract below, from the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, is important. The lands belonging to Gen. La Fayette, here alluded to, are, no doubt, exceedingly well adapted to this species of culture. The General is desirous to dispose of a part of them: *and I know that he is anxious to put them in possession of such persons as will employ none but FREE LABORERS in cultivating them.*

I have on file, for insertion in the next number of this work, a valuable article, relative to the management of a sugar plantation, near Darien, Georgia, by a *mitigated system of slave labor.* These

things merit the attention of all who desire the abolition of slavery.

“Florida is now rapidly settling by intelligent and enterprising men, who are turning their attention to the cultivation of sugar. Experiment has demonstrated that an acre of land, which would yield twenty bushels of corn, will turn out a hogshead, or a thousand pounds of sugar, the molasses paying the expense of cultivation, and the sugar being worth to the planter, upon an average, seven cents a pound.—Nearly all the land in Florida is capable of producing the same results. The celebrated La Fayette has a large tract of this country, which will grow excellent sugars, and the Congress having fixed a duty of five dollars per cent. on foreign sugars, will give the planters of Florida a monopoly of the American market. We understand there is a gentleman now in England, who has purchased the adjoining county to La Fayette’s, consisting of 80,000 acres, upon part of which he planted the sugar cane several years since. He intends ultimately to cultivate the whole by free labor; to declare all the children free, and during their minority to give them an excellent education.”

INTELLIGENCE FROM HAYTI.

Extract of a letter to the editor of the Genius of Universal Emancipation, dated Port au Prince, 7th March, 1830.

“DEAR SIR:—In haste I drop you a line, to inform you that Miss Wright arrived here about twelve days since, with thirty slaves, who are now free and well settled in the neighborhood of the last twelve, settled by you, on a place of the President’s. The Spaniards have not arrived yet, and they had better not.”

The following is extracted from a letter received by John Noel, of Baltimore, from John N. Coste, formerly of this city, but now residing in Port au Prince. It is dated January 21st, 1830. Samuel G. Douglass (the person alluded to in this letter) also went from Baltimore, a few months since, with a view of settling there as a farmer.

“As regards the information requested, concerning the emigrants brought out by Mr. Lundy, they were in health last Friday, and doing as well as might be expected; and I am told they are as well satisfied as persons can be, in their situation—seeing they are but newly settled. They have settled at l’Arcahai, one of the finest portions of the island; which is evident from the number of Americans that have lately settled there, and the many now looking for situations in that quarter. The common talk here, at present, is of going to l’Arcahai. I have not seen those persons (emigrants) for some time—say about two months. I got my information from a respectable farmer of the name of Johnson, who resides there, and went again on Saturday night, accompanied by Douglass, who is also about to seek a situation there. Douglass has just got back, and reports favorably of the place, and the emigrants above alluded to; and is now making preparation for returning there.”



UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, BALTIMORE, AT \$1 PER ANNUM IN ADVANCE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Dec. Ind. U. S.*

No. 2. VOL. I. THIRD SERIES.]

MAY, 1830.

[WHOLE NUMBER 254. VOL. XI.]

§ Subscribers to the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, who have paid for the weekly paper a year in advance, will receive the monthly a longer time, or may each have another copy, at their option. They will, if they choose the latter, give the editor information, through the medium of post-masters, or his agents. *Back numbers* of the monthly paper may be had at any time.

§ Since the last number of this work was issued, many of our friends have expressed their regret for the necessity of the change from a weekly to a monthly publication. Some have tendered the promise of further assistance in its circulation, if my late partner and myself will resume it in form, style, &c. as it appeared previous to the change aforesaid. One gentleman has publicly offered, thro' the medium of a mutual friend, to become responsible for *one hundred copies, to be paid for in advance*, on that condition. This is, indeed, a flattering proposal, the more so as he is entirely unknown to us—and he will please accept our thanks for his favorable opinion of our humble labors.—But even with that addition to our subscription list, we should not be able in recommencing the weekly paper. However, it shall be found that the advocates of our cause are prepared to aid circulation so as to enable us both to

remain at home to superintend it, we shall have no objections to renewing the weekly publication. § If they will give us a patronage that we can live by, we are ready for them.

But whether the weekly paper be resumed or not, *it will be continued monthly*. Its friends are, therefore, earnestly desired to assist in giving a more extensive circulation to it in this form. For terms, see the prospectus, on the outside of the cover.

THE LIBEL SUIT.

TERMINATION OF THE TRIAL.—IMPRISONMENT OF W. L. GARRISON!

At length a Jury has been found, willing to second the efforts of the slavites, in denouncing the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, and shielding the abettors of the American Slave Trade from public reproach.

The Libel Suit, instituted by Todd, of Newburyport, has been decided in his favor; and my late partner is now IN PRISON!! Here he must remain, until he complies with his sentence, and pays his fine with the costs of suit. Strange as it may seem to our friends, elsewhere, the *truth* cannot be told, here, relative to the accursed traffic in human flesh, without danger of insult, abuse, and bonds!!!—And *very few DARE* to speak freely of this state of things. The printers are even afraid to put a commentary upon it in

type, though they may have nothing to do with the authorship.

The press is now muzzled. I have not one, at present, under my own control, and cannot, consequently, expatiate upon this subject as I could wish. My friend, Garrison will give a brief exposition of the proceedings on his trial in the case before us, to which the reader will please refer for information respecting the particulars of it. I shall avail myself of some opportunity, at a future period, to expose the conduct of certain persons in this case, as it deserves.

MORE "GLORIOUS DEEDS!"

By the last number of the "African Repository," we learn that 49 slaves, emancipated expressly for that purpose, were taken in one vessel, not long since to Africa; and 30 more liberated by *Joel Early, Esq.* of Georgia, have arrived at Norfolk, with the same view, and expect to sail shortly.

It rejoices me to record acts of this nature. It appears to be the particular concern of the *Pennsylvania auxiliary* to the Colonization Society, to attend to this. The sum of \$2,296 has recently been raised by that institution, for the express purpose of transporting *liberated slaves* to the African Colony.

EMIGRATION TO CANADA.

By the politeness of a gentleman in Philadelphia, I have been favored with an extract of a letter from James C. Brown, agent of the colored people from Ohio, dated early in March, last.

This letter states that the writer had an interview with the governor, a short time previous, and received assurances from him that the people of color from the U. S. may go on with their settlements, without the fear of molestation, *and shall enjoy all the rights and privileges that white men generally do in Canada.*

A society of colored persons has been

organized in Philadelphia, as well as in Boston, and several other places, to promote the emigration thither. They have consulted the British Consul in Philadelphia, and he advises them to proceed, in the belief that they will be protected in the full enjoyment of their rights, in like manner as other British subjects are.

These items of information are encouraging. Agents, from various places, have gone on, to make arrangements for an extensive emigration. Two went through this place, very recently, from Virginia; and one expects to go from this city, in a short time. It would seem that they all forget both *Hayti* and *Africa*; and I do not wonder at it. Many have said, in Maryland, that they would cheerfully remove, if they could "go a-foot"—and they now seem disposed to give proofs of such a disposition.

VIRGINIA CONVENTION.

The Constitution agreed upon by this assembly of sage reformers, and perhaps, sanctioned by a majority of the people, is not such an one as accords with the spirit of this age and nation. The advocates of free republican institutions had a right to expect better things from such a body of men. The following extract will shew how far, and under what regulations, the right of suffrage has been extended by the Convention.

"The right of suffrage is extended to every white male citizen of the Commonwealth, resident therein, aged 21 years and upwards, who is qualified to exercise the right of suffrage according to the former Constitution and laws;—or who owns a freehold of the value of 25 dollars; or who has a joint interest to the amount of 25 dollars in a freehold, or who has a life estate in, or reversionary title to, land of the value of 50 dollars, having been so possessed for six months; or who shall own and be in the actual occupation of a leasehold estate, having the title recorded two months before he shall offer to vote—of a term originally not less than five years, and of the annual value or rent of \$200;—or who for twelve months before offering to vote, has been a house-keeper and head of a family, and shall have been assessed with a part of the revenue of the Commonwealth within the preceding year and actually paid the same. Two or more tenants in common may vote upon the same freehold, if its value shall entitle

them to do so,—each one's interest amounting to twenty-five dollars.”

But the odious feature of the old Constitution, relative to *slave representation*, is still preserved. The advocates of liberal principles were out-gencralled by the slave-holding oligarchs. The sixth article is as follows :

“The whole number of members to which the state may at any time be entitled in the House of Representatives of the United States, shall be apportioned as nearly as may be amongst the several counties, cities, boroughs, and towns of the State, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not-taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.”

This article is extremely obnoxious to the people of the western part of the state. It was their wish to curtail, and finally destroy, the system of slavery. The delegation from that section labored hard to accomplish their object, but were defeated by a small majority. A great sensation has thus been produced, and much indignation is expressed, in various places.

To shew the spirit and tone of the Western people, relative to this subject, the paragraph below is copied from the “*Wheeling Compiler*,” of the 10th ult. They have been tampered with so long, by the eastern slavites, that it is, no doubt, a difficult matter to restrain their indignation so as to keep it within the bounds of moderation.

“Should the victory turn out in favor of our opponents, the determined enemies of equal rights and practical republicanism, we still have, provided the entire West will move unanimously with the counties in this section of the state, *one chance left*—and that is SEPARATION. This will not prove an impracticable matter, if the people of the West only WILL IT, it is effected.”

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted at a meeting, in Wheeling, which was composed of a large number of the citizens, among whom were some of the first characters in the State.

ing, the consideration of the citizens

opinion of this meeting submitted to the consideration of the citizens as an one as to accept.

Resolved, That the Delegates in Convention from this district, are entitled to the sincere thanks of the friends of reform, for their firm and decided opposition to the unjust and anti-republican principles of the new Constitution.”

Some further notice will probably be taken of this subject at a future period. The doctrines advanced by a few of the delegates, in the Convention were monstrous—abominable.

Thus ended the performances of this proud assembly of “great men!” Truly, may it be said: “The mountain has been in labor,” and a ridiculous mouse is brought forth!!

BURNING REBUKE.

What will the people of Ohio say to the following language, applied to them by that arch slavite, Senator *Benton*? They richly deserve it; and I am right glad that they have got it. In his speech on the subject of western lands, &c. and in allusion to the late Missouri controversy, Benton makes these *cutting* remarks :

“And what have we seen since? The actual expulsion of a great body of free colored people from the State of Ohio, and not one word of objection. * * * The papers state the compulsory expatriation from Cincinnati at 2000 souls; the whole number that may be compelled to expatriate from the State of Ohio at 10,000! This is a remarkable event, Sir, paralleled only by the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, and the Hugonots from France.”

* * * * *

“My occupation, for the present, is with these characters—“*Les Amis des Noirs*”—the friends of the blacks—*then* so plenty, [during the Missouri contest] *now* so scarce! Where are they! Where gone? How shrunk up! Not even one friend, one voice here! Where are the crowds that *then* thronged the public meetings? Where the tongues which were *then* so fluent? The sighs, then so piercing! The eyes, then so wet with tears? All gone; all silent; all hushed! The thronged crowd has disappeared; the fluent tongue has cleaved to the roof of the mouth, the piercing sigh has died away, and the streaming eye, exhausted of its fluid contents, has dried up to the

innermost sources of the Lachrymal duct, and hangs over the pitiable scene, with the arid composure of a rainless cloud in the midst of a sandy desert."

The *style* of the foregoing is, indeed, so *villainous*, that nothing would justify the quoting it, save that it came from the lips of a Senator!—yet I repeat that the castigation is well merited by the authorities of Ohio; and I am not so fastidious as to regret that an *untrimmed* "hickory" was used upon the occasion. In the language of the poet, I am almost ready to say, that the actors in that tyrannical business have "damned to lasting fame" both themselves and the people they represented. I would fain hope, however, that the voice of the *people* will hence denounce their proceedings, even though they may not be able to make amends for the injury done to the innocent sufferers.

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

A bill has been introduced in Congress, relative to *Slavery in the District of Columbia*. It is a rank *slavite* measure.—More anon.

AFRICAN INTELLECT.

We have heard it gravely asserted, even by no less a personage than the patriotic and enlightened Jefferson, that the African race is naturally inferior, in intellectual capacity, to the people of other nations, particularly those of fairer complexion. But this doctrine has been controverted a thousand times. Proofs of its fallacy multiply on every hand. Yet whether the sagacious Jefferson lived long enough to see his error, and change his opinion in that respect, as he did in some others of importance, I have not been informed.

It is stated, on the authority of the "*Hampshire Gazette*," that the following is the "poetical effusion of a *slave*; who, tho' able to read, has never acquired the art of writing." He is now 32 years of age; and labors on his master's

farm. He composes his pieces and commits them to memory, until he can get them written for him.

How many are there *among us*, that would perform better under similar circumstances?—A *deliberate* answer, now.

LIBERTY AND SLAVERY.

Alas, and am I born for this,
To wear this slavish chain,
Deprived of all created bliss,
Through hardship, toil and pain?
How long have I in bondage lain
And languished to be free;
Alas, and must I still complain,
Deprived of liberty?
Oh Heaven! and is there no relief
This side the silent grave,
To soothe the pain—to quell the grief
And anguish of a slave?
Come liberty, thou cheerful sound,
Roll through my ravished ears,
Come let my grief in joys be drowned,
And drive away my fears.—
Say unto foul oppression, cease,
Ye tyrants rage no more,
And let the joyful trump of peace
Now bid the vassal soar—
Soar on the pinions of that dove
Which long has coo'd for thee,
And breathed her notes from Afric's grove,
The sound of Liberty.—
Oh Liberty! thou golden prize
So often sought by blood,
We crave thy sacred sun to rise,
The gift of nature's God—
Bid *Slavery* hide her haggard face,
And barbarism flee;
I scorn to see the sad disgrace
In which enslaved I lie.
Dear Liberty, upon thy breast
I languish to respire,
And like the swan unto her nest
I'd to thy smiles retire.
Oh blest asylum—heavenly balm!
Unto thy boughs I flee—
And in thy shades the storm shall calm
With songs of Liberty.

MEXICO.—TEXAS.—"LA SALLE."

The Republic of Mexico appears yet to be in rather an unsettled condition. Since the expulsion of the late Spanish invaders, the patriotic and *philanthropic* Guerrero has been compelled to resign the Presidency, and a radical change has been made in the administration of the government.

But notwithstanding a new party has arisen and supplanted the authority by which *slavery was recently annihilated*, it appears that those now in power are not disposed to place in the hands of this

government the means of subjecting a large portion of their territory again to the influence of the ruinous and horrible system. From the Mexican paper entitled "*El Sol*," of January 9th, the following is extracted, shewing the aversion of the Mexican people to the transfer of Texas to the government of this Union. It must be understood that "*El Sol*" is the organ of the present Administration in Mexico; at the head of which is the late Vice President, Bustamente.

"A few days before the departure of Mr. Poinsett from this capital, the American Col. Butler arrived, commissioned, it is said, by the Government of Washington to negotiate with ours on the cession of the Province of Texas, and authorized to offer for the same the sum of five millions of dollars. As we are not informed that the Colonel has as yet done any thing in this matter, we presume he does the new Administration the justice to believe them incapable of lending themselves to a transaction as prejudicial and disgraceful to the Republic, as dishonorable to the Minister who should subscribe to it.

We understand, also, that Col. Butler came by land from Philadelphia, and that the fatigue consequent on so long a journey is the ostensible reason for not having presented himself to our Government, and delivered his credentials, which it is known he received after his arrival at this capital, to enter upon the duties of *Chargé d'Affaires* of the United States of the north."

It is not *certain* that Col. Butler was authorized by our government to propose the purchase of the Texas country. But whether he was or not, it is to be hoped that he will not succeed. So much are the Mexicans opposed to it, that a rumor lately obtained credit among them of an attempt by our government to take forcible possession of the territory in question; and Gen. Teran, Minister of War, has been despatched to the north, to enquire into the state of things. By some it is believed that he was only charged with a private mission; but as the nature of it is not stated, we are at liberty to suppose that his object is one of public importance.

From a late London Paper, it appears that the British entertain some jealousy of our Texas schemers. The following is extracted from the "*Times*."

"The gentleman in question [Mr. Poinsett] is understood to have a thorough knowledge of the internal condition of Mexico,—of her parties,—her resources,—and her wants; whether it be quite a fair use to make of such knowledge, for a diplomatic agent to take an active part in inflaming the distractions of an infant state, that a better bargain may be thereby squeezed out of her distresses by a wordly minded power, seeking to snatch from her an extensive and highly productive province, is a point of casuistry which we are not called upon to decide. But this we know, that it is not wisdom or sound policy in England to see the state of Mexico either crushed by a tyrant, or by a neighbour cozened. Without going deep into a delicate subject, we will say that the United States have got far enough to the southward and westward on the Gulf of Mexico, and that it is for the interest and safety of our colonies to have Mexico rather than the United States for their neighbour. The province of Texas ought to remain Mexican, as it is, and not be swallowed up, like the Floridas and the whole course of the Mississippi, by any grasping Government.

There is no pecuniary temptation,—no financial distress, no consideration for the support of public credit, which ought to induce a sovereign state to sacrifice its natural dominions; nor do we suppose that the King of England would look on passively while such a transfer was negotiated. In the mean time, we ought to have an able Minister at the capital of the Mexican Republic."

It would seem, from the different views here taken of the subject, that the grand project of "*Americanus*," alias "*La Salle*," alias *Thomas H. Benton*, Senator of the United States, and Champion of the Slave Faction in this Republic, is not yet likely to be carried into effect. He is therefore advised to look elsewhere—to some other clime—for scope to gratify his avarice and ambition, where the congenial atmosphere will not mildew the tyrant's rod, and where he may "lord it over God's heritage" to better advantage.

At a future time, I shall probably give the readers of this work a specimen of *Thomas H. Benton's* (alias "*La Salle's*") logic, relative to the preponderance of the "*Free States*" in this Union. He is not only a rare speechifier, but also a curious *argumentalist*, if I may be permitted to coin a phrase.

Since the foregoing was written, we learn that the present government of Mexico has revoked the edict of the late President, Guerrero, *totally* abolishing Slavery, so far as relates to the Province of Texas. The law is, however, still in

force prohibiting the further introduction of slaves, and securing the freedom of all born after a certain period. There are said to be upwards of a thousand slaves in that part of the Mexican Republic, principally taken from the United States.

Another very important measure has also been adopted. The Texas country is to be governed, hereafter, as a *colony*; and the migration of persons *from the United States* is strictly forbidden, except such as may be specially permitted by the Governor.—So much for our meddling with our neighbour's concerns—So much for Benton's disinterested zeal and overflowing patriotism! This American "Cataline," as he has been denominated by his Senatorial colleague, Mr. Barton, is not likely to succeed as well in perpetuating slavery in Texas, as in *Missouri*. Though his impudence and tyranny know no *voluntary* bounds, it is to be hoped that his despotic aspirations have received a timely check.

OPINIONS OF FRANCES WRIGHT, &C.

I find, from the remarks of many highly esteemed friends, that I am suspected of entertaining opinions, relative to religion and government, somewhat similar to those held by Frances Wright, Robert Owen, and their associates! Had those who prefer this charge, taken the pains to examine the columns of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, instead of listening to what idle gossips have related, I think they would have been satisfied that no cause existed for such a supposition.

At a future period, I purpose to review this subject more at length. The reader is at present referred to pages 37, 103, 149, of Volume VII, (Vol. I. new series,) and page 94, volume VIII, for my remarks, touching the same, at different times.

In the last mentioned page, the following sentence may be found, in a short article from my own pen, viz.—“In the

first place we believe, that the practice at present adopted there, [F. W's Institution at Nashoba,] respecting religion and government, is too latitudinarian, and averse to the nature and general opinion of mankind, to promise the usefulness anticipated by the friends of the Institution.”

The last paragraph I quote entire, as follows:—

“To conclude, while we yet hope the motives of the founder of Nashoba are good, we are decidedly opposed to her present plan of proceeding. We consider it too wide a departure from the rules of wisdom and experience; and calculated to break up the foundations of social order, instead of improving the edifice at present erected.”

Surely! one would suppose this was plain enough. But it seems that it was not so.—And, in order to place my sentiments in a still clearer light, I shall resume the subject when I may have more room. I shall then also pay my respects to Col. Stone, of the New-York “*Commercial Advertiser*,” who, by a heedless censorious paragraph, while I was from home, contributed more, perhaps, than anything said by any one else, to misrepresent my real views in this matter. There are many traits in his editorial character that I heartily admire; but, at the same time, he is both bigoted and illiberal.

☞ The attention of the reader is particularly invited to the article in the number, respecting the cultivation of the Sugar Cane, by a system of *mitigated* Slave-Labor. It is an excellent *Text* for anti-slavery commentators.—I hope they will profit by it. I will only say, at the time: If the advantages, arising from such liberal treatment, be thus apparent, is it not probable that it might very properly be carried a little further?

THE MAILS—“REFORM!”

In common with many others, I receive frequent accounts of irregularity in

transmission of this work by mail. One of my subscribers concludes a letter as follows :

“I wish to know whether the papers have been regularly and seasonably put into your post-office. If they have, and thus more than half lost on the passage, I must withdraw my name from your list of subscribers; for really, sir, I do not like to be *reformed* out of so much good reading.”

I will cheerfully make the man a *life-subscriber* to the Genius of Universal Emancipation, (provided I publish it long enough,) who will give me information that shall lead to a conviction of the “reformer,” or “reformers,” who thus lay their *un-reformed* hands upon the paper, and stop its free circulation. It has been placed in the post-office, here, as regularly as printed, both for this subscriber and others. If the rogues can be detected, they shall have such a “*reforming*” as they never yet had.

AMERICAN CONVENTION.

The minutes of the late session of the American Convention &c. are ready for delivery at this office.

THE BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

I have not yet been able to procure the engraved likeness of Benjamin Lay. It will be prepared in season for my next number, when the “Biographical Sketches” will be resumed, and regularly continued.

SHAMELESS PLAGIARISM.

Did the editor of the *Buck's County Intelligencer* read the 16th number of the tenth volume of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*?—and is he not ashamed of his correspondent “*W.*” for writing, and of himself for publishing, in his paper of March 22, the outrageous plagiarism entitled the “Cherokee's Appeal?” The literary *thief* deserves the more signal punishment, as he passed off the beautiful production, in part, of a *female poet*, for the coinage of his own shallow brain! He should be chained at the

foot of Parnassus, for twenty years, and for the remainder of his life be soused in Lethe's oblivious pool.

Correspondence.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

As respects the following strictures, we wish to be distinctly understood, that in speaking of southern slaveholders and measures, we have no allusion to a large and increasing body of our fellow citizens who are uprightly seeking to be relieved from the loss, the shame, and the every way deplorable effects, resulting from holding slaves. These, though breathing a pestilential atmosphere, are preserved in a good degree of moral health, and claim all our sympathy—all our fellow feeling—and all the aid we can possibly render, to make their habitations permanently healthful and tranquil.

Our business, at this time, is with a totally different description of men—men who in the nineteenth century are boldly advocating the continuance of negro slavery! and who are resolved on adopting the Egyptian policy to perpetuate it. One of these has, however, discovered that the Israelites were longer in bondage than the blacks have yet been to us, and hints at the possibility of a change in their situation, tho' he gives abundant evidence that the slaves shall never be liberated if he can prevent it.—Another, and a Senator too, sheds a profusion of crocodile tears over the free blacks in the northern cities, who, he says, have been “seduced” to leave their masters.—Most pathetically does he mourn over them, as having fled from sufferings which had existence only in the “sickly imaginations” of their advisers; as if indeed the individuals he whines over had no personal knowledge of the reality of those sufferings.—Why did he not offer, in the depth of “the wisdom, justice and benevolence of the Southern slaveholder,” to re-convey the *able-bodied* among them, who could endure the voyage, to his favorite South Carolina, and re-invest their wrists and ancles with the bracelets so cruelly broken off by the “deluded victims of fanaticism?” He quotes Scripture too.—Oh! it is sickening.—Such language, from such men, is revolting to every honorable feeling.—Slavery, says he, “has never yet produced any injurious effect on individual or national character.” Is this true? We ask the reader to examine for him-

self the correspondence between Georgia and the late General Government of the Union for evidence of its *legitimate* effects in a national point of view! We make no comments; for, fallen into the spoiler's hand and dishonored as she is, we yet remember that Georgia is our Sister, and we cannot discard her, while a hope remains that she may be reclaimed to virtue.

As respects individual character, we readily admit that the Southern States have produced "bright examples" of intellectual and moral greatness; but to which of the classes we have mentioned did they belong? We fearlessly say to the first; otherwise, as respects this question, at least, there could be no moral, whatever there was of intellectual greatness. Washington could not die in peace until he had provided for the freedom of his slaves. Jefferson deplored the evil, and in glowing colours portrayed its debasing effects on the *master* as well as the slave. As to *living* great men, we will wait awhile before we admit their claim to the appellation. Trace the features of the Southern Slaveholder in the youthful slave, (his natural born son,) and then say that slavery "has never yet produced any injurious effects on individual character." Yet, the fact, revolting as it is, is not the worst trait in his character. See him sell this slave into endless bondage! Can any human being sink himself lower in the scale of moral degradation? But you tell us he is possessed of a noble spirit of chivalry! Buckle round him, then, his belt with his pistols and dagger, give him a cow-skin, and place before him twenty or thirty half-naked, half-starved, affrighted negroes, and we shall see how brave he is.—Oh, it is pitiful! The meanest man of blood, the duellist, would be ashamed to raise an instrument of death against an unarmed man! He boasts too of his magnanimity; and we hope he will not, for proof of it, make the naked shoulders of his slave expiate our offence in writing these lines.

There are those who assert that the general government has no power to rescue one portion of the American people from the abominable grasp of the other; and in this opinion we were once almost constrained to concur. But on examining the Constitution, it appeared that every state was guaranteed a *republican* form of Government. Now should it be found that a minority in any State

control the majority, and not content with this, buy and sell, and treat them as beasts of burden, can this be a *republic*?

In one view no viler oligarchy can possibly exist; and the grievance should be promptly redressed, or an alteration be made in the Constitution, so as to guarantee to all the States, south of a certain degree of north latitude, "an aristocratic form of government."

We have long expected the efforts of the friends of humanity would be visited as is now seen in increased restrictions and exactions on the innocent slaves. Here, too, their lords find a precedent in scripture. The example of Pharaoh, when Moses and Aaron pleaded for the Israelites, is most appropriate.

The sceptre is, however, departing from these men. The wise and temperate will, we trust, be able to wrest it from them ere the land become a desolation.

An eminent personage has recently raised a hue and cry against fanatics. This is a poor business for a great man. He should have remembered that hunted fanatics fled from the Netherlands into England, and carried with them the knowledge of the manufactory of woollens, before unknown in the latter country. Hunted fanatics first settled New England. And informers against the Quakers used to say they were going "a fanatic hunting." But we shall perhaps be told, it is the *fanatic of liberty* (not religion) that is now so mischievous. We admit the fact. It is but too true that individuals may be found of a higher grade than the hunted black man—men who can declaim about violated constitutions, who are yet such hollow devotees to liberty as to inflict on others what they would rather die than endure themselves. Here is practical fanaticism, or something worse, which it were well worth the efforts of the chief magistrate of a great state to correct; and were he sincerely to make the attempt, we are convinced he would succeed. We did not expect Virginia would have joined in this unhalloved crusade against the common light of heaven, and cannot but hope there is a spirit in that state that will yet redeem its character. Let the words of Lafayette be remembered when speaking of slavery in the United States. He said, "It is a dark spot on the face of the nation; such a state of things cannot always exist."

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

LADIES' REPOSITORY
Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

OUR FRIENDS OF PHILADELPHIA.

The information we receive, respecting the Philadelphia Association for promoting the use of Free Cotton, still continues to be highly encouraging. By the last accounts we understand that, of the expected cotton mentioned in their Report for April, thirty bales have been received, accompanied by certificates, from unquestionable authority, of its having been prepared solely by the hands of freemen. This has been purchased by a respectable manufacturer, and is probably now in a state of preparation for the market.

We have before expressed our satisfaction at the success of this Society, and we again reiterate our most cordial good wishes for its still increasing prosperity. Its members seek no reward but the consciousness that they have been useful to their fellow creatures; and may that be multiplied to them tenfold.

We perhaps ought to apologize for an error in the concluding sentence of their last Report, by which the word "operation" was transformed into "opposition;"—making a considerable alteration in the sentiment expressed. We know there is nothing belligerent either in the opinions or disposition of our friends.

PROGRESS OF SENTIMENT.

We are informed that an order has been received from Indiana, by a merchant of Philadelphia, for an assortment of such goods as could be procured, manufactured from *free cotton*. We are delighted to find so favorable a spirit manifesting itself in the West. One year since such a demand, had it been made, could not have been met with a supply of the desired articles—most assuredly it could not with those wrought from American material.

FREE DRY GOODS' STORE.

Nothing speaks more forcibly of the advance of public sentiment in favor of emancipation, than the rapidly increasing demand for free produce. A Store for the sale of cotton goods of this class, has been recently opened by LYDIA WHITE, at No. 86, N. Fifth street, PHILADEL-

PHIA. This is we believe the first establishment, exclusively of this character, which has been attempted. A few years since it would probably have met with little else than ridicule; but now we hope that it will be sustained by a generous patronage. We understand that the proprietor was influenced in her undertaking solely by conscientious motives, and a desire of offering to purchasers a greater facility than they have hitherto possessed, for procuring the various articles of free cotton manufacture. We are proud to know that the projector of so laudable a design is one of our own sex. She ought not, in honor for her consistency, to be suffered to feel any of the pecuniary sacrifice to which she has exposed herself through zeal for the cause of freedom. We are sure she *deserves* encouragement; and we hope that she will liberally receive it.

LADIES' PROCEEDINGS IN ENGLAND.

It is extremely gratifying to learn that our female friends, in Great Britain, are still actively engaged in exposing the manifold evils, and endeavouring to effect the final abolition, of British West-Indian Slavery. To the politeness of the Secretary of the Female Society for Birmingham, West-Bromwich, &c. in England, we are indebted for much recent information, relative to the proceedings of the Ladies of that country, in this great and important work.

A considerable number of pamphlets, tracts, engravings, &c. directed to the editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, were received just as this number was going to Press. The latest Reports of the Female Societies are embraced in this collection. We shall notice them more particularly in our next publication. The engraving, accompanying this number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, is attached to the Reports of the aforesaid Society for Birmingham, &c. The Secretary of that Association will please accept our thanks for her valuable presents; and in return therefor, we promise to make the best use of them that may be in our power.

WOMAN.

The efficacy of female aid, in advancing the interests of emancipation, has been put to the trial and fairly tested; and undeniable evidence of its usefulness has been afforded in the success of the Anti-Slavery Association of which we have spoken in another part of our columns. Will the ladies of our other cities of the Union hesitate to follow so encouraging an example? We hope not. We look forward with a cheering anticipation to the time when such societies shall be

multiplied in every quarter of our country—not only in the free states, but in the very heart of slavery itself. We look forward to the time when indifference on this subject shall almost be considered as a reproach to the principles of an American woman—when but one spirit shall prevail throughout our sex, and all shall unite in action and sentiment to advance this cause of righteousness. If the exertions of a few females have been capable of producing so much effect, what may not be expected from the united energies of thousands? Were we to borrow a simile from a subject that has of late occupied much of the public attention, we might say that the system of Free Labor is a “rail-way” by which our slaves may pass rapidly and securely from bondage to freedom. But it is one which requires no stupendous capital, no legislative enactments, to sanction its commencement—it has been begun by individual enterprise; it may be built up by Women.

To assist in the work of emancipation we consider not only the privilege, but the duty, of each of our sex. It has been asked of us, why, if slavery is such miserable wickedness, does the Almighty through a long lapse of years continue to suffer the oppression of the innocent? One effort of His will would be sufficient to crush a system against which all our exertions are apparently directed in vain—God, not man, must be the conqueror of this injustice. We will answer to this in the words of the intelligent writer from whose “Letters on Colonial Slavery” we have already extracted so liberally.

“Though it be true, that ‘the good that is done in the earth, the Lord doeth it’—He doeth it nevertheless through human instrumentality,—by enlightening the understanding and influencing the will of his intelligent creatures.”—And again.—“We are invited by every argument which can convince, every motive which can persuade, every consideration which can stimulate the exertion of moral agents, accountable creatures—christians, most especially,—but we are not forced upon the work. We may know our obligations, and feel their weight—yet refuse to discharge them,—but it is at our peril that we do so.”

Shall we hear of female associations for erecting proud monuments to the memory of departed heroes, while, at the same moment, thousands and tens of thousands of our own sex are bowed down, unpitied, to the lowest depth of degradation? Shall the cry of these poor perishing ones of our flock go up to heaven uncared for and unregarded? Shall American women combine to rear structures of military glory to the manes of those who died for liberty, in the very land where their own sisters are debased, igno-

rant, trampled upon and prostrated soul and body before the terrible altars of the Moloch of slavery? Would to heaven that we could impart to other hearts the feelings with which our own is at this moment oppressed!—that a flood of eloquence might gush from our pen, touching them with flame like a living coal from God’s own altar! There are moments when we feel as though we could freely die to know that this soul-destroying, unnatural indifference to the fate of their African brethren, had forever passed from the spirits of our sex.

LITERARY.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

HEAVEN HELP YE.

Heaven help ye, lorn ones! bending
 ’Neath your weary life of pain,
 Tears of ceaseless anguish blending
 With the bitter cup ye drain;
 Yet think not your prayers ascending
 Shall forever rise in vain!

Hearts there are, of human feeling,
 That have felt your cry of woe,
 Bear awhile! and soon revealing
 Brighter prospects with its glow,
 Light across your night-clouds stealing,
 Hours of freedom yet may show.

MARGARET.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

SPRING FLOWERS.

“The wise
 Read nature like the manuscript of Heaven,
 And call the flowers its poetry.”

I love the fair and beautiful blossoms, that are scattered so abundantly in the spring season over the field, and by the quiet edges of the wood, or when their sunny petals tremble to the pleasant murmuring of the streams, that go by like merchantmen trafficking their melody for gales of odour. I would not gather the first flowers that lift up their delicate heads to meet me in my spring path;—it seems to me almost as if they were gifted with a feeling, and a perception of the loveliness of nature, and I cannot carelessly pluck them from their frail stems and throw them aside to their early withering—’tis like defacing the pages of a favorite book of poetry, round which the spirit of the bard seems hovering still in a preserving watchfulness.

Beautiful flowers! they are the “jewelry” of spring, and bravely do they decorate her laughing brow, gladdening all hearts with her exceeding loveliness. But no! there are some hearts for whom her voice has no cadences of joy, her beauty no power to hasten the lagging

pulses. How can the glorious spring speak rejoicingly to those over whose degraded brows the free gales seem to breath revilings, instead of peacefulness and high thoughts, and for whose ears the gush of melody seems only to syllable one reproachful name? Gladness and beauty are not for the sympathies of the wretched, and far better than the brightness of the vernal sunshine does the dreariness of winter harmonize with the desolate spirit of the slave.

Oh that the warm breathings of universal love might drive out from the bosoms of men, the cold unfeeling winter of indifference, with which they have so long regarded the sufferings of their oppressed brethren! that the beautiful blossoms of christian compassion and holy benevolence, springing up in their hearts, might shed over them the fragrance of the memory of good deeds! Then should the benediction of those that were ready to perish, come upon them like the blessing of "the early and the latter rain," and the grateful tears of the forlorn ones rest on them as a fertilizing dew, clothing them with happiness like a thick mantle of summer verdure.

MARGARET.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

CHRISTIAN LOVE.

Oh Father, when the soften'd heart
Is lifted up in prayer to thee,
When earthly thoughts awhile depart,
And leave the mounting spirit free—
Then teach us that our love, like thine,
O'er all the realms of earth should flow,
A shoreless stream, a flood divine,
To bathe and heal the heart of woe.

Then Afric's Son shall hear no more
The tyrant's, in the christian's name,
Nor tears of wasting anguish pour,
Unpitied o'er his life of shame.
But taught to love thee, by the love
That bids his long-worn fetters break,
He too shall lift his soul above,
And serve thee for thy mercy's sake.

AGNES.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE DYING SLAVE.

"I was in the right mood for it, and so I gave full scope to my imagination."

He lay on a straw couch, with his face half turned towards the sinking sun. The skin was drawn tightly over his forehead, as though it was parched and shrunken by extreme age; but the restless and uneasy wanderings of his eye told that he still claimed some companionship with earthly feelings.

He was a slave; and for more than an hundred years he had gone forth to the daily toil of a bondman. It was said that in the "father land," from which he had been torn by unprincipled violence, he had been a prince among his people. In the first days of his slavery, he had been fierce and ungovernable, nor could his haughty spirit ever be tamed into subjection until it had been subdued by gratitude. The father of his present master had in his childhood, by interfering to save him from punishment, received on his own body the blows intended for the slave; and from that moment he became to his youthful master a devoted servant. The child had grown up to manhood, flourished throughout his term of years, and faded away into the grave, but still the aged Afric lingered upon the earth; and it was for the son of that man that he now waited, and, to use his own expression, "held back his breath," until he should behold him.

At length the light of the low cabin door was darkened, as the master stooped his tall form to enter the dwelling of his slave. I have come, said he, as he approached, what would you with me?

The negro raised himself up with a sudden energy, and stretched out his withered hand. Have I not borne you in my arms in your helpless infancy, said he, and should I not now once more behold you before I die? Heed me, master! ere yon sun shall set, the last breath will have passed my lips—its beams are fast growing more aslant and yellower—tell me, before I die, if I have not served you faithfully?

You have!

I have been honest and true—I have never spoken to you a falsehood—I have never deserved the lash?

To my knowledge, never! said his master.

Then there is but one more boon that I would crave of you;—I am going home, —to revisit the scenes of my youth—to mingle with the spirits of my friends! Suffer me not to return to them a slave! My fathers were proud chieftains among their native wilds—they sought out the lion in the midst of his secret recesses—they subdued the strength of the savage tiger—they were conquerors in battle—they never bowed to man—they would spurn a bondman from their halls! *Oh tell me*, exclaimed he, seizing his master's hand in the rising excitement of his feel-

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cœlum.

ings;—oh tell, me, while I may yet hear the sound, that I am once more free!

Your wish is granted, said his master; you are a freeman.

A freeman! repeated the negro, slowly sinking back upon his couch, and clasping his hands above his head with all his remaining energy—write it for me, master!

The gentleman tore a leaf from his pocket book, and pencilling a hasty certificate of his freedom, handed it to the slave. The old man lifted up his head once more as he received it, and the last ray of sunlight streamed across his countenance, as with a strange smile he gazed upon the paper; then falling suddenly back, he once more repeated the name of freedom, and expired.

E. L. A.

Department Français.

LOUISIANE.

Du "Liberal," 19 Mars.

Les amis de l'ignorance, des préjugés et de l'oppression, croient avoir remporté sur nous une victoire signalée. "Le bill supprimant ce journal séditieux (le Libéral) a passé." Mais ils se sont trompés. La publication du Libéral ne sera point arrêtée, au contraire, tenant d'une main la sacrée constitution qui déclare la presse libre, de l'autre le miroir de la vérité et la balance de la justice: nous continuerons à démasquer l'hypocrisie et à défendre les droits de l'homme. Les lois de la Louisiane ne seront courroucées. Elle s'élèveront pour flétrir comme criminel et traite celui qui venge les malheureux qu'elles ont opprimés. Mais en dépit d'elle, nous continuerons nos travaux, nous déchirerons le bandeau de l'erreur et nous briserons les chaînes de l'oppression. Notre avocat général, les juges de nos cours, ont juré de soutenir la charte de nos droits. Nous sommes certains qu'ils garderont leurs serments assurés de leur protection; nous dirons hardiment ce que nous pensons. Nous montrons à ceux qui nous ont pas suivre notre exemple, combien leur crainte est vaine. Nous avons les sentiments d'un véritable Américain et nous connaissons nos droits. Nous savons qu'il n'est pas de puissance qui nous les puisse ravir. Plus ils feront d'efforts pour nous forcer à plier sous leur despotisme, plus nous opposerons des résistances et jusqu'à notre dernier soupir nous braverons la tyrannie et l'oppression.

CONSTITUTION DES ETATS UNIS.

Art. 1er. des Amendements.

Le Congrès n'aura pas le droit de faire aucune loi pour abréger la liberté de la parole ou de la presse, &c.

CONSTITUTION DE L'ETAT DE LA LOUISIANE.

Art. 6, v. 21.

La presse sera libre à tous ceux qui entreprendront d'examiner les précédures de la législature ou aucune branche du gouvernement; et

aucune loi sera jamais faite pour abréger ses droits, &c.

LOI FAITE PAR LA LEGISLATURE DE L'ETAT DE LA LOUISIANE.

ACTE pour punir les crimes y mentionnés et pour d'autres objets.

Sect. 1^{re}. Il est décrété, &c. Que quiconque écrira, imprimera, publiera, ou répandra toute pièce ayant une tendance à produire du mécontentement parmi la population de couleur libre, ou de l'insubordination parmi les esclaves de cet état, sera sur conviction du fait, pardevant toute cour de juridiction compétente condamné à l'emprisonnement aux travaux forcés pour la vie ou à la peine de mort, à la discrétion de la cour!!!!

Sec. 2. Il est de plus décrété, Que quiconque se servira d'expressions dans un discours public prononcé au barreau, au banc des juges, au théâtre, en chaire, ou dans tout lieu quelconque; quiconque se servira d'expressions dans des conversations ou des discours particuliers, ou fera usage de signes ou fera des actions ayant une tendance à produire du mécontentement parmi la population de couleur libre ou à exciter l'insubordination parmi les esclaves de cet Etat; quiconque donnera sciemment la main à apporter dans cet état aucun papier, brochure ou livre ayant la même tendance que dessus, sera, sur conviction, pardevant toute cour de juridiction compétente, condamné; à l'emprisonnement aux travaux forcés pour un terme qui ne sera pas moindre de trois ans et qui n'excédera pas vingt un ans, ou à la peine de mort à la discrétion de la cour!!!!

Sect. 3. Il est de plus décrété, Que seront considérées comme illégales toutes réunions de nègres; mulâtres ou autres personnes de couleur libres dans les temples, les écoles ou autres lieux pour y apprendre à lire ou à écrire: Et les personnes qui se réuniront ainsi; sur conviction du fait, pardevant toute cour de juridiction compétente, seront emprisonnées pour un terme qui ne sera pas moindre d'un mois et qui n'excédera pas douze mois, à la discrétion de la cour!!!!

Sect. 4. Il est de plus décrété, Que toute personne dans cet état qui enseignera, permettra qu'on enseigne ou fera enseigner à lire ou à écrire à un esclave quelconque, sera, sur conviction du fait, pardevant toute cour de juridiction compétente, condamné à un emprisonnement qui ne sera pas moindre d'un mois et n'excédera pas douze mois!!!!

Sect. 5. Il est de plus décrété, Qu'il sera du devoir de l'avocat général et des divers avocats de district de cet état, de poursuivre de tout leurs moyens toute violation de cet acte, lorsqu'ils en auront eu connaissance personnelle ou qu'ils auront été informés par une autre source que le présent acte a été violé. Et dans le cas où le dit avocat général et les avocats de districts ou l'un d'eux, sous quelque prétexte que ce soit, négligerait ou refuserait de poursuivre la personne qui aurait ainsi enfreint cette loi, ils encourront, sur preuve du fait, la peine de la destitution!!!!

Sect. 6. Et il est de plus décrété, Qu'il sera du devoir des juges de cet état ayant juridiction criminelle, à chaque terme de leurs cours respectives, de rappeler aux grands jurés les dispositions du présent acte!!!!

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cœlum.

23 Mars

Nous avons lu la publication officielle de l'acte intitulé: "acte pour empêcher l'introduction des personnes de couleur libres dans cet état, et pour d'autres objets." Il est trop long pour que nous puissions le publier, nous en donnons l'extrait sui vant.

1. Toute personne de couleur libre, qui sera rentrée dans cet état depuis 1825, sera forcée d'en sortir.

2. Aucune personne, de couleur libre, ne pourra à l'avenir si introduire dans cet état sous aucun prétexte quelconque.

3. Le blanc qui aura fait circuler des écrits tendant à troubler le repos public, ou censurant les actes de la législature concernant les esclaves ou les personnes de couleur libres, sera puni rigoureusement.

4. L'émancipation des esclaves est soumise à quantité de formalités.

Tous les noirs, griffes et mulâtres au premier degré, libérés, sont obligés de se faire enregistrer au bureau du maire, à la Nelly. Orleans, ou chez les juges de paroisse dans les autres parties de l'état.

Nous voyons avec joie, que la partie du bill tendant à empêcher l'instruction des personnes de couleur, a été rejeté.

24 Mars.

Mr. L'éditeur.

Dans votre article éditorial de mercredi dernier après avoir démontré d'une manière vraiment républicaine, que, nos représentans au mépris de notre constitution se permettaient des abus intolérables. Vous ajoutez que, si les hommes de couleur ne quittaient point ce pays le plutôt qu'il leur serait possible, ils ne possèdent pas ce noble enthousiasme que vous croyez attachée à leur caractère et que Jackson a loué d'une manière si énergique.

J'ose espérer Mr. que vous ne serez pas trompé dans votre attente. Tout fait croire qu'ils justifieront la bonne opinion que vous avez d'eux. Car déjà un grand nombre, se dispose à quitter le pays. Dans peu de temps la Louisiane sera contente et satisfaite; cette classe MEPRISE'E! DETESTE'E! ET OPPRIME'E! ne fatiguera plus son sol:

Ils fuiront ces nouvelles lois plus arbitraires les unes que les autres, et qui sont autant de preuves tendant à dévoiler le despotisme de nos législateurs.

Grand Dieu! qu'on-t-ils donc fait pour les assujétir à des lois si tyranniques? quels sont les crimes dont ils se sont rendus coupables? ne se sont-ils pas toujours montrés soumis à la constitution de notre pays?

Ne les voyons nous pas par leur industrie s'acquérir des propriétés? et pour jouir du fruit de leurs travaux n'est il pas de leurs intérêts de voir la Louisiane prospérer et étendre de plus en plus son fertile commerce? le mariage n'a-t-il pas fait de cette grande partie de notre population une seule et même famille? n'élèverent ils pas leurs enfans dans une morale irréprochable? et cependant avec toutes ces preuves de leur conduite in tacte, qui, devrait leur mériter notre estime et notre reconnaissance ils se voyent persécutés (quoique dans un pays libre) plus qu'ils ne seraient dans une monarchie gouvernée par un descendant de Tarquin, Néron, ou Calligula.

Sans doute des hommes laborieux et aussi intelligens que ceux là, ne seraient pas repoussés dans toutes les parties de la confédération américaine. Car Dieu merci il existe dans notre patrie des hommes qui n'ont pas encore foulé aux pieds le chef d'œuvre des apôtres de notre Liberté. Mais non, en quittant les rives du Mississippi ils sont sortis totalement de l'union.

Et comme les proscrits de Sylla ils iront chercher un azile chez quelques peuples étrangers, qui, avec plus de jugement que nous, sauront tirer un parti très avantageux de la mauvaise politique de notre législature. JUSTICE.

BLACK LIST.

The *Rutherfordton (N. C.) Spectator*, of March 12, gives the details of a shocking murder, perpetrated by several slaves. It was understood they had been hired to perform the dreadful deed, by the son of the deceased, to prevent him from altering his will, by which the legacy of this son was to be reduced! The monster was imprisoned, to await his trial. But it is not probable that he will be convicted, for want of the evidence of *white persons*. Three of the slaves were hung.—Was there ever a more horrible state of society than that in which such hellish crimes can be perpetrated with impunity?

The *Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter* states that the colonists of Barbadoes and Trinidad have adopted a system of "internal," or "domestic slave-trade," similar to that pursued and protected by the people and the government of this country. It does not appear to be well relished by our English philanthropists. They cannot, for the lives of them, perceive any difference, in principle, between that and the *African Soul-Traffic*. These monarchists are not so sharp-sighted as our good "republicans" of the United States.

Captain Morris, of the *Quebec Trader*, states that while recently at Sierra Leone, the British cruisers brought in for adjudication six Spanish vessels full of

slaves. Is this the evidence of the abolition of that accursed traffic!

A gentleman, in high official station in one of the *Cape-de-Verd Islands*, gives the particulars of several instances of slave trading and piracy. He also furnishes the following:—

List of Spanish Slave vessels entered and cleared at the Port of St. Jago, (Cape de Verd Islands,) since July 21, 1829:—

Sch'r Armistade, 188 tons, 25 men—1 gun on a pivot.

Do. (name not known) about 250 tons, 75 men.
Brig (hermaphrodite) Mançanaria, 160 tons or thereabouts, 40 odd men—3 guns, one of which on a pivot.

Sch'r (name not known) 225 tons, 50 men—8 guns.

Do. Primeira Galega,

Do. Barbarini,

Do. Vengador,

Do. N. S. das Neves,

Particulars not been ascertained.

Together with an abundance of others that have touched here under sail. Within the 7 months there have probably been among these Islands, to my knowledge, 20 to 24.

Selections, Extracts, &c.

CULTIVATION OF THE SUGAR CANE.

From the Southern Agriculturalist.

On the Management of the Butler Estate, and the Cultivation of the Sugar Cane, by R. King, Jr. addressed to William Washington, Esq.

Hampton, (near Darien,) 13th Sept. 1828.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter on the 29th August, came to hand on the 8th inst. Nothing would afford me more satisfaction than to impart the knowledge I possess of Southern Agriculture and plantation economy, if such would benefit others.

We are dependent on each other, and each should contribute his mite. Therefore, I shall comply with your request as minutely as possible.

The reputed good condition of the Butler estate, has been the work of time, and a diligent attention to the interest of said estate, and the comfort and happiness of the slaves on it.

To Mr. R. King, sen. more is due than to myself. In 1802, he assumed the management. The gang was a fine one, but was very disorderly, which invariably is the case when there is a frequent change of managers. Rules and regulations were established, (I may say laws,) a few forcible examples made, after a reg-

ular trial, in which every degree of justice was exhibited, was the first step. But the grand point was to suppress the brutality and licentiousness practised by the principal men on it—(say the drivers and tradesmen.) More punishment is inflicted on every plantation by the men in power, from private pique, than from a neglect of duty. This I assert as a fact; I have detected it often. No person of my age knows more the nature of these persons than myself; since childhood I have been on this place, and from the age of eighteen to this time, have had the active management; therefore I speak with confidence. They have a perfect knowledge of right and wrong. When an equitable distribution of rewards and punishments is observed, in a short time they will conform to almost every rule that is laid down.

The owner or overseer knows, that with a given number of hands, such a portion of work is to be done. The driver, to screen favourites, or apply their time to his own purposes, imposes a heavy task on some. Should they murmur, an opportunity is taken, months after, to punish those unfortunate fellows for not doing their own and others' tasks. Should they not come at the immediate offenders, it will descend on the nearest kindred. As an evidence of the various opportunities that a brutal driver has to gratify his revenge, (the predominant principles of the humane race,) let any planter go into his field, and in any negro's task, he can find apparently just grounds for punishment. To prevent this abuse, no driver in the field is allowed to inflict punishment, until after a regular trial. When I pass sentence myself, various modes of punishment are adopted; the lash least of all. Digging stumps, or cleaning away trash about the settlements, in their own time; but the most severe is, confinement at home six or twelve months, or longer. No intercourse is allowed with other plantations. A certain number are allowed to go to town on Sundays, to dispose of eggs, poultry, cooper's ware, canoes, &c. but must be home by 12 o'clock, unless by special permit. Any one returning intoxicated, (a rare instance,) goes into stocks, and is not allowed to leave home for twelve months.

An order from a driver is to be as implicitly obeyed as if it came from myself nor do I counteract the execution, (un-

less directly injurious,) but direct his immediate attention to it. It would be endless for me to superintend the drivers and field hands too, and would of course make them useless. The lash is, unfortunately, too much used; every mode of punishment should be devised in preference to that, and when used, never to lacerate: all young persons will offend. A negro at twenty five years old, who finds he has the mark of a rogue inflicted when a boy, (even if disposed to be orderly,) has very little or no inducement to be otherwise. Every means are used to encourage them, and impress on their minds the advantage of holding property, and the disgrace attached to idleness. Surely, if industrious for themselves, they will be so for their masters, and no negro, with a well stocked poultry house, a small crop advancing, a canoe partly finished, or a few tubs unsold, all of which he calculates soon to enjoy, will ever run away. In ten years I have lost, by absconding, but forty-seven days, out of nearly six hundred negroes. Any negro leaving the plantation, or field, to complain to me, is registered and treated as such.—Many may think that they lose time, when negroes can work for themselves. It is the reverse on all plantations under good regulations—time is absolutely gained to the master. An indolent negro is most always sick; and unless he is well enough to work for himself; and when the master's task is done, he is in mischief, unless occupied for himself. And another evidence arising from the encouragement of industry, I make on this estate as good crops as most of my neighbours; plant as much to the hand, do as much plantation work, and very often get clear of a crop earlier than many where these encouragements are not held out. I have no before-day work, only as punishments; every hand must be at his work by daylight. The task giving are calculated to require so much labour; It is as easy to cut three tasks of rice, as it is to bind two, or to bring two home. It is easier to ditch eight hundred cubic feet of marsh, than four hundred feet of rooty river swamp. There are many regulations on a plantation that must be left discretionary with the manager. In harvesting a crop of rice, some acres are heavier, or further off than others; all these considered, make a wide difference; by giving a far and a near task to bring in, or putting them in gangs, the burthen is

borne equally, and all come home at once. Frequently (always I can say,) by Friday night, I have nearly as much rice in, as if the regular task during the week had been given. There may be fifteen or twenty acres left: say, bring it in, the balance of the week is yours. By 10 to 12 o'clock, all snug, and ten to fifteen acres extra got in.

By this mode I not only gain time, but afford them some also. A man, white or black, that knows such will be the result, will seldom deviate from the right course.

All these things are not to be slipped into at once; it has been the work of nearly twenty-seven years, and I find many things yet to correct. With regard to feeling, they have plenty of the best corn, well ground by water and animal power, with a portion of fish, (No. 3 mackerel,) beef, pork and molasses, and when much exposed, a little rum. To each gang there is a cook, who carefully prepares two meals per day. The very grinding and cooking for them affords the time that they apply to their own purposes: if their provisions was given unground, many would trade it off, or be too lazy to cook it. Any one that has spent a night on a plantation where the negroes grind their own corn, must recollect the horrible sound of a *hand-mill, all night*. It is this that wears them down. He goes to the mill; it is occupied; he must wait until the first has done, and so on. Some are at it all night; their natural rest is destroyed. Many masters think they give provisions and clothing in abundance; but unless they use means to have these properly prepared, half the benefit is lost. Another great advantage in grinding and cooking for them is, that the little negroes are sure to get enough to eat. On this estate there are two hundred and thirty-eight negroes, from fifteen years down, and every one knows that they do not increase in proportion in a large gang, as in a small one, with the same attention. I cannot exemplify in too strong terms, the great advantage resulting from properly preparing the food for negroes.—They will object to it at first; but no people are more easily convinced of any thing tending to their comfort than they are. In fact, a master does not discharge his duty to himself, unless he will adopt every means to promote his interest and their welfare. Again, many will say it takes too many to wait on the others.

An old woman for a cook, who will raise one little negro extra, which will certainly pay her wages, besides the very great comfort it will afford the others; a machine that will not cost in twenty years more than \$15 per annum; a little boy to drive an old horse two days in the week, and an old man, (or even the overseer on a place of thirty hands,) to act as commissary in issuing the provisions, I am sure, well regulated, will add 25 per cent. to the owner, including gain in negroes, comfort to them, and to their master's feelings. During the summer, little negroes should have an extra mess. I find at Butler's island, where there are about one hundred and fourteen little negroes, that it costs less than two cents each per week, in giving them a feed of oca soup, with pork, or a little molasses or hominy, or small rice. The great advantage is, that there is not a *dirt-eater* among them—an incurable propensity, produced from a morbid state of the stomach, arising from the want of a proper quantity of wholesome food, and at a proper time.

I have invariably found that women, that had been accustomed to waiting in the houses of white persons, have the largest and finest families of children, even after going into the field. I believe it arises from this circumstance, that they had contracted a habit of cleanliness, and of preparing their food properly. You on looking round, will find this the case. An hospital should be on each plantation, with proper nurses and apartments for lying-in women, for the men, and for a nursery; when any enter, not to leave the house until discharged. I have found physicians of little service, except in surgical cases. An intelligent woman will in a short time learn the use of medicine. The labour of pregnant women is reduced one half, and they are put to work in dry situations.

There are some planters that employ overseers at low wages, perhaps more destitute of principle than the blacks, and do them more harm than the owners good. Others, without humanity, grind out good crops, and in a few years break down the gang.—Slave owners cannot be too particular to whom they entrust the health (I may say life) and morals of what may justly be termed the sinews of an estate. A master, or an overseer, should be the kind friend and

monitor to the slave, not the oppressor. I notice in the 9th number of the *Agriculturist*, that a correspondent recommends an impenetrable fence, protected by dogs, to prevent thefts.

I have a mode, I think, preferable. allow all to plant a small piece (obliged some) for themselves; if one sheaf is taken from me, I take three from them; if from each other, I seize all they have if not enough, I take the next crop. purchase what crop they have to spare and hope I have made them happier at home than any where else.

I have written much about little, and should you be able to pick out any thing useful, I shall be pleased. It will afford me pleasure, at any time, to reply to your communications.

I am, dear sir, your most obed't
R. KING, JR.

LOUISIANA.

The blow has been struck! and the free colored people, or a considerable portion of them, must leave the State. Where, it may be asked, will they go?—I answer, to *Hayti*, or *Jamaica*, where they will find brethren and protectors and even many kindred connexions.

The following extracts from the *New Orleans "Liberalist,"* will show to what despotic lengths the Legislature of the State is willing to go, in oppressing the coloured race. *Ed. G. U. Eman.*

We have seen an official publication of the act entitled: "An act to prevent free colored persons from entering this state, and for other purposes." It is too long to admit of publication in our paper. The following is a summary of the principal enactments.

1. All free colored persons who shall have entered the state since 1825, are forced to leave it.
2. No free colored person shall be hereafter permitted to enter this state, under any circumstances whatever.
3. No white person is permitted to circulate any writing or print, with the intention to disturb the public peace, or censuring the acts of the legislature!! with regard to the slaves or free people of color, under severe penalties.
4. The emancipation of slaves is subjected to many formalities.
5. All FREE NEGROES, GRIEFFS, and MULATTOS IN THE FIRST DEGREE, are obliged to have their names enregistered at the office of the mayor in New Orleans, or the parish judges in the other parts of the State.

We are glad to see that the part of the bill which proposed to prevent all free colored persons from learning to read, was rejected.



Benjamin Lay



UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, BALTIMORE, AT \$1 PER ANNUM IN ADVANCE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Dec. Ind. U. S.*

No. 3. Vol. I. THIRD SERIES.]

JUNE, 1830.

[WHOLE NUMBER 255. VOL. XI.]

REMOVAL.

The office of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* is removed to No. 49, *Sharp Street*—Second door South of *Pratt Street*. Subscriptions, Communications, &c. will be received both at the office, and at No. 135, *Market Street*.

The editor of this work has again partially fitted up a Printing Office, in order that the publication may be once more entirely under his own controul. It is expected that the arrangements will be completed in a short time, when it shall be seen whether the abominations of the slave system, and the corruption of its guilty abettors, are not to be properly investigated and exposed. But, in order to effect this desirable object, punctuality in paying up for present subscriptions, as well as more activity in procuring new ones, is absolutely necessary, on the part of the patrons and friends of the work. It would be no difficult matter, one would suppose for those who wish for its success, to procure some further patronage, in almost every part of the country.

I acknowledge, with pleasure, that a few of our friends at a distance have generously used their influence in procuring additional subscribers, and forwarding their payments, since the change from a weekly to a monthly publication: and I sincerely hope that others will speedily follow the example. I cannot now leave home for

that purpose myself. The terms of publication, &c. may be seen on the last page of the cover. New subscribers will be supplied from the commencement of the present volume.

THE LIBEL SUIT—AGAIN.

Attempts have been made in various places, and at different times, by some of the high professing "republicans" of this nation, to abridge the freedom of the Press, when it has clashed with what they conceived to be their private interests. This Argus-eyed guardian of the "rights of man" has ever been a thorn in the sides of the corrupt and the tyrannical. We have heard much of the arbitrary proceedings against it, by European despots and oligarchs; but in no country on the globe is such a disposition more completely exemplified than here. With all their vain-boasting, and the egotistical proclamation of their love of liberty, many of the people of this Republic are at heart disposed to be as self-adulatory and oppressive as any that exist. And such are ever desirous to impose curbs, restraints, and gags upon those publishers of periodicals, &c. who stand ready to expose their aristocratic machinations. But in few instances, perhaps, if any, has this spirit manifested itself more fully, than in the numerous attempts to intimidate the editors, and *put down the establishment*, of the "*GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.*" Not con-

tent with denunciations, threats, and slanders, communicated publicly and privately, through the medium of newspapers, anonymous communications, and verbal addresses, its enemies have resorted to personal abuse, and legal persecution. I am not about to give a detailed statement of their movements, at this moment; though I may, perhaps, do it at some future period. My object, at present, is to furnish the reader with a few more items of information respecting the famous Libel Suit, instituted against myself and late partner, by Francis Todd.

The public has been made acquainted with the circumstances of Garrison's conviction, in this case, and subsequent imprisonment. The period of his incarceration was *forty-nine days*, and the cost, altogether, upwards of one hundred dollars. A *civil suit*, for "damage" done to the "character" of the plaintiff, (not the *damage* incurred by the *guilt* in which he was involved, but that resulting from the *exposure of it*,) is also pending against him, as well as myself, and is expected to be tried early in next month.

It will be recollected that the suit for libel, aforesaid, was originally brought against both myself and partner:—but as I was absent at the time, the proceedings were directed against him alone. Before he was convicted I returned home, and did not leave this city again for about three weeks. The Court knew of this, but did not then offer to arrest me. I left home again for a short period: and when I returned the second time, I found Garrison in prison. Still no attempts were made to proceed against me, for nearly two weeks after this period. It is a trite maxim, however, that "*Justice is slow, but sure.*" And my old friend, *Judge Brice*, at length determined to exemplify the truth of it in my case. The Deputy Sheriff was despatched to take peaceable or forcible possession of my mortal part, and have it, without delay, before his Honor. I was not in my office, and the bailiff went as he

came. In a few hours after, he called again, but I was yet away. These circumstances were made known to me in the evening; and the next morning, after arranging my business, I went to the Sheriff and demanded the object of his deputy's mission. He informed me that the Court would explain the matter; and, forthwith, I placed myself before that august tribunal. The Honorable Judge Brice had not made his appearance.—Probably he was yet in his parlour, adjusting his wig, as it was rather early for gentlemen of dignity to shew themselves abroad! The business was arranged without him. I gave bail for my appearance at the June Term of our City Court, and it is expected that my trial will come on some time in the present month.

But I wish it understood, that I am by no means disheartened. Notwithstanding all that has been said and done;—notwithstanding the threatening aspect of the times—the portentous appearance of the gathering storm—my head is bared to its pitiless peltings.—My eye winks not at its fiercest lightnings. The awe-inspiring thunders may roll around; the electric fire may stream from every cloud; the demon of the storm may hurl his deadening bolts;—yet, if I be not stricken lifeless to the earth, *my humble labors shall not cease.*

OUR JURORS.

Some curiosity having been excited among our friends, to know who were the jurors that found a bill of indictment against us, and finally gave a verdict of "*guilty*" in the criminal Court, against W. L. Garrison, I have taken the pains to procure their names from the Court Records. They are as follows:—

Grand Jury.

Hugh W. Evans; (Foreman;) James Piper; James B. Stansbury; John H. Barney; Jacob Daley; Joseph Shane; Joseph K. Stapleton; William Chalmers; Philip Littig; Rezin White; Daniel Conn; James

P. Heath; Leonard Poudet; Arthur Mitchell; Joseph Jamieson; Philip Uhler; John King; Harmanus Alricks; James Hindes; James R. Williams; Daniel Metzger.

Petit Jury.

Benjamin Hutchins; Henry Dukehart; SAMUEL WILSON; Joseph T. Forde; Richard Bradshaw; Samuel Jarrett; James C. Magauran; William S. Packer; Thomas E. Palmer; George Waggoner; TOWNSEND SCOTT; Thomas Bond.

It will be understood by the reader, that in the Grand Jury a majority may decide the questions before it.—But the decisions of the Petit Jury must be with *unanimous* concurrence. There are a few names among the last mentioned, that I was not a little surprised to see there. They, no doubt, acted *conscientiously*; and if so, their *reflections* will be calm. I hope they will not censure me for thus making them known; for, let the consequence be what it may, there shall be nothing *concealed* in this matter, if I can prevent it.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

It is gratifying to perceive, that many of our contemporaries are sensible of the apparently unwarrantable attempt to restrain the liberty of the Press, in the prosecution now pending against the editor of the Genius of Universal Emancipation and his late partner. More than an hundred voices have been raised—more than an hundred periodical works have denounced (many of them in no very measured terms) this attack upon what we have ever considered our proper editorial privileges. Upon a future occasion, when I may not be subject to the imputation of a wish to forestall public opinion, in my own case, I shall give the reader a view of the sentiments expressed by some of them, in their own words

Gentlemen who feel a propensity to muzzle the editorial fraternity, will learn that, in attempting it, they are making a "demonstration" upon a *Hornet's nest*,

and if they persist, it is natural for them to *get stung* a little. I would rather be arraigned before an hundred Judge Brice's, and all the juries that were ever empannelled by his order, than to be hauled up before the bar of an indignant *Court of Editors!* The first may empale the body, and *professional* censors may rouse the irritable feelings—but the last pierce the very soul with the javelin of burning reproof, and leave the wretch to agonize with the smart of sore condemnation, applied with the irresistible force of sincerity.

THE BALTIMORE MINERVA.

I am astonished at the remarks of the editor of the Minerva, respecting the imprisonment of W. L. Garrison. He asserted, lately, that he was "a voluntary inmate of the jail!" and he even repeats the assertion, after Garrison's explicit denial of it. But let us see how he makes out his case. He says: "the fifty dollars might easily have been raised for him." Surely!—And is this sufficient ground for so grave a charge, friend Hewitt—a charge, *de facto*, that he merely wished to excite the sympathy of his friends, by unnecessarily submitting to imprisonment? *Possibly* the money might have been raised for him, *if any one had offered to do it.*—But was this offer made? If so, who did it? *I do not believe that it was done*, until he had lain in prison more than six weeks, and until the benevolent Arthur Tappan, of New York, ordered a draft for the purpose. True, some persons had spoken about it—as Peter Pindar says, "about it Goddess, and about it!"—but the money was not at Garrison's command. How, therefore, can Mr. Hewitt say the imprisonment was voluntary? How does he *know* that the money could have been procured, before it was? He *thinks* that it *might* have been done, and *therefore* the imprisonment was *voluntary!!*

Let us place the subject in a clearer light.—A charge is made, of a criminal

nature—all the formality of trial and sentence is strictly observed by Court and Juries—the person implicated is placed in the custody of the Sheriff, to be handed over to the Jailor.—And yet, after all this, his imprisonment is “voluntary,” on his part, if he does not condescend to employ some person to go a begging for him, among his friends!!! Is not such reasoning absurd?—Was ever such logic tolerated?

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

If our persecutors think to break down our spirits, by their vile proceedings, they will, ere long, find that they have “reckoned without their host.” Thus much I can say for myself.—And the reader will incline to the belief that the same remark will apply to my friend Garrison, after perusing the following, which he pencilled on the wall of his prison, the next morning after his incarceration. While immured within those gloomy walls, he wrote many other articles, equally lively and elegant.

SONNET.

High walls, and huge, the *body* may confine,
 And iron grates obstruct the prisoner's gaze,
 And massive bolts may baffle his design,
 And vigilant keepers watch his devious ways:
 Yet scorns th' immortal *mind* this base control!
 No chains can bind it, and no cell enclose:
 Swifter than light, it flies from pole to pole,
 And in a flash from earth to heaven it goes!
 It leaps from mount to mount—from vale to vale
 It wanders, plucking honeyed fruits and
 flowers;
 It visits home, to hear the fire-side tale,
 Or in sweet converse pass the joyous hours.
 'Tis up before the sun, roaming afar,
 And in its watches wearies every star!

W. L. G.

THAT'S NOBLE!

The following appeared as a Communication in the *United States Gazette*, of a recent date. The Philadelphians have some *good ideas* relative to Colonization.—But, Query?—Would not a little more *pecuniary* aid set other measures of importance also on foot? Suppose a few thousand dollars were appropriated to the purchase and cultivation, *by free labour*, of a part of the land belonging to Gen.

Lafayette, in Florida?—Would it not have more good effect (in case of judicious management) than the *colonizing* of 50,000 colored persons in Africa? I do not wish to discourage the latter;—but I should be much pleased to learn that an experiment, like the above mentioned, were to be made.

Messrs. Editors—Since the very interesting letter of Captain Sherman appeared in your laudable journal, I have had the opportunity of conversing with a member of the Colonization Committee, and am pleased to learn that they anticipate another expedition to Africa, and intend, if the requisite funds can be obtained, to despatch a ship on or about the first of Sept. with 250 manumitted slaves.

The sum of \$100, for which four fellow creatures may be relieved from bondage, and constituted members of the new republic of Liberia, is so small, that I cannot hesitate to believe 25 Philadelphians will be disposed to join in contributing that sum each, to transport 100 of the contemplated number, and thus insure the fulfilment of the committee's benevolent object. Should this hint be attended with the success I anticipate, I pledge myself to transmit to Mr. Cresson, Secretary of the Colonization Committee, the sum of \$100 towards it. Your's, G. B.

BRITISH COLONIAL REFORM.

The editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* is indebted to some friend, unknown, for *Gore's Liverpool Advertiser*, of the 25th of February, last, which contains some very important information relative to measures contemplated “for improving the condition of the slaves in the colonies of Trinidad, Berbice, Demerara, St. Lucia, Cape of Good Hope, and Mauritius. Sunday markets are to be prohibited, and one day in each week set apart in lieu thereof. Penalties are to be inflicted for compelling slaves to work on Sunday, except in cases of absolute necessity, which are to be defined by the Governor. The use of the whip to be restricted. The marriage rite to be legalized. Slaves allowed to hold property, and capacitated to maintain law-suits in its defence. Family connexions not to

be separated, except in particular specified cases. Manumissions of slaves to be greatly facilitated. "Slaves may effect the purchase of their freedom by compulsory process." The evidence of slaves to be admitted. Slaves to be forfeited on conviction of the owners for cruelty, &c. &c.

The reformations proposed, are numerous and important; but I have not room to notice the subject more in detail, at present.

LIBERIA.

By the arrival of the brig *Liberia*, at Philadelphia, the editor of the *Genius of the Universal Emancipation* has received a letter from *Jacob W. Prout*, of Monrovia, (formerly of Baltimore,) and also the first number of the "*Liberia Herald*," issued by *J. B. Russwurm*, formerly editor of "*Freedom's Journal*," of New York.

To the kindness of the writer of the above mentioned letter, I am indebted for obtaining a number of new subscribers to this work, in addition to those who formerly received it, in the Colony.

The following is an extract from the letter aforesaid. I rejoice to learn that many of the settlers are doing well.

"Our Colony is in a thriving situation. I have not the least doubt but that the expeditions of the ship *Harriet*, and the *Liberia*, will give a great spur to agriculture: as, from what I have seen of the people, I think them industrious and hard-working persons. I do not think your eyes every beheld a more beautiful view than we have at the Caldwell settlement, on that side of the Stockton River. And the settlers on the St. Paul's River are sparing no pains or labor to equal those on the Stockton. The people of Millsburg, with the exception of a very few, live altogether by their farms; and some of them send down to this place fresh beef, and vegetables of different kinds."

From the number of the "*Herald*," now before me, I here insert a paragraph of the editor's address, (not having room for the whole,) which shews that the traffick in human blood is still pursued with avidity on the coast. He says:—

"We are in hopes, through our columns, to bring to light many facts relative to the Slave trade. It is the general opinion in the United States and Europe, that it has nearly ceased: but could an American or European reside on

Cape Messurado, and witness the daily passage of slavers up and down the coast; and see (what many of our citizens have) hundreds of their fellow men, actually in chains, on board; he would then begin to think that the traffic was far from being discontinued. To such a pitch of audacity have many of these slavers arrived, that no merchant vessel, unless strongly armed, is secure against their piratical attacks. They have even been known to leave the Havanna and other ports, for this coast, with not more than two weeks provisions on board, depending altogether upon falling in with vessels, and supplying themselves. Some governments have made the trade piracy, but of what avail are laws, which are enacted at the distance of 5000 miles, without the means of inflicting punishment? Desperadoes, like those engaged in the Slave trade, must be deterred by the certainty of punishment, or they never will desist. Colonies have been planted by the British, Portuguese, French, and Danish; but with the exception of the first, neither is strong enough to prohibit the traffic in slaves from being carried on in its neighborhood."

The "*Liberia Herald*" is printed on a medium half-sheet, and issued once a month, at \$2.00 per annum. It will, no doubt, be conducted with spirit and ability. A sample of it may be seen at the office of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

✂ Since the foregoing was written, the second number of the *Herald* has been received at New York, and some extracts from it have appeared in our eastern prints. One, respecting the prosecution of the Slave Trade, will be found under the head of "*Black List*," in this paper.

✂ At the request of *John Andrews*, the following notice is copied from the *American*, of this city, accompanied with a few introductory remarks:

He informs me that it is his particular desire to place the child, alluded to, with some genteel colored persons in Philadelphia, in order that it may be properly brought up and educated. This he stated to me, soon after his arrival in Baltimore, that it was his determination to do when he left Virginia; and I have no doubt that he is now sincere in this intention. Should this notice reach the parents of the child, it would be well for them to attend to it. *James Forten*, with whom the papers securing their emanci-

pation are left, as aforesaid, is a colored gentleman, of excellent character and standing, and is well known and highly respected by the citizens of Philadelphia, generally, of all classes. Any arrangement that may be made with him, relative to this matter, may be fully depended on. Andrews has recently corresponded with him, and he is willing to attend to the child, as requested.

“My servants, William and Evelina, are informed that on personal application to Mr. James Forten, Philadelphia, they will obtain their own and the little girl’s free papers. They are requested, wherever they may be, to write to me immediately, directing their letters to Baltimore; as by so doing they have nothing to fear and much to gain. JOHN ANDREWS.”

MANUMISSION SOCIETY OF N. CAROLINA.

The proceedings of this interesting Society, as published in the *Greensboro’ Patriot*, have been received at this office. I hope to notice them hereafter in detail. The society still presses onward, faithfully and perseveringly, in the great and good work. The officers, for the ensuing two years, are: Benjamin Swaim, *President*; William Swaim, *Secretary*; Zimri Stewart, *Treasurer*; and William Reynolds, Robert W. Hodson, James C. Kersey, Dr. John Parker, and Aaron Stalker, *Managers*.

“An association exists in Philadelphia, “for the use of Free Cotton,” and a dry good store is opened, in which no cotton is sold that is not raised by a free laborer—where the raw material is to come from is not stated. But seriously—if the philanthropists of Philadelphia, wish well to the slaves of the south, may it not be questioned whether they will be likely to ameliorate their condition, by doing any thing which may tend to injure the prosperity of their masters.”—*Fredericksburg Arena*.

It is true that such an association as that above mentioned does exist in Philadelphia;—and it is equally true that others of the same nature, and with nearly the same objects, exist both in this country and in England.—But it is *not true* that the adoption of such measures will “tend to injure the prosperity of” any slave-holder.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The following pithy little paragraph is from *Niles’ Register*, of a recent date:—

“The numerous bills matured, concerning the District of Columbia, have all failed, except the bill concerning the Judges of the Orphans’ Court, and that to amend the charter of Georgetown.”

So!—nothing yet done respecting the system of slavery. The PEOPLE must see to this.

—
 ↗ The editor of the “*Bucks County Intelligencer*” has made the amende honorable, very handsomely, respecting the plagairism of his correspondent. “W” has also offered an “apology”—and so lame an apology never was before made since Adam commenced the practice of speech!—But we must not exult over him.

WANT OF ROOM!

Several very interesting communications, together with a great mass of other matter, both original and selected, lie over for insertion in future numbers. I would give a small “premium” (a large one I cannot give) for the best plan of *editorial condensation*! I cannot insert the *tenth part* of what I wish.

Biographical Sketches.

BENJAMIN LAY.

I now have the satisfaction to submit to the readers of this work, a brief notice of one of the *first active and persevering laborers in the cause of African Emancipation*, accompanied by a true likeness, as he appeared in his old age, when devoting his whole heart to this grand and benevolent purpose. The following extracts are taken from the biography of this singularly philanthropic and extraordinary man, written by Roberts Vaux, of Philadelphia, and published in the year 1815, by Solomon W. Conrad.

“Benjamin Lay was born at Colchester, in the county of Essex, Great Britain, Anno Domini 1677. His parents, who were members of the Society of Friends, carefully instructed him in the religious principles which they professed;

but their pecuniary resources did not enable them to bestow upon their son more than the rudiments of learning, as taught in the lower order of English schools."

Passing over the incidents of his private life, as well as the religious controversies in which he was frequently engaged, we come to view him as the distinguished advocate of the oppressed and mal-treated slaves, in the British West Indies.

"In 1718, at the age of forty-one years, he removed from his native land to the island of Barbadoes, and there established himself in mercantile business. Here he is exhibited in a new and interesting field of action, in which he appears to have taken a bold and decided part. At this period, the African slave trade was carried on, if possible, with more intense cruelty, than at any previous or subsequent stage of its uniformly iniquitous history. The treatment to which the unhappy victims of avarice were subjected in the service of their masters, on the plantations of the West Indian islands, furnished a melancholy proof of the application of human ingenuity exerted in the contrivance of the most barbarous punishments, as well as the absence of all compassion, from the hearts of those whose mandate directed, and whose power inflicted them. Thus a witness of scenes which were calculated to excite the keenest sensibility, and awaken the tenderest sympathy of his nature, Benjamin Lay became singularly enlightened, in relation to the injustice and oppression exercised toward the people of Africa. From that moment, every faculty of his mind was exerted, to render odious, not only in the opinion of the community in which he lived, but among mankind universally, a traffic which begot so much crime—entailed so much misery—and threatened such awful retribution from the Omnipotent and regardful Parent of the whole human family.

"Justum, et tenacem propositi virum,
Non civium ardor prava jubentium
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida." HORACE.

We now find this philanthropic advocate of the oppressed, fearlessly engaged in public and private admonition with all who were in any degree implicated in the crime of enslaving their species; and whilst he zealously pleaded with the oppressor for the extension of clemency, he was equally conspicuous for the practical benevolence which he manifested toward the subjects of his compassion. Whenever he met the slaves of the island, he noticed them with kindness and commiseration. They soon became generally acquainted with his views and exertions in their favor, and as an evidence of gratitude to their benefactor, they came from the neighbouring farms on the Sabbath day and assembled around his house in the town, to the number of many hundreds; and he thus had an opportunity of conveying to them suitable advice, and also of furnishing them gratuitously with simple and wholesome food, as liberally as his restricted pecuniary resources would allow. In this practice he continued, until popular clamour was raised against him, and he was denied even the melancholy satisfaction of

showing his tenderness for those, whose sufferings, at most, he could only mitigate. In proportion to the steadiness and determination of his testimony against negro bondage, was the hostility of those who were enriched by its existence. Their opposition to his truly christian principles at length became so violent, that after having endured the conflict for several years, and perceiving no prospect of effecting any change in the conduct of the slave-holders, he resolved to seek an asylum in another country. This resolution, when communicated to his wife, she entirely approved. Her mind was deeply affected with the subject of slavery, and she said on that occasion, "that she wished to leave Barbadoes, lest by remaining there she might be leavened into the nature of the inhabitants, which was pride and oppression." After having resided thirteen years in Barbadoes, he came to Philadelphia in 1731.

"The biographer next gives a description of his personal appearance. It will be seen, from the engraved likeness, (which is believed to be strictly correct,) that "his physical organization was not less remarkable than the qualities of his mind were rare and extraordinary." He proceeds:

"On his arrival in Pennsylvania, it was soon discovered that his character was eccentric. The practice of holding slaves was general in the province, though they were treated more mildly than their debased countrymen in the West Indies. Lay was, however, established in the pious doctrine that the odious system of slavery was altogether unrighteous, and with the same zeal with which he had begun, he continued to reprobate the conduct of every one who participated in the custom. His independence of opinion, and freedom of expression, rendered him a less welcome emigrant than those who could quietly approve, or openly adopt the habits of the times, and his sentiments met with vigorous opposition from every quarter. Thus this champion of justice, of human rights, and reformation, found himself again an almost solitary combatant in a field where prejudice and avarice had marshalled their combined forces against him."

* * * * *

"Excepting the time requisite for procuring food and raiment, he was altogether devoted to the inculcation of his doctrines; and for the promotion of them, he visited several of the governors of the neighbouring provinces, as well as other influential characters, in church and state. He omitted no opportunity to endeavor to interest every one with whom he met in the benevolent work he had undertaken; and to effect this, he adopted various means—some of which were so extravagant as to induce the belief that his intellect was partially diseased."

* * * * *

"The following facts will shew some of the modes he adopted, to convince the Society of Friends, and others, of the impropriety of their conduct in keeping slaves. During the session of an annual meeting, held at Burlington in New Jersey, Lay proceeded to that city. Having previously prepared a sufficient quantity of the juice of poke-berry (*Phytolacca decandra*) to

fill a bladder, he contrived to conceal it within the cover of a large folio volume, the leaves of which were removed. He then put on a military coat, and belted a small sword by his side; over the whole of this dress he threw his great coat, which was made in the most simple manner, and secured it upon himself with a single button. Thus equipped, he entered the meeting house and placed himself in a conspicuous situation, from which he addressed the audience in substance as follows:*

"Oh all you negro masters who are contentedly holding your fellow creatures in a state of slavery during life, well knowing the cruel sufferings those innocent captives undergo in their state of bondage, both in these North American colonies, and in the West India islands; you must know they are not made slaves by any direct law, but are held by an arbitrary and self-interested custom, in which you participate. And especially you who profess *'to do unto all men as ye would they should do unto you'*—and yet, in direct opposition to every principle of reason, humanity, and religion, you are forcibly retaining your fellow men, from one generation to another, in a state of unconditional servitude; you might as well throw off the plain coat as I do"—(here he loosed the button, and the great coat falling behind him, his warlike appearance was exhibited to his astonished audience) and proceeded—"It would be as justifiable in the sight of the Almighty, who beholds and respects all nations and colours of men with an equal regard, if you should thrust a sword through their hearts, as I do through this book." He then drew his sword and pierced the bladder, sprinkling its contents over those who sat near him."

* * * * *

"In the year 1737, he published a book entitled, *'All slave keepers, that keep the innocent in bondage, apostates. Pretending to lay claim to the pure and holy Christian religion, of what congregation soever, but especially in their ministers, by whose example the filthy leprosy and apostacy is spread far and near; it is a notorious sin which many of the true friends of Christ and his pure truth, called Quakers, have been for many years, and still are, concerned to write and bear testimony against; as a practice so gross and hurtful to religion, and destructive to government, beyond what words can set forth, or can be declared of by men or angels, and yet lived in by ministers and magistrates in America.'*

The leaders of the people cause them to err.

Written for a general service, by him that truly and sincerely desires the present and eternal welfare and happiness of all mankind, all the world over, of all colours, and nations, as his own soul.

BENJAMIN LAY."

* * * * *

"He always travelled on foot, and made frequent visits in the neighbourhood, as well as at a considerable distance from home; having once walked to Philadelphia, with an intention of conversing with an individual of considerable note, he found the family, on his arrival, sitting at breakfast; Lay entered the room, and was in-

*The particulars of this singular transaction, and the speech, were related to Dr. John Watson, deceased, formerly of Bucks county, by his friend and neighbor, the late Jonathan Ingham, Esquire, who was a witness of the scene.

vited to partake with them; but seeing a black servant in attendance, he inquired of his master: *'Is this man a slave?'* being answered affirmatively, he said, *'then I will not share with thee the fruits of thy unrighteousness,'* and immediately departed from the house. He never owned a slave himself, neither would he sit with, nor partake of the food of any one who kept them."

* * * * *

"Not long before his death, a friend of Lay's made him a visit for the purpose of acquainting him that the religious society of friends, had come to the determination to disown such of their members as could not be persuaded to desist from the practice of holding slaves, or were concerned in the importation of them. The venerable and constant friend and advocate of that oppressed race of men, attentively listened to this heart-cheering intelligence, and after a few moments reflection on what he had heard, he rose from his chair, and in an attitude of devotional reverence, poured forth this pious ejaculation: *'Thanksgiving and praise be rendered unto the Lord God.'*" After a short pause, he added--*'I can now die in peace.'*

I should rejoice, were it in my power to give more copious extracts from the life of this extraordinary man. Notwithstanding his enthusiasm and eccentricity, and his consequent disownment from the society of Friends, few men living (if any) have done more towards breaking the servile chains of the American slave, than him. The value of his labors, like those of all other genuine reformers, were not duly appreciated in his day. But since the publication of his memoirs, they have even been sought for by Europeans, and translated into foreign languages. He died on the 3d of February, 1759, aged 82 years—41 of which were actively devoted to the subject of the abolition of slavery. I close this sketch with one more extract from his biography.

"His temper was violent, but it was always excited for mercy's sake, and in behalf of those who dared not assert their own rights. His eccentricity was remarkable, but, in the main, it subserved the purposes of utility. His habits, though singular, were in many respects worthy of imitation. Some will allege, and none can doubt, that he occasionally manifested symptoms of derangement; yet all must acknowledge that *'oppression will make a wise man mad.'*" That he was pious and benevolent, most will admit. That he was disinterested and generous, few can deny. That his opinions were correct, concerning the great work of reformation, of which he was one of the founders, we have the almost universal consent of mankind, in the honourable verdict which civilized nations have pronounced upon the question."

LADIES' REPOSITORY

Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

THE REPORTS, &c. FROM ENGLAND.

The Reports from the Ladies Societies in England, the reception of which was mentioned in our last number, breathe throughout a spirit of encouragement, and exhibit a most animating picture of persevering exertion in the Negro cause, on the part of British females. We are rejoiced at the rapid multiplication of these societies, and at the interest in them which appears to be fast spreading from one border of the kingdom to the other.

"Many distant places" says one of the Reports, "are becoming deeply interested in the success of the patient, unwearied endeavours made by females, to induce abstinence from slave grown sugar, and are uniting together in this system of good will to man."

"Our appeal to the generous feelings of the sister kingdom have not been made in vain. We learn that at Cork, is an active Ladies Society; and others have been formed at Clonakilly, Clonmel, Mallow and West Pool, in Ireland; all employed in advocating the use of Free Labor Produce. We have also to rejoice at the advancement of the cause in other parts of that island."

Their unwearied endeavors do, indeed, deserve to be rewarded by the attainment of their object. They seem determined to leave no plan untried, no method unadopted, which may be made subservient to the end they have in view; and their success appears, thus far, to have been commensurate with their efforts. The Birmingham Association, which, from the tenor of its first report, we should suppose to have been the earliest established, has been in existence no longer than five years. It originated with "a few individuals," who felt deeply on the subject, "and determined to endeavor to awaken (at least in the bosom of English women) a deep and lasting compassion for the sufferings of the slave." We know not the precise number of the societies now, but inclusive of those in Ireland, we should suppose that to rate them at near thirty, would be scarcely too high a calculation. The plan of proceeding, developed in the following extract, appears to be that pretty generally adopted by the different societies.

"The object of Female Societies, for the relief of British Negro Slaves, is to circulate through all classes of the community such tracts and papers, published by the Anti-Slavery society, as clearly set forth the sufferings of the West Indian Slaves, for the purpose of awakening in every British bosom, a deep sense of the guilt and danger of continuing to hold them in a state of bondage, which outrages every principle of the British Constitution, and of the Christian Religion; to extend present relief to the aged, sick, and maimed Negroes, who are deserted by their masters;—assist in the formation and support of Schools, for Negro children and adults;—to enforce by example and influence, the rejection of West India Sugar; the cultivation of which, constitutes at once the chief oppressions of slavery;—and extensively to promote the establishment of similar Associations."

A variety of fancy articles, such as seals, portfolio's, albums, workbags, inkstands, workboxes, &c. have been "adapted to anti-slavery purposes" and made use of for awakening the public attention. A number of these, the kindness of our English friends has given us the opportunity of examining, and we consider them well suited to the purpose for which they were intended. There is the seal, bearing the device of a female kneeling slave, and the very appropriate motto "Am I not a woman and a sister"—"The Negro's Forget Me Not,"—appealing with its poetic eloquence and "the magic of its name," to the heart's warm sympathies—and the Purse—who could rudely shut its clasps against the solicitations of mercy, while that pleading face is there to look a silent reproach for the unkindness? But we have not space to particularize. They are all but so many indications of a zeal that seems resolved never to intermit its efforts until they are crowned with success.

AMERICAN FEMALES.

After contemplating with admiring interest the various evidences given by British Ladies of their zealous devotedness to the cause of those who "have none in the land of their captivity to plead for them," the mind naturally turns itself upon our own country.

What has been done by the females of America? is the enquiry made from England. How many associations have they formed to promote the emancipation of your southern slaves?—and with shame and grief we must acknowledge; how few have enlisted themselves on the side of humanity—how little has been done for the relief of those who are bondmen, in

the house of their brethren! And why is it thus? Has their passiveness arisen from a contented selfishness—or is it the result of ignorance of a necessity for their exertions—or of thoughtlessness? Oh! let them remember, ere it is too late, what is due to the long suffering of the slave, and stretch out their hands for his relief. Ask the question of thine own heart, lady, in its silent hour—What have I done for my afflicted brother? The answer may not come when thou art amidst the mirthful company of thy glad friends, and its pulses beat only to the music of the gay laugh—but in its twilight time of solemn thought—when sorrow is upon thine own soul or thy head is bowed in worship before your mutual Father—your mutual God—then listen if its silent teachings point not out a lesson of duty with regard to the slave!

Yet little as has hitherto been done by American females for the Negro race, we are not without the hope that a general sentiment of responsibility in that respect, will speedily obtain ground among them. In one city they have already awakened from the thrall of inactivity, and our sisters of Baltimore, we hope will soon follow in their footsteps. A spirit has gone forth among them that should not be suffered to slumber, until they have all registered their names as devoted servants in the cause of emancipation.

ENCOURAGING.

What can women do? is an enquiry frequently repeated, when emancipation is made the subject of conversation, by those who are too timid or too indifferent to decide the question by practical experiment. For a standing answer to such persons, if they are unwilling to take the usefulness of our societies upon credit, we will give the following extract from the Ladies Clifton Report. The circumstance mentioned is now to us, and will probably be so to most of our readers.

“It is not perhaps generally known that the *first impulse* given to the public feeling on the subject of slavery, which ultimately led to the abolition of the trade, was communicated by *females.*”

We regret that we have not space for the interesting narrative which follows that paragraph of “the commencement of that mighty work, to which so much piety, ability and perseverance, have been devoted.” But a mere knowledge of the fact is sufficient to speak volumes of encouragement to woman’s exertion, or of reproof for her supineness.

As a farther sanction to female efforts, we may mention the information communicated to us by a note on one of the reports, that the name

of the venerable Mrs. HANNAH MOORE—a name deservedly held in the highest estimation on both sides of the Atlantic—is on the Committee of the Clifton Society.

SUGAR.

A late description, by a respectable eye-witness, of the cruelties practised at the present time on the Sugar plantations in the West-Indian Islands, concludes with the following impressive words:

“If you dare to do it, after what you have just read, take another spoonful of sugar to your cup of tea, and it is a hundred to one if there is not a tear of anguish and horror blended along with it. Indeed I would venture to assert, at any stake, (if it were possible to ascertain,) that there is not a hogshead of Sugar ever leaves the island, without having many of them in it.”

Will our readers “choose Sugar in their tea?” Will they indulge their palates with a blood-bought sweetness—a luxury of which it may be truly said, when we consider all the wickedness and the misery which its culture has produced,—that the awful price is immortal souls! We reply in the language used by a writer in the “Negro’s Forget Me Not:”

No, dear Lady, none for me!

Though squeamish some may think it,
West Indian Sugar spoils my tea;
I can not, dare not, drink it.

The simple produce of the cane
Excites no strong objections,
But with it comes a ghastly train
Of dreadful recollections.

True, the plant was freely given,
Kindly given to man to rear it;
Freely fall the dews of heaven,
Freely shine the rays that cheer it.

But what suffering and what guilt
Attend its cultivation—
What groans arise, what blood is spilt,
What bitter lamentation!

And can I taste a single grain,
Produced by such oppression;
The fruit of so much grief and pain,
The Negro’s sad possession?

PREJUDICE.

When we consider the strength of early impressions, and the readiness with which even our own more matured minds receive a bias from trifling circumstances, the necessity will easily be perceived of using the utmost watchfulness, in order to guard the minds of the young from the influence of erroneous impressions. Upon the friends of the Negro, we would particularly impress the duty of extreme wariness, in order to preserve those under their care from the contagion of the prevailing prejudices

against that unhappy race. Suffer not those who are rising into life to enter its arena, as too many of ourselves have done, with their feelings warped by early misrepresentations, and their ideas of a dark skin inseparably connected with unworthiness of character. There are few females who have not, in some way or other, a degree of influence over the mind of childhood. Let them exert that influence for the benefit of their negro brethren. Let them carefully search out, and endeavor to eradicate from the minds of their young friends or relatives, any feelings of dislike or contempt, that may have been acquired from derogatory opinions of the colored race, which have been expressed in their presence; and thus fit them, in after life, to be the friends and advocates of the cause of the slave.

We do not say, that the vices of the Negro should be glossed over, and his faults concealed or palliated, in order to effect this. But it is surely most unjust, because many of them have been hitherto degraded beings, to insinuate the idea into the mind of the child, that *all* are, and must ever remain so. If he is told that they are ignorant and debased, let the inducing causes of their situation be pointed out to him;—let him see the difficulties they have to contend with; and let him be told, that some among them have nobly succeeded in conquering all the opposing force of untoward circumstances, and rising into high respectability. He will then form a true estimate of their respective situations. He will see that the Negroes have not risen to a higher grade in society because their efforts to do so have been continually baffled and discountenanced, by the contempt and unrelenting prejudices of the whites; and instead of despising them for what they are, he will endeavor to elevate their character, and to infuse a higher tone of moral feeling into their minds, by inspiring them with self-respect, and teaching them that they may, by exertion, reach a station in life worth contending for.

COMMUNICATIONS.

FREE LABOR COTTON MANUFACTURES.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

Report of the Committee of the Female Association of Philadelphia for promoting the Manufacture and use of Free Cotton.

The Committee having, since our last meeting, taken a review of the affairs of the Association, feel themselves warranted in using the language of hope and encouragement. An examination into our accounts has given us the satisfactory assurance, that, although no profit has resulted from

the sale of the goods manufactured by our direction, our friends have not as yet sustained any diminution. As a desire for pecuniary advantages formed no part of the motives by which our members were influenced in thus associating themselves, an exemption from actual loss is all that we expect; and as such an exemption has been hitherto experienced, and while laboring under far greater disadvantages than at present, we may now calculate with much more apparent certainty upon the success of our future exertions.

From the lot of North Carolina cotton, of which our last report mentioned the reception and the purchase by Thomas Craig, the Committee has directed the manufacture of such articles as appeared best calculated to supply the present demand. Among them may be enumerated, one thousand yards of Vigonia Cassimere, a part of which is to be twilled; five hundred yards of Cotton drilling, and a similar quantity of Bed-ticking; Canton flannel; table diaper; furniture and apron checks; and shirting and sheeting muslins. A portion of these, we expect, will be finished in a very short time, when they will be immediately deposited for sale in the store room of the Association, at No. 252 North Third street.

From the statement of the manufacturers, the committee believe that these articles can be disposed of at prices very little, if at all, advanced above those of a similar character manufactured from the common slave material. The difference, if there be any, will only arise from their being wrought by hand, instead of steam power;—the quantity which our means would command, not having been sufficiently large to induce the proprietors of power looms to undertake its manufacture.

Of the goods previously manufactured, there are still on hand some muslins, a few pieces of calico, and twenty-six pieces, containing about 40 yards each, of the thin muslin prepared for that purpose, yet remaining unfinished, which we intend shortly to have stamped with different figures.

Through the unsolicited exertions of our brethren of the "Free Produce Society," the amount of one thousand dollars has been subscribed, as a voluntary contribution, by individuals, and rendered as a free loan for one year, and of which we are requested to avail ourselves whenever occasion may require. This unexpected act of kindness has enabled us to extend

our orders for articles manufactured from free cotton, and thus to furnish a more ample supply and a greater variety of these goods.

In conclusion we have only to request from our members, an unfaltering and still more earnest perseverance in their efforts on behalf of their oppressed fellow creatures, who are victims of the unholy system of slavery. We wish them to be active and interested participators in the concerns of our society, regarding not the inconveniences that may arise from a devotion of their time and services to the furtherance of the designs for which it was instituted.

LITERARY.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE KNEELING SLAVE.

Pity the Negro, lady! her's is not
Like thine, a blessed and most happy lot!
Thou, sheltered 'neath a parent's tireless care,
'The fondly loved, the theme of many a prayer,
Blessing and blest, amidst thy circling friends,
Whose love repays the joys thy presence lends,
Treadst gaily onward o'er thy path of flowers,
With ceaseless summer lingering round thy
bowers.

But her—the outcast of a frowning fate,
Long weary years of servile bondage wait.
Her lot, uncheer'd by hope's reviving gale,
'The lowest in life's graduated scale—
The few poor hours of bliss that cheer her still,
Uncertain pensioners on a master's will—
Midst ceaseless toils renewed from day to day,
She wears in bitter tears her life away.
She is thy sister, woman! shall her cry
Uncared for, and unheeded pass thee by?
Wilt thou not weep to see her sunk so low,
And seek to raise her from her place of woe?
Or has thy heart grown selfish in its bliss,
'That thou shouldst view, unmoved, a fate like
this? MARGARET.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

STORY TELLING.

Come to the green wood with me, gent'e friend!
I know a hidden dell, where the chafed stream,
Goes bounding playfully with child-like mirth,
Over its stony path, and flinging up
Its waves with seeming petulance in foam.
The bank slopes down unevenly, but wears
Like Fairy, a gay mantelet of green,
All border'd daintily with bright hued flowers.
The gray old trees bend over it, and up
Among their twisted boughs, an ancient vine
Hath strongly wreathed its stem. Below, it bends
In wayward convolutions o'er the stream,
Offering a couch where thou mayst safely sit
While I recline beside thee on the turf:
Will not the vine leaves shade us pleasantly
While we discourse together? wilt thou sing?
Or shall we tell sad stories? One I read,
But yesterday, that lingers with me still,
Haunting my memory with its thoughts of woe;
Twas of a dark-brown slave—One whose bright
days

Of early infancy had passed beneath
The glowing sun of Africa. She was torn,
Ere her tenth summer, from the sight of all
That made her childhood happy; and the spring
Of all the bouyant hopes that make young hearts
So bli-sful in their dreams, was crush'd at once.
She was a sad eyed girl—she never met
In revel scenes, with those who flung aside
'Their sorrows for mad joyance; but a gleam
Of something like to bliss stole o'er her heart,
When one, who shared her infant sports, would
speak

Of those remembered hours. She wedded him;
And years of spirit-wearing toil went by,
Even midst her bonds, with almost happiness.
He could not brook his chains: a quenchless fire
Was in his spirit, and he burst all ties
That bound his heart—he left her, and was free;
She bore her sorrows patiently, and scarce
Let fall a tear-drop; but the gentle ones
'That called her mother, were more closely bound
In her bereaved affections; and their love
Was all that warm'd the pulses of her heart.
Then came another, and a darker blight;
They were torn from her, one by one, and sold,
'Those nestlings of her heart; and she grew wild
With her exceeding anguish, and her cry
Went forth in accusation up to heaven.
She wander'd o'er each spot where they had been
Calling their names; and mourning with a grief
That had no comforter; until at length
The springs of life were wasted; and she laid
At twilight hour her head upon the turf
In dying feebleness. There came one by,
Who would have spoke her kindly then, and
soothed

'The parting spirit; but the time was past;
She raised her head a moment, and once more
Repeated the sad burden of her grief;
"Me have no children, massa, no one child!"
And her last cry was hush'd! GERTRUDE.

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

By the late Rev. C. Wilcox.

This passage is supposed to have been composed, when the author was looking out upon our nation, on one of her annual 4th of July Jubilees, and seeing her "sons of liberty" rallying—flourishing the sword—bidding the cannon roar—and exulting because they are free;" when he thus exclaims:—

"Your joy is merciless while its glad sounds
From more than half the land return in groans;
Throw down your banners lifted to the sky,
They will not float in this impoisoned air,
Away with feasts; and song, come, fast and
weep—

Away with all defiance and disdain
Of foreign tyrants; humbly mourn our own.
For who are tyrants? they that make men slaves.

With needful food supplied, the slave, say
some,
Desires no more, and, void of care, is blest.

And is it just
To shut him from all rational delight
Until he feels no wants but those of sense,
Then call him happy, to excuse the crime?
Or is it then no blessing to be free?
And were they fools who struggled to obtain
Our independence—to throw off a yoke
Far less opprressive than the one we bind
On Afric's sable sons? Are they not tax'd?
Yes! to the very blood that warms their veins.
No rights have they, not one for self-defence.
The master may inflict what e'er he will

On this side death! may lash, and maul, and kick,
All which these eyes have seen; may chain and yoke—

And if the sufferer but a finger lift
Against the madman to preserve his life,
The law condemns him, friendless and unheard.

Hail, land of liberty! Come, all ye kings
And tyrants of the world, come near and view
This land of liberty, where men are free
To task, and scourge, and chain their fellow
men

At their own pleasure, and without fear
Of any human bar.

O proud Columbia, hide thy towering head
Low in the dust, in shame and penitence,
Till from thy robes be washed the stain of blood;
Then, like a goddess rising from the sea,
Then, rising in thy glory, prove thyself
The queen of earth, the daughter of the skies.

I see thy glory with prophetic eye,
I see thee with thy crown of many stars
On thy fair head, and clothed in spotless robes,
Moving in state toward the Atlantic shore:

With one hand casting to the waves below
The last of all thy slave-oppressing chains,
And with the other holding to thy breast
The book of God. I hear the shouts of joy
That ring from end to end of thy domain.

I hear the sound prolonged from wave to wave;
And now they strike and echo on the coast
Of joyful Africa. The time will come—

Sure as the groans of earth shall all be lost
In the hosannas of millennial bliss—

The time will come when slavery shall cease.
O for some Wilberforce to lead the van!

To rise and say, 'It must and shall be done;
To rise the hundredth time, unaw'd by frowns,
Undamp'd by failures, and repeat the same,
Till victory crown him with a fairer wreath
Than hero ever won or poet feign'd.'

voeux à nos efforts; qu'ils ne doivent pas craindre de parler hautement en faveur de la bonne cause.

[Translation.]

From the Liberalist.

The spirit of intolerance, with her attendant train, driven from nearly all our sister states, has, long since, taken refuge in our own.—Here she has established an empire over which her dictates are as the will of an absolute power. She has erected to herself a throne upon our soil, supported by no other pillar than our ignorance. Prejudice has loaded us with her chains, which prevents us from advancing in the road of improvement. Barbarity has ignited our hearts from her torch, and thus drives us to acts of oppression and cruelty.

We feel proud, to be able to assert, that we were the first who entered the arena, in order to expose and expel those enemies of humanity from among us. We have entered the lists, armed with the sword of justice, and the mirror of truth. We have dared to do this for the sake of our country, and for the love of our fellow creatures. We pretend not to complete the entire work of reform. We will only set the example; first, by leading the way, and afterwards by an indefatigable prosecution of our labors.—We will show the gallant few who join their wishes to our efforts, that they should not fear to speak openly in favor of a good cause.

La cause de l'humanité a obtenu un triomphe signalé sur ses ennemis, leur principal but, ce but qu'ils s'efforçaient d'atteindre est manqué!!

Le bill amendé pour l'expulsion des personnes de couleur libres, le bill qui ne chasse que ceux qui se sont introduits dans cet Etat depuis 1825, a passé à la législature. Mais n'importe ceux qui y sont entrés depuis cette époque, qui s'y sont mariés, qui y ont des enfans et qui peuvent fournir une caution de leur bonne conduite, ont la permission d'y demeurer!!!

Quoique ceci ne puisse être considéré comme un triomphe complet de notre cause, nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de nous en réjouir. Nous voyons dans ce résultat l'effet de l'esprit d'opposition que nous avons réussi à exciter contre l'original du bill. Si nous étions restés spectateurs muets des progrès des ennemis de la tolérance et de l'humanité, "si nous n'eussions pas opposé une force équivalente à leurs efforts," au lieu de cette chute, ils auraient eu un plein succès. Le bill aurait passé sans l'examen nécessaire. La majorité de nos législateurs, ne voyant pas contredire les faux raisonnemens et les assertions d'aplacées de son auteur et de ceux qui l'appuyaient, auraient voté en sa faveur, et les intérêts de l'Etat eussent reçu un coup irréparable.

[Translation.]

The cause of humanity has gained a signal triumph over its enemies; the main part, the part of their plans they loved the most, has failed!!!

The AMENDED BILL for the expulsion of the free persons of color, the bill which drives out of it only those who entered the state since 1825, has passed the legislature. Those, however, who have entered the state since that date, who are married persons, who have children born here, and who can give security for their good conduct, are allowed to remain!!

Department Français.

LOUISIANE.

Du Liberal.

L'esprit d'intolérance, avec tout ce qui l'accompagne, chassé de presque tous les autres Etats, s'est depuis longtemps réfugié chez nous. Il y a établi un empire sur lequel sa volonté est comme les lois d'un pouvoir absolu. Il est erigé un trône sur notre sol, qui n'a d'autre appui que notre ignorance. Les préjugés nous ont chargés de chaînes qui nous empêchent d'avance: dans le chemin de la perfection. La torche de la barbarie a embrasé nos cœurs, et nous porte aux actes de cruauté et d'oppression.

Nous sommes fiers de pouvoir assurer que nous sommes les premiers entrés dans l'arène pour de couvrir et chasser loin de nous ces ennemis de l'humanité. Nous y sommes entrés armés du miroir de la vérité et de l'épée de la justice. Nous avons osé le faire pour le bien de notre pays et l'amour de nos semblables. Nous ne prétendons pas d'achever l'oeuvre entière de la réforme.

Nous donnerons seulement l'exemple; premièrement nous tracerons le chemin, que nous suivrons ensuite avec une persévérance infatigable. Nous montrerons au petit nombre, les personnes bien intentionnées qui joignent leurs

If this cannot be considered as a complete triumph of our cause, yet it cannot fail, partial as it is, to give us pleasure. We see in this result the effect of the spirit of opposition which we had succeeded in exciting against the original bill. If we had remained silent and passive spectators of the progress of the enemies of tolerance and humanity, if we had not "opposed an equivalent force to their efforts," we have no doubt, that instead of this failure, they would have met with entire success. The bill would have passed without the necessary examination. The majority of our legislators finding the false reasonings, and barefaced assertions of its framers and proposers uncontradicted, would have voted for it, and thus struck a blow against the interests of our state from which it would have, perhaps, never recovered.

ADDRESSE AUX LEGISLATEURS LOUISIANE.

Quand Auguste buvait, la Pologne était ivre.
Ce vers profond d'Arœt, lui seul vaut un bon livre.

En tout temps, on le sait, le destin des états
Depend et de ses chefs, et de ses potentats:
Si son chef est guerrier, le peuple aime la guerre
Quand il est un tyran, le peuple est sanguinaire
Aime-t-il les plaisirs, son système est suivi
Et s'il naît hêbêté, chacun feint l'être aussi
A-t-il l'esprit méchant; le peuple l'a caustique
S'il est homme d'état, le peuple est politique.
Voulez vous maintenir un bon gouvernement?
Avant de faire un choix, pensez y murement
Qu'à vos élections, la sagesse preside
Prenez la pour mentor, et pour base et pour guide

Soyez invariable, en défendant ses droits
Que l'intérêt de tous décide votre choix.
O! mes concitoyens! nos premiers mandataires
Ont entaché ce nom, par leurs loix arbitraires.
Tous, pris au dépourvu, sont justes, bienfaisans
Nommez les au pouvoir, vous faites des tyrans
O! vous dignes rivaux! de Lycurgue et Solon
Législateurs fameux, dont Dieu nous a fait don
Despotique sénat, votre espérance est vaine
Le bien de tous, vous dit: étouffez votre haine.
Divine humanité, je vois sur tes autels;
Des présents que te font, des coeurs ingrats,
cruels:

Tu repousses loin d'eux, ces serpents hypocrites
(Justice et vérité: seules y sont inscrites)
Ah! reçois les encens, de nos législateurs!
Ecris sur ton autel: adresse aux sénateurs:
Vos noms, qu'en ce beau jour unit la bienfaisance
Le sont ô sénateurs, par la reconnaissance
Et triomphant des tems, et doublement vainqueurs,

Vivront sur le papier, et vivront dans les coeurs.

Un essai Littéraire.

CARACTERE DES HOMMES DE COULEUR.

Le caractère général des hommes de couleur libres, et l'état de la société parmi eux, ont été depuis longtemps les objets de notre attention. Nos perquisitions ont toujours tourné en leur faveur et augmenté la bonne opinion que nous en étions formé. Quand nous réfléchissons sur leurs progrès intellectuels, l'admiration se joint à l'estime. Chacun possède la lecture, l'écriture, et l'arithmétique, beaucoup ont acquis avec la théorie des langues, des connaissances géographiques, mathématiques, &c. Ils y ont réussi

sans aucune assistance étrangère. Ils ont reversé par leurs efforts des obstacles sans nombre qui se présentaient pour les empêcher d'atteindre la hauteur de ces sciences, et ils peuvent se vanter de posséder ce que nous (blancs) n'avons acquis qu'à force de contributions sur notre pays. On n'a jamais oui parler d'aucune école publique ou collège établi pour leur éducation: le trésor public n'a point été épuisé pour soutenir, de semblables institutions, et nous les trouvons néanmoins nos égaux en talens et en science.

Ce n'est pas seulement sous ce point de vue quelle se montrent nos rivaux. Examinons leur caractère moral; nous le trouvons tel qu'il doit être; des notions justes de l'honneur, un orgueil bien placé qui les empêche de rien faire qui puisse les avilir, et une probité qui eclate dans toutes leurs transactions. Le vice n'a étendu son empire que sur un très petit nombre. On voit chez eux peu d'ivrognes; il y en a parmi nous une multitude. Et quoiqu'il y ait un plus grand nombre de loix contre eux que contre les blancs, nos prisons en comptent à peine un pour cent blancs.

Plusieurs riront de nous voir rendre à cette classe, le tribut d'éloges qui lui est dû; mais nous savons que c'est un rire forcé. Nous osons dire (et il est de fait) que la haine que beaucoup de blancs nourrissent contre les personnes de couleur, n'est fondée que sur la jalousie. C'est la persuasion qu'ils ont que cette classe leur est supérieure en bien des cas, qui leur inspire cette aversion et qui les portent à nourrir dans l'esprit de leurs enfans des préjugés d'où naissent ces sentimens anti-libéraux.

COLONIE CANADA.

Les autorités du territoire de Cincinnati ont donné aux personnes de couleur de ces droits, par avis public de fournir des cautions de leur bonne conduite ou d'abandonner le territoire: elles étaient au nombre de 2000. Dans ce nombre se trouvaient beaucoup de gens intelligens et riches; la demande de cautions fut rejetée. Ils convoquèrent une assemblée générale qui eût lieu; et après plusieurs propositions concernant le lieu qu'on devait choisir pour refuge ils décidèrent de se rendre au Canada. Ils achetèrent cent vingt quatre mille arpens de terre de première qualité. Nous avons appris que leur colonie est composée de 1100 personnes dont 600 de Cincinnati et 500 de différens autres endroits la balance restante des 2000 de Cincinnati doit se joindre à eux le printemps prochain ils ont pris des mesures pour attirer une grande quantité de graines de différentes places.

Ainsi donc dans un jour, une colonie qui doit opérer un effet puissant dans la condition des hommes de couleur et dans notre situation leur égard s'est élevée sans la protection du peuple Americain. En cas de rupture entre les gouvernemens Anglais et Américains ils secoueront les anglais de tout leur pouvoir.

Nous n'hésiterons pas de dire que la condition des hommes de couleur sera de beaucoup améliorée, et nous croyons qu'il ne sera pas nécessaire de passer des lois pour empêcher leur émigration dans cet Etat. Sous un point de vue politique, nous pensons que le peuple de cet Etat a outre passé les bornes. Ils ôteront aux Etats Unis une grande quantité d'artisans, et tout le monde

convient que les artisans sont la richesse des Etats; ajoutez encore à cela qu'ils augmentent les forces d'un gouvernement rival.

BLACK LIST.

YOKING AND CHAINING!

A short time since, the editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* was informed that an odious spectacle, relative to a young slave, was exhibiting in the western part of this city. Curiosity, in addition to a desire for its exposition in a different way, induced him to visit the place, and investigate the matter.

On making enquiry and examination, it appeared that a man was building a new house, near the corner of Lexington and Eutaw Streets. He had a negro boy about fourteen or fifteen years of age, perhaps, who for some cause that I did not hear assigned by him, he compelled to work in the cellar, with an iron yoke or collar (as it is called) weighing several pounds on his neck, and a long chain attached to one ankle and a fifty-six pound weight!!! In this predicament the poor youth was laboring with one other person in the cellar, as aforesaid. I shall not dwell upon this subject of outrageous treatment now; but intend soon to procure an appropriate engraving to represent the "Yoke" above mentioned, which is much used in some parts of this State. Verbal descriptions of such things seldom convey adequate ideas to the minds of readers in general.

AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

The second number of the "*Liberia Herald*" states, on the authority of a gentleman from Sierra Leone, that ELEVEN slave vessels had been recently sent in by the British cruizers, and were awaiting their destiny. One of them had on board five hundred slaves—six or seven dying daily!—And yet, every one calculates to destroy the slave trade BEFORE THE MARKET FOR SLAVES IS DESTROYED!!!

The editor of the "*Herald*" further

remarks, on this Heaven daring traffic, as follows:—

"Our readers are generally aware of the settlement of a Spanish Slave Trader, at Little Bassa; but few of them know of the cruelties which this tyrant has exercised over the poor and helpless victims of his rapacity. He styles himself, Don Magill, Lord of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and ten thousand dollars; he has his horses and *carries*, cows, sheep, and a place withal to cover his imperial head. Like Robinson Crusoe, he is "lord of all he surveys," and the wild Bushmen stand amazed to see this "last hope" of Adam's race act the monarch, and consider it an honor, like the followers of the grand Lama, to be permitted to kiss even his great toe. But as we have already said enough concerning this man of straw, we shall present our readers with a few of his royal acts.

It is but recently that this lord of "ten thousand dollars" ordered one of his slaves to be bound hand and foot to a post, in one of the thatch houses of the country, and the house to be set on fire. About the same time, another was lashed to a cannon which was loaded and fired! Will such facts be believed in this enlightened age? Does not human nature shudder, when we reflect and know, that the greatest enemy to man, is man!

A FEMALE MURDERER.

An atrocious act was committed about five o'clock last evening in this city. A Mrs. Hayward in the neighborhood of Henrico Court House, suspecting a servant girl of about fourteen years of age of theft, taxed her with it, and one word bringing on another, seized a butcher's knife and stabbed her to the heart! The girl survived about five minutes, presenting a dreadful spectacle to the beholder. The culprit is in jail.—*Richmond Whig*.

FROM MANTANZAS.

The brig Rebecca, which arrived on Tuesday evening in 15 days from Matanzas, informs that the U. S. ships Falmouth and Shark were to the leeward, all well. A large Spanish Guineaman, with 300 slaves on board, had been chased ashore by H. B. M. schooner Pincher. She succeeded in landing all her slaves, got off, and arrived in Mantanzas. The Captain of the Pincher had demanded her of the Governor, but the latter refused to give her up.

Selections, Extracts, &c.

From the (New Orleans) Liberalist, of April 9.

EMIGRATION TO JAMAICA.

In consequence of the unprincipled and inhuman acts of the late legislature of this state, a number of free colored people of this city, and some of them personally known to us to be men of respectability and worth, have resolved to leave this country—the country of their birth, and to separate themselves from their friends and relatives, the scenes of their early youth: and to relinquish forever those delightful sensations, emanating from the enjoyment of the society of those with whom they have thus far spent their lives. This is truly a proof of their being possessed of a spirit of independence, worthy the name of republican citizens; that they hold in detestation and scorn the sordid, unworthy and tyrannical motives, which guide the actions of those men in office, who, lost to a sense of justice, moved and supported those barbarous measures which were under discussion in our late legislature; the object of which, was to array such laws against the free colored people of this state, as either to expel them from their homes, or reduce them to such a state of degradation and wretched servitude, as to render existence here a curse! We hope the time is not far distant, when such principles will find no advocates in the councils of our state.

Those persons of color who are about to leave this state, are nearly or quite all bound to Jamaica; where under a monarchical government, the rights and privileges of citizenship will be extended towards them. What comment will this present on the boasted freedom of our institutions? But we have before, and do now advise them, to be patient, remain here, and cherish a hope, that the principles of reason, justice and humanity, may again return to this region; and that our leading men may become convinced of the evil tendency of enacting oppressive laws and bringing them to bear against a class of people who, as a body, are free even from the suspicion of crime.

From the Kinderhook Herald.

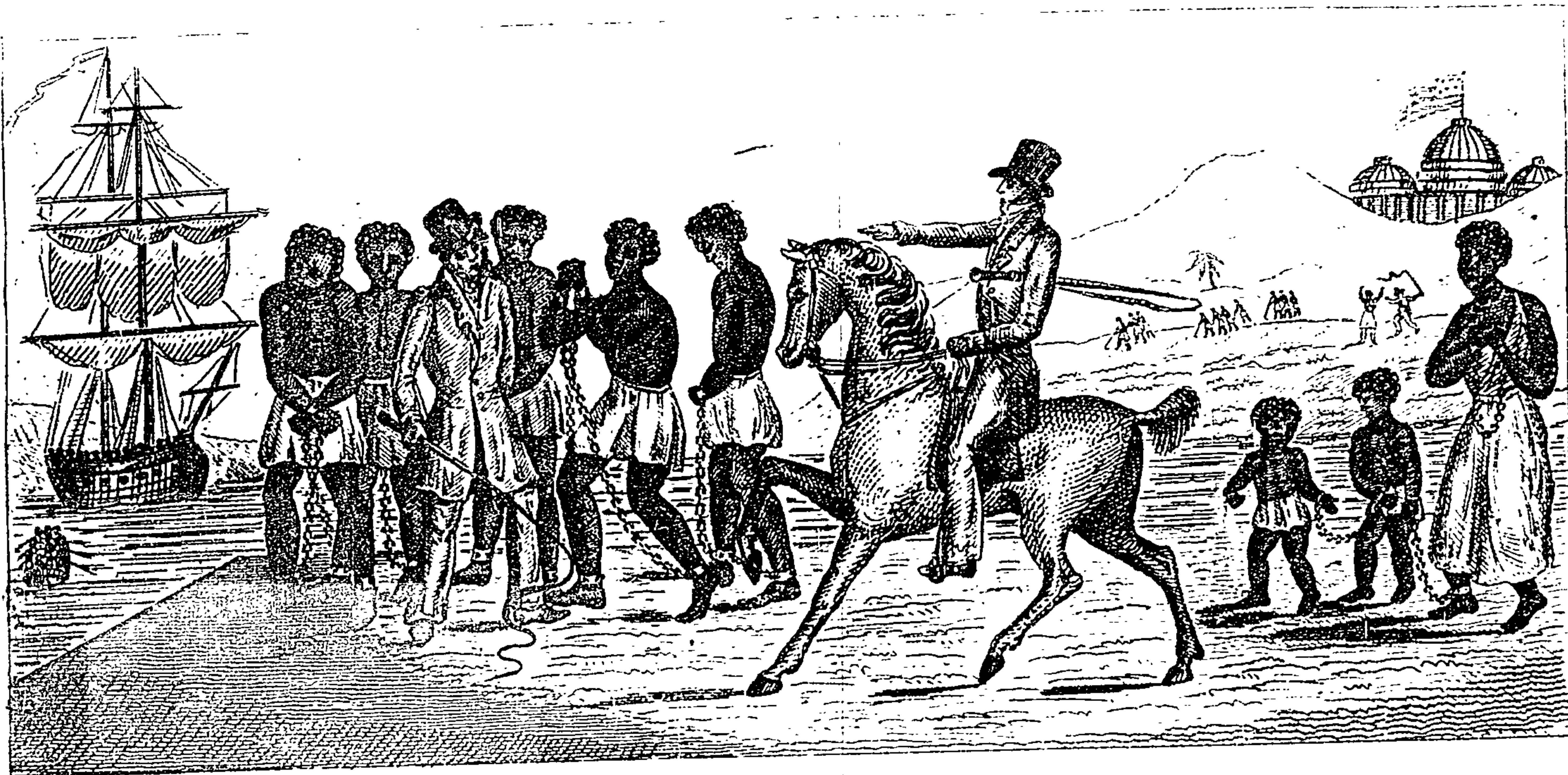
A circumstance of a painful nature and which excited much sympathy in the breasts of our citizens, occurred in this village on Monday last.

On Sunday evening Mr. Richard Dorsey, of Baltimore, Maryland, arrived here in quest of a fugitive slave. The follow-

ing morning Mr. Dorsey applied to Judge Vanderpoel for a writ of Habeas Corpus against a colored man in the employ of Gen. Whiting, calling himself John Russell, whom he alleged to be his lawful slave. Sufficient evidence having been adduced to warrant the issuing of the writ, it was accordingly made out and placed into the hands of the deputy sheriff, who forthwith brought the person in question before the judge at his chambers. The negro was identified by the oath of a person who accompanied Mr. D. as being his slave, and it was proved that he absconded from his master in the year 1828. John confessed the truth of the allegation against him.—The judge ordered him to be restored to his master, who without much ceremony ordered him to be manacled (having brought the manacles for that purpose with him) and immediately took his departure for his place of residence.

There is something in the case of this unfortunate man, who has thus been compelled to return to a state of bondage after enjoying the blessings of liberty for nearly two years, which is calculated to excite feelings of commiseration for his fate. During his sojourn here, which was several months, he had conducted himself in the most unexceptionable manner; and his industry, civility and good conduct, had secured to himself the confidence of his employer and good wishes of all who knew him. He had acquired the art of reading and writing, and was often seen, after the cessation of his daily labors, engaged in the perusal of books. His literary attainments which under any other circumstances might be considered a blessing, have proved to him a curse; as by means of an intercepted letter which he wrote to his friends in Baltimore, the place of his retreat was discovered. What adds to the severity of poor John's fate, is that we was on the eve of being united in the bands of matrimony to the maid of his choice.

THE DEVIL IN PAIN!—In Plymouth there is, or was formerly, a ready-witted negro by the name of Prince. Persons acquainted with the humor of the old fellow, were in the habit of cracking jokes with him, to hear his ready answers. The late Judge Paine, who was attending Court in Plymouth, one day accosted him thus: "Prince have you heard the Devil is dead?" "No Massa," replied he, "I ne hear ob it, but I pose it berry likely, for understood he was in Paine!"



UNITED STATES SLAVE TRADE.

1850.



UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNOY, BALTIMORE, AT \$1 PER ANNUM IN ADVANCE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

No. 4 VOL. I. THIRD SERIES.]

JULY, 1830.

[WHOLE NUMBER 256. VOL. XI.

The Copperplate engraving, accompanying this number, was executed by one of our ingenious Baltimore artists, from a design furnished by the editor, and drawn by a young gentleman of this city. It was prepared expressly for the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*; but copies may be had, separately, on fine paper, with or without frames, by applying at this office. The expense of such engravings is too great to admit of their being furnished often, without a considerable increase of the number of prompt subscribers. The cost of this is nearly thirty dollars. But the editor indulges the hope that his efforts to render the work interesting, will be met by a corresponding liberality on the part of his friends.

THE FOURTH OF JULY.

Another anniversary of this *holy* day gladdens the hearts and calls forth the lively gratitude of millions. The loud shouts of the multitude and the deep roar of cannon proclaim the importance of the occasion. In common with the rest of the citizens of this Republic, I rejoice that we are exempted from the irresponsible, capricious rule of a monarch, and are permitted by a wise Providence to possess the inestimable privileges pertaining to human nature in an infinitely greater degree than a large portion of mankind. Yet, the recurrence of one consideration, of immense and increasing importance, measurably counteracts every joyous emotion of soul, inspired by these reflections.

How many of us are in the habit of deliberately examining this subject in all its bearings? How few do we find, willing to look with an impartial eye on one dark, inconsistent trait in our conduct! While we are singing hosannas at Liberty's sacred shrine, and offering up the sweet incense of gratitude on her holy altar;

while our hands are laid upon our hearts, and we emphatically utter the solemn truths, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with the *INALIENABLE* rights of life, liberty, &c. and while we are in the full enjoyment of those rights and privileges ourselves; yet, at the same time, the groans of hundreds of thousands of our fellow-creatures whom we chain down and hold in the fetters of a cruel bondage, and the shrieks of tens of thousands whose flesh is torn and whose blood is streaming under the agonizing whips of merciless demons in human shape, are ascending to heaven from within our borders!!!

But, it will be said: "Much is doing to meliorate the wretched condition of the African. Societies have been formed, and funds have been procured, and much more will still be done, to aid his removal to the *Land of his fathers*." Gracious Heaven! and is this all that is considered necessary? Will this remove a tythe of the evil complained of? Is this all that is to be done!

It is astonishing that a large portion of our citizens are so short-sighted as to put confidence in such half-way measures. Because the project of African Colonization is *popular*; because influential men approve of it, (some for no other reason than that *it is popular*;) many believe that it will answer every desirable purpose!! When, alas! will the minds of men be swayed by justice, instead of mere popularity? When will the people of this nation discover that such measures can only serve as momentary anodynes, but never will, of themselves, remove the enormous evil that has already corrupted the nation to its core, and threatens swift destruction to our Union, as well as our free institutions?

While, in addition to the injustice of slave-holding, we tolerate the most wicked system of trafficking in human flesh that ever was known in any country upon earth; and while the monsters that pursue it are countenanced, protected and encouraged by those who administer the government and execute the laws, it is supremely ridiculous, and monstrously absurd, to hold forth the language in the face of the world that we do relative to the justice of this nation, or the freedom of mankind.

I close this article with a few poetical lines from the pen of a highly esteemed friend, who did not intend them for publication, but will, I trust, excuse the liberty I have taken.

INDEPENDENCE DAY.

Hurrah for the birth-day of Freedom!—ring out,
From border to border, our proud triumph shout!
Let the roar of the cannon, the wild trumpet
note,
To the last of our valleys exultingly float!
Let no heart-pulse, to-day, in our land be un-
stirred;
On no lip be our watchword of FREEDOM un-
heard!

The pealing burst of triumph died,
Far distant o'er the flashing tide;
But, as it fell, the coming gale
Bore onward a low voice of wail,
Such cry as erst, at midnight hour,
From Rama came to Herod's bower.

Wo, wo, for my loved ones! the lambs of my
fold!
Wrenched from me and pawn'd for the stranger's
vile gold.
A curse on ye, white men! the thunders of wrath
Are gathering dark o'er your merciless path!
The groans of the wronged ones against ye shall
rise,
And the prayers that ye heed not be heard in the
skies.

Oh, shrilly rose that mother's cry,
As proudly swept that good ship by,
With starry pennant floating gay
O'er hearts that crushed and bursting lay;
While ever from their childhood's shore,
Her human freight that vessel bore.

THE FARCE ENDED!

The far-famed Libel Suit, instituted by the *Slave-Freighter, Todd*, (so far as it concerns myself,) is quashed!—*withdrawn*!—and numbered with the *important events* beyond the flood! The extraordinary proceedings in that "case" are now supposed by Judge Brice (no doubt) to be consigned to the "tomb of the Capulets." But, with the permission of his Honor—and as he is said to be a "Jackson man," he cannot deny me—I will place my *Veto* upon this arrangement, for a moment. The "case" is not to be disposed of so readily. Brice has dismissed it—but *I have not*, just yet. He presides over

one "Court of Justice"—I over another! He conducts business with the aid of musty folios, pettifoggers, and "Swiss" bailiffs—I with bristling types, and iron screws and levers!

Seriously, why did the Court persist in making a *show* of prosecution, when it was well known that I was from home, and could have nothing to do with the "libel" (so called) at the time it appeared? Was it done to terrify me?—and am I to suppose that Brice does not yet *know me*? He presumes too much upon the public credulity. He knows, or he *must know*, that I am not to be intimidated by any description of threatening, come from whence it may. The ermine of Judicial power may comfortably enfold its possessor; but let him step a hairsbreadth beyond his proper domicile, and its talismanic influence instantly vanishes.

To be a little more explicit: Soon after I gave bail for my appearance at Court, as mentioned in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* for last month, my Counsel was informed, by some of those concerned in the prosecution, that the suit against me would be dismissed. I would prove satisfactorily that I was absent, as aforesaid. This I offered to do; but before it was attended to, Garrison was relieved from his confinement, and paid a visit to the eastward. One of the Counsel for the prosecution then insisted on a trial; thinking, no doubt, that the only witness I could produce to testify that I had *nothing to do with the publication*, would be absent, and they could thus do with me what they pleased. The trial was then postponed at the suggestion of my Counsel, to give time for Garrison to return. Finding that they would be foiled in their manoeuvres, the Counsel for the prosecution and the Honorable Court (Judge Brice and all!) now consented to withdraw the suit, as they first proposed!! It must be observed, however, that Deputy Jennings, one of the Journeymen State Attornies, (a true disciple of Jack Falstaff, I presume,) stoutly insisted upon pushing on the trial. Judge Brice remarked, that it would be *doing injustice* to punish me, as I had nothing to do in the commission of the offence; (Would it?—why sure!) and the other Judges and Attorney concurring, Deputy-Falstaff was overruled, and the docket relieved of its ridiculous burden! Thus ended the miserable farce—and thus ends my account of it!

SUCCESS OF THIS WORK.

Enquiries are yet frequently made, (mostly by non-subscribers and those in arrears,) whether it is probable that the publication of the

Genius of Universal Emancipation will be continued—or whether the editor will not sink under the weight of persecution arrayed against him? To this it may be answered:—I have procured new type, and again have an office under my own control—My spirits are so, so, and my health is excellent—My coat is off, my sleeves rolled up, and I am working away. What, then, is there, in the nature of things, to prevent the success of the publication?—One thing, indeed, *may yet, possibly, weigh it down—namely, the apathy, carelessness and negligence of my friends!* This *may* accomplish what its enemies have essayed to do in vain? Shall it be so? Instead of sending me such messages, or tantalizing me with such interrogatives, as the above mentioned, I would suggest to those persons (those among them who have not yet done it) to accompany their queries with a DOLLAR; and they shall have the paper, for one year, in answer to them—a response, I should suppose, quite as satisfactory as any that could be made. Surely, I have not a *real friend* who, if able, would be unwilling to risk ONE DOLLAR upon such an experiment!

THE BALTIMORE MINERVA.

The editor of the above named paper persists in reiterating his erroneous assertion, that W. L. Garrison was a voluntary inmate of the jail during his late imprisonment:—and he even attempts to prove it by *pretending* to quote some remarks of mine! His course is either reckless or invidious.

Soon after the June number of this work made its appearance, the Minerva contained a couple of slang-whanging paragraphs, evincive of the editor's vanity and sham philanthropy, in the last of which he says I told him that "it was a matter of policy in Mr. G's going to jail, and that the money could easily be raised for him."

To this I replied, in a note to him, which I requested him to publish in the Minerva, as my own paper would not be again issued in less time than three or four weeks. In answer to this reasonable request, he cavalierly inserted the following precious paragraph in his next week's paper:—

"MR. LUNDY.—We acknowledge the receipt of a letter from this gentleman, wherein he states that we have put a wrong construction on what he said—he says Mr. Garrison *remained* voluntarily in jail, but did not *go into* the stone-jug with his own consent. It may be so—we remarked that he was a "voluntary inmate" of the prison, to which it does not require a great stretch of imagination to see that Mr. Lundy agrees. We would publish the let-

ter, but as we consider the subject one which does not *vitally* affect the public, we shall drop the controversy, unless Mr. Lundy or Mr. Garrison provoke us to act on the defensive."

How any man of common understanding could draw such a conclusion from the premises, is not easy to divine. But the reader shall judge between us. The following is the note that I sent him, as above mentioned.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MINERVA.

From the tenor of the editorial article in last week's Minerva, relative to the imprisonment of W. L. Garrison, I perceive that the meaning of my remarks upon a former occasion was not exactly understood. I therefore ask the privilege of a little explanation, in your next number, as the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* is now issued but once a month, and will not appear in season for it.

In that article I am, myself, referred to as authority for the assertion, (which I have pronounced incorrect,) that Garrison suffered "voluntary" imprisonment in the late case of prosecution by Todd. The construction you put on my language, upon the occasion referred to, is improper. When I spoke of his *continuing in* (not going to) prison, as a matter of "policy," I had no idea of the funds being raised for his liberation otherwise than by loan; and a hope was entertained that his Honor, Judge Brice, would remit the fine, in case of his waiting a few days—application having been made for that purpose.

Yet even admitting, *for the sake of argument*, that your construction of my language was fair—what does it prove?—Simply, that I supposed the money *might* be raised, &c. It would appear that this was then my *opinion*. But it does not appear that this *was done*, nor yet that any one *offered* to do it. How, then, will this prove that his imprisonment was voluntary? Is it not fair to presume that I was mistaken?—*that he had not the money at command*, and, consequently, that his imprisonment *was not voluntary*? This, indeed, was the fact. Whatever might have been my ideas about the matter, the money *was not offered* until Mr. Tappan ordered me to draw upon him for the necessary sum. And though it might, no doubt, have been raised, if we had gone *a begging* for it, yet it does not follow that the imprisonment was "voluntary," because *our spirits could not bend to this*. The money was accepted immediately when *tendered*; and the imprisonment ceased when the means were at hand to pay the fine and costs.

Thus much I have thought proper to say in vindication of Garrison, who is temporarily absent. When you may rescind the resolution thus laconically expressed: "We are done with the subject," and evince a disposition to treat it "with dignity," I shall endeavor, if required, to defend *myself*.

B. LUNDY.

June 24, 1830.

I think it will be generally admitted, that the conduct of the gentleman in this case, to say the least of it, is disingenuous and unfair. To use a homely and hackneyed phrase, it is like "whipping the devil 'round the stump."—And however successful he may be in thus *going*

around my argument, I think he will find some difficulty in getting over it, with the aid of all the logic and sophistry that he can command. The controversy is narrowed down to a single point—namely: *Is a man "VOLUNTARILY" imprisoned, when he is forcibly thrust into jail by the orders of a legal tribunal, without the means of avoiding it BUT BY BEGGING HIS FRIENDS TO PAY HIS FINE?—Reason and Common Sense answer, no!—Every feeling of a manly spirit prompts the decisive exclamation, NO! unless, indeed, it is his duty, under such circumstances, to proclaim himself a beggar!!! Away with such drivelling argument—such a miserable "begging" of the question, as this!*

DREAD OF INSURRECTION!

It is worthy of remark, that those who are in the habit of oppressing their fellow creatures are ever liable to the torment of a guilty conscience, and the dread of retributive punishment. In the case of slaveholding, we often find the truth of this exemplified. Those who are in the least acquainted with human nature well know, that while the oppressed have no prospect of a melioration of their condition, it is natural for them to desire revenge.—And hence, every trivial occurrence, that manifests uneasiness on their part, is instantly magnified by the microscopic and auriscopic powers of guilt-burdened minds. How happy would it be for these, could they—or, rather, would they take lessons in the school of wisdom and experience. The venerable teacher *Justice*, though somewhat antiquated in appearance, would give them an infallible rule whereby all their difficulties, in that respect, would be instantly removed. Briefly: Let them cease to exercise the arts of oppression, and every incitement to revenge will disappear among those whom they have thus wronged. The change may be effected immediately, and with the most perfect safety.—And, indeed, perpetual peace and safety can be secured in *no other way*.

The above remarks were elicited by the recent propagation of an idle story, relative to an insurrection of the colored population, in one of the eastern counties of this State. The following is the version that we have of the causes and progress of this terrible commotion, from two of the papers published near the scene of action! The first paragraph (having greatly the advantage in starting) went the rounds, and was copied into our city papers, before the second reached us. As to the third and fourth, they remain uncontradicted and unconfirmed. It is to be hoped that some mistake

exists, also, in relation to the latter statement; for it is not easy to believe that any intelligent colored man in this State would be both wicked and foolish enough to positively subject himself to the charge therein preferred.

From the Centreville Times of July 10.

"INSURRECTION OF BLACKS ON THE EASTERN SHORE.

A report was in circulation, just as our paper was going to press, that an insurrection of the blacks had taken place in Dorset. Our informant, the Easton Stage Driver, did not know that any lives had been lost. Two houses had been burned in Cambridge, and about 50 blacks had been committed to prison."

From the Easton Gazette.

"From a gentleman, just arrived from Cambridge, we are authorized to say that there is not the slightest foundation for the above statement.

An alarm has been excited in Dorchester county, upon very just grounds of suspicion of attempts on the part of two colored men, who have successively gone to that county as pretended Ministers of the Bethel Society, to inspire some of the Slaves with dangerous and nefarious notions about their freedom, and so forth.

As the Citizens of that County are taking proper measures to investigate those infamous designs, we forbear, at present, to give any further particulars."

☞ Since writing the above, I have conversed with a gentleman who is acquainted with one of the Bethel preachers, alluded to. He states that the reports of misconduct, aforesaid, have arisen solely from the circumstance of those ministers having attempted to establish a Bethel Church in that section of the State, and endeavoring to proselyte the colored people. It is well known that the "Bethel Society" is a religious association of colored Methodists, who have seceded from the general Connexion, and act entirely independent of it.

THE LADIES OF GREAT BRITAIN.

To my valuable correspondents in England, I am indebted for a complete file of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* to the month of April. The several numbers of that periodical are, as usual, exceedingly interesting. I very much regret that the present contracted limits of this work will not admit of copious extracts from them. Accompanying the file of the Reporter, I also received sundry tracts, all of which are well calculated to answer the purpose of rousing up the public mind respecting the impolicy and the iniquity of slavery. The whole British nation is moving in the matter; and ere many annual Suns revisit their perennial blooming but slave-ridden isles, the fetters of unconditional

bondage will as certainly be broken as that there is a God in Heaven.

In this grand, magnificent undertaking, the Ladies of England AND IRELAND are evidently taking the lead. The holy ardor that enkindled the blaze of philanthropy in the breasts of a few, but four or five years since, is spreading throughout the whole realm; and the great, the mighty work will owe its success to the active labors, the untiring perseverance, and the ingenuous, eloquent, all-powerful and irresistible pleadings and arguments of Woman!

CONSUL MACKENZIE*—HAYTI—JAMAICA.

In a recent number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, I made a few remarks upon the "*West Indian Reporter*," which had then just been received. It contained a long article, from the pen of Mackenzie, the late British Consul, in the island of Hayti, couched in terms very unfavorable to every thing there. I was preparing to expose the gross, prejudiced statements and malversations of this miserable tool of the British slavite party, in a more particular manner than I had yet done; but, fortunately, the London "*Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter*," for December, came to hand in good time, containing an able review of his writings, and much information, relative to his conduct, that I was not previously in possession of. I shall, therefore, as soon as practicable, transfer a portion of the article from the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* to the columns of this work, instead of pursuing my original intention.

The true state of things in Hayti is veiled as much as possible, by the advocates of slavery, every where. It is now the prime object with them, both here and in England,† to belie that

*The name of this personage is used by our slavites, and heedless newsmongers, as a sort of "Monsieur Tonson." They parade him before us repeatedly, and make him to say, over and over, what has been as often refuted and proved to be extremely incorrect, or wholly without foundation. An article is now "going the rounds," which is nothing more nor less than one of his worn-out munchausens, with a little darning, and here and there a patch over the largest rents which had been effected by the severe exposure of candid investigation. Yet notwithstanding this, many of our ignorant or prejudiced editors are silly enough to pass it off for a *new thing*!

†It suits the English colonists, exceedingly well, to represent the people of Hayti as in the worst condition possible. If they can, thereby, stay the march of Justice a little longer, in the mother country, their end will be answered.

But what is the state of things among themselves? In the Kingston (Jamaica) *Chronicle*, now before me, *one hundred and fourteen* "run-aways" (slaves) are advertised, that had recent-

ly been put in several different work-houses, of which thirty-seven are females!!

Republic upon every occasion, in order to propagate the belief that the African race cannot be fitted for self-government. This gives importance to the subject, with us; and I trust the readers of this work will so consider it.—Hayti is the only place, in the world, where the Africans enjoy the blessings of a liberal Constitutional government. They have already proven themselves equal to the whites, in every respect, so far as they have had fair opportunities. The knowledge of this is doing wonders. It is calculated to call forth the philanthropy of the Universe. The outrageous doctrine of their *natural inferiority* is boldly denounced, and its fallacy exposed. The fetters and chains of unconditional bondage are melting in the crucible of investigation. Despotism may rave, thunder his hellish mandates, and impotently wield the rod of insatiate oppression—Cruelty may stalk through the land, exhibiting his fetters and blood-extorting screws—The gory fiends of inhuman rapacity may sacrifice their victims on the altar of demoniac vengeance—But, nevertheless, the day is most assuredly approaching, when those who have been so long despised, oppressed and abused, shall be redeemed, invested with their natural rights and privileges, and reinstated among the virtuous, the enlightened, and influential of the human race.—And this, it is to be hoped, will be accomplished, under the direction of Divine Providence, by the all-potent engine of *moral and intellectual power*.

In the same number of the "*Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter*," as above mentioned, some further notice is taken of the establishment of a Press in Jamaica, by the *colored people*. Anon, I shall have something further upon this particular subject.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

Again I am under the necessity of postponing many interesting articles *for the want of room*. In addition to several editorial reviews, and notices of various subjects, a number of valuable communications must lie over. The subject of African Colonization, and certain proceedings of the agents of the Colony of Liberia, including some recent correspondence between one of the Colonists and his friend here—The proceedings of the colored people, relative to the emigration to Canada—The state of things in Mexico, and the bearing which future contemplated operations may have upon the slave system in this country—The conduct of Bolivar, as connected with the question of slavery—The present movements in England, relative to the abolition of slavery in her West-India Colonies—The opinions inculcated by *Frances*

ly been put in several different work-houses, of which thirty-seven are females!!

Wright, as connected with slavery, &c.—These are a few of the most important subjects that claim my own attention, and which I design to treat on soon.

My Correspondents are numerous and valuable; and as many of them will be attended to as possible.—But they must be patient, with me, as I am with the public, who will not patronise a weekly publication, devoted to the important subject of African Emancipation.

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

By the following notice it appears, that another vessel is to be fitted for Africa, in the ensuing Autumn, by the Colonization Society. This will afford an opportunity, it is to be hoped, to take some more slaves out of bondage. If that Society will direct their attention more to this unfortunate class of colored people, its labors will be calculated to effect more real good, both for the colored race and our own country.

OFFICE OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY,
Washington, July 7, 1830.

The Managers of the American Colonization Society have resolved to despatch a vessel, to convey one hundred or more emigrants from Norfolk to Liberia on the 1st of October. It is highly important, that applications for a passage in this expedition should be duly made to the Secretary of the Society in this City. Applications for a passage may also be made to J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq. Baltimore; John M'Phail, Esq. Norfolk; B. Brand, Esq. Richmond; R. H. Toler, Esq. Lynchburg; or to the Secretaries of any of the State or other Auxiliary Societies.

MATHEW B. TRUSS.

A colored man of the above name, from Staunton, Va. is now soliciting funds to purchase his family, with the view of removing them to Liberia. His case is peculiar; and the friends of the colored race will feel interested in his narration. It is to be hoped that he may be successful.

Correspondence.

"LEX TALIONIS."

The following Cards were intended for the May number of this work; but as the editor had not then an office of his own, he was induced to defer their publication by the timidity of his printers.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

CARDS.

To Nicholas Brice, Judge of Baltimore City Court.

YOUR HONOR: You are a very considerable man. Spare those crimson blushes: it is the office of Judge that raises you to the dignity of my notice, and not your peculiar merit.

At a leisure hour, I propose to dedicate a series of numbers to your Honor, wherein I shall review your conduct as exhibited at my late trial, in a manner that shall secure to you a deathless notoriety.

Even here, barren as is the place, I daily discover new beauties springing up in your official character, which shall certainly embellish my essays. Nay, I will erect your statue even in your lifetime.

Your Honor will not construe my magnanimity into a contempt of Court. I assure you, that I entertain an extraordinary opinion of the

merits of the Court! If, however, another action be brought against me, I offer you, gratuitously, this seasonable advice: *Let the indictment embrace that part which is actionable.*

With undying remembrance, I remain, &c. &c.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Baltimore Jail, May 13, 1830.

To Richard W. Gill, Deputy Attorney for the State.

SIR: I communicated to you, in a note a few days since, the fact that I was preparing a brief sketch of my trial, for the astonishment of all good men, the instruction of the bar, and the consideration of an intelligent public. It is difficult to remember minute objects; but if I do not forget you, perhaps I may generously make you as tall as an ordinary man, with the aid of a block. An elevation or abasement of twenty feet would destroy your visibility.

Your presumptuous, feeble, ridiculous remarks upon the subject of slavery, and the rights of slaveholders, exhausted my patience. A buzzing fly may disturb the equanimity of a sage; but if a pin be stuck through its wings the insect, Sir, is harmless. Beware of my pen!

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Baltimore Jail, May 13, 1830.

To Mr. Henry Thompson, Merchant of Baltimore.

SIR: If the severe, pointed, thundering rebuke from my Counsel, before a listening Court failed to make any impression upon your ample countenance, what condemnation of mine can make it yield? Yet I do not wholly despair. Even bronze is susceptible of change.

The pleasure you derive from my incarceration, I do not grudge. It is a small reward for your disinterested and unremitting exertions in behalf of your employer. I shall charitably give a donation. Be patient. Every day adds compound interest to the principal. Let this evidence that I am, &c. &c.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Baltimore Jail, May 13, 1830.

*This man is Mr. Todd's Agent in this city—by birth an Englishman—and a believer in the justness & gainfulness of the domestic slave trade.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

The following lines (the hasty effusion of a moment) were published a few weeks since in the National Journal, with a few typographical errors. The speech of Mr. Frelinghuysen deserves, and will receive, a far more eloquent tribute—the gratitude of the good and wise, in every section of our territory. I can only adopt, in extenuation of the poverty of my language, the words of Junius: "*I am not conversant in the language of panegyric.*"

Mr. Frelinghuysen is yet in the infancy of his fame. He has many shining qualities as an orator, a patriot, and a philanthropist; but their radiance is greatly increased by his unaffected piety—which is, indeed, the crown and glory of a Senator. If the dominant party in the Senate had not been more insensate than marble statues, or their hearts more impenetrable than polar ice, his speech would have effectually checked the rapacity of Georgia, and rescued the American name from eternal infamy. Their positive refusal to observe the faith of treaties caps the climax of party depravity;

which, in this instance, is one degree below total depravity.

TO THE

HON. THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN:

On reading his eloquent Speech in defence of Indian Rights.

If unto marble statues thou hadst spoken,
Or icy hearts congeal'd by polar years,
The strength of thy pure eloquence had broken,
Its generous heat had melted them to tears;
Which pearly drops had been a rainbow token,
Bidding the red men sooth their gloomy fears.

If Honor—Justice—Truth—had not forsaken
The place long hallowed as their bright abode,
The faith of treaties never had been shaken,
Our country would have kept the trust she
owed;

Nor Violence nor Treachery had taken
Away those rights which nature's God be-
stowed.

Fruitless thy mighty efforts—vain appealing
To grasping Avarice, that ne'er relents;
To PARTY POWER, that shamelessly is stealing,
Banditti-like, whatever spoil it scents;
To base Intrigue, his cloven foot revealing,
That struts in Honesty's habiliments.

Our land—once green as Paradise—is hoary,
E'en in its youth, with tyranny and crime;
Its soil with blood of Afric's sons is gory,
Whose wrongs eternity can tell—not time;
The red man's woes shall swell the damning
story,
To be rehearsed in every age and clime!

Yet, FRELINGHUYSEN! gratitude is due thee,
And loftier praise than language can supply:
Guilt may denounce, and Calumny pursue thee,
And pensioned Impudence thy worth decry;
Brilliant and pure, posterity shall view thee
As a fair planet in a troublous sky.

Be not dismayed!—On God's own strength re-
lying,
Stand boldly up, meek soldier of the Cross!
For thee, ten thousand prayers are heavenward
flying—

Thy soul is purged from earthly rust and dross:
Patriot and Christian! ardent—self-denying—
How could we bear resignedly thy loss?
Baltimore Jail, May 22, 1830. W. L. G.

NATURE OF THE SLAVE SYSTEM.

An esteemed friend and correspondent lately handed me the following, expressing his desire that it might appear in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. I cheerfully comply with the request; and would quite as readily insert his own remarks, were he also to saddle the other horse, by saying that we, ourselves, are equally as guilty as the people here complained of—even more so—for with our higher profession of liberty and justice, we still tyrannize as emphatically as they do.—Ed.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

Dick, when speaking of the moral state of *Civilized* nations, makes the following remarks. "I might have traced the operations of malevolence, in the practice of that most shocking and abominable traffic, the *Slave Trade*—the eternal disgrace of

individuals and of nations calling themselves *civilized*. This is an abomination which has been encouraged by almost every nation in Europe, and even by the enlightened states of America. And although Great Britain has formally prohibited, by law, the importation of Slaves from Africa: yet in all her West Indian colonies, slavery in its most cruel & degrading forms exists; and every proposition, and every plan for restoring the negroes to their natural liberty, and to the rank which they hold in the scale of existence, is pertinaciously resisted by *gentlemen* planters, who would spurn the idea of being considered as either Infidels or Barbarians. They even attempt to deprive these degraded beings of the chance of obtaining a happier existence in a future world, by endeavouring to withhold from them the means of instruction, and by persecuting their instructors." "In *Demerara*, alone, there are 76,000 immortal souls linked to sable bodies, while there are but 3,500 whites; and yet, for the sake of these three thousand whites, the seventy six thousand, with all their descendants, are to be kept in IGNORANCE OF THE WAY OF SALVATION, for no other purpose than to procure a precarious fortune, for a very few individuals, out of their sweat and blood."—"Is such conduct consistent with the spirit of benevolence, or even with the common feelings of humanity? The whole affair, from cause to consequence, is detestable and execrable, beyond conception."

Biographical Sketches.

RALPH SANDIFORD.

The subject of our present notice was one of those pious, thorough-going reformers, who have occasionally appeared in the world, and have shewn a willingness to plead for justice, regardless of consequences. He did not counsel with the earthly "powers that be," relative to the policy of his measures. As he had nothing in view of an anti-pacific character, there was no necessity for consulting frail mortals respecting the propriety of promulgating his doctrines. He plead the cause of humanity with boldness and energy, regardless of persecution or praise; and hence fairly won the meed of virtue and honor, which posterity has since cheerfully awarded.

It appears that Ralph Sandiford was born in Liverpool, England, in the year 1693. He was instructed in the doctrines of the Episcopal Church, but subsequently joined in membership with the religious society of Friends. In his youth he migrated to this country, and engaged in commercial business in Philadelphia. While thus employed, he frequently visited the West Indies and various parts of the American Continent. By this means he became acquainted with the evils of the system of African Slavery, and thenceforward determined to devote a portion of his time to an investigation thereof. He early inculcated the rational opinion, that *"the holding of negroes in slavery is inconsistent with the rights of man, and contrary to the precepts of the Author of Christianity."* He was a contemporary and intimate friend of Benjamin Lay; as appears from Vaux's biography of these eminently virtuous men, published in one volume.

During his mercantile operations, he was once robbed by pirates, and twice wrecked, which occasioned the loss of much of his property. At this juncture, he had an offer of employment in a commercial enterprise, which he declined for the following reasons, which are given in his own words.—

"I had, while in South Carolina, a service presented by one esteemed the richest in the province, who would have bestowed large gifts on me, which engaged me to acknowledge his affection, and the openness of his heart, yet I could not partake of his proffers, his riches proceeding from slaves, lest I should have lessened my future happiness, which I had an eye to in the faith, and now in measure witness the end of it, which otherwise would have brought me into bondage, and made me a debtor and an oppressor in the creation, which was so contrary to me that nature groaned under the sight and sense I had of it, which hastened me to Pennsylvania, where the Lord raised me again to substance, which was consumed by a fire, where I wonderfully escaped the lot of those that were burnt, in all which I saw the hand of the Lord, who has again raised me to fulness and

plenty, which I now mention to commemorate his providence."

From this period until the year 1729, his biographer remarks that he was engaged in promulgating his doctrines on the subject of slavery. He even sought opportunity of provoking discussion respecting it, wherever he went. He also published a book, entitled—*"The Mystery of Iniquity, in a brief examination of the Practice of the Times."* This excited the ire of the Chief Justice of the Province,* who threatened him with severe penalties for its circulation; yet, disregarding this, he circulated it gratuitously.—Many were, no doubt, enlightened by it; but he found numerous opponents, as there were many persons whose interests were assailed, or whose practices were exposed, by the picture he gave of slavery.

For nearly two years, he was incessantly engaged in combatting the objections to his opinions. At length his health became impaired, and he purchased a small farm, about nine miles northeastwardly from Philadelphia, to which he removed, and there spent the remainder of his days "in patriarchal simplicity." As to his personal appearance, we do not learn that it was particularly remarkable; and it does not appear that his portrait was ever taken.

This apostle of Universal Emancipation was cut off in the midst of his usefulness, by the hand of disease. He died in the fortieth year of his age, A. D. 1733. His remains were interred in a field, on his own farm. His grave was enclosed with a balustrade fence, and a Stone placed at the head of it, thus inscribed:—

"In Memory of
RALPH SANDIFORD
Son of John Sandiford
of Liverpool, he Bore
A Testimony against the
Negro Trade & Dyed
ye 28th. of ye 3d. Month
1733. Aged 40 years.

*Such conduct generally characterizes men in power, when Society becomes corrupt. Do not our slaveholding Judges now pursue a similar course?

LADIES' REPOSITORY

Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

THE FREE COTTON ASSOCIATION.

By the last Report of the Female Free Cotton Association of Philadelphia, we are informed that a considerable quantity of the goods mentioned last month, has been received.— They consist of

- 225 yards Table Diaper,
- 227 “ Furniture Check,
- 222½ “ Apron do.
- 95 “ Angola Cassimere.

471½ have been disposed of to the different purchasers, and 297½ yet remain on hand. The other articles, mentioned in our last number, were expected daily; and a few pieces of Calico, of different patterns, are in a state of preparation.

REVOLUTIONARY FEMALES.

In turning back the thoughts to the era of the revolutionary conflict, there is no feature in the character of the times more striking, to a female mind, than the calm resolution displayed in the conduct of the American Women of that period. Though surrounded with all the miseries and distresses naturally attendant upon war, they not only bore up amidst them patiently and uncomplainingly, but even added voluntarily to their own discomfort, by the renunciation of many of their accustomed articles of luxury. And yet what were they to gain by the struggle for liberty? They had been happy under the royal government: a system of taxation, however unjust, so long as it was borne patiently, could have no effect upon their domestic felicity, nor could the operation of the stamp act have carried terror and desolation to their peaceful firesides. What, then, was Independence to them? Could it sooth the long terrible hours of suspense during the undecided battle, in which those they best loved were participants? Could it restore the limbs of the wounded, or reanimate the cold bodies of the slain? No! they had much to lose by the contest, but, let the sword be sheathed as triumphantly as it might, it could bring them no increase of happiness to atone for all their long endurance of suffering. Yet they did endure—firmly—unshrinkingly: but theirs was not a selfish sacri-

fice—it was made at the altar of Patriotism, and for their country and their children.

Would the females of the present day act in the same manner, in a similar emergency? We know not—possibly they might; but they are certainly not willing, as a body, to undergo one hundredth—nay, the one thousandth part of such privations, in what we consider a much better cause—that of endeavoring to rescue a degraded portion of themselves from the vilest bondage. We believe them to be much more imperiously called upon by duty *now*, to exert themselves in behalf of the enslaved Negro, than they were to hold up the hands of their brethren during the revolutionary conflict. However disgraceful and oppressive political slavery may be, there is at least no crime in the sight of heaven in submitting to it patiently. But there is a national, fearful, overwhelming guilt incurred by bowing down the soul of man, as is done in our country, to a bondage that ranks him no higher than the brutes that perish. In the one case, the mind could be influenced only by patriotic feelings; in the other, these are combined with, and sanctified by, the strongest principles of humanity and religion.

In aiding the cause of emancipation, our sex would perform a triple duty—a service which they owe to their country, their fellow creatures, and their God. Oh, if they would but examine the subject, with a disposition to be convinced of the truth; if they would but imagine themselves in the condition of the slave, with all its amount of suffering and injustice entailed upon them forever—would reflect upon the horrible system of trading in human flesh, which tramples so sacrilegiously upon the holiest ties of the human heart, and remember that they are each in part responsible for this iniquity, could it be that they would still remain inert, unmoved, lethargic!

OBEDIENCE.

Ought it not to be a source of shame to us, when we reflect upon the unhesitating enthusiasm with which many of the votaries of a heathen faith enter into the performance of what they deem their religious duties, that our own obedience to the commands of our Eternal Lawgiver should be so tardily rendered, so measured according to the rules of a calculating convenience?

The pilgrim, who worships at the shrine of Mecca, has dared the perils of the desert and the deadly breath of the poisonous simoom, that he may pour his prayer on what he deems the holiest spot of the earth's regions;—the

wretch who lies mangled and writhing in torture beneath the car of Juggernaut, voluntarily tore himself away from all the twining affections of the heart, in the hope that he might win an abode in heaven as the recompense of his self-immolation;—the mother who lays her only infant in his bark of flowers, upon the bosom of the sacred Ganges, as a pure and stainless offering to her God, is sustained in the hour of that terrible sacrifice by a wild devotedness of religion, that, erring as it may be, gives proof at least of sincerity and singleness of heart. But, we—whose religion requires of us only our own happiness—whose heaven is to be won, not by devoting ourselves to wretchedness on earth, but by obedience to laws, which, like Him from whom they emanate, are full of mercy and universal love—we, with a strange perverseness, dash away from us the cup of our bliss, and refuse submission!

We profess to be a christian people—to kindle the devotion of our hearts at the altars of the unchangeable Jehovah; yet our actions turn his holiest precepts into mockery. He hath bidden us to love our brethren; but we have made them miserable slaves—degraded them into chattels—brutes—to be tasked and sold at our pleasure. He hath charged us to return good for evil; but we heap up injuries upon those who have done us *no* evil. The Hindoo offers himself a willing sacrifice; but we crush the hearts of thousands of our brethren beneath the car of a demon far more horrible than the eastern idol. The “voice of our brother’s blood crieth out against us from the ground”—and shall we dare to hope that we shall be held guiltless concerning it? Shall we sooth ourselves with the belief, that our iniquity will never be met by retributive justice?

LITERARY.

TIME.

*“Time is the warp of life,” he said, “oh tell
The young, the fair, the gay, to weave it well.”*

“He has lived long, who has lived well,” was the impressive sentiment we lately read on a tombstone in a country burial place. It was twilight: a few moments earlier, the merry voices of “the playful children just let loose” from the school-house, that stood a few paces distant, had thrilled in the clear evening air over the cold gray memorials of death, but the place was now deserted and silent, except the hum of the wind through the branches of the scattered cedars. It was a time for serious thought; and as we stood in that place of

graves, we gave ourselves up to the reflections it was so well calculated to excite. There lay the head of infancy, and the weary brow of the “ancient of days”—the arm of manly strength, and the flowing tresses of beauty—the pastor, amid his silent, but inattentive congregation, not as heretofore uttering the monitions of the Christian law, but with a lip despoiled of all its eloquence.

There were none among the tombstones whose inscription arrested our attention more forcibly than the one above mentioned;—it told so much of the value of our passing moments—of the rich treasure of a few hours that have been crowded with good deeds. Who would not rather die in early youth, with their parting moments brightened by the consciousness of having been useful to their fellow creatures, than to fritter away the years of a Methuselah in vanity and nothingness? And yet how many of the hours of life are thus wasted! How many of the bitter tears of misery, which might so easily be wiped away, if each one was less devoted to a selfish pursuit after happiness, are suffered to flow on, uncared for and unregarded! The influence of Woman, in determining the amount of human felicity, is, perhaps, even more powerful than that of her brethren. They must go out, and endure the rudest buffetings of the world, in nerving their minds to a stern pursuit of their various purposes; but she, in the sheltered bower of her domestic retirement, has leisure to analyse the strange workings of the human heart, and to instil into it high principles of virtue. It should never satisfy her to be a merely brilliant and fascinating being. Her own gratification should ever be to a woman only a secondary consideration; and though her lot may thus be one of endurance and self-denial, she will learn that the endeavor to secure happiness for others, will impart it also to her own bosom. Let her look abroad upon the immensity of suffering that is poured upon the hearts of her fellow creatures from the vial of Slavery; let her behold her unoffending sisters, with a bleeding heart, and too often with lacerated limbs, driven out to their daily labor—the parent torn from the embraces of the child, the wife from her husband, the sister from the brother; let her think how many of life’s severest trials she would endure—sickness, abject poverty, nay, even death itself, rather than such a separation, and resolve at once, however long her efforts may seem to be exerted unavailingly, in endeavoring to relax the unyielding hand of oppression, never for one instant to remit them, till her

own heart is cold in death, or injustice has ceased to triumph.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

OUR FATHER.

"As the little fellow walked by the side of my horse, I asked him if there was any church that the slaves attended on Sunday. He said no, there was none near enough, and he had never seen one. I asked him if he knew where people went to when they died, and was much affected by the simple, earnest look with which he pointed to the sky, as he replied, 'To Fader dere.'"—*Adam Hodgson.*

That dearest name! ay even thou, poor slave,
 mayst lift thine eye,
 Nor dread a chilling glance of scorn will meet
 thee from the sky:
 Go bend the knee, and raise the soul, and lift
 thy hopes above,
 The God of Heaven is even to thee a Father
 in his love.

The earth-worm, man, may crush thee down to
 slavery and shame,
 And in his puny pride usurp a Master's haughty
 name;
 But He, Lord God Omnipotent, disdaineth not
 to bear
 A parent's cherished name to thee, to yield a
 parent's care.

And thou, with childlike confidence, mayst spring
 to his embrace,
 Nor shrink in shame before the glance of that
 paternal face;
 Thou art not yet an ingrate vile—thou hast not
 in thy pride
 Returned him falsehood for his love,—his holiest
 laws defied.

Thou never like a thief hast spoiled the nurs-
 lings of his fold,
 Thou ne'er hast given thy brother's form to be
 enslaved and sold;
 No wrathful thunders seem, to thee, to clothe
 his vengeful arm,
 Nor fearful lightnings in his eye, awake thy
 wild alarm.

Our Father! oh how deeply dear that holy name
 should be—
 How should we love the meanest one who thus
 may call on Thee!
 And yet—Thou Just and Righteous God! if
 thou wert not our sire,
 Long since we had been swept away by thy con-
 suming ire. MARGARET.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

SUNSET.

Stroke away the curls from your face,
 Ellinor, that I may see your eyes; and tell
 me what you have been thinking of for the
 last half hour.

I have been watching the sunset, sister;
 since the broad western sky was spread
 out like a sea of glory, fringing every isl-
 and cloud that lay upon its surface with
 a shore of gold, till now that it has faded
 into a pure, transparent yellowness, and
 seems to spring up like a transparent arch

of amber to meet the blue vault above.
 Do you see yonder mountain-tops which
 are just visible, like a bank of clouds, at
 the edge of the horizon?—I have been
 thinking, sis, how that clear ocean of
 ether, with the floating isles of vapour
 that lie upon its surface, resembles our
 present life;—for you see that, beautiful
 as it is, it has no abiding place:—while
 yonder, shadowy indeed, and dimly seen,
 yet still sufficiently discernible to give us
 full assurance of their reality, are stretch-
 ed out beyond it the perpetual shores of
 eternity.

And do you really deem yonder beau-
 tiful and waveless sky a fit emblem of our
 present existence?

And is not life beautiful, sister,—with
 its wealth of outpouring affections, its per-
 petual gathering up of new thoughts, and
 feelings, and attainments, its hours of high-
 wrought reflection, its thousand links upon
 the heart, and more than all, its moments
 of silent holiness when we may partake of
 the bliss of angels in the privilege of loving
 and worshipping, like them, our Eternal Fa-
 ther? It may have, 'tis true, its hours of
 chastening, but from His hand shall we not
 endure its bitterness patiently?

It is not from His hand that we are vis-
 ited with the bitterest of our afflictions; it
 is man's guilt and inhumanity that have so
 marred the fair picture of life, and drugged
 its bright cup with poison. Cruelty and
 oppression and selfishness shed a dark
 blight upon our glorious world, and pol-
 lute our altars with hypocrisy and unho-
 liness. Man is the slave of man; the neck
 of woman bowed down to the yoke of in-
 justice, the most sacred ties of the human
 heart are rent asunder at the command
 of a tyrant; and yet we go on from day to
 day, absorbed in our own pursuits, and "lay
 none of these things to heart." ELA.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

DOOM.

Be hush'd, triumphant sounds! ye bring not now;
 A gush of pride across the glowing brow;
 Ye wake no more a dream of future fame,
 And added glory, to my country's name;
 Ye only mind me of her crimson'd hands,
 Her sullied faith, her broken treaty-bands.
 Oh, better far contrition, sad and mute,
 Or tearful prayers her guilty lip would suit.—
 Joy not for her—the hearts her sin hath crush'd,
 With groans return your shouts—proud sounds,
 be hush'd!

Lo! yonder, where the starry flag streams free,
 And swift the light bark cleaves the foaming sea;
 There bursting hearts, in hopeless anguish torn
 From all they love, to distant scenes are borne;

In wild despairing groans they breathe their
woe,
And call on those they ne'er shall view below,
As thoughts that framed their deepest bliss, but
now
Send added torture to the burning brow;
While fated still her wonted chain to wear,
And all the weight of lonely bondage bear,
In shrieks the frantic mother, from the shore,
Beholds them sever to return no more.

And are there none to whose relenting breast,
The Afric's plea is not in vain addressed?
Who shame them not to own his kindred claim,
And gift the negro with a brother's name?
Ay, there are some—some hearts that yet can
feel,
And dare defend his rights and guard his weal;
Some few who shrink not from th' oppressor's
power,
Nor leave him helpless in his gloomy hour.
A fire is lit on Freedom's holiest shrine,
That yet o'er Afric's midnight sky shall shine;
For this shall Woman's prayers to heaven as-
cend,
Her breath shall fan it, and her care attend;
Thus swift from heart to heart the flame shall
run,
And triumph crown the work but now begun.

AFRICAN FEMALES.

I take this opportunity (says Lander in his *Records of Clapperton's last Expedition*) of expressing my high admiration of the amiable conduct of the African females towards me; in sickness and in health, in prosperity and in adversity, their kindness and affection were ever the same. They have danced and sung with me in health, grieved with me in sorrow, & shed tears of compassion at the recital of my misfortunes. When quite a boy, and suffering from fever in the West Indies, women of the same race used to take me in their arms, sing and weep over me, and tell me not to die, for that my mother would break her heart to hear the news; and pointing to the ocean, they cheered my spirits by saying that it laved the shores of England, & would shortly bear me on its bosom to my distant home. In fine, through whatever region I have wandered, whether slave or free, I have invariably found a chord of tenderness and trembling pity to vibrate in the breast of an African woman; a spirit ever alive to sooth my sorrows and compassionate my afflictions;—and I never in my life knew one of them to bestow on me a single unpleasant look or angry word.

A negro boy, 19 years of age, belonging to Madame Adde of Norfolk, threw himself from a wharf, and was drowned, on the 8th inst. because his mistress was about to chastise him!

Department Français.

Nouvelle Orleans, 27 Mai.

Nous avons reçu un traité sur l'esclavage par un propriétaire d'esclaves, habitans des Florides. Ce traité renferme un raisonnement solide et montre le sophisme des systèmes actuels concernant les personnes libres de couleur; tiré de la source d'où il provient, il a des titres à une entière croyance, et il fait honneur à l'auteur; qui a abandonné ces principes de sectes que les gens de couleur sont incompatibles avec l'esclavage. Il eut pu ajouter que ces gens sont honnêtes, industrieux et ont du talent, et qu'ils sont même propriétaires de biens fonds, et ont toujours eu la plus grande opinion de leurs frères blancs. Refaisons-nous donc de ces principes égoïstes qui sont indignes d'honnêtes citoyens, qu'ils jouissent des droits de suffrage; et que l'on fasse d'autre distinction que celle de mérite. L'Etat de la Caroline du Nord et celui de New-York ont permis à leur population de couleur de voter dans les assemblées nationales: quel mal en est il résulté? aucun. Pour lors, États de la Louisiane, suivez ce glorieux exemple, qui vous est donné par vos frères États, et prouvez que vous êtes ce que l'on vous a considéré jusqu'à présent: un des Gouvernemens les plus républicains de l'Union.

“D'abord, je porterai mes regards sur le Brésil qui est le pays le plus vaste et où les esclaves soit en plus grand nombre que dans toute autre partie de l'Amérique. La population de ce pays n'est pas, tout-à-fait, d'un million de blancs; de quelque chose au-dessus d'un million de couleur et de plus de deux millions d'esclaves. Le Brésil a éprouvé des guerres révolutionnaires comme notre pays: de province colonial, il est devenu gouvernement indépendant. Ce pays a maintenant un rang, comme Empire du Brésil, il est peut-être le plus étendu du monde, et fait à présent la guerre à la République de Buenos Ayres; avec sa population blanche et de couleur, il a équipé, armé et mis en mer près de quarante bâtimens de guerre et levé près de cinquante mille de troupe pour se porter sur les frontières. Il présente actuellement l'imposant spectacle d'un gouvernement dont la population est en faveur des gens de couleur: ce pays est en guerre avec une république libre qui désavoue l'esclavage et qui non seulement fait tous ses efforts pour la subjuguer par la force des armes; mais pour la renverser par des proclamations incendiaires, offrant la protection et la liberté aux esclaves, comme récompense de leur révolte; mais, toutes ces tentatives n'ont abouti à rien; les esclaves remplissent leurs obligations et font leur tâche paisiblement comme à l'ordinaire: fournissant des denrées et les moyens non seulement de soutenir le crédit national; mais de faire la guerre, et de repousser les colporteurs de ces proclamations incendieuses. On doit attribuer ce trait de vertu et de fidélité chez l'esclave brésilien au traitement humain et juste qu'il éprouve.

La porte de la liberté est ouverte à tout esclave qui peut trouver les moyens de s'acheter. Il est vrai que peu en ont la faculté; mais l'espoir fait naître l'esprit d'économie d'industrie et d'émulation pour obtenir du mérite par une bonne conduite ce qui produit un effet gé-

eralement avantageux. On permet aussi aux esclaves d'avoir quelques petites propriétés, sous restriction, tel que du bétail etc.

[Translation.]

We have received a treatise on SLAVERY, by "Slave Holder," an inhabitant of Florida.--- This treatise contains much sound reasoning, and shows the fallacy of the present system concerning free persons of color. Coming from the source it does, it is entitled to full credit; and it does honor to its author, who has abandoned those sectarian principles, that colored people are incompatible with slavery. He might have added, that these people are honest, industrious and talented, and are themselves holders of property, and that they have always had the highest opinion for white brethren. Then away with these selfish principles, that are unworthy of men; let them enjoy the rights of suffrage, and let no other distinction be known but that of merit. The States of North Carolina and New-York have allowed their colored population a vote in the councils of the nation. What have they suffered by these concessions? Nothing. Then, Louisiana, follow the glorious example set by your sister States, and prove that you are, what you have been concealed until now, one of the most Republican States in the Union. We shall continue to make other extracts that may prove interesting.

"First, I will take a view of Brazil, which by far the most powerful and extensive slaveholding country in America, or in the world: its population consists of something less than one million of whites, something more than one million of free colored, and considerably over two millions slaves. It passed thro' such a war of revolution as our own, from the colonial state to that of an independent government, attended with all the violence of conflicting interests, opinions, and consequent hostility of royal and independent partisans, with their hostile armies. It now ranks, as Empire Brazil, perhaps the most extensive government in the world, and is now carrying on war with the free Republic of Buenos Ayres; with a white free colored population, it has fitted out, manned, and sent to sea, near forty ships of war, and has raised or sent to the frontiers, near fifty thousand troops. It now affords the grand imposing spectacle of a slaveholding government, whose population preponderates in favor of color, at war with a free republic which constitutionally disavows slavery, and which not only makes every effort to subdue it by force of arras, but to subvert it by inflammatory proclamations, offering freedom and protection to the slaves as their reward for revolt. But all these disorganizing temptations have heretofore failed; the slaves maintain their obligation, and do their work peaceably as usual; furnishing produce and means not only to support the national credit, but to carry on the war, and repel the bearers of these injurious proclamations. This trait of virtue and fidelity in the Brazilian slaves, is to be attributed to humane and just treatment.

The door of liberty is open to every slave who can find the means of purchasing himself. It is true, few have the means, but hope creates a spirit of economy, industry and emulation to obtain merit by good behaviour, which has a general and beneficial effect. Slaves are

also allowed to hold some kind of property under limitation--such as stock."

L'humanité me conjure de parler en faveur des hommes que nous rebuons, que nous traitons avec autant de hauteur, et de mépris que si nous étions nés pour être leurs tirans. Comment, depuis ces hommes existe, n'avons nous pas eu des hommes assez compatissans et assez généreux pour revendiquer les droits de la nature même, en plaidant la cause de cette multitude de personnes, qui sont notre ouvrage, puisque nous sommes leurs pères. Mais comment pouvons nous en user ainsi avec des hommes tels que nous, qui habitant la même terre, souvent le même toit, qui doivent vivre avec nous et souvent nous fermer les yeux? il faut le dire nous sommes des tirans.

Le premier bien dont dieu combla l'homme, il faut le dire, nous le dirons, c'est la Liberté, sa jouissance par conséquence doit être son besoin le plus sérieux.

Mais comment pouvons nous fermer les yeux? au nous d'une charte libère? que seront les lois si elles ne sont pas la conséquence exacte de la constitution? mais il est des hommes qui voudraient garder, sous des fondemens républicains, des lois créées pour un gouvernement absolu.

Ainsi donc, nous oublions l'invasion des Anglais, si nous ne sommes pas des ingrats, nos cœurs doivent palpiter pour ses souvenirs de gloire et ces braves guerriers, que nous nommons, frères, à la ligne Jackson, qui ont acquis en grandeur que le temps ne peut lui ôter. Ils sont la comme la splendeur d'un temps passé, et participant à cette solennité qui appartient à tout ce qui ne'est plus.

C'est leur front couvert de nobles cicatrices qu'on voudrait imprimer à jamais du sceau de la réprobation? mais, parlant d'eux, nous cédon à un sentiment qui n'a pas trouvé un contradicteur, sans doute cette même bienveillance deviendra plus intéressantes et plus et plus général.

"Le premier devoir, comme le premier soin de tous législateurs qui aspirent à faire des lois pour son pays; c'est de savoir ce qui possède ou ce qui l'appaise; de voir où il a placé ses affections, ses penchans et son honneur."

Ces réflexions feront sans doute rire les âmes dépravées, qui n'ont ni vertu ni sentiment, et qui ne connoissent de grandeur que celle de ses reprises, en méprisant les hommes leur propre espèce; mais comme nous n'écrivons pas pour plaire à des personnages aussi stupidement orgueilleux, nous nous félicitons d'avoir rendu à l'humanité ce qui lui appartient, et d'avoir pris les intérêts de ceux qui en font partie comme nous.

UN HABITANT DE BARRATARIA.

RECENSEMENT DE 1830.

Le bill qui ordonne le recensement des Etats-Unis dans le cours de l'année actuelle, a reçu la signature du Président le 23 mars dernier, après avoir passé aux deux chambres du Congrès. Il sera commencé le les de juin et devra être complété dans six mois au plus tard à compter de cette date. Il est ordonné par cette loi que le nombre de blancs du sexe masculin au-dessous de l'âge de cinq ans sera spécifié; ainsi que les blancs (dont le sexe sera distingué) entre cinq et dix ans, dix et vingt, vingt,

et trente et ainsi de suite jusqu'à cent. Il sera fait mention du nombre de blancs âgés de plus de 100 ans, et on fera aussi l'énumération des esclaves et des personnes libres de couleur, dans le même ordre: mais ces deux classes seront distinguées et les gradations d'âge auront lieu comme suit: au-dessus de dix ans; de dix à vingt-quatre, de vingt-quatre à trente six, de trente six à cinquante-cinq; de cinquante-cinq à cent; et de cent et au-delà. Parmi les blancs on devra spécifier le nombre d'étrangers (*aliens*) et parmi les blancs et les noirs on distinguera la couleur, ceux qui sont aveugles, et le nombre de sourds-muets au-dessus de l'âge de vingt-cinq, et entre quatorze vingt-cinq ans.

BLACK LIST.

A "SIGN."

It may seem a little strange to our friends, at a distance, that the "business" of *man-merchandising* is carried on here as regularly as any other:—nevertheless such is the fact! The most unblushing and despotic wretches that ever disgraced any country under heaven, strut forth in all the pomposity of gentlemen of distinction, and deal in human blood and souls with as little remorse—as much regularity—upon the very same principle—and after the same *manner*, that drovers and masters of Bazaars do, who superintend the purchase and sale of dumb beasts for burden or slaughter!

Passing by an Auction Store, in this city, a few days since, my eye was attracted by a small *sign-board*, very elegantly painted and lettered, as follows:

SLAVES
BOUGHT
AND
HIRED
FOR LIFE
OR YEARS.

I immediately applied to the auctioneer for this piece of beautiful and *sentimental* architecture.—But as it had been placed in his hands with some articles of furniture, to be disposed of at public sale, he declined selling it by itself. I was glad, however, to perceive that he evinced a sense of shame at having *such an article* in his possession. He expressed his regret at the circumstance, and put it out of sight until the sale of the articles commenced. *This* I considered a good "sign." The force of

public opinion now condemns and renders *shameful* everything relating to the scandalous business.—Let the public attention be further drawn to the subject, and the public mind be further exercised upon it.—The consequence will be, that *shame* will strike still deeper—in the minds of the sovereign people *and their servants in the Legislature*, as well as the auctioneers—and Justice, stern and inflexible Justice, will be heard. The hell-hounds of avarice and cruelty will be put under the ban of penal restriction; and the Heaven-daring "business" will be annihilated.

A SEMI KIDNAPPER.

Very recently, a colored woman applied to one of the Attorneys of this city for instruction how to proceed for the recovery of her daughter, who had been bound for a term of years to a man that lately removed to Richmond, Va. It seems the fellow determined to know how far the law would permit of usurpation, and braved the penalty for kidnapping. A line from the aforesaid Attorney, however, *convinced him of his error*, and the child was instantly forthcoming. It was a proud moment for the Lawyer, when the woman brought the child before him, and in the sincerest strain of artless eloquence, thanked him for the favor he had conferred on herself and her dear offspring, late the victim of kidnapping barbarity.

BRAZILIAN SLAVE TRADE.—It is stated in the last accounts from Rio Janeiro, that between the 15th and 30th of April, 7000 slaves had arrived at that port. According to the Report of the "African Institution," London, June, 1827, the Treaty between Great Britain and Brazil was to go into effect in three years after the exchange of ratifications; which exchange is stated, on the same authority, to have taken place in March, 1827. Consequently, unless there is some mistake in the dates, the said Treaty went into operation in March, 1830; and yet in the month of April, we are told the trade was as flourishing as ever. What does this mean?—*N. Y. Jour. Com.*

"Mean"?—why it means two things:—First, that those fiends, in human shape, who make their fortunes "by the blood of souls," will find some way to carry on their accursed "business," in South, as

well as North America, while they can find a MARKET for their human plunder. Secondly, it means that Governments, like Corporations, "have no souls"—no principle, except what squares with their interest, as they understand it. Hence the moral power of the people, alone, can be depended on to accomplish the good work of reformation; and of course, the public mind must be roused and enlightened, before much can be done to the purpose.

LAW VS. JUSTICE.

At the trial of Charlotte Haywood, in Richmond, Va. a short time since, two witnesses were produced on the part of the State, both apparently white females; but it being decided that they possessed a small tinge of the mulatto, the Court rejected their evidence. Witnesses had even to be called to prove *this*, before the Court could decide!!!—Here is "equity"—here is "justice"—here is the "republicanism" of our DESPOTIC criminal Code!

BURNING TO DEATH!!!

If the advocates of slavery can shew, that the most barbarous and vile people upon earth ever practiced more horrible cruelty than the following, I will admit that they are not more iniquitous. Read this, and then—reflect on the profession we make as republicans! and—Christians!!!—It is from a paper published in Charleston, S.C. and alludes to a circumstance that occurred recently, in the neighborhood of Cedar Spring, Abbeville District.

"A Negro Male Slave was executed according to the sentence of a Magistrate's Court, by suspending or chaining him to a stake over a number of faggots or other combustible matter; and burning him to death. The offence for which he was indicted, I believe, (my information is not official) was for "grievously wounding and abusing a white person, with intent to kill."

The above mentioned paper says, this "relict of barbarity" is condemned by "a large portion of the State," (tho' it is reported that several thousand persons were so well satisfied as to attend the horrid execution.)—And here their philanthropy will probably rest, until another victim is immolated on the hellish altar!

Look out for Pirates. Capt. Babson of the schooner Alert from Port au Prince reports, that on the 6th inst. off Cape Nichola Mole, was boarded by the U. S. schr. Grampus, Mayo, who had in company a Spanish slave schooner, mounting one large gun, manned by twenty men; and having 80 slaves on board; which vessel had attempted two or three times, without success, to board an American brig. When taken, she called herself the "Brothers;" but afterwards the "Venus." Capt. Mayo reported that there were other piratical vessels off the island of Cuba.
Eastern Paper.

JUSTICE OF SLAVEHOLDERS.

The following is a comment on hearing the speech of the Hon. Mr. White against the Indians.

"The rights of the Indians"—they depend upon
—what?

The pleasure of States, which want their possession;

They can force the poor devils* to sell every lot,
And the Union to pay at the State's own discretion.

We'll tax and we'll punish this wild savage vagrant;

We'll drive, and we'll hunt him from his forefather's grave;

We'll violate treaties—no matter how flagrant—

*'Tis his LAND, and we'll have it, or make him a SLAVE!

*So denominated by Mr. Forsyth, in Debate in the Senate.

Selections, Extracts, &c.

ANTI-SLAVERY IN KENTUCKY, &c.

The Lexington (Ky.) Western Luminary is discussing the subject of Slavery. We find the first number copied into the Rock-Spring (Illinois) Pioneer, the Editor of which says, he knows many of his readers in Missouri have long been desirous that he should say something on the subject; and also that *thousands* of slave holders in Kentucky, Missouri, and other States, have been induced, from the perplexity of their own situations, for five years past, to examine the subject. And he remarks: "it is just they should have light on the subject."

The writer in the Luminary, referred to, begins by saying that the people of Kentucky generally feel slavery to be a burden; a yoke which is growing heavier. The holders are becoming more weary than the slaves. They are looking round for relief, with great anxiety.

The writer attempts to show that something should be *done*, and *done* speedily:

that emancipated slaves should be removed, and *can* be removed.

He next adverts to the history of Greek, Egyptian, and Roman slavery; and affirms that "no nation has ever long held another in slavery without either,

1st. *Privately assassinating them.*

2d. *Mixing with them; or,*

3d. *Being murdered by them."*

He then proceeds:—"Shall we adopt the Greek remedy? No.—The Egyptian? No.—Shall we wait for the St. Domingo result? No.—Then some measure should be devised. Is the subject unpleasant? Will it become less so by delay?"

After drawing a vivid picture of the dangers and horrors of insurrection, and after alluding to the prosperity of Ohio, whose farmers and mechanics are getting great advantages over their neighbors of Kentucky, the writer proceeds to recommend,

1. *Gradual Emancipation, by law; and,* 2. *A removal of the emancipated to Liberia.*

To the objection drawn from expense of transportation, he replies, that the emancipated man may be hired, by law, for one year, and the hire (\$ 40) will carry two persons to Monrovia.

To the objection that they will not be willing to go, he answers—"Then let them remain in slavery. But they *will*. Few will hug their bonds."

To the objection that such a law would be unconstitutional, he shows, in answer, that it would *not*. "But suppose it is unconstitutional; then our citizens should be in *haste* to *make* it constitutional.—What will be the condition of things in thirty years more?"

Thus reasons the Kentuckian. We would have copied at length but for want of room. The spirit of Emancipation seems gaining ground in Maryland, N. Carolina, Kentucky and Missouri.—*Nat. Philan.*

The Slavery Question in Great Britain.—The editors of the London Christian Observer, in their number for January, after asking why it is that every attempt of Christians to benefit the slaves, is frustrated, reply in the following decisive language: "The answer is plain: We keep them in the chains of slavery; refuse to let the oppressed go free; we exact their labor with stocks and imprisonment, and make them 'reap down our fields' without paying them wages for their work; & God does not, will not, bless our labors among them. The first, the very first step is to

send over, in the true spirit of the Gospel, an order that every slave shall be forthwith restored to his just and inalienable rights; be a free laborer, working for honest wages, and not under the impulse of terror; and then we may hope that the Gospel will be efficiently propagated among them.

COLONY OF BLACKS.

The blacks who emigrated last summer, from this vicinity to Upper Canada, have named their colony WILBERFORCE.—They have commenced opening and improving the land, obtained by purchase, and expect to cultivate small crops this season. But they are still in great need of pecuniary assistance. Israel Lewis, the agent, under the advice of a respectable citizen of Auburn, N. Y. has addressed a letter to the clergy in that state, Pennsylvania and Ohio, requesting that collections may be made in the churches, in aid of the colony, on the 4th July next. Ought not we in Cincinnati to aid those driven out from amongst us, rather than the colony at Liberia? We hope the subject may engage the attention of the clergy of our city, and of the citizens generally.—*Cin. Gaz.*

AFRICAN INFANT SCHOOL IN BOSTON.

We rejoice that measures are in forwardness for establishing an Infant School for the children of people of color in this city. A lady of respectability, and of excellent qualification, has consented to superintend the institution. Subscriptions to a considerable amount have already been made for this object, which we heartily commend to public patronage.

Boston Paper.

A SLAVEHOLDER'S IDEA OF LIBERTY!

One of the regular toasts at the Jefferson dinner, in Washington, was the following:—

"Liberty of the tongue; liberty of the press; liberty of the conscience; liberty of the hand—the last not least."

What "the last" means, nobody knows. Some say it means *gouging*: others imagine it to be a reflection on the President, for dismissing *duellists* from the Navy. We guess it means the *liberty* which John Randolph used, when he *flogged* his man Juba, to shew him that the Missouri Question had not dissolved the relation between master and slave.—*Boston Pallad.*

KIDNAPPING IN LOUISIANA.

We are glad to find that kidnappers of free blacks are pursued with as much spirit in Louisiana as they could be in any other State. In a late case a detachment of regulars and militia pursued, rescued, and guarded home several of these stolen people of color.—*Southern Paper.*



UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, BALTIMORE, AT \$1 PER ANNUM IN ADVANCE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

No. 5. VOL. I. THIRD SERIES] AUGUST, 1830. [WHOLE NUMBER 257. VOL. XI.

PRODUCTIONS OF FREE LABOR.

It will have been perceived, from an advertisement on the covers of the last and present numbers of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, that the editor of this work has once more essayed to open a mercantile establishment, in the city of Baltimore, for the sale of such articles, produced by free labor, as are considered the staple commodities of our slave-holding sections of country.

My sentiments on the subject of preferring the productions of Free Labor, have been frequently expressed, and need not a repetition here. If I can by this means succeed in turning the attention of a few more of the citizens of this Republic to the evils of slavery; and if I can also thereby throw any additional light on the subject of the practicability and safety of emancipation, my object will be attained.

It is not my intention, at this time, to enter into argument to shew the propriety of the undertaking to which I now allude. But with the view of furnishing the reader with a few of the sentiments of others, the short article below is inserted. Anon, I shall have more to say upon the subject.

The "*Edinburg Review*," for October, 1827, contains a brief notice of a pamphlet, issued on the Press in England, entitled: "*A short review of the Slave Trade and Slavery, with considerations on the benefit which would arise from diverting Tropical Productions by Free Labor.*" The following extract is very important. The "*Genius of Universal Emancipation*" has firmly maintained this doctrine from its commencement. It is gratifying to perceive that correct views are beginning to prevail.

"The wise and philanthropic persons who struggled so gloriously for the abolition of the

Slave Trade, were enemies, of course, to the state of slavery generally, and must have looked forward to its total abolition as the natural consummation of their system. But aware of the great influence of the West India proprietors, they feared that their whole scheme might be crushed in its outset, if they had ventured, in the beginning, to propose so extensive a reformation. They confined themselves, therefore, to the abolition of that detestable traffic; and trusted, we fear upon very insufficient grounds, to the effect of that measure in mitigating, and at last extinguishing altogether, the miseries of servitude. Experience, however, has shown how completely this reliance has been disappointed; and instead of finding that the abolition of the trade has led to the mitigation and gradual extinction of slavery,—the best informed advocates of the negroes are now compelled to look to the mitigation of slavery, as their best security for the substantial repression of the trade. This is distinctly stated in the *19th Report of the African Institution*. "As in the abolition of the Slave Trade," they say, "we originally sought the mitigation of slavery, so are we now driven to consider whether any other efficient means are left us, than that of reversing our course of proceeding; and whether we must not look, henceforward, to the mitigation and extinction of slavery, as our only security for the abolition of the Slave Trade. We cannot, unfortunately, compel other nations to abandon it; and it seems too probable that they are not to be persuaded; but, by a determined encouragement of free labor, we may make it not worth pursuing."

PROGRESS OF THE GOOD WORK IN TENNESSEE.

The following extract of a letter to the editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, from a very intelligent gentleman in the State of Tennessee, shows that the cause of humanity and justice is gaining ground, and that the public mind is becoming more and more enlightened, and alarmed, relative to the abominations of the system of slavery. If the advocates of *Universal Emancipation*, in that State, perse-

vere in their patriotic and philanthropic endeavors to fix the public attention upon the subject, Tennessee will, ere long, (as Kentucky is nearly prepared to do,) throw off the odious badge of despotism, and take her stand among the free and prosperous States of this Union.

The writer of this letter has many opportunities of noting the events of the times in the section of country where he resides; and to philanthropic patriotism and general intelligence, he unites a clear perception and sound judgment. His statement may be depended on, as strictly accurate, and his opinions are deserving of serious consideration. His proposition for attaching the slaves (of the present generation) to the soil, &c. &c. is of more importance than all the colonizing schemes that were ever devised.—It is, essentially, the plan that **MUST** be ultimately adopted, if we avoid insurrection and intestine war.

"I have, during the last four years, travelled about considerably, in this State and Alabama, and made acquaintance with such persons as I met with who resided in other States, and carefully noted in my mind such observations relative to slavery as struck me with force, appearing mostly as one who felt not, and I find *others feel*. The southern people are alarmed for their future condition. They see that slavery cannot continue to exist, and they are fearful of the consequences of its termination. I have no doubt if Kentucky should succeed in abolishing slavery, with no alarming consequences, Tennessee would soon follow her example. But neither state is quite ripe for the business yet. The fact is, wherever free and slave labor come in fair competition, the free labor throws the other in the shade, and enfranchisement will soon be the necessary consequence. Slaves will bring nothing in market, and will be a dreg on the master's hands; and as John Randolph once said on the floor of Congress, "the master will abscond from the slave." The southern people cannot tell what they are to do with all their blacks when this state of things comes on.—Louisiana is becoming alarmed for her safety, and is taking measures for stopping that once fruitful market; and doubtless other states will see the necessity of doing so too. They see no probability of the Colonizing Societies taking all their black people away, and they will bankrupt their masters if they keep them. What is to be done? There are lands, and the owners want them cultivated, which they cannot do themselves. If they would hear me, I would propose to them something like this:—

1. Let the different Colonization Societies go on in their work, and let Congress be applied to, to assist them with the national ships of war, which are not in times of peace employed to much purpose otherwise; likewise let a certain portion of the public lands be set apart to forward that particular purpose.

2. Let it be a general rule, (subject to prudential exceptions,) to Colonize none except those who will probably breed. The old ones, who will not increase, let us keep here, and death will soon rid us of them. Let all the

young ones go, and they will maintain themselves, and their increase will be in Africa, or Hayti, or wherever they are sent, without the expense of freightage. Some may object to this, as inhumane, because of its separating kindred. I would answer, that husbands and wives need not be separated, nor mothers and small children; and where the emigration is voluntary, the separation is no more than one of the very common occurrences of life, especially among the youth of England, Ireland, &c. who come to the United States; and we should not be too squeamish on this point, when the ultimate effect must be the saving of much human misery.

3. Let the southern slave-holders adopt the principal features of the old feudal system, when it assumed what the lawyers call the villain socage tenures. That is, let them let out to their slaves certain portions of their lands for some certain services or rents in return, and let it be understood, that the negro has certain rights, which his master is not to deprive him of. Among others, let it be understood that the master cannot remove him from the land, but must sell land and negroes all together. If this plan were once extensively adopted, there is no doubt the laws would soon be made to favor the scheme, for all would see the profitableness of it, and adopt it from necessity, to compete successfully with free labor.

If I could spare the time, I would write the plan out in full detail; but my business will at present allow of it. I have studied much of this subject, in all its bearings, and I am decidedly of opinion, that the attaching the negro to the land, would be a master stroke of policy, no less beneficial to the master than the slave. The change would be great, but easily effected. All the information I can gather, making allowances for some particular failures, which particular disadvantages caused, goes to strengthen me in this opinion. I dare say the thought has occurred to you; and I have seen some treatises on the subject, but none that handled it exactly to my notion. The history of the progress of the law in feudal governments, gave me many grounds of reflection on this subject than anything else. I believe if one state were to adopt the policy, it would soon become the policy of all the southern states. And if a state were once, by its legislative acts, to commence encouraging the scheme, all past experience would say that they would continue it, and that the judiciary would constantly lean in favour of freedom, until slavery would gradually disappear, like the mists of the morning, no one would be sensible how."

COMING OUT, COMING OUT!

This is what I like to see. The leading article in the "*American Spectator*" of Washington City, for the 28th inst. severely criticises the conduct of those "reckless monsters" who traffick in human beings, and "barter for the blood," in that section of country which has been consecrated to *republican freedom*! Our friend Colton is not at all lukewarm upon the subject of slave trading in the District of Columbia, latterly. He finds, no doubt, that

are as wise to attempt, scalding out vermin from a bed-chamber, with new milk, as to produce a reformation of this diabolical system by the use of *soft words*. I am glad to perceive the change that his mind has undergone relative to this matter. He once thought *me* too severe on those reprobates; and (alluding to my motto) said something about my *pulling heaven down* for the attainment of my object! He could not do this;—but, from his mode and rashness of expression, one would think he would not now hesitate, were it in his power, to *pull it up*, for a similar purpose! He deserves great credit for the following remarks.

Domestic Slave Trade.—A mortifying example of the degradation and inhumanity connected with this odious traffic, was presented in our streets last Tuesday. A company of thirty or forty slaves, in chains, and under the menaces of the lash, were driven through the city, from the place of their confinement, to be crowded with several times their number more on the hold of a schooner, and shipped to New Orleans or Natchez, and sold under the hammer;—and all this as a mere matter of speculation!—a cold-blooded money making concern!—the purchase and sale of human flesh and blood, liberty and life, connected with untold anguish, sorrow, and despair, for the sake of a little pecuniary profit!—and this too sanctioned and supported by the laws of the land! Can any thing more degrading to a free people?—more disgraceful to a civilized nation?—or fraught with deeper destruction to the ultimate happiness and glory of a Republic? We exult in the prospect that Algiers is to be sunk as in an earthquake—why? Because she has enslaved her Christian captives;—and shall *we* talk in this pious strain, and allow men among us to chain up thousands of human beings, drive them through our streets like cattle, and barter for their *blood*, for the sake of a few *pence* in profits? Let us hang our heads in silence and shame;—this glaring *hypocrisy* is as odious as the *guilt* which would fain conceal. That nation is a scandal to Christianity that prates of virtue, mercy, and justice, and allows every heartless and profligate wretch to barter in human blood, and revel to wealth through the tears and agonies of his fellow beings. Could the grave speak, could the coffin reveal its melancholy secrets, a record of *woe* would be presented that might enlarge our moral and political horizon in sackcloth and gloom.

And what have these unhappy beings done, that they should be loaded with chains, and abandoned to the merciless rapacity of reckless monsters? What have been their offences against the peace, happiness, or vital interests of society? What crimes have they committed? They were born with a skin of *darker* complexion than our own! This is their unpardonable offence!—this is their crime, for which all protection is to be withheld, and the inhuman savage allowed to riot in their tears and blood.—Even the chronicles of hell itself cannot furnish a record of more brutal injustice and cruelty. Were an innocent *white* man to be driven through our streets in chains, we should expect the very stones to cry out in remonstrance;

and were his history one of crimes, yet thousands, in their indiscriminating sympathy, would be ready to rush to his rescue. But a *sable* skin seems to place a man beyond the reach of human compassion, and to deliver him over unlamented and unthought of, to the scorpion stings of demons. This domestic slave trade, independent of the miseries and crimes connected with it, is pregnant with portentous evil. The moral sense of this nation will not always slumber over this subject—it will at length awake, and the odium of this inhuman traffic will be cast in bitter denunciation, over every section of the country where slavery prevails. The merciful and generous will suffer with the cruel and selfish. It is therefore the duty of every humane slave-holder, a duty which he owes *himself*, as well as the claims of humanity, to protest solemnly and perseveringly against this abominable traffic—to denounce it far and near, and to hold up those engaged in it to merited execration.”

Another paragraph in the same paper contains the following pithy declaration. Disunionists, soul-sellers, &c. &c. will not long maintain their ill-gotten popularity, if a few more of our Southern able editors come to this determination. Will he not set his face against the *whole system of slavery*, also?

“We intermeddle but little with *poetry* or *politics*—look occasionally into both these regions, find them realms of fiction and frenzy, and are willing to come back to almost any thing, unless it be *nullification*, the *slave trade*, *intemperance*, or *killing off the Indians*. For these we have no complacency—not a jot—and will oppose them so long as ink runs, or geese have quills, and then we will take them by the word of mouth.”

THE EMIGRANTS IN HAYTI.

I have lately received the most gratifying intelligence from some of the emigrants from this country who have settled in the island of Hayti. A letter from one of them states that he has purchased a Schooner, and shortly intends to send for his family, consisting of his wife and several children, who are now in Kentucky, where he himself was, once, a *slave*. He purposes to buy land, in the Spanish part of the island, with the view of settling his family there. Land, of the very best quality, can be had, in that section, for *twenty to thirty cents per acre*. His letter is very interesting, as it informs of the prosperous condition of many of the emigrants; but I have room for nothing further, at present, than the following extract, respecting the slaves emancipated by Joseph Leonard Smith, who were settled there little more than a year ago. It is extremely gratifying to learn that in so short a time they have, by their industry, rendered themselves thus comfortable; and it shews what *may be done by those who will pursue a similar course*. This

statement of facts is worth a thousand of the vague arguments, used by the enemies of Hayti, to discourage the colored people from removing thither to enjoy the blessings of liberty and equal rights. In vain may the exclusive friends of African Colonization, or the unblushing advocates of perpetual slavery, resort to the various means of casting odium upon that government, and misrepresenting the state of things generally there, when the truth shall be elicited in this way. I again positively assert, that there is no place in the world, known to us at present, where the colored man can have greater opportunities to acquire riches, or will be more completely invested with the rights and privileges of civil and religious freedom, than in the Republic of Hayti.

The following is the Extract of a letter to the editor of this work, above alluded to. It bears date 5th July, 1830. I will observe, in addition, that I have conversed with the Captain of the vessel that brought this communication, who saw the wife of Gordon just before he sailed, and she fully confirmed the statement in the letter.

"I cannot close this letter without giving you some account relative to the people whom you settled at P'Arcahai. My information is derived from Mr. & Mrs. Gordon and Mr. Russell themselves. They are extremely well contented with their lot, and now enjoying a comparative degree of happiness. Their gardens [lots containing several acres,] are fenced in; they have about 2,000 Plantain-trees in bearing,* and several thousand Cotton-trees planted, which will shortly yield them a good crop, together with every species of ground provisions. Mrs. Gordon attends the markets of P'Arcahai and Port-au-Prince for the sale of their products. At the latter place she disposes of them for cash, and and at the former, as she cannot always obtain specie for them, she exchanges them for other necessaries of life, of which they may stand in need. They all declare that they are perfectly satisfied and thankful for the blessings they enjoy."

* Few persons in this country have a correct idea of the great profit arising from the culture of the plantain, or *banana*. A single plant will produce fruit worth from 25 to 37½ annually, for several years, with little or no labor other than gathering and taking it to market, after making every necessary allowance for ordinary failures in maturing &c. I have been informed that the product of a single stalk frequently sells for 50, and even 75 cents, in the large market towns;—and two stalks, from the same root, often arrive at maturity within a year. The labor of planting, gathering, marketing, &c, is not more than that of a hill of green corn.

FREE AND SLAVE POPULATION.

According to the recent Census, the population of the United States has greatly increased

within the last ten years. Some alarming statements will be given in future numbers of this work, relative to the increase of the colored people. The following shows the number of the different classes in Baltimore, both in the years 1820 and 1830. It will be seen that the *United States Slave Trade* keeps down the number of slaves. But as much as we may desire the reduction of that class, by proper means none but the savage-hearted can approve the mode of effecting it.

Population of Baltimore in 1830.

"Free white males,	29,877	}	61,518
Do. do. females,	31,641		
Free col'd. males,	6,135	}	14,887
Do. do. females,	8,752		
Male slaves,	1,660	}	4,121
Female do.	2,461		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	80,526		80,526

The census of 1820, was as follows:—

Free whites,	48,055.	Gain 28 per cent.
Free colored	10,326.	Gain 44 " "
Slaves	4,357.	Loss 6 " "
	<hr/>	
Total	62,738.	Gain 28 " "

A NEW PROPOSITION.

I have had a brief conversation with the gentleman whose name is signed to the following notice, and have no doubt of his sincerity and honesty. I had no acquaintance with him previous to his calling upon me with a request for its insertion. The proposition is an important one, be his ulterior views what they may. I hope that I shall be able to make the public more fully acquainted therewith, through the medium of this paper, when the next number appears.

NOTICE.

BE it known to persons owning female slaves in the city of Baltimore, of age 14 to 20 years and willing to free them for a moderate price, this will be paid by the subscriber, on being shown a copy of the following certificate,

I, A. B. living in _____ street, and owner of Slave _____ am willing to set her free on receiving the sum of _____ me paid. A. B.

Done in the presence of two }
neighbours witnessing. }

This certificate to be delivered to the emancipated slave.

The subscriber will be found, at all hours, at the Store of Cruse & Wilson, Franklin street.

Having no knowledge of the price of slave property, I applied to a friend, who gave me a scale of prices, which he said was moderate and which I am willing to pay, viz:—

For a female slave, 14 years of age,	\$60.
do. " 15 " "	70.
do. " 16 " "	80.
do. " 17 " "	90.
do. " 18 to 20 " "	100.

THOMAS CRUSE.

Baltimore, 18th August, 1830.

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cœlum.

FURTHER NOTICE.

It having pleased the Ruler of nations, to whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid, "and of whom the whole family of Heaven and earth are called," and who has made of one blood all nations of the earth to dwell thereon, to make use of me, his humble instrument, to bring this matter before the publick—to God be all the praise. Gentlemen willing to assist in this great work, will please make any contribution they may see right, and lodge the same in any of the Banks of the city, specifying that it is for the above use of purchasing female freedom, and notify the subscriber through the post office. Any gentleman wishing a personal interview, shall be waited on, and the views and hopes of the subscriber given, arising from this entering wedge against human slavery.

THOMAS CRUSE.

Baltimore 30th Aug. 1820.

COLONY IN CANADA.

The subject of emigrating to Canada still occupies the attention of great numbers of the colored people in the middle and northern states. James Deaver, a respectable and intelligent colored man of this city, has recently returned from a visit to that country, and gives a favourable account of it. It is believed that the emigration thither has not yet been as great as represented in the various newspapers that have noticed the subject; but from the stir at present, in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, &c. where large societies have been organized, funds raised, and agents despatched to view the land, there is no doubt that a very extensive emigration will very soon take place. The most intelligent and wealthy among the people of color are decidedly favorable to the measure, and will encourage it, not only by word, but also with pecuniary means. And it is a serious consideration, for philanthropists of every class and condition, whether it would not become all to aid and assist this important undertaking. There is now no doubt that they will be admitted to the full enjoyment of their civil and religious privileges in that colony; and if they should be encouraged to remove at all, let them have choice of country and clime.

Hezekiah Grice, a very intelligent colored man, a resident of Baltimore, is about publishing a *Map*, embracing the most of Upper Canada and some parts of the adjacent country. It is expected to be ready for sale early in next month. I have seen a draft of it; and have no doubt that it will be correctly and handsomely executed. It will distinctly mark the location and particular boundaries of the extensive tract which is offered for the settlement of the colored people, and also designate the various

routes that lead to it from different parts of the United States. It will cost but 25 cents.

It was my intention to have said much more upon this subject, at the present time, but my limits are so narrow that it must be deferred to the next number.

GREAT ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING IN ENGLAND.

A file of the "*Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter*" has been received at this office, together with various interesting tracts, pamphlets &c. by a late arrival from Liverpool. From the June number of the "*Reporter*" we learn that a numerous meeting of the friends of African emancipation was held at the Freemason's Hall, on the 15th of May. It is stated that it was one of the most numerous ever held at that place, upon any occasion. Many went away without being able to obtain admission. The venerable and patriotic Wilberforce was called to the chair, and the meeting was addressed by Lords Milton and Calthorpe, Messrs. Buxton, Brougham, Denham, Pownal, O'Connell, Drummond, and other distinguished characters.

"A resolution was adopted, to Petition Parliament to proceed with such measures as might be necessary for abolishing slavery, and praying that an early day might be fixed, the children born after which to be deemed free."

The following brief account of the object of this meeting &c. is given in a letter from the sage philanthropist, Thomas Clarkson, to a gentleman in Philadelphia, and published in the "*Friend*." The period is drawing near when the Demon, Slavery, will assuredly receive his death-blow in every portion of the British Empire.

"My kind love to Friends in Philadelphia; tell them that there was held in this city on the 15th of the present month, a large meeting of the Friends of the Anti-Slavery cause. This meeting was attended by 2000 persons, and so great was the interest evinced by the public on the occasion, that 1000 persons proposed to have been disappointed in their gaining admittance, through want of room. The proceedings of this meeting were of an interesting character, and its resolutions indicated the prevailing and unopposed sentiment that the time was at length arrived, when the British public could not any longer be satisfied with vague promises or indefinite prospects of the removal of the grievous evils implied in the slavery of hundreds of thousands of British subjects; and that it was now become absolutely necessary to fix with precision, the period at which slavery in our colonies should cease, at least in so far as it may regard the persons of those children who shall be born after a day to be named."

In addition to the foregoing we also learn

that *Mr. Brougham* gave notice, in the British House of Commons, on the 28th of June, that he should make a motion, at an early day, on the subject of Colonial Slavery. "Now comes the tug of [mental] war."—Brougham is a host of himself.

EGYPTIAN COTTON CULTURE.

Let the cotton planting slave-holders—the "nullification" gentry of the South—look out! A rival in business is presenting himself in the "*Land of Egypt*"!!! The following is important. Egypt was once a land of SLAVERY; but the inhuman system was abolished there, and the descendants of the slave-holders in that region are about to teach our Southern State-right men and general *Laws* "nullifiers" a lesson in the science of economy, that may be of essential service to them. I shall, ere long, take a review of the ground occupied by these furious monocrats and oligarchs. I have long believed that all the frothy ebullitions respecting the Tariff, &c. &c. may be traced to the grand sink of corruption, SLAVERY.

From the Charleston Courier of July 23.

EGYPTIAN COTTON.—A mercantile friend has left at our office, a sample of Egyptian Cotton, produced from American Sea Island seed. This sample was received yesterday, from a merchant of this city, now in Liverpool, where the lot of which it was a part, was sold at 9 1-2d per lb. equal to 14 1-2 cents net in this city, and yielding a fair profit to the shipper at that price. We are informed that this description of Cotton is lessening the consumption of low quality Sea Islands, as the spinners will not give the prices at which the latter is held. This circumstance taken in connexion with the reduced consumption of fine Sea Island Cotton, owing to fancy silk goods nearly altogether taking place of fine muslins, offers but little encouragement to our Sea Island planters.

THE COLUMBIAN STAR. —

This is a *professedly* religious paper, issued weekly, in the city of Philadelphia. It is conducted by W. T. Brantly, an officiating Baptist preacher. I have nothing to do with his *religious tenets*. There are, to my knowledge, many, of his profession, who are zealously engaged in promoting our cause. But when I meet with a "*wolf in sheep's clothing*"—an unblushing opponent of African emancipation, and supporter of Indian oppression, in the guise of a follower of *Jesus*—I care not what he professes, as to matters of religious faith;—he is a fit object for censure.

In a late number of the *Star*, the editor quotes from the prospectus of a paper, issued by another Baptist preacher, the following paragraph, alluding to one particular subject upon which the work is designed to treat:—

"To disquisitions upon the treatment of African slaves, as preparatory to their emancipation, and exaltation from their present degraded condition."

Upon this, the *pious* editor of the *Star* remarks:—

"Our friends in the slave holding States must beware how they introduce this work. It may prove to them the precursor of ruin."

Now what sort of a "teacher of religion" can we suppose this man to be? He can "look with composure" (if not "on blood and carnage") on the corporal punishment, the mental debasement, the general ignorance, degradation and distress of the African race, without making, perhaps, or even approving of, a solitary effort to better their condition! If ever one class of persons were calculated to do infinitely more harm than another, in leading the people astray, and inviting the awful judgments of Heaven upon a guilty land, it is those who, under the sanctity of religion, practise the arts of oppression, and delay the administration of justice. Charity hath little in store for them; and condemnation should direct its most pointed shafts towards their oppressive conduct.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Again I am under the necessity of postponing the insertion of several communications, which are designed for this work. The well written essay of "*Consistency*," together with several other articles from the pens of various advocates of the good cause, will appear in the next number. My friends must excuse the delay in attending to their requests, in this respect, as it is impossible to crowd the *twentieth part* in this work that it were desirable to insert. Editorial matter shares the same fate with the rest. A number of long articles, and short ones too, are *laid on the table*.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS.

A meeting of the First Branch of the Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland, will be held at the School Room of Mr. G. W. Steen, over the office of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, on Friday evening, September 3d, 1830, at 7 1-2 o'clock.

The members of the Eastern Branch of the Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland, will meet at the School Room of ——— Reese, Exeter Street, O. T. at half past 7 o'clock, on Saturday evening, the 4th of September next.

Correspondence.

[The suggestions contained in the following communication should command immediate attention. It is to be hoped that the friends of our cause will be "up and doing" in season. Ed.]

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

MR. EDITOR: I wish to call the attention of our citizens to the subject of renewing their petitions to the Legislature

of this state at the ensuing session, for the gradual abolition of slavery. The following form of a memorial has been printed, and circulated in a few places. I would suggest the propriety of paying immediate attention to this subject, as the season for active labor in this important undertaking is advancing.

JEFFERSON.

Baltimore, August, 1830.

MEMORIAL

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Maryland.

The memorial of the undersigned, citizens of Baltimore, respectfully represents:

That in the opinion of your memorialists, negro slavery, as it at present exists, is the greatest political and moral evil that affects our State; and your memorialists also believe that the time has arrived when it is incumbent on the Legislature of the State to adopt measures with a view to its prospective and gradual extermination.

That slavery is a violation of natural rights, is admitted by all—its pernicious influence on the public welfare is too apparent to need illustration. The only questions, therefore, upon which there can be a divided opinion, are the *time* and the *mode* of applying a remedy. In the opinion of your memorialists, the *present* has already been, and will ever be, the best time to commence the business of remedy and reform. If a system of remedy and reform had been commenced fifty years ago, the evil of slavery at this time would have been nearly cured—and the longer it shall now be procrastinated, the longer will the State of Maryland be *cursed* with slavery.

The only effectual mode, in the opinion of your memorialists, of eradicating slavery from the State, is by the passage of a law fixing a period after which all children born of slaves shall be free at a certain age. This remedy will be effectual in from half to three fourths of a century,—it will also be so gradual as to be scarcely perceptible, and would produce no sudden or violent shock to the body politic—it would do no injustice even to the imaginary rights of slave owners, inasmuch as they have no interest in or right to unborn or uncreated human beings; and the time of their becoming free may be fixed at such an age as will enable them by their labor to compensate their masters for raising them.

Your memorialists believe this to be the most equitable, as well as the only

mode of eradicating slavery from the State. Emigration, whether by means of the domestic slave trade (a horrible and disgraceful traffic) or colonization in Africa, never has diminished, and probably never will diminish the number of slaves in the State. The only effect of annually removing a small portion of the present stock from the State, is to stimulate their natural increase, by creating a demand for them.

Your memorialists therefore pray, that the Legislature will pass a law, declaring that all children hereafter born of slaves shall be free, the males at twenty-eight, And females at twenty-five years of age. And as in duty bound, your memorialists will ever pray, &c.

Biographical Sketches.

JAMES JONES.

It will be recollected that some notice was taken of the distinguished philanthropist, whose name stands at the head of this article, in the first number of the present volume of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. It is with pleasure that I now insert the following memoir, from the pen of another pure, ardent, and persevering laborer in the holy "vineyard" of humanity and justice. Perhaps there is not a person now living whose mind is more sincerely devoted to the important subject than his. He was the near neighbor, intimate friend, and able coadjutor of the subject of this biographical notice, through the whole of his benevolent career, and no one is better qualified to speak knowingly of his virtuous labors. As he justly observes, much more might be said in his praise; but our present limits will not permit.

For the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

James Jones, late President of the Manumission society of Tennessee, from the best information I have been able to obtain, was born in Guilford county, North Carolina, about the year 1765. From thence his Father removed to the (now) State of Tennessee, in the early stage of its settlement, and procured a tract of land in Greene County, on which he settled with his young and rising family.

After James had arrived at the age of manhood, he married a young woman in the neighborhood, of good character, & respectable family, by whom, however, he had no issue. Soon after settling on a farm of his own, which was a few miles from the paternal residence, his usefulness became conspicuous in the surrounding vicinity, not only as a neighbor in common, but he was often employed, though of very limited literary acquirements, in drawing the several kinds of instruments of writing needed by his neighbors in their various contracts. To this may be added, that by his industry he had acquired some knowledge of the art of surveying, which enabled him to be eminently useful in ascertaining the boundary lines of his neighbors' lands, and settling differences, which otherwise might have ended in costly suits at law. As a farther proof of his usefulness, the frequency of his being appointed Executor of the last wills and Testaments of deceased persons, show in what high estimation his integrity & skill were held by those who had confided their estates to his care.

Much more might be advanced upon this head; but I shall pass on to the more prominent parts of his character as a philanthropist, and zealous advocate for the *rights of man*. Not content with promoting peace & happiness in the narrow limits of his little neighborhood, his capacious mind extended its energies, and embraced in its commiseration, the degraded and enslaved descendants of Africa, held in bondage in the republican United States of America. Here was a field sufficiently spacious for the exercise of his unbounded philanthropy, one might suppose, but he desired nothing less than the happiness of the whole human race. Although he wished for the abolition of slavery in every place, yet, the slaves in his own State demanded his more particular attention. To promote the gradual, yet final emancipation of these, he labored with an assiduity & zeal, tempered with prudence, not exceeded, perhaps, by any philanthropist on the continent.

Soon after the manumission society of Tennessee was organized, he became a member of that Institution; and at the first Convention, held on the 21st. of November, in the year 1815, James Jones was unanimously elected President thereof for one year; which station, by successive re-elections, he continued to fill to the end of his life. He considered slavery to

be not only a moral, but also a political evil—contrary to the dictates of the christian religion, and a deadly enemy to the peace & prosperity of our republican government, for the honor and safety of which, he ever appeared to be anxious.

He made considerable sacrifices, both of time and money, in promoting the cause which he had espoused; and in the infancy of the Institution, especially, met with much opposition, and with many insults, from the votaries of oppression, which, instead of intimidating him, served but to add more vigor to his mind, and stimulated him to pursue his object with greater energy, believing it to be the cause of Heaven, and that the Omnipotent would ultimately bring it to a happy issue. He did not, however, live to witness the accomplishment of his wishes; but he had the pleasure to behold the principle of *freedom*, which he had been laboring to promote, in the course of fourteen years, spread itself over this extensive continent, with a rapidity unparalleled in the annals of time; and not only in our own country did he behold the germs of *liberty* progressing towards maturity, but enjoyed the pleasing intelligence of the Abolition of Slavery in Spanish America, and of the exertions which the British government is making to eradicate the same curse from its dominions.

James Jones was not a man of eloquence; but he was possessed of a strong mind and a penetrating intellect; and next to his own salvation, the freedom of the oppressed, and the happiness of his fellow probationers on earth, lay nearest his heart. He was an approved member of the Society of Friends, and labored to adorn the profession which he made with a corresponding life and conversation.

Of his estate, which however was not large, he bequeathed a part to the manumission cause, to be applied to the defraying of the contingent expenses of the Institution, over which he had long presided.

After an illness of about four weeks, which he bore with resignation to the divine disposal, he quietly departed this life at his own house, early in the morning of the first day of February 1830, and in about the sixty-fifth year of his age. The loss of so useful a member of society will be sensibly felt by the community, and more especially by those interested in his benevolent exertions, who, in him, have lost a friend indeed.

THOMAS DOAN.

April 23d 1830.

LADIES' REPOSITORY

Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

THE WEST.

We are much gratified to find that a spirit, favorable to the interests of emancipation, seems to be rapidly extending over the western sections of our country. A spinning manufactory has been lately established by C. W. Starr, of Indiana, in which *Free Labor Cotton* alone is employed.— For want of suitable machinery, he has not yet been able to convert any of it into the fabric; and until circumstances favor the erection of power looms, we understand he wishes to dispose of his yarn to weavers who would be willing to undertake its manufacture, unmixed with other cotton.

Those whose wishes are favorable to the system of Free Labor, and the cause of Emancipation, would do well to afford him such encouragement as might secure a permanent footing to his establishment, and a wide extension of its usefulness, by the addition of other machinery. It is stated that Free Cotton of a good quality, raised in Illinois and Indiana, may be procured, in large quantities, in the Cincinnati market.— We should suppose there would be considerable inducement for weavers to offer their assistance, as an increasing desire to procure the manufactures of Free Cotton is evidently manifest; and no doubt the demand would be much more extensive, could they be obtained without the additional cost of transportation.

FREE LABOR.

A paragraph, from the "Fredericksburg Arena," which has been copied into a number of other papers, in speaking of the Philadelphia "Free Cotton Association," expresses some doubt as to "where," in our free country, cotton could be obtained untouched by the hands of slavery. For the satisfaction of those who may be apprehensive of deception, we subjoin the following copies of certificates, testifying to the purity of the material employed in the late manufactures of the society. That made use of previously, was received from the same source.

Certificates.

We do hereby certify, that the 30 bales of cotton, sent by us to Morris Longstreth, of Philadelphia, marked F, and numbered from 1 to 30,

is, exclusively, cotton raised by free white persons, or at least by free laborers, and that no cotton, raised by slaves, has been mixed therewith.

NATHAN HUNT JR.

for Hunt & Stockton.

Third Mo. 23d, 1830.

I do certify, that the 30 bales of cotton, sent by Hunt & Stockton to Morris Longstreth, is according to the above certificate, *exclusively the product of Free Labor*; as I personally attended to the picking of it.

NATHAN HUNT.

3rd Mo. 23d, 1830.

It is also questioned whether the plan of proceeding, adopted by the Association, is of a nature to operate beneficially on the condition of the slaves. We should suppose no unprejudiced mind would hesitate for an instant to answer in the affirmative. We are convinced the system of Free Labor, as it is one of the most quiet, is also one of the most efficient, auxiliaries of Emancipation. And most thoroughly are we persuaded that to give freedom to the slaves would advantage their masters, in a degree inferior only to the benefit derived from the negroes themselves. The superiority of Free Labor does not rest upon unsupported theory—it has been tested by fair experiment, and found by far the most profitable. The society of which we speak, wishes not to injure the interests of any individual—nor can it interfere with the true interests of any one, to hold out inducements for them to return from a path of injustice to one of rectitude. It is but reasonable to suppose that the persons who are now slaves, would labor as cheerfully and industriously, when disencumbered, if not of the weight of actual fetters yet of the heavy sense of degradation and thrall, which presses upon their hearts and weighs down the energies of their nature with a dull lethargy.

AMERICAN COURTESY.

We are gravely assured by Cooper, in his "Travelling Bachelor," that "America is the Paradise of women"—that no where else do they meet with the same degree of uniform respectful attention and delicacy as in our own country. This sounds well—but a perusal of the following paragraph has rather a tendency to introduce some strongly incongruous ideas into the mental picture of a paradise. We have not usually considered *branding, whipping, and imprisonment*, either as tokens of peculiar respect, or very intimately associated with the enjoyment of superlative felicity. If it is so, we may congratulate ourselves that at least a portion of our sex is so well provided with the material for happiness; nor can we but admire the generous spirit of courtesy and self-denial

which has induced the southern law-givers to reserve for their helpless sisters so large a proportion of those *paradisical* blessings.

"A distinction is made, by express law in South Carolina, between males and females convicted of clergyable offences. Both are to be marked in the hand, upon the brawn of the left thumb, with a *burning hot iron*, having an M or T upon it, according to the nature of the crime. But a man is to be discharged *without further punishment*. A female may be whipped, placed in the stocks, or imprisoned, for the space of a year afterwards, at the discretion of the court."

Strouds Sketches of the Slave Laws.

"AN APPEAL TO THE HEARTS AND CONSCIENCES OF BRITISH WOMEN."

This pamphlet is well calculated to answer the purpose for which it was intended, of rousing the ladies of Britain into reflection on the subject of slavery. The circulation of small tracts of this kind, in a form likely to attract the attention of general readers, is what we very much wish to see promoted by our own countrywomen. We are confident that it would be productive of very great advantages, by keeping before the mind a subject, from which it is but too ready to turn with indifference, unless incited to attention by continued efforts.

The females of America are greatly behind their sisters of England in general exertions to alleviate the condition of their enslaved brethren, and to promote their emancipation from bondage. Yet the one is separated by a broad expanse of ocean from the sight and knowledge of the sufferings of the slave, and the other beholds the unchristian system disgracing the bosom of her native land. It is difficult to account for the apathy so long displayed, and that still so generally prevails, upon this momentous subject. It seems as though the voice of the thunder and the earthquake were required to awaken the "heart and conscience" to a knowledge or a conviction of the guilt attendant upon this system, and the thought that all who are not actively opposed to it, are individually lending it their support.

In England, every means is made use of, no exertions are spared, to engage the sentiments of the people on the side of humanity. Here all is apathy, torpor, and indifference. In the British Parliament measures are adopted for meliorating the condition of the slaves—in our states it is enacted that their fetters shall be made to press more heavily. There, the government recommends that means for the "education and religious instruction of the slave" shall be provided—here, to attempt such instruction is made a criminal offence. Can it then be said that there is no cause to appeal to the "hearts

and consciences" of *American Women* on the subject of slavery? Should they not endeavor to spread and deepen upon the minds of others a conviction of its guilt? and should they not resort to the obvious method of opposing it by partaking only of the products of free labor? Reason and religion at once teach us that the answer should be, yes!

We will proceed in the words of the above mentioned "Appeal"; they are forcible and deserving of serious attention.

"When we consider that slavery involves the worst extremes of crime and suffering,—every thing, in its agents, that can most debase and corrupt the human character,—every thing, in its victims which can most degrade and embitter human existence;—when we consider the physical, moral and spiritual blessings which its extinction would confer;—that to the benighted, brutified negro, it would open the door of christian light, would give free access to the means of grace, the sources of knowledge, the opportunities of civilization;—that from his ruthless task-masters it would withdraw the incentives to oppression and cruelty, expel the poison from their moral atmosphere, banish that malignant agency which converts the milk of human kindness into corrosive gall, and transforms man into a monster of cruelty;—when we consider the heavy weight of national guilt which it would remove, the wide channels for national industry which it would open,—to what object of equal moment can we solicit the attention of our country women?"

"On this long agitated and familiar theme we intreat them to be satisfied with no superficial glances; we intreat them to analyze its nature, to investigate its consequences, to bring it to the test of the broad and universally acknowledged principles of right and wrong, to try it by the common standard of justice, the general sense of humanity,—above all by the spirit and laws of christianity, and they will find it the most flagrant and impious violation of them all;—they will see that if there be one relative duty in which the common feelings of humanity, the innate sense of justice, the obligations of religion, are most strongly concentrated, it is that of standing not only aloof from all participation in this national crime, but of combining their best exertions for its speedy extinction, through the simple, rational, and certain means of rejecting its produce."

"Nothing is stationary. In the moral as well as natural world there is incessant activity. A secret progress of improvement or deterioration is constantly going forward. Our intellectual, moral, and physical health are always fluctuating. To the increase or decline of the latter, there are obvious limits, but to the improvement or deterioration of mind and moral character, there appears to be more. We may reach the sublimest heights of virtue, or sink into the profoundest depths of depravity, and approximate towards one or the other by a gradual and scarcely perceptible progress. By doing, encouraging, or conniving at what is obviously evil, the mind becomes insensibly assimilated to its nature; the moral discernment becomes vitiated, the sensibility blunted, the conscience seared. By standing aloof from all participations in unrighteous

ness, by discouraging, and, to the utmost of our ability resisting it, the moral perceptions are quickened, the capacity invigorated to love and to 'cleave unto that which is good,'—to 'abhor' and 'to eschew that which is evil.'

"We cannot close this appeal to the understandings, hearts, and consciences of our enlightened country women, without adverting to the malignant influence which slavery exerts over the female character. The Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter abounds with appalling illustrations of this nature. In a recent number a very striking one is recorded.

"When his Majesty's ships, employed in surveying the coasts of Africa, were at Mozambique in 1823, the officers were introduced to the family of senor d'Almeydra, a merchant of the first influence in that settlement: they all agreed that Donna Sophia his wife, was the most superior woman they had seen since they had left England: before her marriage she was said to have possessed amiable dispositions as well as considerable talents and polished manners. Captain Owen, the leader of the expedition, expressing to senor d'Almeydra his detestation of slavery, the senor replied, you will not be long here before you will change your sentiments. Look at my Sophia there: before she would marry me, she made me promise to give up the slave trade.

When we first settled here she was continually interceding for the slaves, and she constantly wept while I punished them, and now she is among them from morning till night, and stands by and sees them punished!"

"Can our benevolent country women, then, engage in any design so patriotic, so philanthropic, so christian, as that of striving to avert the long suspended judgement, the justly to be feared signal punishment of their infatuated country, by combining their best exertions to remove the heaviest weight of her national guilt, to expel her deepest crime, her broadest disgrace?"

"If women of cultivated minds, of leisure and influence, decline to exert these talents in awakening the attention and influencing the practice of their less enlightened country women on this momentous question;—if women professing godliness stand aloof, take no decided, active part in this righteous contest; if they withhold good—good so substantial, so extensive, 'from those to whom it is' so emphatically 'due, when it is in their power to do it'—so easily,—will it not be sin—sin of no light shade or venial character?"

COLORED PEOPLE IN OHIO.

Our readers will bear in mind that, under an existing law of the State of Ohio, the authorities of Cincinnati lately gave orders for the expulsion of a large number of colored persons from that city. The cruelty of the mandate drew from many able pens the most pointed censure. Among the writers who have treated upon the subject, the author of the following Address is deserving of particular notice. This Address was originally published in the Cincinnati Gazette.

A FEMALE ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC ON BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE OF COLOUR.

In contemplating their circumstances, I am led to deplore the sorrowful condition into which an immediate expulsion must necessarily involve them. Many of them are very honest and in-

dustrious, but have not the means to carry themselves and their little effects beyond the limits prescribed; much less to subsist while they seek employment, or raise a crop of the quickest growth: therefore, if hastily expelled they will be subject to hunger and cold, or be forced to beg or steal. I would not wish to complain of the law or presume to judge of its justice, but call on humanity to exert her influence in their case. Let us reflect for a moment: are we not all under the protection of the one universal Parent of heaven and earth, and objects of his mercy? why then should they not be allowed such privileges as the white people, to live in a free state, and enjoy the rights of liberty of conscience, to work, buy and sell, which would, in my view, have the tendency to make them honest. But we debar them of this privilege, and threaten those that employ them, with a heavy fine, and they to be banished. O how cruel. Just look at the consequences! What must it necessarily lead to?—the poor African must starve or steal. O then what feeling, reflecting mind, could complain of them for trying to live honestly.

Oh, sayeth the language that salutes my soul, who is there that could eat the bread of oppression, or rob the hireling of his money? It is beyond the art of my pen to describe to my fellow citizens the agonizing feeling that passes through my mind while I contemplate their unhappy situation; but I am loath to believe that there are any so unfeeling that would fall upon, chastise and drive them into the wilderness, because they have a skin not coloured like our own. This would be ingratitude to God, whose they are, and from whom we all receive the blessings and comforts we enjoy. It would be an awful violation of that sacred maxim, "to do unto others as we would have others to do unto us." Many of them were brought here without their will or power, and many others have been induced by the whites to come—and while we enjoy our freedom, and boast of our protection, how can we oppress the unfortunate, or relieve not the distressed.

To deprive them of employment, is but to deprive them of the means of subsistence.—I do not see how we, as christians, can look upon them with indifference. As human beings, subject to the feelings of humanity, I cannot see how any can proceed against them, till a place be prepared for them comfortably to retreat to. There is land sufficient for the accommodation of them all, if the law subjects them to be removed. Then why not grant a portion and privilege to profit them. I now ask the humane and liberal minded to reflect on the subject, devise the most judicious plan for their comfort, relieve their agitated minds, and mitigate their grief. And my earnest supplication is, that such a subject may be guided by best wisdom and blest with success, without invading the common rights of mankind, or staining our characters with acts of inhumanity.

Whether this little scrawl will happily meet with a cordial approbation in the minds of the public in general, I am willing to leave and trust to the generous and liberal minded, and those of superior talents to my own, for sympathy on this all important occasion.

A FRIEND OF HUMANITY.

"I cannot do it," never accomplished any thing—"I'll try," has done wonders.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

REPORT OF THE FEMALE ASSOCIATION FOR
PROMOTING THE MANUFACTURE AND
USE OF FREE COTTON.

The purchasing committee inform, that since their last report, most of the goods ordered by them have been received at the store-room, and a considerable part of them disposed of. The increasing demand for articles of this description, has encouraged us to make an addition to our former order of 1000 yds dimité—one half to be in the style of furniture and the remainder for other purposes. The bills ordered for goods delivered, amount to \$765.13; of which about 506 dols. have been paid.—We have availed ourselves of the offered kindness of some of our friends (members of the 'Free Produce Society') by borrowing 100 dollars for one year to enable us to meet our engagements with the weavers. We have reason to believe, there will be no occasion for calling on our other friends at present, for any further loans, as we think the sale of the remainder of our goods will enable us to meet all demands from the manufacturers.

It would be gratifying to us if the members of the Association would occasionally call at the store-room, to see the stock of goods from time to time on hand;—this will more particularly interest them in what has been done, and will enable them to form a more correct judgement respecting the measures adopted by the committee, than is in their power from merely having the monthly reports.

Philadelphia, 7th mo 18th, 1830.

LITERARY.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE GRAVE OF THE UNFORTUNATE.

Light fall the early dews of even, and out upon
the air

The ceruus flowers fling lavishly the fragrance
that they bear;

One star, of all the eyes of heaven, is yet alone
awake,

And sends abroad its prying glance to gaze on
bower and lake.

Come, bid the silent lute breathe out a low and
mournful strain,

A sad and tearful melody, a wailing for the slain.
And as the notes glide far away, I'll tell thee
how one died,

Who sleeps in sweet loneliness forgotten by thy
side.

The weary slave had lost his toil;—it was an
eve like this,

But to his heart its loveliness would bring no
throb of bliss.

He only thought of former days, when she who
shared his chains

Had roved in freedom by his side amid their
native plains.

A cry of anguish caught his ear—in shrieks she
breathed his name,

And forward to his cot he sprung with heart and
pulse of flame.

Amidst her weeping babes she knelt, and o'er
her crouching head,

The white-man's lash in mockery swung, all
newly stain'd with red.

One blow has felled him to the earth—one blow
alone was lent,

And from the cot in rage and shame the tyrant
master went;

But for that blow, a felon's death the Afric chief-
tain died,

And here, forgot by all but her, he slumbers by
thy side.

MARGARET.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THINK.

Think of the words we've spoken,

When I am far from thee,

Of fetters still unbroken—

Hearts pining to the free!

Think of our country's glory,

All dimm'd with Afric's tears—

Her broad flag stained and gory

With the hoarded guilt of years!

Think of the frantic mother,

Lamenting for her child,

Till falling lashes smother

Her cries of anguish wild!

Think of the prayers ascending,

Yet shrieked alas! in vain,

When heart from heart is rending.

Ne'er to be joined again!

Shall we behold, unheeding,

Life's holiest feelings crush'd?—

When woman's heart is bleeding,

Shall woman's voice be hush'd?

Oh, no! by every blessing,

That Heaven to thee may lend—

Remember their oppression,

Forget not, sister, friend.

z.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE MAP.

Aye, it is the map of Africa—there is the
seat of ancient Carthage—there is Egypt—
there is the spot from whence arose the
bright day-star of science—the birth place
of intellectual glory, where the human
mind first arose in its strength and ar-
rayed itself with knowledge, as the gar-
ment of a conqueror. They may talk of
Rome, the "Niobe of Nations," sitting in
voiceless woe amidst the melancholy ru-
ins of her former grandeur; but what is her
fate to that of Africa? hapless unpitied Af-
rica! "weeping for her children and refus-
ing to be comforted, because they are
not"—because they have been torn from

her with ruthless violence, that they might be immolated on the altars of the unrighteous mammon!

When the hearth-stones of Ramah were drenched in blood, and soft, laughing eyes looked up in innocent confidence through the golden curls that clustered over their brows, at the stern hands that were lifted for slaughter—theu Africa received in her arms, and sheltered in her bosom, the christians' infant Savior from the destroying wrath of Herod—And the christian hath requited her by making her children a prey to unholy avarice and cruelty—by plunging her amidst calamity and bloodshed, and carrying desolation throughout her borders! GERTRUDE.

SLAVE MARKET AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

I had an opportunity afforded me of seeing this horrid place, where perhaps the loveliest women in the world are bought and sold, like cattle, inspected by every scoundrel who wears a turban, and submitted to the scrutiny of every virago who affects to be a judge of slaves. The slave bazaar is a large quadrangular court yard with a shed running along, a range of narrow cells on the ground floor, and a gallery above which surrounds the building: on the second stage the chambers are reserved for the Greeks and the Georgians; below are the black women of Darfur and Sennaar and the copper-colored beauties of Abyssinia; the latter are remarkable for the symmetry of their features and the elegance of their forms; they commonly sell for 150 dollars, while the black women seldom bring more than 50 dollars. The poor Greek women were huddled together. I saw seven or eight in one cell, stretched on the floor, some dressed in the vestiges of former finery; some of them were from Scio, others from Ipsara; they had nothing in common but despair! All of them looked pale and sickly, and all of them appeared to be pining after the homes they were never more to see again, and the friends they were to meet no more. Sickness and sorrow had impaired their looks, but still they were spectress of beauty; and the melancholy stillness of their cells was sadly contrasted with the roars of merriment which proceeded from the dungeons of the negro women. No scene of human wretchedness has an equal this. The girl who might have been the solace of an anxious mother, and whose beauty might have been the theme of many a tongue; was here subjected to the gaze of every licentious soldier who chose to examine her features, and her form, on the pretence of being a buyer. I saw one poor girl of about fifteen brought forward to exhibit her gate and figure to an old Turk. He twisted her elbows: he pulled her ankles, felt her ears, examined her mouth and then her neck, all this while the slave-merchant was extolling her shape and features and protesting she was only turned of thirteen, that she neither slept nor started in her sleep; in every respect she was warranted. I loitered about the bazaar until I saw this bargain brought to a conclusion: the girl was bought for 280 dollars. The separation of this young creature from her compan-

ions in wretchedness, was a new scene of distress; she was pale as death, and hardly seemed conscious of her situation, while all the other girls were weeping around her and taking their last farewell. Her new master laughed at the parting, and pushed her before him to the outer gate; but there she stopped for a moment, and entreated permission to go back for the remainder of her Greek attire, which I dare say she prized more than any thing else in the world, for probably it was all that remained to her of what she brought from that home which she had forever left. The old Moslem accompanied her back, and in a few moments I saw her returning to the gate, with a little bundle under her arm trembling from head to foot and weeping bitterly.—*Madden's Travels.*

Department Français.

Du Courrier des Etats Unis.

STATISTIQUE DE LA POPULATION ESCLAVE DES ETATS-UNIS.—

Le nombre actuel des esclaves dans les Etats-Unis, hommes, femmes et enfans, s'élève, dit-on, à environ deux millions. Leur valeur commune est évaluée à \$250 par individu, ce qui fait un total de cinq cent millions de dollars. Cette somme excède de beaucoup la valeur entière de la propriété foncière et mobilière de l'état de New-York, qu'on a fait monter à trois cent vingt-neuf millions de dollars.

Nous avons annoncé dans un de nos derniers numéros, qu'un chef indien, de la tribu des Choc-taws, s'est présenté aux électeurs de l'état du Mississippi, en qualité de candidat au Congrès des Etats-Unis; ce chef a fait circuler l'adresse que nous donnons ci-après. Nous ne sommes pas à même de décider s'il est réellement qualifié pour la mission qu'il sollicite, mais son adresse est pleine de franchise, et tout-à-fait énergique.

AUX ELECTEURS DU MISSISSIPI.

Concitoyens!

J'ai combattu pour vous, et par un acte de votre propre volonté, je suis devenu citoyen de l'état. Je suis propriétaire, je suis enfant de la nature. On m'a dit, que le titre de citoyen romain servait jadis de passeport pour parcourir le monde. D'après vos lois, je suis citoyen américain, citoyen de la république représentative la plus pure, et la plus grande qui ait jamais existé. J'ai été chasseur dans ma jeunesse, guerrier dans l'âge mur, j'ai toujours combattu pour l'avantage de cette république. Je n'ai plus assez de force pour soutenir les fatigues de la chasse et mon bras est trop faible pour porter le poids de l'arc et des flèches. Lorsque je vivais dans l'état de nature je n'aspirais qu'à me reposer dans l'ombre, et je n'avais d'autre espoir que celui d'être enseveli sous la même terre qui couvre mes ancêtres. Mais vous avez éveillé de nouvelles espérances; vos lois ont fait luire à mes yeux une perspective brillante. Je ne connais pas d'homme qui ait souffert plus que moi; ou que ce soit vous, ou moi, le tems devra le révéler. Mes frères blancs m'ont assuré que le burin de l'histoire est impartial, et que dans la suite des tems, notre race abandonnée obtiendra justice, et encore, qu'elle sera épargnée.

Ceci, concitoyens, est un langage simple. Ecoutez, car je vous parle avec candeur. Je crois,

d'après vos lois, être qualifié pour occuper une place dans les conseils de cette puissante république, dont l'état du Mississipi forme une des parties inhérentes; et je ne le cède à aucun autre citoyen, en ce qui concerne la dévotion aux lois, et à la constitution du pays. Si après avoir pesé mes prétentions, et les avoir comparées avec impartialité avec celles des candidats qui me seront opposés, vous vous prononcez pour moi, je vous servirai. Je n'ai d'animosité contre aucun de mes frères blancs qui entreront dans les rangs contre moi, mais je vous déclare sincèrement que je désire réunir vos suffrages à l'élection prochaine d'un représentant au Congrès des États-Unis.

(Signé) MUSHULATUBA.
Nation des Choctaws, 1^{er} avril 1830.

BLACK LIST.

MORE OUTRAGEOUS VILLAINY!

Within a few days, I have received two letters—one from Wilmington, in Delaware, and the other from the western country—requesting aid in detecting certain persons engaged in kidnapping and enslaving free people of color. The business is in a proper train of investigation; and the culprits shall as surely be publicly exposed, as convicted. In the one case, the scene of operations is in Loudoun County Virginia; in the other, Annapolis, Maryland. If we fail to punish these gentry by the Courts of Law, the Court of the PRESS shall do its office.

THE BURNING, AGAIN.

A correspondent of the Charleston Observer undertakes to palliate the barbarity alluded to in this work for last month, relative to the burning of a negro alive, by summing up the amount of provocation! He says;—

“In exonerating the court, I must state that the criminal received as fair a trial, and as humane treatment as any criminal could receive, never even being threatened in order to extort the truth; and with regard to the execution, there was no pains spared to render it quick; to render it easy was impossible. He was chained to a stake, but not suspended.”

Is this to be considered a sufficient excuse for the continuance of a barbarous practice in the present enlightened age?—and are the religious periodicals of the day to become the special pleaders for its toleration! If so, they will be calculated to do more harm than all the “infidel publications,” periodical or otherwise, that have appeared since the days of Voltaire and his deistical contemporaries. Instead of attempting to soften down the barbarous features of this horrible statute, by pleading the enormity of the offences that it takes cognizance of, the Press is bound, by every consideration of propriety, to thunder denunciation loud and thrilling against

it. And religious professing editors, at least, are awfully culpable if they pursue a different course.

§ Here we have a delectable piece of information, in the shape of an advertisement, published in a Baltimore paper. It shews that EVERY MAN IN THIS STATE is concerned in negro selling! Will this assertion startle some of our friends? I hope it may.

MARYLAND PENITENTIARY,

—, 1830.

WILL be sold at this Institution, on MONDAY next, [I shall not mention the date.] at 11 o'clock, A. M. a NEGRO WOMAN, aged about 43 years—the property of Baltimore county.

P—4t.

KIDNAPPING.—Christopher Woodward, of Raleigh, (N. C.) has been committed to jail, in that place, charged with having seduced and stolen a negro man, the property of Durrell Rogers, with the intention of selling him and appropriating the proceeds to his own use. The punishment affixed to this crime is death!—*South. Pap.*

MORE OF IT!—we are credibly informed that an outrageous act of kidnapping was committed in Illinois, a few weeks since, by one Stephen Smith, and several accomplices upon two black boys, named Harry Dick, and William. Suits for freedom had been brought in the Circuit Court here, by Harry Dick and William, against Stephen Smith, some two years ago. They were strenuously litigated; when, after several trials, they were finally decided in April last, in favour of the slaves, who were declared by the judgment of the court, forever free from Stephen Smith and all persons claiming under him. A few weeks ago, Harry Dick and William left the place for Tazewell county, in Illinois, and were pursued and seized by Smith, and put on board a steam-boat and taken to the South, whether to Kentucky or further down the river, is not known.

St. Louis Republican.

VIOLENT ASSAULT.—Yesterday, a white man, named Michael Jefferson, was fully committed for trial, charged with having thrown a coloured woman named Rose Clerk, out of a two story window, in Mott street, in consequence of some altercation. The woman is still living and likely to recover.—*N. Y. Paper.*

Catharine Haywood, the white woman charged with the murder of Lucy Johnson, a free mulatto girl, was tried before

the Superior Court on Saturday. The jury after a short consultation, brought in a verdict of voluntary manslaughter, and assessed her term of imprisonment in the Penitentiary to 2 years. Those who attended the trial generally anticipated such a verdict—*Richmond Whig*.

Will the Whig oblige us by stating the distinction between "voluntary manslaughter" and murder--and whether penal codes of the State establishes them as two distinct crimes?—*N. Y. American*.

Cold Drink.—A coloured labourer was taken home in an insensible and dying state yesterday from Central wharf. It appeared that after severe exposure to the intense heat of the weather he drank copiously of cold water; while in this pitiable state and requiring medical aid, two persons went in search of a carriage to remove him; two hackmen drove to the spot, but in an inhuman manner refused to take up the sufferer, although assured of the fare, because his complexion was dark. It would be well for the morals of the community, if these hackmen were as fastidious in other respects.

The above is copied from the *Boston Daily Advertiser*. This may be said to be a species of philanthropy similar to that entertained by a distinguished merchant at Newburyport!

New-York, July 7.

The brig Claudio, which arrived at Sag Harbor on the 30th ult. in 35 days from the Island of Ascension, reports that she met H. B. M. frigate Sybille, Com. Colliere, at that Island. The officers of this ship stated that they had re-captured twelve thousand slaves since they had been on the African station. The officers of the sloop, a sloop of war, also lying at Ascension Island, informed that the schr. Albion, of St. Helena, bound for Sierra Leone with despatches from Com. Colliere, was boarded in lon. 8 W. by a piratical schr. latteen rigged, and all on board killed, except the carpenter and two seamen, who secreted themselves in the hold.

From the Greensborough (N.C.) Patriot.

I shall come to my subject (the inter-continental slave trade as it is carried on in Guilford, of which county I am a citizen) without ceremony, and leave you to make such comments as the case deserves.

Mr. T. S. of this county sold a negro woman and her son (a man grown) to a speculator in human flesh. The mother

had a husband, and the son had lately married a wife. This poor mother had not only to part forever from her husband, and her son from his wife; but (blush! oh, man!) were handcuffed and chained together!! A rope was then attached to the chain, and fastened around the neck of the horse whereon the gallant nabob triumphantly rode.

This transaction took place on the 14, of May last. Will the citizens of this county suffer such savage cruelty to be carried on in the open sunshine of Heaven, with impunity? never! never!! Modesty and decency are here subjected to brute force! Mothers, blush! Maidens, hide your faces. Young men, examine your hearts and consider the condition of your country!

A CORRESPONDENT.

Guilford, June 10, 1830.

Selections and Extracts.

From the Portland Christian Mirror.

NEGRO SLAVERY.—Writers have appeared in both the Evangelical and Baptist Magazines, calling the attention of British Christians to the subject of Slavery. One says, "the government is able, by one statute, to give a blow to West-India Slavery from which it will never recover.—The people have a similar power, not merely by sending up to Parliament so many thousands of petitions as shall induce the government to act with decision, but by abstaining from the use of West India produce until something effectual is done." On this principle the writer had not intentionally purchased one penny-worth of West India produce for the last four years. "A Cry from Wales" says—"The thunders of vengeance roll onward over our country. Myriads of murdered souls will rise up in judgment against us. It is a direct violation of the first principles of humanity to assert that men can be more useful in the fetters of tyranny, than in the bonds of civil society. And it is a gross libel on Christianity to say that they can be happy, while their rights as men, and their destinies as immortals are designedly hid from their eyes." The Baptist Magazine says—This is "a subject on which sufficient feeling has not been manifested by Christians as such, & on the grounds of religion. They all unite in urging the forwarding of petitions to parliament. "It is now time to attend in earnest to their [Africans'] multiplied wrongs. The united voice of the British people has never yet been heard in their behalf. Let it now be raised, and it must soon be heard throughout the world. Let the revered Wilberforce hear it once before he dies. Ten thousand Christian congregations are on the move; but wishing to move simultaneously and in perfect constitutional order, they look to you, Sir, and to your friends in London, for directions and management. They only wait for a signal from head quarters. Let no time be lost. Slavery must die. And the happy shouts of millions shall soon rend the heavens, while they sing, "the world is free!"

From the New-Haven Herald.

COLORED SOLDIERS OF THE REVOLUTION.

"During the Revolutionary War, and after the sufferings of a protracted contest had rendered it difficult to procure recruits for the army, the Colony of Connecticut adopted the expedient of forming a corps of colored soldiers. A battalion of blacks was soon enlisted, and throughout the war conducted themselves with fidelity and efficiency. The late General Humphreys, then a Captain, commanded a company of this corps.—It is said that objections were made, on the part of officers, to accepting the command of the colored troops. In this exigency Capt Humphreys, who was attached to the family of General Washington, volunteered his services. His patriotism was rewarded, and his fellow officers were afterwards as desirous to obtain appointments in that corps as they had previously been to avoid them.

The following extract from the pay rolls of the 2d company 4th regiment of the Connecticut line of the revolutionary army may rescue many gallant names from oblivion.

Captain, David Humphreys.

PRIVATEES.

Jack Arabus	John Ball
Brister Baker	John Cleveland
Cæsar Bagdon	John McLean
Phineas Strong	Gamaliel Terry
Jesse Vose	Ned Fields
Lent Munson	Daniel Bradley
Isaac Higgins.	Heman Rogers
Sharp Camp	Lewis Martin
Job Cesar	Jo Otis
Cesar Chapman	John Rogers
James Dinah	Peter Mix
Ned Freedom	Solomon Sowtice
Philo Freeman	Ezekiel Tupham
Peter Freeman	Hector Williams
Tom Freeman	Cato Wilbrow
Juba Freeman	Cengo Zado
Cuff Freeman	Cato Robinson
Peter Gibbs	Juba Dyer
Prince George	Prince Johnson
Andrew Jack	Prince Crosbee
Alex Judd	Peter Morando
Shubael Johnson	Pomp Liberty
Peter Lion	Tim Cesar
Cuff Liberty	Sampson Cuff
Jack Little	Pomp Cyrus
Dick Freedom	Bill Sowers
Harry Williams	Pomp McCuff
Dick Violet	Sharp Rogers

It is believed that no modern pay roll exhibits so great a number of private soldiers bearing the names of distinguished warriors of Rome in the proudest days of her military glory."

SLAVERY IN COLOMBIA. The anxiety and efforts of the Colombian government to rid themselves of the curse of slavery, and to reinstate an injured class of men in the enjoyment of those rights which our own constitution declares to be "unalienable," put to the blush the tardy and heartless proceedings of the U. S. congress on the same subject.—Scarcely had that republic established its own freedom, when it enacted laws for extending the like privilege to enslaved Africans within its limits. Certain revenues arising in the different provinces, were sacredly set apart for this purpose, beginning with those who were most worthy to be free, and always proceeding with the consent of the proprietors. At the same

time it was provided that all the children of slaves, born after a certain period, should be inviolably free.

Under these arrangements, the number of slaves has already been greatly reduced. In the four departments of the north, viz: Maturin, Venezuela, Orinoco and Zulia, embracing nearly half the population of the whole country, only 29,371 remain in bondage,—a few parishes excepted, from which returns have not been received. The number of children born of slaves in the same departments since the law went into operation which makes them free, is 9,046; and in the whole republic probably not less than 20,000. Let this system be continued for a few years longer, and to the triumphs of their arms the Colombians will add this greater glory, that the groans of a slave are not heard from Orinoco to Assuay.—*Journal of Commerce.*

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN MALACCA.—We are happy to learn from the Asiatic Journal for June, that an arrangement has been entered into by the inhabitants of the town and territory of Malacca, that *slavery shall not be recognized in said town and territory, after the 31st December, 1841.* This agreement was entered into through the medium of deputations from different classes of inhabitants, viz. five persons on behalf of the Portuguese, and as many on behalf of the Chinese, the Malays, and the Choolees respectively. Mr. Lewis, who presided at the preparatory meeting, in communicating the above result to the Government Secretary, says—"The publicity which will be given to this act, will, I trust, be the means of interesting the owners of slaves in the East and West Indies [and in the United States?] to follow this example of their brethren of Malacca."

Colonization Society.—A plan has been projected for raising \$2000 in this city, for the purpose of colonizing in Africa one hundred emancipated slaves, or such as may be emancipated, with the design of having them colonized. We are happy to state that about \$1100 of this sum have been already subscribed by the liberality of our citizens.—*Chr. Jour.*

Cost to Great Britain for her Negro Slavery.—The Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter for February, 1830, states the cost to government, in supporting this wicked establishment in the English West Indies to be £2,195,804, or \$9,759,125 annually. These items are made up from the expenses in the Slave Colonies in *The Army—Ordnance—Commissariat—Miscellaneous, and Navy* expenses. And this enormous sum is said to be wrung in taxes from the distressed population. And this is said to be but part of the cost in maintaining this cruel system; for on all sugar exported, the English are made to pay a drawback \$1,16 on every cwt.

THE GENTLE



UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, BALTIMORE, AT \$1 PER ANNUM IN ADVANCE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

No. 6. VOL. I. THIRD SERIES.] SEPTEMBER, 1830. [WHOLE NUMBER 258. VOL. XI.

A few numbers of this work will be issued circulated without covers. In the first place, the patronage is too limited to defray the expense of them; and, secondly, it is desirable to gain lost time. A little more exertion on the part of its friends, in procuring new subscribers, and paying up arrears, would enable the proprietor to issue it in handsome style.

NATIONAL POLITICS.

For several years past it has been evident, to every observant Statesman, that the politics of the Republic were verging to one important point, namely, the *Question of Slavery*. That a system so odious, and so completely at war with our republican professions and practices, should be tolerated for a moment, is wonderful:—and that it should produce conflicting interests, dissensions, and party rancor, is natural. From the moment that the people of these States shook off the yoke of a foreign government, and took upon themselves the administration of civil and political authority, has the Demon of Jealousy, often and reared in the corrupted region of slavery, been at work in endeavoring to undermine the peace and prosperity of the nation. It has long been my settled conviction, that no harmony—no LASTING UNION—can possibly exist between the advocates of freedom and the advocates of slavery. The same domineering spirit which induces men to exercise unlimited power in individual cases, spurs them on to the usurpation of authority in all cases whatsoever.

These remarks are not the offspring of a heated imagination. They are the result of sober and serious reflection. In every Presidential contest the struggle for power has been measurably between northern and southern politicians. Latterly, the strife has been waged chiefly upon this local principle. The interests of the former have been supposed to clash with those of the latter. Hence the preferences

and predilections that have agitated the nation, and from which have arisen the political parties that now exist, and the fierce strife that is now witnessed.

I now openly and unhesitatingly give it as my decided and candid belief, that the violent contest between the planters of the south and the people of the middle and northern States, relative to the *Tariff*, and internal improvements, is wholly attributable to the influence of the system of slavery. On this ground the great schism is based; and the principle of injustice and usurpation connected with it is the grand pivot upon which our future presidential conflicts will turn, at least while the chief executive officer in the Federal government shall possess the right to "nullify" an act of Congress. Take from that officer the tremendous power of the "Veto," and the members of the slavite faction would have to look elsewhere for the means of exercising the tyrannical authority by them claimed, and foolishly acceded to by the "working men" of the free States, who have had too little leisure to scan their wily intrigues.

This article is merely intended as an introduction to a series of essays on the important subject to which it alludes. I shall, hereafter treat upon it as leisure and inclination dictates. But I now fearlessly and boldly assert, that THE SYSTEM OF SLAVERY IS NO "STATE-RIGHT" MATTER; but that all the citizens of this republic are interested in its extinction; and if ever we abolish it, THE INFLUENCE OF THE PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES MUST EFFECT IT.

I am well aware of the responsibility attached to the occupancy of this ground:—but having reflected much upon the subject, I am prepared to defend it. Lukewarm philanthropists may startle and condemn. The advocates of slavery

may vent their tyrannical rage. I consult neither. "Truth" is my motto; and Truth will triumph, in the end, over all opposition, provided its advocates persevere with firmness and activity.

I have long entertained the opinions that are here expressed:—and I have good reason to believe that many others have had similar views of the important subject. I have a mass of documents before me, from which I shall glean something to my purpose from time to time. A number of the political gladiators of the present day, together with some who have quit the stage of action and the halls of intrigue, will be introduced to the notice of the reader.

At present I shall conclude with a short extract from an editorial article in the "*Village Record*," of a recent date. It is gratifying to find that a philanthropist and statesman, like *Charles Miner*, has the heart to conceive, and the independence to avow, such correct and incontrovertible sentiments as the following: but I should have rejoiced to perceive that he extended his views still a little further back.

From the Village Record.

It is manifest, that the reasons assigned for hostility to the Tariff and Internal Improvement, are not the main causes of the Nullifying schemes of the South. For some time we have apprehended there was a deep and hidden current, operative, though unavowed—that had slavery for its moving cause, which was driving the Nullifiers onward. Every day convinces us it is so. The Colonization Society looks to extensive aid from the General Government—considerable assistance has already been rendered. When the National Debt shall be paid, and the revenue be ample and unpledged, it would seem likely, if Liberia should in the mean time prosper, that the scheme might assume a more decidedly National aspect. Fearing the effect upon their cherished system, it is not unlikely that this cause produces effects more extensive than we have generally imagined.

Whatever it may be, whether that vaulting ambition; that proud self will, which is determined to have its own way, and to rule or ruin—whether a real alarm exists that, in the revenues and power of the Federal Government there is danger to the system of Slavery—or whether there is an anti-federal jealousy of the growing greatness of the Government of the Union, compared with that of the states individually, we pretend not certainly to determine; each may have its influence, but one thing is very clear—There is a fixed determination—a settled policy, to cripple the General Government—to prune away the sources of its power—to break down the pillars of its greatness. Under the popular banner of state rights, raised against Federal Usurpation, the crusade is to be waged.

A PRETTY BUSINESS!

There are many among us who are so far convinced of the impropriety of countenancing the

internal slave trade of this country, that they will not sell slaves to go beyond the limits of this State or the District of Columbia. Hence we often see advertisements like the following in the newspapers.

"For sale: A negro boy, a slave for life. He is eighteen years of age, acquainted with house work in general, and may be made a first rate waiter. His present owner will not sell him out of the State; but to a resident of the District of Columbia, or of this State, he will be sold unconditionally, to be dealt with as he may merit. A line addressed to E. S. at this office, will be attended to."

Now, although it is the undoubted wish of some to make such arrangements, in selling the slaves, as that they shall not be trafficked and sold at a great distance from their relatives without their consent; yet it is notorious that there are unprincipled wretches, here and elsewhere, who purchase slaves under such injustices, keep them a short time, and then dispose of them to the "soul-drivers," who prowls the country in every direction, seeking their prey. It would be well for the humane slave holder to look thoroughly into this matter, before making himself an unwilling party to such acknowledged criminal conduct.

THE "LIBERALIST."

I very much regret to learn that the "*Liberalist*," recently published in New Orleans, by Milo Mower, has been discontinued, for want of support. This has been the fate of every periodical work, except the "*Genius of Universal Emancipation*," that has been established in America, with the view of promulgating the doctrines of universal freedom and justice, without regard to class or color. Yes, in this blessed land of bibles, christians, constitutions, and republicans, where all claim a high degree of religious, political, and social virtue, there is not enough of either for the adequate support of a periodical publication that dares to advocate a holy cause in a firm & energetic manner. Shame to the professed philanthropists of this generation. They have hands to labor, tongues to plead, and funds to spare, for any popular enterprise, no matter whether it be well calculated to effect all its projectors contemplate or not. But while they loudly eulogise every effort to promote this great work of reformation, in the only practicable way, they have not the spirit to aid in furnishing the means necessary for its accomplishment. I repeat, that the American people have not the spirit to support even such a publication; for this periodical work, which must, long since, have ceased to exist, had it not been for the unusual exertions and great personal sacrifices

been resorted to. If some of these States do not, ere long, witness the retributive vengeance of Heaven, for their criminal acts of oppression, it will not be delayed because there are "fifty righteous" to be found in Sodom.—No! with all their high professions of religion and freedom, there is not a people upon earth more deeply sunk in the mire of avarice and injustice. The great mass are fairly represented in the following couplet:

Behold! a factious band agree
To call it freedom, when *themselves* are free!

Are these remarks severe?—They are *deserved*—so:—and they are placed on record, for the indignant perusal of those in future time who may be actuated by a bolder philanthropy, and a broader patriotism, than the *religious* and *humane* "republicans" of the present day. There are indeed some exceptions to the above general censure; but they are few, comparatively speaking.

Not only has the philanthropic Mower been under the necessity of discontinuing his publication, for lack of the necessary support; but the edarm of persecution has also been made bare to punish him for his patriotic devotion to the sacred cause of justice! He has been recently *imprisoned*, on a charge of circulating what the slave tyrants of Louisiana please to term a "seditious and inflammatory handbill," among the colored people of New-Orleans. This handbill, we learn, was nothing more than an appeal to the people for the support of his publication, previous to its discontinuance. Whether he will possess the nerve to meet the Negro *monocrats* of New Orleans with that stern rebuke that our Judge Brice and his "Swiss" minions have had the taste of, remains to be seen. It is to be hoped that he will ultimately triumph over the malice and tyranny of his persecutors.

THE CANADA SETTLEMENT.

This important undertaking is successfully progressing. A Convention of Delegates from various parts of the United States, composed of some of the most intelligent colored people in the country, was recently held in Philadelphia; at which resolutions were adopted to prosecute with vigor. The venerable Bishop Allen presided in this Convention. It is expected that the proceedings will shortly appear in pamphlet form.

I learn that this assembly did not sanction the proceedings of the colored people from Ohio; but have resolved to proceed independently, and in a way that will not interfere with their plans. A Committee was appointed to transact

such immediate business as might be considered advisable. Addresses to the colored people of the United States, and to philanthropists generally, and also one to the people of England, were adopted. A resolution was likewise passed to hold another general Convention at a future period.

A particular topographical description of the country where the colored people are making their settlements in Canada, would at this moment be a desideratum. I had calculated to furnish something of the kind, before now, but sufficient materials are not yet at command. There is no doubt, however, of the great fertility of the soil, mildness of the climate, and civil advantages, there held out to the views and acceptance of our colored people; and this region, together with Mexico, and the West Indies, will ere long be to them what the land of Canaan was to the Israelites; a land of refuge from injustice, and a home for those who are released from a worse than Egyptian oppression.

Just as the matter for this number was nearly prepared for the Press, I received a letter from Israel Lewis, agent of the colored people from Ohio, dated: "*Wilberforce, Upper Canada, September 16th, 1830.*"

He writes that the gentlemen at Auburn, New York, who kindly interested themselves in procuring donations to aid the infant Colony, have sent them upwards of three hundred dollars, which has enabled them to pay a considerable sum on the purchase of their land. He states that they are in need of further aid, to prosecute their undertaking; and requests that humane persons will lend their assistance. He observes that donations for this purpose, forwarded to James Seymour, Cashier of the Bank of Auburn, N. Y. will be thankfully received, and faithfully applied to the use above mentioned. He concludes by stating that they have small crops of corn, tobacco, beans, cabbages, potatoes, melons, &c. now growing; that they are building new houses, and otherwise progressing with their settlement.

It were well worthy the serious consideration of the humane and the philanthropic of the wealthy class, in this country, whether at least as much good will not result from encouraging the settlement of our colored people in Canada, as may be expected from any other colonial scheme. What say the advocates of the plans proposed by King and Tucker, to the Congress of the United States, a few years since?

TOPOGRAPHY OF HAYTI.

By a late arrival from Port au Prince, I have received an interesting topographical descrip-

tion of the Southern portion of the island of Hayti. The limits of this work will not possibly admit of giving it fully in detail; but I shall endeavor so to condense it as to furnish a generally correct idea of the country. The author will please accept my thanks for his valuable manuscript.

THOMAS CRUSE.

From the communication of this gentleman, in this number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, it would seem that the spirit of avarice is yet too predominant for the success of his philanthropic project.

I have the gratification, however, to learn from him that, *since that article was in type*, he has purchased and manumitted one young woman, who was held as a slave by a lady in this city. He, therefore has great cause to rejoice that one human being has, by his instrumentality, been relieved from the yoke of bondage; and even should nothing further be done, in this way, *some good* has already been accomplished.

When we take into consideration the motives by which this gentleman is actuated, it must be admitted that his conduct is deserving of the highest praise: and most assuredly he will have his reward for his humane and pious efforts.

A GOOD ONE!

Our friend Swaim, of the "Greensboro (N.C.) Patriot", thus quizzes the Legislature of that State, relative to one of its recent acts:—

Sheriff Bill. The bill to vest the rights of the sheriffs in the free white men of the State, has become a law. A motion was made to strike out the word "white" in the title; but it was lost, 93 to 36. We cannot well see what business that pretty little word, "white," has in any part of the bill. We think the Legislature would be detained at least a fortnight in drawing a line of distinction between white & colored!"

MARYLAND ELECTION.

A distant correspondent wishes to know whether the anti-slavery party in Baltimore has determined to retire from the contest, in a political capacity? For the present year, it has. Our friend D. Raymond, the only person possessing the requisite qualifications and at the same time a willingness to act upon that principle, has removed to a distant part of the State. The great strife, relative to MEN, now absorbs every consideration. "Clay or Jackson"—and "Jackson or Clay," are the only watchwords now among our politicians. Considerations of a thousand times more importance have little weight with our friends at present!! But let us not despond:—they will think upon the subject of slavery again when Gen. Jackson returns to the hermitage.

THE AFRICAN COLONY.

A vessel will shortly sail from Norfolk, for the African Colony; and it is stated in the *African Repository* that a number of slaves will be permitted to go out in said vessel, from Virginia and Maryland. A few will probably go from this city. Several free persons also are preparing for the voyage.

Correspondence.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

MR. EDITOR: Man is a being indued with inherent love of liberty, which consists in the honor of directing his own actions, to the utmost latitude which is possible, without intruding on the liberties of others. No passion has been more universally applauded, than love of liberty, and no vice has been so universally condemned, as an indifference towards LIBERTY is stamped on our coins—LIBERTY DEATH is inscribed on our banners. For Liberty our fathers left their native soil. For Liberty they fought, and bled, and died.

Liberty may be considered under various heads, but I shall take but two—political and personal. Political liberty consists in every man's having a voice in the administration of government, being bound only by the will of the majority in a constitutional manner. That no man endures a law, to which he has not virtually consented, for he consents to abide by the acts of the majority, when they are constitutional. Some men prize this kind of liberty while others do not. Some cannot be happy without it, and some cannot be happy with it. It is, at least, a precarious blessing, and becomes a curse, when conferred on those who are not qualified to exercise it: yet, for this liberty what rivers of blood have been shed! At the least infraction of it, thousands of swords leap from their scabbards, and brother slays his brother, like the soldiers of Cadmus, until the living do not suffice to bury the dead.

Personal liberty consists in the power which every man has, or ought to have, over his own private actions, words and thoughts, so long as they do not interfere with the rights of others. It belongs to the whole human race, is unalienable in its nature, and can be forfeited only by crime. But the forfeit cannot be entailed on posterity. In fact, in the language of the declaration of independence, "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." It is self-evident, that there can be no political liberty without personal liberty, for personal slavery includes political, as the greater does the less.

Personal liberty is essential to property; for what has a slave which he can call his own? If his body is not his, it is absurd to think that any thing else can be. Personal liberty is essential to happiness, but political liberty is not. Many nations prefer monarchy to republicanism, and give up political liberty, for the sake of personal security. Nor is political liberty essential to our form of government. A republic is often more despotic than a monarchy.

The mob of Athens was more cruel than the thirty tyrants; and the mob of Syracuse than Dyonisius. In fact, political liberty is often a bare *ens rationis*, an ideal thing—a shadow without a substance—a name and nothing else.

Yet for this liberty, or the bare name of it, how bravely do men fight. How many civil wars have desolated the finest countries! How often has man been a foe to his next neighbour! The son fights his own father; the brother shoots his brother. Members of the same church, who have sat down on the sabbath at the same table, to commemorate the love of their Redeemer, who died for his enemies, have, before the close of the week, embued their hands in each others blood!

But personal liberty is quite another thing, and the loss of it is the greatest calamity which can befall an innocent man. The loser cannot breathe, but he feels the loss of it. He neither eats, drinks, nor sleeps, but he feels it. It haunts his dreams: it degrades his feelings: it blunts his intellect. It excites every malignant, revengeful passion. It sinks a man to a brute, or converts him to a demon. This is the natural effect when a freeman is made a slave.—The effect is but partial, when a man is born so. But, kind Providence has implanted in our nature a general principle, by which we submit to evils, when they become inevitable.—Long habit inures us to misery, and it either blunts the sting, or deadens our sensibility to it. Were it not for this, there would not now be a slave on the face of the earth—all would, long since, have fallen in the struggle for liberty, or died of grief.

I know something of slavery, for I have lived in a land of slaves, and have been, myself—may God forgive me—a slave owner. I know much of the heart sinking, debasing, soul-destroying qualities of slavery, though, undoubtedly, I do not know all, and I need not repeat them; nor cannot describe them—imagination cannot reach them. And yet, strange as it may appear to some, I would not take the life of a fellow creature, to secure my own liberty. Were there no other world but this—no state of existence beyond the grave—no king in heaven, to whom I owe unlimited allegiance—no hell, to which my stab might send a poor sinful worm like myself—then, perhaps, I might—or, I did not take the life of my master, I might cheat him of his slave, and take my own. But, when I consider, that the Gospel is clear upon this point; and that we are not allowed to do evil that good may come; that we are to render to no man evil for evil, or to revenge ourselves; that slaves are commanded to be obedient to their masters; and, when I consider, that the liberty of a few short years, if procured by unlawful means, must be purchased with an eternity of misery—if not of my own misery; that in seeking my liberty, I must sacrifice the lives of many innocent women and children—if I must send many a guilty soul to that place where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched—I confess, that I would rather bear all the ills of slavery, until my Maker should call me to himself, than seek my liberty by insurrection. I know, that the world will call me mean, base, and cowardly, and all that: but I care not. Thank God, I have moral courage enough, not to fear the scorn of the world. But, if a man ought not to take the sword for

his own personal liberty, how much less for political liberty, which is no more to be weighed against the other, than a feather against a mountain. In what a dilemma are those placed, who claim “the holy right of insurrection,” as they call it, for themselves, when their political liberty is in danger, but deny it to others, who are oppressed by personal and political slavery together!—as though the increase of the evil annihilated it! What a wonderful absurdity are not men guilty of! It would be absolutely incredible, were it not that we have constant demonstration of it. Nay, the same men—identically the same men who would, or rather who have, shouldered the musket and swung the knapsack to oppose the liberty of others—to march and fight against personal liberty, have also fought and died in defence of political liberty. If a man attempts to take away our liberty, it is right, say they, to kill him. If another, who is a slave, attempt to obtain his own liberty, it is right to kill him too! Is this doing as we would be done by? And these men call themselves christians. I should like to know the chapter and verse, from which they derive the evidence of their christianity. No—the man, who claims the right of insurrection for himself and denies it to his slave, acknowledges only the right of the strongest, tramples on every law of God, and cannot be, to my apprehension, within the pale of the christian church. Let such as call themselves christians, act consistently, and either renounce the right of insurrection, or allow it to others—or, at least, let them go so far, as to do away all occasion for insurrection.

Suppose the slaves, “not having the fear of God before their eyes,” should rebel against their masters, and a civil war should ensue; one side fighting for liberty the other for slavery, what part should that christian take who approved of war for any consideration?

Suppose some black Lafayette should arrive from Hayti, and should lead on these slaves to victory, glory, liberty, and independence, and, being free, they should set about commemorating some great battle, in which they had killed a great number of whites, and should lay the foundation of a monument, such as has been begun on Bunker-hill, and should send to the Boston ladies to help them to finish it, ought these ladies to contribute to “this beneficent object,” as the Bunker-hill monument has been called by one of our christian newspapers?

I wish some of your correspondents—if you have any who approve of war and condemn slavery—would answer these questions, and give their reasons—scripture reasons. And I wish, also, some one, who approves of both war and slavery, would answer them, with or without scripture.

CONSISTENCY.

Minot, Maine, June 6th, 1830.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

MR. LUNDY:—

If you think the following correspondence worthy your attention, it is at your disposal.

S. R. J.

Western Virginia, 1830.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM A FRIEND.

“I am sorry to know that you oppose African, or rather American slavery. I

admit that slavery is a great and growing evil—that it ought to be, and ultimately *must* be abolished—but I do not see that *you*, or any other person, can [now] do any thing to effect this great end. The people of the United States are not prepared to receive any thing on this subject, much less to act in the cause; and without the assistance of the majority of the people, what can *you* do? Moreover, if you had the *power*, or the people had the *will*, to abolish slavery, it would not be expedient *now*. It would seem to me but little less than madness to set afloat such a large mass of ignorance at once. I would prefer perpetual slavery to this. If we cannot educate them first, let us never liberate them. I should be pleased to see you turn your attention this way—“Cleanser the fountain if you would have the stream run clear.” But I weary you with my objections.”

REPLY.

Dear Sir—Your observations upon the subject of slavery seem to be predicated upon a mistaken view of it. If slavery be an evil, (and that it is, “all nature cries aloud through all her works,” which you admit,) the sooner we get clear of it, the better. It is not our province to reason whether we shall obey the commands of justice, or not—but it is our bounden duty and high privilege to comply immediately, reckless of consequences. Justice is a sure paymaster. If we obey, our reward is certain to be peace and happiness; but if not, vice takes the throne, and rewards us with misery. There is no medium here. What is not virtue must be vice—and that which is not justice must be injustice. We must be on one side or the other. *To-day* is the only time we are certain of.—therefore I would say: “Defer not till to-morrow to be just and wise.—Alas! to-morrow’s sun to thee may never rise!

Remember that individuals compose the nation, and that it is by the combined efforts of a few individuals that the greatest reformatations are achieved. Every thing must have a beginning, a beginner, & a supporter; and in order to accomplish any end we must take a decided stand. Must I abandon this stand, merely because *you think* that I can do nothing? Verily, friend, if all were as scrupulous of trying their strength as you seem to be, we should not have many mighty men engaged in this or any other cause. But I can assure you that, if the advocates of Emancipation

were to act in concert, slavery could be *immediately* abolished, great as you suppose the task; and I now call upon every philanthropist to be up and doing, while it is called *to-day*. Dispute no longer about modes, &c.

For modes and forms, let graceless bigots fight; That can’t be wrong which Justice says is right.

Consult not *expediency*; but DO JUSTICE. This *expedient philanthropy* is lame; or, rather, is no philanthropy at all. “Canst thou, and honor’d with a christian name, Buy what is woman born, and feel no shame?—Trade in the blood of innocence, and plead *Expedience* as a warrant for the deed? So may the ruffian, who with ghastly glide, Dagger in hand, steals close to your bed side Not he, but his immergence forc’d the door— He found it [*inexpedient*] to be poor!”

You are certainly mistaken in saying that the people are not prepared to accept any thing on this subject. But if it were so, the greater would be the necessity of my exertions.

Your fears about setting afloat so large a mass of ignorance at once, and of all the direful consequences attending such a measure, are but the bug-bears of a disordered imagination. These evils have no existence, except in the brains of a few *expedient philanthropists*. I know that a safe remedy can be found for every real or imaginary barrier to the *immediate and complete* emancipation of every *slave* in this *free* country.

You may as well attempt to cleanse an impure fountain by purifying the water in the stream, as attempt to educate *slaves*. Make them *free*, and education, with all its concomitant blessings, will naturally follow. There is such a strange connection between the body and the mind, that where the one is oppressed, the other cannot prosper. This is no where better proven than in the subject under consideration. There are some exceptions to all general rules.

I beg of you to reconsider this subject. Commence at the *fountain*, and purify *your own* actions in relation to it. Come out from among the *Expedients*, and obey God, rather than the false philosophy of an erring man.

Yours, Respectfully.

S. R. J.

For the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.
TO THE PUBLIC.

Having placed myself before the Public, in my advertisement of “An office to purchase the freedom of female slaves

a certain age from their owners, who might be willing for a moderate price to grant the same," I consider it due to the publick, as well as to myself, to make known how far this has been operative. And with feelings the most acute, and prostrate to the dust, candour obliges me to declare *it has totally failed*,—there having been (after six weeks notification) but ONE application to sell, and that one, after agreeing to take my price, withdrew! Thus, it appears evident, that slaveholders are not ready or willing to meet an offer of this kind. Perhaps this in part may arise from the obscurity of the individual offering, or his low price. From whatever cause it may be, he has to regret that this his favourite scheme has proved abortive. His hopes led him to expect from the humanity of slaveholders (a way being opened to them to exercise it) and the liberality of a humane and generous publick, who detests the slave system—a fund would have been provided for the purchase of every female slave in the city of Baltimore, during the years of her fecundity—being met with a correspondent feeling on the part of the slave holder.—This hope, alas! is not verified.—War against the unborn infant, against the helples innocent, is still to be continued. What crime have they been guilty of, thus to be doomed to irremediable slavery, and human nature and the best feelings of the human heart to be outraged, in the continuance of this greatest of all moral evils?

In conclusion, I would ask, what heart would not pulsate more pleasurable, in the view of no more slaves being born in our fair city of Baltimore? Now this is in the reach of the humane and generous. A plan in successful operation, similar to the one that has been offered, would do it in twelve months.—Any plan that may be suggested, or association formed, having for its object the emancipation of my species, shall have my free, full, gratuitous support: and this offer is not made from the feelings of the moment.—They have been mine more than thirty years.

THOMAS CRUSE.

Baltimore 29th September, 1830.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

"Sanctify, we beseech thee O Lord! these productions to our use and ourselves to thy service, through Christ our Lord, amen."

The man who uses this petition, tells us that the blessings which he enjoys emanated from the unmerited bounty of the

Giver of every good and perfect gift—that so far as his agency is concerned in the acquisition of these blessings, he has wronged no man—he has been honest to the best of his knowledge—he has violated no law of the great Eternal, to whom he returns thanks for what he possesses and enjoys.

Now as it will be conceded that none have a right to use this prayer who have obtained the blessings, embraced in the above petition, in contravention of the laws of justice and humanity, we should like to know how it is that the slaveholder can stand up at his table, (as he frequently does,) seeing before him the "productions" of unrewarded toil—"productions" wrested from the possession of their rightful owners, and this at the expense of their comfort, convenience, and happiness:—how is it that while he has before his eyes the ill-gotten fruit of the poor African's sweat and toil, and hears the heart sickening cries of the laborer who has "reaped down his fields" as they ascend into the ears of the Lord of sabbath—how we ask can any man, thus circumstanced, look up to Heaven & pray: "*Sanctify we beseech the O Lord, these productions to our use, and ourselves to thy service, through Christ our Lord, amen.*" Surely he is not sensible of the guilt he incurs, and the sin-avenging frowns of an angry God, which at that moment rest upon his head. Perhaps in palliation of his inconsistency, (to use the mildest term,) he tells us that he is frequently visited by ministers of the gospel, who, notwithstanding they are perfectly aware of his condition, partake of the bounties of his table, and are not so conscientious as to refuse to implore the divine blessing upon that which they know is the production of his slaves. Are not such ministers either very ignorant, or very wicked? In either case their authority is too weak and contemptible to give validity to any question of morals or religion. How a minister of Jesus, in the face of that religion which enjoins, "provide things honest in the sight of all men," can stand at the table of a slaveholder and give his sanction to slavery, and then, with sincere heart, lift his hands and eyes to the God of justice, mercy, and truth, and beseech him to put the broad seal of his approbation upon the cruel system, is a thing of mysterious import to me! I shudder at the contemplation of the spectacle. I repeat the inter-

rogation: Is not such an one either very ignorant, or very wicked? It must be the former. If he utters this prayer with his conscience awakened to the guilt of the master, and his eyes enlightened as to the wrongs and sufferings of the slave, is it not a mercy that his tongue does not cleave to the roof of his mouth?

I will conclude these remarks, by relating an anecdote perfectly in point:

"A man, possessing an uncommon degree of piety, was, with his wife and several children, reduced to the lowest ebb of poverty, almost to a state of starvation. Through the influence of the enemy of souls, together with the constant solicitations of his numerous family, almost famished for food, he was tempted one night, to take a lamb out of the flock of a respectable farmer in his neighbourhood. The lamb was brought home, killed, and part of it immediately dressed and brought upon the table; but when the poor tempted soul was about to ask a blessing upon it, Conscience did its office, and smote him: he looked at his hungry family, and said:—"How can I ask my God to bless that provision which I have feloniously taken from my neighbour? I will not partake of it, neither shall you; I will go and return the whole as it is, confessing my sin." He did so, and obtained the farmer's pardon; and a gracious and faithful God in his kind providence, supplied him and his family that day and ever afterwards."

Let every slaveholder, and every other man who is withholding justice from his "neighbour," and who is in the habit of using this petition, "go and do likewise."

W.

Biographical Sketches.

It was my intention to insert a sketch of the Life of *Anthony Benezet* in the present number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.—But I found much more difficulty than I had anticipated, in condensing the memoirs before me, in order to bring them within the limits which I have necessarily prescribed, and at the same time to give as general a view as possible of his multifarious labors in the good cause. Consequently, it is postponed for the present. I, therefore, embrace the opportunity to introduce the following brief notice of three other distinguished advocates of emancipation, who have recently passed from works to rewards. This article was received some months since; but, with many others, deferred for want of room. A few

memoirs of one of the persons to whom it alludes, have already appeared in this work. With the proceedings of one of the others, relative to the subject of emancipation, I have had very little acquaintance.

I consider it due to the public that the labors of the late *Elias Hicks*, in the cause of the abolition of slavery, should be more generally known than they are at present. A concise statement, more fully setting forth his views and proceedings in relation to this particular subject, will be cheerfully inserted in this department, if forwarded to the editor by some competent person. I take this occasion, also, to invite similar communications respecting any other distinguished advocates of the good cause, whose labors have been calculated to promote the important work.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

"The friends of Emancipation are invited to put on their habiliments of mourning. The past year enrols upon the list of mortality three dedicated laborers in that interesting cause—*Townsend Hawkehurst* and *Elias Hicks* of Long Island, and *James Jones* of Tennessee. Their lives have been distinguished for a strict observance of their solemn duties and faithful testimonies against the cruel system which has so long been suffered to exist in our otherwise enlightened country. They have labored not only by precept but by example; persevering through innumerable difficulties, denying themselves many of the accustomed necessities of life, and manifesting in their intercourse with men a zealous opposition to *African Slavery*. But they are now no more!

And because it has pleased infinite wisdom thus to remove from works to rewards these able advocates, will he suffer the effect of their labors to become extinct and the cause of emancipation to fail? We believe it not; but we humbly implore, that the mantles of these *Elijahs* may rest upon the *Elishas* of our day, even those whose years are yet few, and whose virtues are in embryo; and by a portion of that spirit which gave energy to their endeavors and crowned their labors with peace, will also bless the work in our yet feeble hands and enable us to divide the waters of opposition before us, and assiduously move on in the important work of proclaiming liberty to the captive and freedom to the oppressed.—And although we may not so fully effect what we most ardently desire should be accomplished, we shall reap the inestimable satisfaction of "having done what we could."

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

LADIES' REPOSITORY
Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

The Lady, to whom the principal superintendence of this department has been heretofore confided, has not had it in her power to prepare anything for this number. Other matters, connected with a change of residence, have necessarily claimed her attention. The opportunity embraced, however, to insert several articles in the very interesting papers recently forwarded to us by the Ladies Societies in England. The importance of these, we hope, may compensate, in a measure, for the absence of original matter.

When we review the proceedings of our Female friends in England, and note the fervor and patriotic philanthropy which actuates them, we do not fail to regret the supineness and inactivity which prevails among the Ladies on this side of the Atlantic. In the British dominions there are at least eight or nine hundred thousand slaves. In the United States we have nearly two millions. The cruelties of the oppressive system are practically the same in the one case as in the other. The ultimate consequences are more awful in their aspect with us. Why, then, are the Ladies of this country less active, less public-spirited, less enthusiastic, than their sisters in England? Because the statesmen of America have proclaimed the loudest in favor of universal emancipation—and will the Ladies of this Republic content themselves with these professions? They are interested—deeply interested—in the issue of this great question. They have a perfect right, and it is their solemn duty, to attend to it. In Philadelphia, alone, have they done anything of importance in this great work. We know that there are a sufficient number in Baltimore who are alive to the subject. Why do they not organize a society, and do something to the purpose? They have patriotism, philanthropy, and talents; they lack nothing, but resolution, necessity to make a noble effort in the good cause. Are they waiting because their fathers, their brothers, or their husbands are idle? They should remember that in all purely philanthropic enterprises men seldom lead, but are sure to follow when the example is set by the other sex.

THIRD REPORT.

Of the Ladies' Association for Liverpool and its Neighborhood, in aid of the Cause of Negro Emancipation.—1830.

Mrs. E. CROPPER, Treasurer.
Miss WALLACE, Secretary.
Miss BULLEY, Assistant Secretary.
Committee.

Miss M. Batley	Miss Hodgson, Oxf'd St.
Misses Bushell	Miss Kay
Mrs. Byrom	Mrs. King
Mrs. Carroll	Miss Loftus
Miss Clarke	Mrs. Newton
Miss Cropper	Mrs. O'Neill
Miss Dodgson	Miss Robson
Miss Fisher	Mrs. W. Roscoe
Mrs. Forshaw	Miss Roscoe
Mrs. Flounders	Miss E. Ryley
Mrs. Harrison	Miss Tennant
Miss Hodgson	Miss M. Waterhouse,
Miss A. Hodgson	Miss Welch

It is with feelings undamped by the little encouragement which the transactions of the past year have afforded them, that the Committee of the LIVERPOOL LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION present to their Subscribers and the Public their third Annual Report. They have not to record any accession to their numbers, or any increase of their funds; but they continue to believe that the cause in which they are engaged is one of justice, of humanity, and of religion; and as such, they trust it must be the cause of the Most High, and that it will ultimately prosper. But though their immediate operations have been limited, yet, in taking a wider field, and considering the aspect of the cause in the country generally, they find abundant reason to believe that a greater spirit of inquiry is excited, and a stronger interest awakened. Some new features are discernable in the manner in which the subject is considered: slavery is beginning to be viewed through a different medium; it is seen more in the light of the gospel, and declared to be opposed to its principles and its spirit. Another mark, not less obvious, is, that the odium of the continuance of Slavery is no longer confined to those immediately connected with it; but that, in a greater or less degree, the reproach belongs to all. The subject is brought home to individuals. It is not enough, in this day, to give a sigh to the "wrongs of Africa," and to the "bitter draught of Slavery." Plans are suggested, and opportunities afforded, by which sympathy may be practically evinced, and fruitless commiseration be exchanged for active exertion. Ladies' Societies are forming for the purpose of learning and conveying correct information as to the real nature and actual state of West Indian Slavery; and of pleading for the wives and mothers who dwell in its miserable bondage. However small the influence of such Societies singly, their combined result begins to be acknowledged; and their efforts are felt in the sum of authentic information which they have assisted to diffuse.

Is it too much to anticipate from these, and other indications of a more general attention to the subject, that there will not long remain that neutral ground which ignorance has hitherto preserved, and indifference been content to occupy? There is one obvious way in which individual exertion may be felt; by the disuse of West Indian Sugar, it is in the power of British females to convince the Planters of the necessi-

ty for relinquishing the present system.

The Committee earnestly solicit the co-operation of all who are interested in the present or eternal welfare of their fellow-creatures; fully convinced that any who may be induced to join them will never, on a further investigation as to the claims of the negroes, find cause to regret having used exertions in their behalf.

The contributions of the past year amount to £65 2s. 10d., of which, £50 has been remitted to the London Society. For the promotion of Education, the sum of £22 2s. has been received, which, with the balance remaining on hand last year, has enabled the Committee to remit £23 to the Society for Negro Education.

The Committee are aware how great is the disproportion between the means they have the power to employ, and the end they desire to see accomplished; yet, they earnestly appeal for the continuance of support, and entreat their fellow-country women to remember that the wrongs and injuries of the Slaves, which first influenced them to stretch out a hand for their help, still remain unredressed—unchanged. The Sabbath, as a day of rest and instruction, is still withheld from them: the women subjected to degrading and unmerciful treatment: whole families liable to entire and final separation, at the will, or from the misfortunes, of the owners: and the sanctities and obligations of marriage unenforced; and, according to the existing laws, unenforceable.

They would also remind those who still doubt that the sum of evil and the dereliction of virtuous and correct feelings, are greater in those countries where Slavery exists, than among ourselves; that while in our own highly favoured, though too guilty metropolis, the woman who had, by harsh treatment and unjust privation, occasioned the death of her apprentice, was followed to the scaffold by the execrations and groans of the populace: almost at the same time, in one of our own colonies, the owners of a Slave, who had, by most shameless and atrocious cruelties, been guilty of her death, and who had, by more than ordinary West Indian justice, been sentenced to fine and imprisonment, were during their confinement visited by the most respectable people on the island; and a memorial was even sent up to the British Parliament for a repeal of the harsh sentence, which subjected well-educated & "most humane" people to the rigour of a fine, for a cruel and barbarous murder! Though far from applauding that spirit, which in the uninformed populace can exult in the sanguinary inflictions of the law, on even the most guilty offenders; yet the Committee cannot but think that these circumstances speak forcibly as to the difference of feeling with which crimes, of in some degree equal magnitude, are viewed by the community of our country where freedom and justice preside, and by the inhabitants of the other, where the rights of the many are sacrificed to the supposed interests of the few; and where the long continuance of injustice and oppression have extinguished all feelings of high minded and virtuous indignation towards the perpetrators of violence and crime.

RESOLUTIONS.

At a meeting of Ladies, held in Liverpool January 17th, 1827, the following Resolutions were proposed and agreed to:—

1st.—That we form ourselves into a Society for aiding the cause of Negro Emancipation, and for procuring the protection of the British laws

for all the African race who are living under British Dominion; and who, in 1826, are permitted by enlightened Christian Britain, to see of whatever is most painful in the bitter cup of Slavery.

2nd.—That all Ladies subscribing from five to twelve shillings and upwards yearly, be members of this Association; and those who take bags, or obtain subscriptions, be entitled to receive monthly, one copy of the Anti-Slavery Reporter and Jamaica Gazette occasionally.

3rd.—That the business of this Society be conducted by a Treasurer, Secretaries, and a Committee, five of whom shall be competent to act; and that the Treasurer and Secretaries be members of the Committee in virtue of their office.

4th.—That the Committee shall meet, except in June, July, August, and September, on the second Wednesday in the month, at twelve o'clock in the Bible Depository, Slater-street; and that there be an Annual Meeting of this Society, when the accounts shall be presented, the proceedings of the last year reported, and the Treasurer, Secretaries, and Committee chosen for the ensuing year.

5th.—That the members of this Society be requested to encourage by their example, as far as by their influence, the use of the produce of free labour, in preference to that of slave labour.

6th.—That it be the special business of the Committee to disseminate authentic information respecting the nature and baneful effect of the present system of Slavery prevailing in our West India Colonies; and that they are authorised (subject to the approval of a General Meeting) to take such further measures as shall appear to be calculated to forward the objects of the Institution.

7th.—That this Society will continue its exertions in aid of the cause of Negro Emancipation, till the time may come when the unhappy children of Africa shall no longer be treated as beasts; no longer be bought and sold, and branded as cattle; and when the torturing and degrading cart-ship shall no longer fall on the persons of helpless Negro Slaves; and when every Negro mother, living under British Government, shall not be obliged to press a free-born infant to her bosom.

8th.—That every lady who takes a bag of papers be earnestly requested not only to send, but to lend the papers to her subscribers in preference to giving them, and that such ladies send the names and residences of their subscribers and donors in writing to the Secretaries at the monthly meetings, that they may be inserted in a book opened for that purpose.

9th.—That the funds of this Society be applied to the circulation of information, and for this purpose be remitted to the London Society.

10th.—That the members of this Association, being fully aware of their own insufficiency to effect any adequate relief for 800,000 of their fellow-subjects, now languishing in miserable bondage, implore the assistance of the Father of the fatherless, and the Judge of the widow, the Dispenser of Justice and Mercy, entreating Him for his Son's sake, to incline the hearts of every inhabitant of the British Dominions to exert themselves in every lawful means for their succour, and in praising Him for the progress that has been made in this great Cause.

(Resolved on the 14th of February.)

11th.—That a separate fund for Negro Emancipation be opened, and the money received

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

in purpose be remitted to the Treasurer of the London Ladies' Negro Education Society, under the patronage of the Duchess of Beaufort.

LITERARY.

For the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

DEAR EDITOR.
Looking over your paper, for May, last, my attention was attracted by the engraving of a young female slave in chains. I fancied that this poor sufferer had been forcibly separated from family connexions, and all the human heart holds dear, and doomed by brutal avarice to weep and pine in earthly loneliness. My reflections elicited the following lines, which, if you think worthy a place in the G. U. E. are at your disposal.

LINES.

I've seen, though young, a gloomy cloud
O'er my fair prospects thrown,
I've mourned the lost and dearly loved,
In sorrow, and alone.

Thou'rt not alone, a still small voice
Whispers that God is nigh,
Thou'rt not alone, faint heart rejoice,
There's comfort from on high;

And when dark clouds of sorrow come,
I'll look for aid from thee;
Thou art my aid, thou art my home,
A resting place for me.

We have received a pamphlet, from a Lady in England, containing the following dialogue, accompanied by the interrogation.—“Might not it be useful to urge American Ladies to form Anti-Slavery Associations?” We copy it, and expect our female friends to furnish the answer.

DIALOGUE,

between a *Well-wisher and a Friend to the Slaves,*
in the *British Colonies.*

BY A LADY.

“*I cannot be fashed.*”

A. ARE you a member of the LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in this neighbourhood?

B. Oh no! I am not quite so quixotic. I am very sorry for the poor slaves; but I see much to suffering and poverty all around me than I possibly relieve; and I am surprised that these who certainly have not made their own neighborhood a paradise yet, should think it necessary to search out objects of charity on the other side of the globe. When there is no more misery to be found in England, it will be time enough in my opinion to go so far in search of beings to relieve; and I cannot help feeling inclined to answer the invitation of these enthusiasts by the old saying, “Charity begins at home.”

A. I am quite content that Charity should begin at home; and much as I admire and respect exertions now so generally making for the relief of strangers, I should never have pressed for any one to join in them, however much I might wish you to do so, had these hapless wretches been left in the land of their fathers. They would then have been strangers, and entitled only to the strangers' portion of help, whatever that may be. But we have brought them to us, Englishmen under the sanction of the Eng-

lish government have brought them to English colonies, and therefore the charity which begins at home cannot refuse to assist them. Gladly would they have continued to be strangers to us, but we have forced them by the most brutal violence to become our fellow-subjects; and as their situation is more deplorable than that of any white persons who stand in the same relation to us, we should even on this ground (though it is not the only reason why their claim is most urgent) be particularly active and earnest in assisting them.

B. I believe there is a great deal of exaggeration in the shocking accounts given by the abolitionists.

A. It is easy to say so, but not very easy to see what interest they could have in exaggerating them; nor why they should venture to incur the enmity of so powerful a body as the West Indians and their numerous connexions without urgent cause. I do not ask you, however, to take for granted that their reports are true; I simply ask you not to take for granted that they are false, but to inquire and judge for yourself. I own it gave me pain to hear you so hastily treat the charges as exaggerated.

B. Why should it give you pain?

A. It gave me pain because I thought I perceived in your expression symptoms of the too prevailing disposition to take the oppressor's part against the oppressed. I should be very sorry to offend you, but I must say, that when you, without investigation, refuse to believe a tale of wrongs which you are called on to help to redress, you are not acting as a Christian should. We are told to “do justly and to love mercy.” Do you act so, when, in judging the cause of the helpless, you take for granted that the strong man is in the right, and, without listening to the evidence, decide that the poor wretch who lies at his feet is not wronged?

B. But I am not refusing to listen to the evidence: I have lately been told by a gentleman who has been in the West Indies, and who therefore must know better what is the state of things there than these Anti-slavery gentlemen, (very few of whom he says have ever visited one of the Colonies,) that the situation of the slaves is not nearly so bad as it has been represented to be.

A. All I ask is that you should read the accounts that are given by competent witnesses; and if you then find that the condition of the slaves is one of tolerable comfort, you may with an easy conscience refuse to give yourself any more trouble about them. I believe I might safely ask you merely to read the statements of the friends of slavery, and be sure of your verdict being against them; for their own legal reports, gazettes, and other documents, furnish unanswerable proofs of the iniquity and misery produced by the existence of slavery. As for your friend who has been in the West Indies, don't take his evidence for more than it is worth: ask him if he has observed the slaves when at work on the sugar plantations; if he has seen them when undergoing punishment; if he has followed them to the magistrates and courts of justice, and seen what redress they obtain when wronged; if he has visited the prisons and work-houses, and inquired for what offences and by whose orders the slaves are there; if he has examined their food, and counted their hours of labour and hours of repose: if he has done this and

much more, and if he is a man of veracity, believe his report; but if he has spent his time in feasting in the houses of the planters and receiving their various civilities, and has only seen the slaves when the masters and overseers thought it expedient that they should be seen by a stranger's eye, then consider his report as of little worth.

B. Indeed, I never thought of asking him what opportunities he had had of seeing the real state of things, and I don't well know whether he was sufficiently interested about the welfare of the slaves to take much pains to ascertain their real condition; so I own I ought not to have said so decidedly that the abolitionists were guilty of exaggeration. I assure you, I never thought that there was *no* truth in their accounts, and I have always pitied the poor slaves very much. I detest slavery, and I hope it will some time or other be put an end to; and till it is, I am sure I hope measures will be taken to prevent the masters from ill-treating their slaves. But I can't take any part in the business myself: attention to my family is my first duty, and that fully occupies my time.

A. I wish the slaves were allowed to devote a reasonable portion of their time to such attention. No doubt it is your first duty; but family concerns cannot I think so completely occupy the time of any lady, or of any woman above the poorest class, as to form a conscientious excuse for not devoting a few minutes, now and then, to help any of her fellow-creatures whom she knows (or might know if she would attend to the subject) to be in urgent need of her assistance. But you, who feel this duty to be so important, will surely be peculiarly anxious to help the poor slaves, when you hear that in the West Indies the most essential and most important of all the maternal duties, if performed at any other time than the prescribed hours of the overseer, is an offence punished by cruel stripes on the bare body of the unhappy mother. If a poor woman, thus maltreated because she had yielded to the cries of her hungry infant, and had left her laborious task for a few minutes to suckle it, could ask you to draw the attention of those who are able to assist her to her case, would you have the conscience to reply—"I cannot spare ten minutes from my family duties to plead your cause?" For is it not true that if you did undertake this labour of mercy, you might leave your children with a nurse-maid who would take good care of them, and where you know that they would not suffer in any way from your absence while you attended to the call of humanity. But were you in the situation of a black slave you must be content to leave your babe with many others under the care of some old negro, or carry it on your back while laboriously toiling in the sun; and in either case you must let it (even though sickly) cry on in vain for the nourishment you would so gladly bestow on it; for should you permit yourself to be moved by the yearnings of maternal sympathy to still the piteous cry, you would be instantly punished by such stripes on your naked flesh, as no person in England, of common humanity, could see inflicted on a horse, without indignation and horror. Again, if you were liable at any hour to have those children, the love and care of whom so engross your feelings that you can hardly find room in your heart for a little compassion—to have those tender little ones

torn from you and sent away where you would never see them more, what would you think of her who should say she was too much engaged to try to save you and your offspring from such a dreadful fate? Bring such a heart-rending separation from all your beloved children strongly to your mind, and will you then say that you have not time to try to save other women from

B. Perhaps I ought not to say I have not time for it: I believe I could by giving up some employment of no great consequence, find a few minutes now and then which I might employ in that manner; but I really am not fit for any kind of business; I am an invalid, and a person of health is not required to exert herself as much as if she were well.

A. Not on this side the Atlantic; but it is well you are not a negro slave: if you were, not only would your plea be disregarded, unless your illness were such as to be quite evident to the overseer's unwilling eye, but you would be severely flogged, or put into the stocks or in prison for making it. Think of this being the manner in which pleas of sickness or infirmity are attended to when made by a slave, and you will surely from sympathy feel more inclined than stouter persons might be to help her. Remember too that she is not like you, begging to be excused from the exertion of reading or lending a few books, or speaking to a few neighbours, or giving directions to a grocer, or trying to persuade a relative to promote a petition; she is supplicating that she may, till she is better, rest from more severe labour than is ever performed by women in this country, and in a tropical climate. Since you think indigence a justifiable reason for not making a trifling exertion, you would, I conclude, consider pregnancy a very sufficient excuse for a relaxation of even your ordinary and not very fatiguing employment: what will you feel then when you hear that in the West Indies, this circumstance is not considered even as a reason for excusing the slave from the most barbarous degrees of punishment, nor for allowing her such a relaxation from toil as is necessary to preserve the life of the unborn infant. Read I entreat you, (for I could not venture to tell you the particulars,) how pregnant women have been treated in some of our colonies.

B. Oh, pray don't ask me to read those horrible accounts; I can't bear to do so indeed.

A. Perhaps the Samaritan did not like better to look on bleeding wounds than you do to read of them; but if he had been so delicate and (I don't do me) so selfish as to turn away his eyes when he knew that a stranger was perishing for want of help, he would not have gained the commendation of our Saviour.

B. That is not a case in point: the Samaritan could not help the sufferer without going up to him, and with his own hands binding up his wounds; but if I felt well enough to do any thing for the slaves, and if I thought it was any part of my business, I could do it just as well for knowing that they are oppressed and treated with cruelty, as if I made myself sick by reading the particular account of their sufferings.

A. Alas! you have yourself shewn too plainly what is the efficacy of a vague general notion that the slaves are wronged and cruelly treated. Such a notion would hardly impel to sufficient exertion an active person who had particular disinclination to take a share in the work.

you who acknowledge yourself to be indolent and not willing to help in this cause, will most certainly not make all the exertions which you can and ought to make, if the sufferings you are desired to assist in relieving are not particularly impressed on your mind. If they were so, if you not merely knew that these poor women are suffering wrong, but had their particular grievances imprinted on your imagination, and thus really affecting your heart, you could not say in imitation of some of whom St. James speaks, "Be ye no longer liable to be forever torn from the arms of your children! Be ye allowed to suckle your babes unscourged!" and then smile on your own in peace. No; if you did not shut your eyes and ears against the recital of the grievous hardships endured by these fellow-creatures of yours, you could not content yourself, as so many do, with the expression of what sounds like a compassionate wish; but you would, like him who did not refuse to look on the wounds of the stranger, assist the helpless sufferer, or at least endeavour to do so. (Conclusion next month.)

BRITISH SLAVERY.

Whene'er to Afric's shores I turn my eyes,
Horrors of deepest, deadliest guilt arise:
I see, by more than Fancy's mirror shown,
The burning village and the blazing town:
See the dire victim torn from social life,
The shrieking babe, the agonizing wife!
She! wretch forlorn, is dragg'd by hostile hands
To distant tyrants, sold to distant lands:
Transmitted miseries, and successive chains,
The sole sad heritage her child obtains!
E'en this last wretched boon their foes deny
To live together, or together die.
By felon hands, by one relentless stroke,
See the fond links of feeling nature broke!
The fibres twisting round a parent's heart,
Torn from their grasp, and bleeding as they part.
Hannah More.

Department Français.

LE "LIBERAL."

J'apprends avec beaucoup de regret que le "Liberal" récemment publié à la Nouvelle Orléans, par Milo Mower, a discontinué son travail par manque de support. Ceci a été le sort de tous les ouvrages périodiques, excepté de celui du "Genius of Universal Emancipation," qui a été établi en Amérique dans la vue de promulguer les doctrines de la justice et de la liberté universelle sans considérer le rang ou la couleur des hommes. Oui, dans cette terre bien heureuse, cette terre renfermant en elle les constitutions chrétiennes et républicaines, ou l'on prétend atteindre ou plus haut degré des vertus religieuses, politiques et sociales, dans cette terre dis-je, un ouvrage périodique défenseur de la sainte cause, ayant le courage de le faire d'une manière ferme et énergique, est délaissé et comment? Par manque de support. Honte! Honte aux philanthropes déclarés de cette génération! Ils ont des mains pour tra-

vailer, des langues pour plaider, des fonds pour employer à aucune entreprise quelconque, soit que les faiseurs de projets aient bien calculés ou non pour effecteur le dessein qu'ils ont en contemplation. Mais pendant qu'ils font hautement l'éloge de tous les efforts que l'on fait pour avancer le grand travail de réformation dans la seule manière praticable, ils n'ont pas l'esprit d'aider en fournissant les moyens nécessaires pour son accomplissement.

Non seulement le philanthrope Mower a été dans la nécessité de discontinuer sa publication par le besoin d'être supporté, mais le bras sanglant de la persécution c'est aussi montré à nu pour le punir de sa patriotique dévotion pour la cause sacrée de la justice! Il a été depuis peu emprisonné sur l'accusation de circuler ce que les tirans des esclaves de la Louisiane se plaisent à nommer "un pamphlet incendiaire" parmi les gens de couleur de la Nouvelle Orléans. Nous apprenons que ce pamphlet n'était rien de plus qu'un appel au peuple pour supporter sa publication avant que de la discontinuer. S'il possède la vigueur de faire face aux monocrates des nègres de la Nouvelle Orléans, avec cet air sévère et repoussant que notre jingo Brice et ses Suisses mignons ont pris goût. Ceci reste à savoir. Il faut espérer qu'en dernier ressort, il triomphera de la malice et de la tyrannie de ces persécuteurs.

BLACK LIST.

The "Black List," for this month, is short, but pithy. The engravings, accompanying this number, were prepared especially for it. A little explanation of their design may be necessary.

The first represents the BROKEN FINGER OF A SLAVE. This was actually found in a cup of coffee, not long since, by one of the members of a family in this city! The bone was broken off near the second joint, and below that (together with the nail) it was perfect. The skin was not destroyed, but adhered closely to it, though it had undoubtedly passed through all the various process of boiling and manufacturing the sugar.

We have often heard of the fingers of slaves being caught in the mills and broken off, when grinding the cane. Few perhaps, if any, are known to suffer thus, except those who become stupid and careless from excess of toil, or other causes. Any candid person acquainted with the West India mode of converting the juice of the cane into sugar, will admit that it is an easy matter for a substance, like this, to go through the whole process, in the way that it unquestionably did.

The reader will make his or her own com-

ments upon the subject before us. We have never heard of either the breaking of limbs, in this way, nor the *cutting of backs in pieces* with the cart-whip (as the system of slavery permits) where those who perform the labor of the country are free. Oppressors are demons, where ever they may be:—yes *Demons!*—They outrage *humane nature*, by the usurpation of authority, and then practice every *devilish cruelty* to perpetuate and give it effect.

The *second engraving* represents a young slave as *Yoked and Chained*, while at work in a cellar, in this city—(See *G. U. E.—No. 3. vol. 11.*) This is a very common mode of punishment for running away. The *Yoke* is as frequently to be seen in Maryland, as the *Clog* is in Virginia and further south.—Both are fine comments on our *christianity and republicanism!*

Selections.

THE CONSUMERS OF WEST INDIA SUGAR THE SUPPORTERS OF WEST INDIA SLAVERY.

An attempt to shew that all persons who either condemn the injustice of holding innocent British Subjects in a state of Slavery, or who deprecate the lavish sacrifice of their lives occasioned by the culture of Sugar, are bound to abstain from the use of that article.

“I pass with haste by the coast of Africa, whence my mind turns with indignation at the abominable traffic in the human species, from which a part of our countrymen dare to derive their most inauspicious wealth. Sugar, it has been said, would be dear if it were not worked by *Blacks* in the Western Islands; as if the most laborious, the most dangerous works, were not carried on chiefly, in England, by *free men*. In fact, they are so carried on with infinitely more advantage; for there is an alacrity in the consciousness of freedom, and a gloomy sullen indolence in a consciousness of slavery. Let Sugar be as dear as it may, *it is better to eat none—to eat honey, if sweetness only be palatable,—better to eat aloe or coloquintida, than to violate a primary law of nature, impressed on every heart not imbrued by avarice; than rob one human creature of those eternal rights, of which no law upon earth can justly deprive him.*”—“Had it been my good or bad fortune to have delivered, in the great Assembly of Representatives, the sentiments which this bosom contains, I am sensible that my public course of speaking and voting must have clashed, in a variety of instances, with my private obligations. The conflict of interfering duties constitutes, in my opinion, the nicest part of morality; on which, however, I have completely formed my system, and trust that no views of interest will prevent my practice from coinciding with my theory.”

Life of Sir William Jones, by Lord Teignmouth.

In attempting at the present time to bring the case of our Colonial Bondmen

before the notice of the British Public, it would be altogether unnecessary to adduce many arguments to prove that there is no class of men whose condition is more calculated to excite their commiserations; or whose situation calls more loudly on them for redress. Whether, on the one hand, we regard the gross injustice by which these miserable victims of British avarice have been consigned to their present condition, or, on the other hand, behold them in that condition, reduced to a level with the brutes—driven by the lash to uncompensated toil—advertised for sale by public auction, and thus ignominiously disposed of “to the highest and best bidder:” and further, when we reflect that this is the result,—not of *their* crimes, but of *our own*,—it surely must be admitted that the continuance of such a bondage is a foul reproach to this country, and a disgrace to the age in which it can be tolerated.

It is now indeed universally confessed, that our Negro Slaves have been deprived of their liberty by means the most atrocious and unjust; the authors of their captivity are regarded with abhorrence, and their names have come down to posterity loaded with the execrations of mankind. But if the criminality of those who first deprived their fellow creatures of liberty be thus great, it must be equally criminal to continue to withhold from them that liberty. To whom then does this guilt belong? on whose account is this bondage continued? through whose instrumentality does it still receive its support? These are questions well deserving the serious attention of the people of this country, who with so much earnestness have denounced the evils of the Slave Trade and Slavery, who have so eloquently advocated the cause of its victims, and so unsparingly reproached the Planters and others the more immediate authors of their wrongs. And yet little examination may suffice to shew, that it is to ourselves these evils are mainly attributable; by us they have been and still are chiefly supported; and there has rarely been a case in which practice has been so glaringly at variance with profession, or the connexion existing between cause and effect so totally disregarded.

In Slavery it was that the slave trade had its origin: the market provided by the slave-holder furnished the direct incentive to all the crimes of a trade in slaves, and this market, it is obvious, was supported

and maintained by those who consumed the produce of the slaves' labor;—by them, was man thus prompted to enslave his fellow man, and by them and for them is he induced still to exact the gains of oppression, still to hold fast his unhallowed usurpation. Is it not then most palpably inconsistent in those who protest against the injustice and the guilt of slavery, and profess themselves anxious for its abolition, thus to contribute to its support by purchasing the produce of the slaves' labor? Can they support the *cause*, and not be justly chargeable with the *effects* resulting from that *cause*? Can they pay the price at which the liberty of their fellow creatures is withheld from them, and yet not be accessories in depriving them of that liberty? Can they be *innocent* of promoting the lavish and enormous waste of life attendant on the culture of sugar, while *their money* pays the drivers for urging the torturing lash, and compensates the slave owners for the loss of life which is thus occasioned? Most assuredly not. It is a truth which the most subtle sophistry cannot evade,—that the consumers of West India Sugar are abettors of the iniquitous means by which it is produced, and the main upholders of West India Slavery, with all its abominations.

The excellent observations which stand at the head of these remarks will doubtless meet with universal approval, as respects their application to the slave trade. Who is there that would not have rejoiced had West India Sugar never been consumed? Who is there that does not unite with the sentiment, that it "is better to eat aloe or coloquintida, than to rob one human being of those eternal rights, of which no law upon earth can justly deprive him? Who is there that, to obtain an article of luxury, would *personally* be guilty of so great an outrage, or would even desire that it should be perpetrated on his account by others? No one unquestionably: and yet wherein would the conduct of such persons differ from that of those who now consume West India Sugar? Do they not support a system as unjust as the slave trade,—the original robbery? Nay, do they not support that system under which thousands of unoffending British subjects are annually born to the sad inheritance of slavery, and from the moment of their birth, are robbed of their natural rights—a robbery, which although committed on British subjects in the West Indies *according to law*, does ne-

vertheless *constitute a capital felony* if perpetrated on foreigners on the coast of Africa.

To what then are we to attribute the prevailing inconsistency in the conduct of the people of this country? Chiefly, no doubt, to the powerful effects of habit, and a want of attention to the subject. Accustomed, from early infancy, to the use of West India Sugar, it too generally happens, that the polluted means by which it is obtained, and the wretchedness which its use tends to perpetuate, are wholly disregarded. As there are, however, those who refuse to discontinue the consumption of such sugar, conceiving that its disuse would be injurious to the slaves, it becomes necessary briefly to examine this question. In this, or in any other free country, it is perfectly true that an increased demand for an article enables laborers employed in producing it to obtain higher wages, and consequently to enjoy more comforts; whilst a diminution of the demand lowers his wages, and lessens his means of subsistence; and hence those who have not considered the subject, conclude that the effect would be the same on the West India labourer: The difference between the circumstances of the two classes of laborers, however, renders the argument wholly inapplicable to the condition of the slave.—The free labourer, when the demand for labor increases, demands, and can obtain better wages; not so the West India slave; he receives no wages; he is the absolute property of another, and dares not refuse to work; while the increased demand for the produce of his labor, and the higher price resulting from it, make it the interest of his master to exact more labor from him, and consequently to increase the miseries of his lot. On the other hand, when the demand for the labor of the freeman falls off, he is obliged to take lower wages, or is perhaps reduced to great distress;—but under these circumstances, though the labor of the slave may be reduced, and he may even be thrown out of work, yet what can *he* possibly suffer by it? He can *lose* no wages, since he *receives* none; neither can he lose his means of subsistence, because (and this is a point which ought always to be borne in mind) he obtains in most cases nearly his entire subsistence by cultivating a small portion of land allotted to him for that purpose; and certainly a decrease in the demand for the produce of the land, or a reduction in its price, cannot have the effect of indu-

cing his master to deprive the slave of any portion of the land set apart for his subsistence, as he has himself less temptation than ever to occupy it for his own profit; nor can we suppose he will deprive the slave, without any assignable reason for doing so, of the scanty portion of time which the law allows him for cultivating it,—of time now become less valuable than ever to himself. It would be absurd in the highest degree to suppose that he would do either, and we are in possession of conclusive evidence to the contrary; since, whenever the planter has been unable to continue the culture of sugar, the condition of the Slaves has always improved, and their numbers have increased. In several West India Islands, where the soil, either is naturally poor, or has been rendered so by a long succession of exhausting crops, little or no sugar can now be raised. The proprietor of an estate in one of those islands is placed in the same situation as the proprietor of a sugar estate would be brought into by a cessation of the demand for sugar,—both being alike unable to employ their slaves profitably in raising it. Now it is found, that in these islands the slave population increases in numbers, (a satisfactory proof of an improvement in their condition,) while in those colonies where the greatest quantity of sugar can be raised, their numbers are always found to diminish. It appears by the Population Returns for a period of six years, from 1818 to 1824, (laid before Parliament in the Session of 1826-27*) that in the Bahamas, where no sugar is raised, the annual rate of increase is upwards of two per cent; in Barbadoes, where the annual quantity of sugar raised is only about 3 1-2 cwt. for each slave, the annual rate of increase is about one half per cent. In those colonies, on the contrary, where much sugar is raised the slaves always decrease; and the rate of decrease is, in general, in proportion to the quantity of sugar produced. In Demerara, where 8 cwt. of sugar is annually raised for each slave, the population decreases at the rate of nearly 2 per cent. per annum; in Tobago, where, somewhat more than 8 cwt. is raised, at 2 2-1 per cent.; and in Trinidad, where nearly 12 cwt. is raised for each slave, the decrease is at the rate of nearly 3 per cent. Thus, in the course of six years, the cultivation of sugar has destroyed, in Demerara, 8574 slaves,

or *one ninth* part of the whole slave population; in Tobago, 2207, or *one seventh*; and in Trinidad, 3868, or *nearly one sixth*;—a rate of decrease which, if universal, would rapidly depopulate the world! (Conclusion in next number.)

*As the destruction of slave life forms the most appalling feature in Colonial Slavery, it is necessary to give some explanation respecting it, and also of the means by which the planters are enabled to afford such an enormous waste of their property. In the first place they are protected in this market, against the competition of better, and less destructive systems, by high discriminating duties in their favor being laid on all other sugars. Secondly they receive a bounty on refined sugar exported, which raises the price of all consumed in this country, and puts about £600,000 per annum into their pockets. Now as the amount of the loss of slave life, or of any other outlay incurred in raising sugar, can be afforded in proportion to the increased price obtained for it, this sum of £600,000, it is evident, affords the planters the means of wasting about a corresponding amount of slave life, and hence it has very appropriately been designated, a bounty on cruelty. The case of a manufacturer and his machinery in this country, is precisely analogous to that of the Planter (or manufacturer of sugar) and his human machinery in the Colonies.—As the price of produce or goods is high, they are both alike enabled to give a higher price for the machinery, and induced to employ it more, and thus to wear it out more rapidly. This murderous effect of the bounty affords a strong additional reason for declining the use of sugar; as *slave life* may be emphatically said to form a large proportion of *its cost*. On comparing the quantity of sugar raised in Demerara from 1818 to 1824, with the amount of the value of slave life destroyed during the same period of time, it appears that the latter amounts to about *one sixth* part of the net value of the sugar!! Independently therefore of other considerations, this article should be singled out as peculiarly objectionable, being the *main source of support to slavery, and of destruction to the slaves*. The following may be considered a pretty fair statement of the effects of sugar cultivation as carried on in our Colonies in destroying or preventing the increase of population, during the period of six years above referred to. The total decrease of the Slaves it appears was 28,000; had they increased as they do in the Bahamas, or in the United States, or as the free blacks, in Jamaica, the increase would have been 105,000 in that period. Now this added to the actual loss makes 133,000 in six years. If Slaves are valued at £46 each, which appears to be the value by the amount of sales in different Islands, it will amount to £6,118,000; but this loss is more than repaid by the bounty, which during the same period was £1,200,000, per annum, (it has since been reduced one half) making a total of £7,200,000. The beneficial effects of a diminished demand for sugar, in hastening the abolition of slavery is strikingly exhibited in this statement. Every increase of the number of the Slaves rendering them less valuable, they would at length become quite valueless as slaves, and hence their liberation would rapidly take place.

*See Antislavery Reporter, No. 26—Vol. 2. page 11.

Genius of Universal Emancipation.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY B. LUNDY, IN THE CITIES OF WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

No. 7. VOL. I. THIRD SERIES.] OCTOBER, 1830. [WHOLE NUMBER 259. VOL. XI.

ANOTHER CHANGE OF LOCATION.

In obedience to a resolution that I formed when I commenced the publication of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, I have at length made arrangements to issue it at the seat of the Federal Government. The utility of this step will scarcely be questioned by any one who has reflected much upon the subject of the abolition of slavery in the United States. To become more generally acquainted with intelligent and influential men, from every part of the Union, and to increase the facilities of collecting and disseminating important information relative to that subject, is a desideratum. This has hitherto been with me a primary consideration in the adoption of every measure relative to a change of location.

About a twelve-month since, arrangements were made to remove this establishment to Washington. But in consequence of the violent execution that manifested itself at that juncture, the measure was postponed. The storm has now abated its fury: and though my late coadjutor has fallen, my own head still remains unscathed, and the power of malignant corruption is defied. I therefore pursue my original intention, and stand where, if sufficiently patronized, I will probably fix the permanent location of this work.

It is not my intention to present the public with a formal address upon this occasion. The work has had a circulation in the District of Columbia sufficient to make it pretty generally known. The pledge that I have to make is, that *its character shall be maintained*. The approbation and assistance of the patriot and philanthropist, I do rejoice to obtain. For the censure of the tyrannical, I care not.

The question of the gradual and total abolition of slavery in the District appropriated to the use of the National Government, will be a prominent subject for discussion in the pages of this work.— Short and well written essays, *on both sides*, will be admitted. Whatever may be my own predictions, relative to any proposition connected with the subject, I have resolved that *this press shall be FREE*. One man has the same "inalienable right" to express his opinion as another, on all subjects in which the public is interested; and with the editors of this work, at least, the

"right" is considered as something more than nominal.

Notwithstanding the change aforesaid, the work will still be published in Baltimore, as well as in Washington. An office will be kept in each place for the transaction of business relative to subscriptions, &c. Letters and communications, forwarded by mail, must be directed to the editor, *at Baltimore*, as usual, until further notice. When at home, he may be consulted at the Boarding House, No. 135, Market Street. When absent, the business will be attended to by William R. Jones, No. 18, Market Street. The office in Washington is at the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and 11th street west, 4th story; and Robert P. Anderson is authorized to act as agent, in the absence of the editor.

GARRISON'S SECOND TRIAL.

The public will be surprised to learn, that the civil suit, instituted by F. Todd, against W. L. Garrison has resulted in a verdict for the plaintiff of *One Thousand Dollars damages!!!*

A statement of the proceedings, in this case recently appeared in the *Baltimore Gazette*, and is copied below. The whole is *ex parte*, in the extreme. The defendant was absent at the time of the trial; though he had waited long, to attend it, before he left Baltimore. He confided the business to an attorney who, it appears, *made no defence!* Not even a single witness was examined!! Had a proper defence been made, a different result might have been calculated on. Yet it is doubtful whether a set of men could have been found upon earth, that would have given *such a verdict* as this jury has done. In order that their deeds may be handed down to posterity, and, to use the language of the poet, their names be "damned to everlasting fame," they are here recorded, as officially furnished by an officer of the Court, viz:

Daniel W. Crocker,
Samuel D. Walker,
William H. Beatty,
John Franciscus,
George M'Dowell,
George A. Vonspreckelson,
Stewart Brown,
George A. Hughes,
Andrew Crawford,
Robert Hewitt,
James W. Collins,
John Walsh.

It is probable that a more labored attempt never was made to give a coloring to a charge of libel, than has been in this case. The statements relative to the kind and merciful treatment of the slaves, their contentment. &c. &c. partake more of the character of special pleading than a narration of facts, warranted by a general knowledge of the regulations pertaining to the system of slavery. Whether the witnesses were sincerely conscientious or not. I do not take upon me to say: but it is evident that the agents and minions of the plaintiff endeavor to prove, by their statements that the system of slavery and slave trading is not so objectionable as its opponents allege.

But the most *despicable* actors in the whole scene, are those pseudo-philanthropists who, because the enemies of our cause have gained a temporary triumph, relax their energies, and even deal out their censures against those whose bosoms are bared to the shafts of persecution. For the honor of human nature, and for the honor of our country, it is to be hoped that these are not very numerous; though it is certain that there are some such among us. They, too, shall occupy their *proper niche* in the Temple of Fame.

I shall probably take another opportunity to point out some of the glaring absurdities in the *ex parte* proceedings in the case before us. I do not say that I would have used the same words that my late partner did; but I do sincerely rejoice that some of those engaged in this most abominable traffic have been exposed:—and I pledge myself that a further exposition of their “devilish deeds” shall be made, whenever I may have it in my power, and conceive that the cause of justice will be promoted thereby.

Before closing this article, I will observe, that the late Convention of the Manumission Society of North Carolina, unanimously adopted the report of a Committee appointed to investigate the subject, giving it as the opinion of that intelligent and philanthropic body, that the part of the article which our Courts and Juries have made out to be so exceedingly offensive, *contained nothing of a libellous nature.* Many others well informed and learned in the law, have expressed a similar opinion.

The following is the *Report* of this Committee, which was appointed at the recommendation of the President, whose interesting communication to the Convention is laid off for insertion in the next number of this work:

“The Committee to whom was referred the communication from the Chair, report,

1. That it is the opinion of your committee that nothing libellous was contained in the article for which William L. Garrison was indicted and convicted.

2 That Mr. Garrison did not surpass that liberty which is guaranteed to the press by the constitution of the United States.

The following is the statement of the trial, published in the Gazette aforesaid:

From the Baltimore Gazette

BALTIMORE COUNTY COURT,
October Term, 1830.

Francis Todd,
vs.

William Lloyd Garrison.

Action on the case
for a libel.

This cause was tried at the present term before Archer, Chief Judge; the evidence on the trial was in substance as follows:

In October 1829, the ship Francis, belonging to the Plaintiff, who is a resident merchant at Newburyport, Massachusetts, on her voyage from Baltimore to New Orleans took on board, at Herring Bay in the Chesapeake, as passengers, about eighty negroes purchased by Mr. George B. Milligan, formerly of the State of Delaware, but for some years a Planter in Louisiana, from the gentlemen in Calvert County, for his own use. The agreement for the transportation of these people, was made by Mr. Milligan with Captain Brown who commanded the vessel, and Mr. Henry Thompson, to whom she was consigned in Baltimore. The Plaintiff, the owner, was not consulted, nor apprised of the destination or employment of the ship, until she was about to sail. By agreement, these people were to be furnished with provisions by the Captain; but solicited for their comforts, Mr. Milligan had directed before the vessel left Baltimore, that certain extra articles should be purchased for their use, such as blankets, shoes, hats, whiskey, sugar, tea, and a quantity of cotton shirts to be made up by the women during the passage, for themselves and children, with needles, thread, &c. amounting to \$100. The provisions on board were all of the best quality:—for instance, prime Pork, which cost \$12, and Mess Beef, which cost \$10 per barrel.

Accompanied by Mr. Milligan, these people came on board cheerfully and willingly. Their former proprietors having been compelled to part with them, they rejoiced at the prospect of still living together, instead of being separated, as they would have been if otherwise disposed of. During the voyage there was not a single instance of complaint or discontent among them;—their accommodations on board were the same as those of the steerage passengers;—no restraint was imposed on them—no confinement resorted to, no fetters used. They arrived safely at their new home, about twenty miles below New Orleans, and when Captain Brown visited the Plantation, shortly before his return to Baltimore, he found them perfectly contented.

On the 20th November, some weeks after

3. Your committee recommend that the Association enter their protest against the illegal and unconstitutional decision in Garrison's case.

4. That the communication entire be published in the Greensborough Patriot.”

The ship had left Baltimore, the following article appeared in a newspaper printed in this city, "edited and published by Benjamin Lundy and William Lloyd Garrison," called "Genius of Universal Emancipation."

BLACK LIST.

**HORRIBLE NEWS—DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN.
THE SHIP FRANCIS.**

This ship, as I mentioned in our last number, sailed a few weeks since from this port with a cargo of slaves for the New Orleans market. I do not repeat the fact because it is a rare instance of domestic piracy, or because the case was attended with extraordinary circumstances; for the horrible traffic is briskly carried on, and the transportation was effected in the ordinary manner. I merely wish to illustrate New England humanity and morality. I am resolved to cover with thick infamy all who are concerned in this nefarious business.

I have stated that the ship Francis hails from my native place, Newburyport, (Massachusetts,) commanded by a yankee captain, and owned by a townsman named

FRANCIS TODD.

Of Captain Nicholas Brown I should have expected better conduct. It is no worse to fit out privateers, or to engage in the foreign slave trade, than to pursue a similar trade along our own coasts; and the men who have the wickedness to participate therein, for the purpose of heaping up wealth, should be **SENTENCED TO SOLITARY CONFINEMENT FOR LIFE; [] they are the enemies of their own species—highway robbers and murderers; and their final doom will be, unless they speedily repent, to occupy the lowest depths of perdition.** I know that our laws make a distinction in this matter. I know that the man who is allowed to freight his vessels with slaves at home, for a distant market, would be thought worthy of death if he should take a similar freight on the coast of Africa; but I know, too, that this distinction is absurd, and at war with the common sense of mankind, and that God and good men regard it with abhorrence.

I recollect that it was always a mystery in Newburyport how Mr. Todd contrived to make profitable voyages to New Orleans and other places, when other merchants, with as fair an opportunity to make money, and sending at the same ports at the same time, invariably made fewer successful speculations. The mystery seems to be unraveled. Any man can gather up riches, if he does not care by what means they are obtained.

The Francis carried off *seventy-five* slaves, crammed in a narrow space between decks. Captain Brown originally intended to take *one hundred and fifty* of these unfortunate creatures; but another hard-hearted shipmaster underbid him the price of passage for the remaining moiety. Captain B. we believe, is a *mason*. Where was his charity or brotherly kindness?

I respectfully request the editor of the Newburyport Herald to copy this article, or publish a statement of the facts contained herein—not for the purpose of giving information to Mr. Todd, but I shall send him a copy of this number, but in order to enlighten the public mind in that quarter.—G.

At the succeeding February term of Baltimore City Court, the Grand Jury presented this publication as a "gross and malicious libel." They afterwards found an indictment against both the Editors, which

was at the same term tried against Garrison alone—Lundy being out of the State. The Jury, without hesitation, found a verdict of guilty, and after an ineffectual attempt to arrest the judgment, upon technical objections, the Court imposed a fine of \$50. This the Defendant was either unable or unwilling to pay, and he was therefore committed, and remained in jail for some time, till it was satisfied.

A private action for this libel had been instituted by Mr. Todd against both the Editors; but in consequence of Lundy's absence, the process was served only on Garrison, who was in fact the writer of the article. After his conviction in the City Court, he was distinctly informed through his Counsel, that as Mr. Todd had no vindictive feelings to gratify, the suit would be withdrawn, if a proper apology, and recantation of the calumny, were put upon the Record. This offer Mr. Garrison not only refused, but while in confinement, published a pamphlet containing, with his report of the trial, a republication of the libel, and a number of gross insinuations against the Chief Judge of the Court.

At the trial of the civil suit, the publication having been proved, Mr. Jones, the Pilot of the Francis, testified that the negroes were taken on board at Herring Bay, and that the ship then proceeded to Annapolis to obtain the necessary Custom House papers:—that they came on board cheerfully and willingly---and that while he remained with them, which was until he left the Capes, they appeared to be contented, and happy. That unusual attention seemed to have been given to their comfort and accommodation; ---their berths were commodious, the women and children being separated from the men:—their provisions abundant and of good quality:—extra stores provided for them, which were distributed daily to them by Captain Brown, and that the clothing which had been furnished by Mr. Milligan, was also given to them, and was amply sufficient for their wants. He further deposed that they were treated with kindness by Captain Brown;—that they were under no restraint, but were permitted to go about the ship by day and night, as other passengers, and that no chains, hand-cuffs, or other fetters, were used in any instance, nor did he believe that there were any on board the vessel.

The deposition of Capt. Nicholas Brown was then read by consent, in which he stated—

That about the middle of the month of September, 1829, he came on to Baltimore, to take charge of the ship Francis, of Newburyport, belonging to Francis Todd, merchant of that place, the said ship being consigned for freight or otherwise, to Henry Thompson, merchant of this city—That in the month of October following, Mr. Thompson and himself engaged to carry to New

Orleans on board the ship Francis, from seventy-five to one hundred black people, for account of Mr. Milligan, a very respectable planter on the Banks of the Mississippi; and that they made this engagement without consulting the owner of the ship, neither could he have known it, until about the time of her sailing from Baltimore. That Mr. Thompson and himself were the Agents of the Francis in Baltimore—That he sailed from the port of Baltimore with the said ship about the 20th of October, having no slaves on board, and proceeded down the Chesapeake Bay as far as Herring Cove, where he received on board of the Francis eighty-eight black passengers in families, all brought up together on two estates in Calvert County; and that they were all perfectly willing to come on board the ship—nor was any one required to compel them, they having a perfect understanding with their new master, Milligan, who was present at the time of their embarkation, that they were not to be sold again at New Orleans—but that he intended them all for his own estate. That Mr. Thompson and Deponent provided for them on board the ship, previous to her departure from Baltimore, the best provisions: in addition to which, by request of Mr. Milligan, Mr. Thompson put on board, expressly for their use, tea, coffee, sugar, molasses, whiskey, tobacco, &c. &c. with every kind of convenience for using the same, and clothing of every description to make them comfortable, which was dealt out to them day after day, while on the passage, at my discretion: that they all expressed much satisfaction at their treatment while on board the ship; that they had their perfect liberty on board, and that their conduct was good at all times; that they needed not chains or confinement, nor was any one of them put in chains or confined during the whole passage. That after Deponent took them on board, he returned up the Bay as far as Annapolis, where they were all examined by an officer of the Customs, and regularly cleared from that port for New Orleans. That about the middle of November he landed them all in good health and spirits, on the plantation for which they were intended, belonging to Mr. Milligan, 17 or 20 miles below the city of New Orleans. That their quarters on board the ship Francis were large *and not narrow*, that all of them had good comfortable sleeping places or berths, and that they were well provided with a plenty of blankets, &c. &c.—that the ship's hatches were never closed on them during the whole passage for any other purpose than to protect them from rough and wet weather and make them comfortable. Finally, from the very high opinion Deponent has of the honor and integrity of Mr. Milligan, their owner, he considers his act in carrying these people away as one of the best of his life.

Let it be remembered, that he was not the

cause of their bondage, but that he has actually relieved their condition in some degree by carrying them to a climate more congenial to their nature. Mr. Francis Todd and Deponent were brought up together at Newburyport, from children, and he has known both him and his business to this time, and never know him to carry slaves in any of his vessels, and he very and conscientiously believes he never had slave or slaves carried in any vessel of his any part of the world, except in the solitary instance of the ship Francis aforesaid, and he knows that he never owned a slave in his life.

NICHOLAS BROWN.

Sworn and subscribed to before

SAMUEL PICKERING.

A Justice of the Peace of the State of Maryland, for the City of Baltimore, on the 9th of September, 1830.

Here the case closed on the part of the Plaintiff. The defendant did not attempt justification of the truth of the matters published;—he examined no witnesses, and the cause having been submitted to the Jury they returned a verdict for the Plaintiff, with damages of ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS.

OPINIONS OF FRANCES WRIGHT.

It would seem to be a little strange in a country where the Press is said to be "free," an editor must suffer the imputation of entertaining erroneous opinions, when they are broached by others who gain admission to his columns. Yet such is the fact as respects the situation of an editor, in this land of light and liberty!

But to come directly to the point—We have neither the inclination to write much upon this subject, nor the room to spare for it:—I have heard it said, that my sentiments relative to religion, morality, &c. are supposed, by some, to harmonize with those of Frances Wright. And this idea is entertained, simply, because a few articles have occasionally appeared in this work, explanatory of the views of herself, and those associated with her in their project of emancipating slaves. I was even told by a respectable female friend, not long since, that she had refrained from patronizing this work, solely on that account!

For those who have been regular readers of this publication to entertain such ideas argues a degree of dulness—I had almost said of stupidity—that I am very loath to ascribe to them. Such as have seen it seldom, may have been imposed on by a gossip tongue of rumor. I will, therefore

essly state, (for the third or fourth time,) that I never did, neither do I now, approve the general doctrines advanced by Miss Wright, relative to the subjects in question. I do not hesitate to say, that I consider some of her sentiments very good, and strictly conformable to sound morality. But her opinions, in many other respects, I believe to be erroneous, and of mischievous tendency. As I cannot presume to scan the secret operations of the human heart, except within the confines of my own bosom. I do not think it upon me to say, that her motives are the most honest, however faulty I may consider her maxims. It rests between her Maker and herself to regulate the affairs of her own mind, both as to religion and moral rectitude.

Should the inquisitive and the curious inquire upon a more explicit declaration, I would rather say, that the projects of this lady, respecting a Community System, appear to me as visionary; and I believe that her notions of religion and her sentiments relative to matrimony, if generally understood, are not with the philosophy of human nature.

But it is not my province to deny her (nor any one else) the privilege of expressing her opinions, as freely as I wish to express my own. Herein, I may, perhaps, offend the weak and narrow-minded; but if so, while I regret the circumstance, I shall not permit it to trouble my mind. I take a pleasure in quoting a maxim of the patriotic and philanthropic Jefferson—one of the proudest ornaments of this Republic, in his day—“Error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it.” No good ever resulted from an attempt, in cases of this nature, to stifle the human voice, or muzzle the press.—Both should be as free as the air of heaven.—But when error and pestilence are propagated, they should be promptly met, with reason, expostulation, and the overpowering argument of *truth*. Nothing is to be feared from the free exercise of *opinion*. If error, vice, and wickedness abound, let the advocates of truth, virtue, and religion, *do their duty*. If they do, their triumph is certain; and nothing is to be apprehended from the promulgators of sound doctrines.

I have now said enough upon this subject, I trust, to be understood. If any are so bigoted as to be still dissatisfied, they are at liberty to take their own course. I neither bow to a “patron,” nor *turn my back* upon an honorable “opponent.” I *will* express my own opinion, and others *shall have the privilege* of expressing theirs, in a proper manner, on all subjects connected with the question of slavery, while the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* is conducted by me.

I had intended to have noticed the remarks of the editor of the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, upon the subject before us—but this article has already extended to a sufficient length. I trust that he will be satisfied with the above explanation. If not, I should like to have his ideas of a “Free Press,” and a *Free People*.

PROGRESS OF THE GOOD WORK.

It is with pleasure that I copy the following article from the “*African Repository*.” Hundreds more of Southern slaves have been offered their freedom on the same conditions; but they fear the imaginary difficulties of transportation. Why will not those who exercise authority over them, let them go where they choose? They *would* accept the “boon,” on these terms. But the public mind will be more enlightened, relative to this matter, by and by.

MANUMISSIONS.

A family manumitted by a gentleman lately deceased in Essex co. Va. are expected to embark in the vessel of the Society, soon to sail from Norfolk. Property has been left to this family, to the amount of about 4 or \$500.

A lady near Fredericksburg, has, we are informed, signified her intention of speedily sending the whole number of her slaves (50) to the Colony.

A gentleman in Montgomery co. Md. has resolved to manumit twenty slaves for the purpose of African Colonization, and they are expected to sail in the next vessel.

A generous lady near Charlestown, Va. has resolved to emancipate twelve for the same philanthropic purpose. Two of these have been purchased by this lady that they might be permitted to accompany their relatives. For one of these, she gave \$450, and for the other \$350. All these are fitted out with clothing and household furniture, and such things as may contribute to the comforts of their voyage.

A gentleman near Charlottesville, Va. has

determined to liberate all his slaves for the purpose of colonizing them in Africa; the males at 25, and the females at 21 years of age. Two or three are to be emancipated this season.

A gentleman in New York writes, "I own in Savannah a colored man, to whom I have offered the option of going to the American Colony in Africa. I am informed that he consents to go, and the owner of his wife and children is willing that they should go likewise. The man in question is a sober and industrious mechanic, originally from Africa."

FREE AND SLAVE POPULATION.

When the returns of the recent census shall be published, a general table will be made out, showing the relative numbers of the white and colored, as well as the free and slave population of the United States, together with the relative increase of the different classes, for the last ten years. In the meantime, the following view of the present numbers, in several different places, may not be uninteresting to the reader.

	White.	Free Colored.	Slaves.
Baltimore,	61,518	14,666	4,121
Princess Ann, Md.	280	57	254
Richmond, Va.	7,748	1,958	6,351
Petersburg, Va.	3,433	2,024	2,843
Winchester, Va.	2,696	261	655
Wheeling, Va.	5,016	94	101
Yorkville, S. C.	230	—	284
Savannah, Geo.	3,490	607	3,016
Wilmington, Del.	5,222	1,384	14

PREMIUM FOR A TRACT.

The following article recently appeared in the *United States' Gazette*. The gentlemen whose names are signed to this notice are among the most respectable and influential members of the Abolition Society of Pennsylvania. The first named is an eminent lawyer, of Philadelphia, and the second is the Treasurer of the American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery.

PREMIUM.

A Premium of Fifty Dollars, the Donation of a benevolent Individual in the State of Maine, and now deposited with the Treasurer of the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c. is offered to the author of the best Treatise on the following subject: "The Duties of Ministers and Churches of all denominations to avoid the stain of Slavery and to make the holding of Slaves a barrier to communion and church membership."

The composition to be directed (post paid) to either of the subscribers—the name of the

author in a separate sealed paper, which will be destroyed if his work shall be rejected.

Six months from this date are allowed for the purpose of receiving the Essays.

The publication and circulation of the preferred Tract will be regulated by the Pennsylvania Society above mentioned.

W. RAWLE,

J. PRESTON,

THOMAS SHIPLEY,

Philadelphia, Oct. 11. Committee.

Editors friendly to the Abolition of Slavery will please insert the above.

THE COLONY IN CANADA.

In the last number of this work, mention was made of the meeting of a Convention of colored people, in Philadelphia, to devise measures for the promotion of this important scheme. The address from that body, to the people of the United States, is inserted below. It is an important document, and deserves the perusal of every friend of the colored race.

A very handsome map of that part of Canada, including the tract appropriated for their settlements, has just been published by Hezekiah Grice, (a colored man,) of Baltimore. It is sold at the low price of *twenty five cents*, in order to place it within the reach of the colored people generally. Many among the most intelligent and wealthy of them, from Virginia and the States further South, are going, and preparing to go, with the view of settling that fine country.

CONVENTION OF PEOPLE OF COLOR.

As much anxiety has prevailed on account of the enactment of laws in several States of the Union, especially that of Ohio, abridging the liberties and privileges of the free people of color, and subjecting them to a series of privations and sufferings, by denying them the right of residence, unless they comply with certain requisitions not exacted of the white population, a course altogether incompatible with the principles of civil and religious liberty—

In consideration of which, a delegation was appointed from the States of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, to meet in convention in Philadelphia, to consider the propriety of forming a settlement in the Province of Upper Canada, in order to afford a place of refuge to those who may be obliged to leave their homes, as well as to others inclined to do so.

*In consequence of not having had timely notice, delegates from other sections of the country did not attend; though it is hoped that at the next convention on the first Monday in June next, there will be a more general representation.

rate with the view of improving their condition.

The said convention accordingly met in the Bethel Church, city of Philadelphia, on the 20th September, 1830; and having fully considered the peculiar situation of many of their brethren, and the advantages to be derived from the proposed settlement, adopted the following communication.

To the free People of color of these United States.

Brethren—Impressed with a firm and settled conviction, and more especially being taught by that inestimable and invaluable instrument, namely, the Declaration of Independence, that all men are born free and equal, and consequently are endowed with inalienable rights, among which are the enjoyments of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Viewing these as incontrovertible facts, we have been led to the following conclusions, that our forlorn and deplorable situation earnestly and loudly demand of us, to devise and pursue all legal means, for the speedy elevation of ourselves and brethren to the scale and standing of men.

And in pursuit of this great object, various ways and means have been resorted to; among others, the African Colonization Society is the most prominent, not doubting the sincerity of many friends who are engaged in that cause; yet we beg leave to say, that it does not meet our approbation. However great the debt which these United States may owe to Africa, and however unjustly persons have been made to bleed, and her daughters to drink of the cup of affliction, still, we who have been born and nurtured on this soil, we, whose habits, manners and customs are the same in common with other Americans, can never consent to take our lives in our hands, and be the bearers of the address offered by that society, to that much afflicted country.

Tell it not to Barbarians, lest they refuse to be civilized, and eject our Christian missionaries from among them, that in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, laws have been enacted in some of the States of this great republic, to compel an unprotected and harmless portion of our brethren, to leave their homes, and seek an asylum in foreign climes; and in taking a view of the unhappy situation of many of these, whom the oppressive laws alluded to continually crowd into the Atlantic cities, dependent for their support upon their daily labor, and who often suffer for want of employment, we have had to lament that no means had yet been devised for their relief.

These considerations have led us to the conclusion, that the formation of a settlement in the British Province of Upper Canada, would be a great advantage to the people of color; in accordance with these views, we pledge ourselves to aid each other by all

honorable means, to plant and support one in that country, and therefore we earnestly and most feelingly appeal to our colored brethren, and to all philanthropists here and elsewhere, to assist in this benevolent and important work.

To encourage our brethren earnestly to co-operate with us, we offer the following, viz: 1st. Under that government, no invidious distinction of color is recognized, but there we shall be entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of other citizens. 2d. That the language, climate, soil, and productions are similar to those in this country. 3d. That land of the best quality can be purchased at the moderate price of one dollar and fifty cents per acre by the one hundred acres. 4th. The market for different kinds of produce raised in that colony, is such as to render a suitable reward to the industrious farmer, equal in our opinion to that of the United States. And lastly, as the erection of buildings must necessarily claim the attention of the emigrants, we would invite the mechanics from our large cities, to embark in the enterprise, the advancement of architecture depending much on their exertions, as they must consequently take with them the arts and improvements of our well regulated communities.

It will be much to the advantage of those who have large families, and desire to see them happy and respected, to locate themselves in a land where the laws and prejudices of society will have no effect in retarding their advancement to the summit of civil and religious improvement. There the diligent student will have ample opportunity to reap the reward due to industry and perseverance; whilst those of moderate attainments, if properly nurtured, may be enabled to take their stand as men in the several offices and situations necessary to promote union, peace, order, and tranquillity. It is to these we must look for the strength and spirit of our future prosperity.

Before we close we would just remark, that it has been a subject of deep regret to this convention, that we as a people, have not availingly appreciated every opportunity placed within our power, by the benevolent efforts of the friends of humanity, in elevating our condition to the rank of freemen.—That our mental and physical qualities have not been more actively engaged in pursuits more lasting, is attributable in great measure to a want of unity amongst ourselves; whilst our only stimulus to action has been to become domestics, which at best is but a precarious and degraded situation.

It is to obviate these evils, that we have recommended our views to our fellow citizens in the foregoing instrument, with a desire of raising the moral and political standing of ourselves; and we cannot devise any plan more likely to accomplish this end, than by encouraging agriculture and me-

chanical arts; for by the first we shall be enabled to act with a degree of independence, which as yet has fallen to the lot of but few among us, and the faithful pursuit of the latter, in connexion with the sciences, which expand and ennoble the mind, will eventually give us the standing and condition we desire.

To effect these great objects, we would earnestly request our brethren throughout the United States to co-operate with us by forming societies *auxiliary* to the parent institution about being established in the city of Philadelphia, under the patronage of the GENERAL CONVENTION: and we further recommend to our friends and brethren who reside in places where, *at present*, this may be impracticable, so far to aid us, by contributing to the funds of the parent institution, and if disposed, to appoint one delegate to represent them in the next convention, to be held in Philadelphia, the first Monday in June next, it being fully understood, that organized societies be at liberty to send any number of delegates not exceeding *five*.

Finally, we tender our sincere thanks to the board and teachers of schools, for the education of poor and indigent colored children, to the members of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, and to the true friends of humanity every where.

Signed by order of the Convention.

REV. RICHARD ALLEN, *President,*
Senior Bishop of the African
Methodist Episcopal Churches.

JUNIUS C. MOREL, *Secretary.*

ANOTHER PURLOINER.

A letter lately received by the editor of this work, from a friend in Indiana, containing a \$5 Bank Note, when mailed, was broken open, and the money taken out.—The writer states, in a second letter, that he had just been informed, previous to sending the first, that several had been purloined in the western part of Pennsylvania, and feared at the time that it would be the fate of his own. The utmost vigilance is now requisite to guard against impositions of this kind. Subscribers to this work are, however, still requested to remit through the post-office, when they have no other safe opportunity.

☞ The editor takes the *risk* upon himself, though he expects the postage to be paid.

PATRONISING NEWSPAPERS.

A case, very interesting to the publishers of periodicals, and their "*patrons*," was recently decided in New York. The principle

was confirmed, that *those who receive papers, without ordering them discontinued, SHALL PAY FOR THEM.*

☞ I have been too busily engaged with other matters, the present month, to prepare any thing for the *Biographical Department*. It will be attended to hereafter.

ERRATUM.

The article headed "National Politics," inserted in the last number of this work, contained an important error. That part of the sentence which runs thus—"the system of slavery is no state-right matter"—should read: no *mere* state-right matter. The omission of the word "*mere*" essentially changes the meaning.

CORRESPONDENCE.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER TO THE EDITOR.

Mr. Lundy—Amidst the trials and persecution which surround you, if a word of encouragement from a distant quarter will cheer you, we give it with all our hearts.—The unjust sentence against your friend, and our friend, and the friend of humanity, (Mr. Garrison,) calls for the expression of our sympathy—for the loud and rebuking voice of public opinion—and for the more vigorous and bold exertions of every friend to liberty. We would say to brother Garrison, that "the blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church."—the death of patriots, the life of their country—the cruelty of tyrants, their own destruction.

"Patriots have toiled, and in their country's cause bled nobly. And their deeds, as they deserve, receive proud recompense. But fairer wreaths are due, though seldom paid, to him who, posted at the shrine of *truth*, has fallen in her defence."

We can only point you and your ardent fellow laborer to a reward "above,"—to the cheering voice of conscience—to the hope—yes, the full assurance of hope that the cause you have espoused is the cause of *truth* and righteousness, and will prevail.—Every yoke must be *broken*. It was cheering, indeed, to see your paper in the very midst of oppression and cruelty—an engine upon the tower, overlooking the whole field of cruelty—playing with energy upon every secret hiding place of the enemy—bringing to light the hidden things of darkness—and rolling on the stupid ears of oppression, the tingling accents of guilt—bloodstained guilt—guilt rising to heaven and pleading even at the mercy seat for vengeance. And we say, speak on;—hold not your peace—not "till your voice is lost in death." Israel did not understand, at first, that God would deliver them by the hand of Moses—and for forty years longer bore the yoke: We must bear the curse of slavery longer.

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

LADIES' EMPLOYMENT.
Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

MATERNAL INFLUENCE.

"The immense force of first impressions is on the side of the mother. In the moral field she is a privileged laborer. Ere the dews of morning begin to exhale she is there. She breaks up a soil which the root of error and the thorns of prejudice have not pre-occupied. She plants germs whose fruit is for eternity."

Mrs. Sigourney.

Is there one among our maternal readers who will not pause upon the above impressive lines, to reflect for a moment on the awful responsibility of her station? Will not the name of Africa—poor injured Africa—rise to her thoughts, and her heart swell and her eyes moisten with the high resolve that she, at least, will never lead the young beings who are sporting by her side to become instruments in the work of oppression? Will she not remember that the fate of thousands may perhaps be measurably committed to her hand—that she may bring the rosy lip, now running over with the fulness of its innocent mirth, to pledge holy vows at the altar of Emancipation, and that all its eloquence shall be poured out in the defence of the oppressed—or that her tuition may prepare another auxiliary for the ranks of the powerful oppressor. Let her not think it a matter of indifference, that they should now, in their thoughtless infancy, be the innocent upholders of a system, which in after life they ought to abhor. Misplaced indulgence now may make the beauties of life of higher consequence to them than the rights and tears of thousands;—the gratification of your own loving vanity in their attire may render of no avail the lessons of a lifetime. Do not say it would be folly to impose such restrictions upon children. Nothing can be folly which teaches them the noble virtue of self-denial in a righteous cause. Teach them early to pity the poor slave. Let their sacrifices be made voluntarily; as they will be, if the reason and feelings have been trained properly; and they will not be felt as a burthen. Surely children cannot be too early taught that their own pleasures should never infringe upon the rights of another. It is a lesson that must be commenced with the first dawning of reason to be inculcated efficiently

and when ye look upon them in the purity of their early years, let not their forms be arrayed in a garb that may well be to you a dark omen of the sin that will fling its evil mantle over their coming hours.

"INQUIRIES RELATING TO NEGRO EMANCIPATION."

The subject of emancipation is now no longer, as it has been, one of interest only to a few individuals, but is it gradually, almost rapidly, we might say, assuming the important station which it assuredly ought to occupy, in the reflections of thousands. In England particularly, a spirit of inquiry into the wrongs and sufferings of the injured race of Africa, is taking place of the apathy with which they have been so long regarded; and we believe the West India slaves may look forward to no very distant day for deliverance from their bonds. Still even in England the friends of emancipation have much to contend with, not only from the avowed hostility of the prejudiced and interested, but from the inertness of the indolent, and the faint-heartedness of the timid *well-wishers* to their cause. It is to such as these, that the pamphlet, whose name has given a heading to this article is particularly addressed. It is the production of a female pen, and is not exceeded in interest, particularly as regards the numerous anecdotes, illustrative of Negro character, with which it abounds, by any thing of the kind that we have lately had the pleasure of perusing. The author advocates immediate emancipation; and in order to demonstrate the propriety as well as the justice of the measure—after an examination into the changes that would be produced in the state of things by the manumission of the slaves, and the probable effects that would result from those changes, introduces a number of "well authenticated facts and statements concerning the Negro character, for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not it is such as to dispose them to be inimical to the whites, or to become idle and disorderly members of society," and to show satisfactorily "what the conduct and condition of emancipated slaves have actually been in various places, times, and circumstances."

"The objections," says the author, commonly urged against immediate emancipation are: That the enfranchised Negroes would be likely to act with violence towards the white inhabitants of the colonies—that they would bring the planters to ruin, by refusing to work for them—and that they would be incapable of taking care of their own interests."

The objections to these arguments are drawn from the general character of the Negro race—

from their remarkable attachment to the spot where they have long resided, and where the remains of their relatives have been interred—from their increased industry, when the stimulant of wages has been employed to invite them to labor, instead of the lash of the task master—and their uniformly peaceable and subordinate behaviour when casual circumstances have at times placed the white population of the islands almost wholly at their mercy. With respect to the character of the so often calumniated son of Africa, it is said: "From a great number of statements, made by persons of various classes residing in the colonies, it appears that the natural disposition of the Negro is gentle, amiable, grateful, affectionate, and docile; that he is remarkably subject to the influence of religion, both on his feelings and on his conduct; and that he is active and laborious when placed in circumstances in which his conduct can be improved by the exercise of industry. These particulars I shall proceed to prove, by a series of extracts from the writings of many persons of the greatest respectability." Of these extracts we have room only for a few short paragraphs.

"The following anecdote is told by the Rev. Mr. Shrewsbury:—A free young Negro in Grenada, who had been apprenticed to a stonemason, when he had served his apprenticeship, being very industrious, he laid by his earnings, and when he had obtained £160 his first act was to purchase the freedom of his mother. He continued to lay by his money till he bought the freedom of one of his brothers, and when I left the island he was about to purchase the liberation of another of them.

"The following circumstance occurred during the Maroon war, and is said to be well attested by several respectable eye witnesses. During the ambuscade attack of the Maroons on Lieutenant Colonel Sandford's party of dragoons and militia, at a narrow defile leading from the New to Old Trelawny Maroon town, a gentleman's Negro servant being close to his master, and observing a Maroon piece levelled at him, he instantly threw himself between him and the danger, and received the shot in his body.

"The following remarks on the disposition and habits of the Negro slaves are made by Mr. Walter, a West India proprietor, who had the direction of the late crown estates at Berbice, under the commissioners for crown property:—There are no people more capable of being fairly reasoned with; none can be made more sensible of right and wrong. A system of improved treatment, when regularly established and impartially persevered in, commands the respect, obedience, and attachment of a gang of

Negroes, beyond what can be believed by persons who have never tried the experiment."

"The following statement is made by Dr. Williamson, a physician who lived fourteen years in Jamaica, and who is a warm friend of the West Indians:—'A melancholy instance presented itself that month, of the fatality resulting from packed Negro gangs, or those formed from Marshal's sales, and collected in small numbers from different places. I do not mean to blame the proprietor; for never could a master have rendered the duties of humanity more amply than he did; yet a depression of mind accompanied by *mal d'estomac*, spread among them. Though wine, nourishment of every description, and kind attention were given them, they candidly confessed that death was their wish, and not to survive their companions.'"

So much for the murderous system of the slave trade! One other extract, and we have done.

"That the emancipated slaves in the colonies maintain themselves by their own industry, appears plainly from the returns of paupers made by the colonies. 'The enfranchised population of all the West Indies are generally free from want, live in comfort, and accumulate property.' That they are generally placed above want, appears from this; that though their number amounts to about 90,000 yet, of that number, only 227 appear to have received even occasional relief as paupers during the years 1821 to 1825. Of about 65,000 whites, in the same time, 1675 received relief."

We consider these facts highly important, since they satisfactorily prove that the blacks will work without compulsion; and where men are industriously employed for their own benefit there is but little cause for apprehension of their proving other than peaceable and valuable citizens.

LITERARY.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

TO ANNETTE.

The broad eyed moon! its holy beams
 Are falling round thee like a veil,
 As at this hour of wizzard dreams,
 Thou listenest to old memory's tale.
 I am not by thy side to-night,
 As we of erst have read her brow,
 As 'twere a page of written light,
 Where words might be remember'd now.
 Thy thoughts?—in yonder mirror fair
 Methinks their shadowed form I see,
 And parted—sever'd as we are,
 I know that they are still with me.
 And we have parted—*ice* Annette!
 The closely linked in friendship's bond—
 Whose hands so long have daily met,
 Whose love no cloud till now hath found.

Yet what is parting grief like ours,
 Though sister-like our love hath been,
 To that which *their* wild hearts devours,
 The sever'd from each well known scene—
 Whom heartless—fiend-like av’rice tears
 From love, and home, and father land,
 To wear a life of toilsome years,
 Unfriended midst a stranger band?

The mother, parted from the eyes
 Whose glances made her fond heart’s food,
 And forced to still her anguish’d cries,
 With stripes that turn her tears to blood—
 The weeping daughter—sister—wife—
 Wrench’d from the ties of home and hearth—
 Oh! theirs are woes that darken life,
 And make a wilderness of earth. E.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

A SKETCH.

Shall I describe to you our low and lone
 house of worship, as it stands in the deep quiet
 of its solitude, at the edge of the old wood? On
 one side of it there is clearing, and the fence
 stretches down close beside it, and not very far
 distant, behind a gentle swell of the ground,
 you may even see the roof of a dwelling house;
 but the only paths to it are through the woods,
 nor, as you look back among the trees through
 which you have just passed, can you discover
 one trace of cultivated life, one token that the
 beautiful wilderness—for it is indeed beautiful—
 has ever been trodden by other feet than those
 of its aboriginal lords, except that the “trail”
 of the Indian hunter, has grown into a wider and
 more beaten path.

You know the hushed, dreaminess of repose
 that sometimes attends upon an August morn-
 ing;—when the lightest zephyrs seem to sleep
 perfectly among the loose leaves, and the shadows
 of the highest branches lie unmoving upon the
 ground, except when sometimes the low whis-
 per of a breeze comes creeping in among them
 with its faint voice, and steals away almost as
 musically as the passing tones of a half wakened
 colian. There is a low and monotonous insect
 hum upon the air, but, save an unfrequent chirp
 from their leafy recesses, the wood-birds seem
 to have forgotten their language of song, and
 the flowers remember no more the wild glee
 with which they tossed their beautiful heads to
 the playful caresses of the morning air. It was
 of such a quiet Sabbath that I would tell you.

When last I had met with those who “gath-
 ered to the house of Prayer,” it was in the con-
 fined atmosphere of a crowded city, where
 range after range of close buildings stretched
 before the eye, and multitudes thronged the
 broad doors of their many temples. Now I was
 in a rude tree built cabin, with the yet scarcely
 redeemed wilderness spread all round in the
 impressive majesty of its silence, and the broad
 blue sky bended over it like a mighty canopy.
 What a contrast? I thought how the power of
 an eloquent lip would be felt there—how the
 heart would crouch and quake under its re-
 bukes, like a reed shivering to the tempest. I
 thought too of the churches of our southern
 land,—where the richly attired worshippers
 before a gorgeous altar, proudly claim to be
 “lords over God’s heritage,” and while they bow
 down in the presence of a Deity of universal
 love, despise and oppress the beings whom he
 has given unto them for brethren. Where the

very pastor, perhaps, almost before the last echo
 of his holy text hath died away—“All things
 whatsoever ye would that men would do unto
 you, do ye even so unto them”—with the last
 words of his prayer for a blessing almost yet
 upon his lip, will go out and command to lacer-
 ate with the vile scourge, the limbs of one
 whom he hath but now acknowledged in the
 face of God to be his brother;—or on the mor-
 row will enter into a strange traffic with human
 flesh, and dash aside the fine chords of tenderness
 in the heart, as if they were valueless as the
 slight meshes of a spider’s web. How could
 the thoughts go up on a fetterless wing to hea-
 ven in such a scene?

But here there was no thought of slavery—
 none of oppression. No one shrunk back scorn-
 fully from the grasp of a hand—hard though it
 might be, and rough with the toil of many sea-
 sons, that was tendered in friendly fellowship.
 They feared not, as they lifted up their hearts in
 worship to their Maker, that even then perhaps
 ruin and death might be plotting around them.
 There were no shadowy forms with wild suppli-
 cating eye to come and stand beside them as
 if to intercept their prayers and whisper in their
 ears bitter denunciations for their want of mer-
 cy; and better—far better—was that rude hut
 for a gathering place of prayer, than the proud pile
 whose magnificence has been wrung from the
 hand of unrewarded labor. GERTRUDE.

HYMN.

SUNG AT THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE COLONIZATION
 SOCIETY OF KENYON COLLEGE, 1830.

“To Proclaim Liberty to the Captive.”

Captives in exile groaning
 Neath slavery’s galling chains!
 Heathens in darkness roaming
 O’er Afric’s thirsty plains!
 Christians of every nation!
 Friends of the wretched slave!
 O shout with adoration,
 For Jesus comes to save.

Praise him with songs of gladness,
 Let every tear be dry,
 He comes to banish sadness,
 And ’stablish equity;
 He comes in peace from heaven
 To burst each bond in twain,
 To save the blinded heathen,
 And break the captive’s chain.

Full many a bark is steering
 O’er ocean’s heaving breast,
 Full many an exile bearing
 To peace, and home, and rest;
 Soon Afric’s darkest nation
 Thy name, O Lord, shall hear;
 The rose of thy salvation
 Shall bloom unfading there.

Soon rivers gently flowing
 The burning land shall bless,
 The roses ever blowing
 Deck the wild wilderness;
 While in soft dews decending,
 The spirit from above
 Shall spread the never ending—
 The blissful reign of love.

O Jesus! let thy story
 Throughout the world be known,

Awake the song of glory,
 And break the heart of stone,
 Till every soul is lighted,
 Till every slave is free,
 Till every realm benighted
 Bows down, O Lord, to thee. H. C.

DIALOGUE,

*Between a well-wisher and a Friend to the Slaves,
 in the British Colonies.*

BY A LADY.

(Continued.)

B. But Government ought to take up the cause of these poor creatures; and if they neglect to do so, Parliament should interfere: it is their business, and I dare say they will not forget it: or if they should, the people will surely remind them of it by their petitions.

A. I hope too (at least I wish) that Government, Parliament, and the people, may do their duty; but if we also have a duty incumbent on us, we are not at liberty to delay its performance till we see whether other people will do theirs; and should they not do so, their conduct so far from furnishing us with the shadow of an excuse, will make it still more requisite that we should do what is in our power to repair their neglect, or to induce them to repair it. And if we should neglect our duty in this affair, we should be even more inexcusable than government, which has difficulties to struggle with owing to the strength of the West India interest; and a great number of the members of parliament in both houses, are either themselves possessed of West India property, or intimately connected with those that are, and are therefore probably under the influence of early instilled prejudices, or of the mighty power of supposed self-interest. From these shackles most of us are free, and therefore if it is our duty to help the cause of the slaves, we have not even these poor excuses to plead for not doing so. As to your remark that the people will remind parliament of their duty by petitioning, surely it makes against yourself: don't you perceive that if the women of England did all that they can do by informing themselves thoroughly concerning the oppressed condition of the slaves, making it generally known, and endeavouring to persuade their relations and friends to do their duty, this course would tend to increase the number of petitions?

B. I suppose it would; and so far the interference of women might have a good effect, though I think there are many objections to it. At least I cannot help thinking you go too far in speaking of it as a duty: some of the most religious people I know, and who are far better in all respects than I can ever pretend to be, decline taking any part in this business.

A. I am aware that some professors of religion do refuse to help the cause of the slaves in any manner. I must take it for granted, that before they formed this stern resolve, they satisfied their own minds that when the Son of man will say, "Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me," he will mean only "to the least of these white-skinned ones," and will not consider the poor negro as a part of those with whom he so compassionately and tenderly identifies himself. As I cannot even conjecture by what arguments they have thus persuaded themselves, I can say nothing to them; but to you I must say, that you will pur-

sue a most dangerous course if you allow yourself to follow the example of even the best persons in any part of their conduct, of the recitude of which you are not fully assured. The utmost degree of deference that conscience allows us to pay to any persons in this respect, is that of inquiring their reasons for that part of their conduct which we do not understand, and following their example if their reasons satisfy our mind that we are at liberty to do so.

B. But I really think women ought not to interfere in this business, on account of its being a political question: for women have nothing to do with such subjects; they are quite out of their province, and I think it is not consistent with propriety and hardly with feminine modesty, that they should put themselves forward on this occasion.

A. I own I have never been able to affix any clear meaning to the expression you have just used, and which I have often heard before, that this is a political question. It appears to me to be peculiarly a religious and moral question.—But I suppose the objection must mean that the object aimed at is an alteration in the laws, and that as women are not legislators, they should not interfere in a question which is to come before parliament. I cannot see the slightest force in the argument, that because women can have no part in the final decision, they ought not to take any in helping on the subject towards that decision: as well might it be said, that it is improper for women to put their poor neighbours in the way of receiving medical aid—wrong to provide them with sittings in a church or decent clothes to appear in there—wrong to help them to pay law expences when they are injured—for women are not physicians, clergymen, or lawyers, and therefore ought not to put themselves forward on medical, clerical, or legal subjects. Their attempts to aid the slaves are as far from being of a political nature, as the services above enumerated are from being of a medical, clerical, or legal nature. And besides, they do not even venture themselves to petition, they only try to call the attention of the men of their acquaintance or neighbourhood, to facts that may induce them to take the step of petitioning.

Could any woman have been reproved for stepping out of her department and becoming a political character, if a short time ago she had taken pains to collect instances of innocent persons killed and wounded by spring-guns, and shown them to her male acquaintances, in the hope that they would take the proper steps to remove the evil? No, surely; although her ultimate object would have been to procure the enactment of a new law, if the evil she sought to remove could not be got rid of in any other way. As to modesty, I own I cannot see how it would be offended by any of the exertions you are requested to make. To read and lend books no one can think a breach of feminine modesty; nor to speak to female friends or neighbours; nor, surely, to remind or beg the men of your family to think of the slaves; nor to choose what kind of sugar should be used in your family: nor can I possibly think there would be any offence to modesty, in meeting some of the ladies of your neighbourhood to talk over your plans, and endeavouring to make your efforts more effectual by uniting in a society; or, at least, I must believe that charity, which is greater

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

hope and faith, is abundantly greater than such a treble-refined modesty as this. If however you are persuaded that it would be unfeminine or unlady-like to meet your neighbours in this work and associate yourself with them, you can decline that part of the plan without refusing to join in the others to which the most fastidiously decorous cannot find any thing to object on the score of modesty.

B. Well, I can't say I have any very clear idea myself of what is meant by its being a political question; but whether it may be proper or not for other women to take a part in it, it is impossible for me to do so on account of my West India connections.

A. If a connection of yours were in possession of an estate which you knew to be the real property of one who was suffering great distress and become almost an outcast from society owing to his being deprived of it, but which the possessor was determined not to give up, because he had been brought up from his infancy to consider it as lawfully his own, in consequence of his father having bought it from one who had become fraudulently possessed of it, would you consider yourself at liberty to withhold the evidence in your power to offer, or the assistance in your power to give, to help the wronged and suffering lawful owner to recover his property?

B. No——— but ———

A. Then how can you justify your refusal to join in the attempt to restore the poor negro to his just rights, because your connection wishes that he should continue to be deprived of them? The slave has been deprived of that property which is more truly his than any estate can be the property of its owner—himself. Your connection is probably so blinded by the prejudices in which he has been brought up, as to think he is not (or at least not to feel sure that he is) doing wrong in keeping this property from the right owner, though by so doing he almost degrades him to a different class of beings:—but you know, though he may not, that religion and justice imperiously demand that the negro should be restored to the possession of himself, and if you do not attend to their call and do your part towards answering it, I fear that friendship will furnish as inadmissible an excuse for not acting conscientiously, as self-interest would do if the property were in your possession. True friendship however and conscience are not perhaps in this case at variance in any respect; I believe you could not do your friend a greater service in any way than by procuring the emancipation of his slaves.

B. Do him a service! He says it would be his utter ruin.

A. From what I have heard I believe, on the contrary, that it would be beneficial to him even in his pecuniary concerns, as slave-labour is said by persons who appear to have studied the subject very carefully, to be much more expensive than free labour; but I do not pretend fully to understand this part of the subject, and it was not to it that I referred when I said it would be a benefit to the master to emancipate the slave. Tell me, don't you think if you were doing wrong, your friends would do a kind thing by taking measures to prevent such measures as they have taken, which would prevent you from doing so, even though it should be a hard situation in which you are placed, which he

may have had no control, have placed the West India proprietor, he is on either hand in danger of being led to do wrong. If he does not live on his estate he abandons a number of human beings whose happiness is completely at his mercy, and whom it is as much his duty to take care of, as it is to take care of his own children; he leaves them to the control of others whose conduct he cannot superintend, and who from the corrupting influence of the state of society in which they live, and from other circumstances, are peculiarly liable to abuse the almost uncontrolled authority with which they are invested. If, on the other hand, to avoid this culpable desertion of his charge, he resides on his property, he is in great danger of becoming himself corrupted by the fatal influence of slavery. The natural tendency of the situation in which a planter residing in the colonies is placed, is to injure his moral feelings, and to make him feel towards a portion of his fellow-creatures as man ought never to feel towards man. Of this melancholy truth innumerable instances might be given. Some individuals, no doubt, escape from the injurious effects of the possession of despotic power, and possibly some (like the excellent Mr. Steele) may be led by the possession of colonial property, to higher exertions of virtue than they might otherwise ever have made. But we know that wherever an injurious influence exists the majority will suffer by it, and therefore I repeat it would be true friendship to help to rescue your connection, even against his will, from a situation in which strong temptation to wrong conduct assails him on either side.

(Conclusion next week.)

DEPARTMENT FRANCAIS.

L'Éditeur du Génie de l'Émancipation universelle trouvant de grandes difficultés à se procurer des articles en français se propose de discontinuer les publications régulières. Lorsque cet ouvrage embrassoit les nouvelles du jour, il étoit facile de puiser dans les journaux étrangers et les domestiques; mais comme très peu de feuilles traitent maintenant de l'esclavage, et que l'Éditeur du Génie, ne connoissant pas la langue française, ne peut obtenir de traduction sans beaucoup de dépense, il se voit avec regret, forcé de se borner à donner de temps en temps, seulement, les articles qui lui paroîtront devoir intéresser les lecteurs français.

[TRANSLATION.]

The editor of the Genius of Universal Emancipation, finding it inconvenient to furnish matter for the French Department, proposes to discontinue the regular publication of articles in that language. While the work embraced the general news of the day, it was easy to procure matter ready prepared, from foreign and domestic periodicals. But as few of those now existing, touch upon the subject of slavery, and as the editor of this work is himself unacquainted with the French language, and can seldom get articles translated without incurring considerable expense, he feels necessitated to take the step above mentioned. When any thing relative to slavery, more than usually important to French readers, shall occur, an article in that language will be occasionally inserted, if convenient to prepare it. The editor regrets the necessity of pursuing this course; but it is unavoidable.

BLACK LIST.

☞ The engravings, that were not forwarded to subscribers, for the last number, accompany the present.

RUMORS OF "INSURRECTIONS."

We still have various reports of *meditated* insurrections among the slaves of the South. At Wilmington, N. C. and at Nashville, Tenn. *it is said* plottings (or *intended* plottings!) have been discovered.

It is not likely that there is a word of truth in these reports. Like the late despicable affair on the Eastern Shore, in Maryland, the whole has probably arisen from the imaginary fear inspired by the conscious guilt of oppression, and a desire for an excuse to increase the burdens and restrictions of the miserable slaves. This is the nature of despots, the world over. They never calculate that, to do an injured people *justice* is the way to secure their good behaviour; but persist in drawing the cord of tyranny tighter and tighter, until its very tension sunders it, and leaves the maddened and vengeful lion unbound, to rend and trample whom he finds in his way! When, alas! will men learn wisdom from experience?

KIDNAPPING.

The following is copied from the *Belfast (Ireland) Constitutional Advocate*, of Aug. 13th. I very lately obtained a copy of it, and have not yet inquired whether the person alluded to is known in Baltimore. I have no doubt, however, of the correctness of the narration:—Hundreds of other cases, equally interesting in many respects, have occurred at different times; and we have no cause to suspect the truth of the statement before us.

From the Belfast Constitutional Advocate.

"Yesterday, at 11 o'clock, a very curious and interesting case of Slavery underwent investigation at the Police Office before C. M. Skinner Esq. J. P. Wm. John Brown, aged about 50 years, was brought before the gentlemen under the following remarkable circumstances:—Brown was, as stated, a free black, born in Baltimore, and had a wife and family of five children, who resided with him in his own house. His domestic happiness, however, was effectually destroyed by some of that class of men styled, in America, Slave speculators, by whom he was kidnapped, and having been detained in their custody three days without food, he was suddenly hurried away by night, and compelled to cross the country in such a manner as rendered it impossible for him to form any idea of the route taken by the ruffians who had inhumanly torn him from the bosom of his family.— Thus circumstanced, he was put on board of a vessel, in which he remained twenty five days, at the end of which, he found that he had been conveyed to New Orleans.—At this place he was detained three months, and his papers and vouchers, of which his persecutors had got possession, having

been destroyed by them, he was sold, as a slave, by one King, to a person named Jacob, who employed him in loading a vessel called the Planter, the property of Mr. J. Vance, of this town. Brown indignant at the fraud which had been practised upon him, and anxious to regain his liberty, purchased a dollar's worth of biscuit, and contrived to conceal himself in the hold of this vessel, amongst a quantity of cotton stowed there. Immediately after he had thus secreted himself and his scanty sea store, the vessel proceeded on a voyage to Belfast, and arrived in this harbor on the 4th inst. During the passage he subsisted on the biscuit, gliding occasionally out of his retreat in the night time, in order to obtain water, and satisfy other calls of Nature. It is probable that some of the ship's crew knew something of his concealment, and through motives of compassion, aided the poor man in his distress; but this is a mere matter of conjecture. Be this as it may, it appeared probable, from what transpired before Mr. Skinner, that the owner of the vessel had received some notice that Brown had disappeared at New Orleans, and that it was likely he would be found on board the Planter, on her arrival at Belfast. This intimation led to his arrest, and of course to the hearing of the case before Mr. Skinner. Some Members of the Society of Friends, (absurdly called Quakers,) actuated by that spirit of philanthropy, which forms a strong trait in the character of this most valuable community, attended on this interesting occasion, on behalf of the oppressed man of color, and Mr. Skinner, having with much patience and strict regard to justice, heard Brown's statement in detail, and pronounced him to be a free man, he was liberated at once and left the office in company with those benevolent gentlemen who had so generously espoused his cause. He was also accompanied by an intelligent and spirited Black, an inhabitant of Belfast, who evinced a lively interest in his behalf, and pleaded his cause with animation and zeal which was honorable to his feelings. From Brown's appearance, he seems to have suffered much from hunger and confinement.

RELIGIOUS SLAVERY!

We were the other day not a little surprised, to see in the *Charleston, (S. C.) Observer*, which is a religious periodical, the following advertisement:

A BOY WANTED.

WANTED to purchase, a BOY from fourteen to eighteen years old, of warranted character. Apply at this office. March 6.

We knew not before that there was a religious periodical that would so far aid the cause of slavery as to advertise for slaves in this manner. We are more and more convinced of the necessity of our proposed *Christian Soldier*, which is not only intended to combat theological errors, but to investigate some practices which obtain among some professed Christians, one of which is slavery. If buying and selling our fellow men, is doing to them as we would have them do to us, *so.*—*Anti-Universalist.*

THE SLAVE TRADE.—The brig Claudio, which arrived at Sag Harbor on the 30th ult. in thirty-five days from the Island Ascension, reports that she left his Britannic Majesty's frigate Sybille, Commodore Collier, at that Island.—The officers of this ship stated that they had re-captured 12,000 slaves since they had been on the African station.—*Phil. Daily Chron.*

We understand that John Proffit, a colored man, died in Pawtucket yesterday morning—His death was caused by blows inflicted on him the night previous. Several other inoffensive colored people were severely beaten and bruised at the same time, and barely escaped with their lives.

Prov. Jour.

SELECTIONS.

THE CONSUMERS OF WEST INDIA SUGAR
THE SUPPORTERS OF WEST INDIA SLAVERY.

(Concluded.)

In the face of such evidence as this, supported as it is by the establishment of the general principle, that the discontinuance of the use of slave grown produce, so far from being injurious to the interests of the slaves, would materially promote them; it is obvious to the last degree absurd, to maintain that the consumption of West India Sugar would benefit the slaves; and it especially becomes every consumer of that article, seriously to reflect on the preceding undeniable and appalling statements. Who can behold unmoved such wholesale butchery of his fellow-creatures? And yet of what avail is the expression of commiseration on their behalf, (nay is it not sheer mockery?) while at the same time we advance our money to the planter, and pay him the price of their destruction? If we promote the cause, we are most assuredly responsible for the effects resulting from that cause. If David, when suffering with thirst, refused water, (esteeming it "*the blood of the men that went in jeopardy of their lives*"*) when the risk of life was incurred to obtain it, are we not called upon to refuse an article of mere luxury, when it is obtained at an absolute and lavish waste of the blood of our fellow men? Undoubtedly, if a due regard were had to their lives and happiness, it would induce us readily to do so. The sacrifice of a total abstinence from sugar is not, however, required at our hands, but merely that of substituting su-

gar obtained from Bengal,† which may be had at the trifling advance in price of about one penny or two pence per pound. This sugar is raised exclusively by *free men*, to whom an increased degree of employment in this, or any other branch of industry, would be of the greatest benefit. The population of India being very dense, and so much exceeding the means of employment, it is useless to say much in support of this assertion: and the following testimony of W. Fitzmaurice, who had been for sixteen years a sugar planter in Jamaica, and was afterwards a cultivator of sugar in the East, will be fully satisfactory and conclusive: "From the luxuriance and fertility of this country, (Bengal) I think it is amply competent to the supply of all Europe with sugar; and inasmuch as the cultivation of the sugar cane destroys annually, in the West, thousands of men, women and children, it would save the lives of thousands in the East, by giving them employ and sustenance." Frequent attempts having been made to controvert the position, that Bengal Sugar is raised by the labor of free-men, it becomes necessary briefly to notice this subject, and the following testimonies from living witnesses of the highest respectability, will probably be sufficient to establish the accuracy of the position. In the course of the discussion on West India Slavery, which took place in the House of Commons on the 1st of March, 1826, it was remarked by Joseph Hume, on the subject of Slavery in the East Indies, that "he had been in the East Indies, and speaking of what he knew of society there, particularly in Bengal, (from whence all our Sugar is derived,) he could undertake to say, there were no Agricultural Slaves there." This statement was immediately confirmed by Sir Edward Hyde East, formerly Chief Justice of Bengal. Further evidence to the same effect is plentifully to be found in the works of Dr. Francis Buchanan and Sir John Malcolm. In their various reports respecting the culture of sugar, the wages of hired laborers are regularly stated:—not a syllable appears as to the expense of keeping slaves.

The question then plainly resolves it-

† "*East India Sugar*" is the term generally used to designate sugar the produce of Bengal, but it is objectionable, as Mauritius Sugar is also East India Sugar; and it nearly resembles that of Bengal, but it should be more carefully avoided than even West India Sugar, the sacrifice of Slave life being so very great in that Island.

self into this. Two sorts of sugar are placed before us, the one raised by *Freemen*, the other by *Slaves*; by consuming the former, we afford employment and the means of subsistence to our fellow subjects the natives of Bengal, and "save the lives of thousands;" by consuming the latter, we support a system "which annually destroys its thousands,"* a system founded in injustice, violence, and oppression; and surely he who thus directly contributes to support that system, cannot hold himself guiltless of its evils and its crimes.

Were a subscription set on foot for the avowed object of supporting slavery, and of compensating the slave owners for the loss of life occasioned by the culture of sugar, with what feelings of indignation and disgust would every one who abhors slavery, and pities the slaves, receive an application to contribute his money? Who is there that would thus directly uphold what he condemns as cruel and unjust. Who, that in direct terms would make the avowal, that he considered two pence per pound, on the price of the sugar he consumes, to be a sufficient motive for contributing to the destruction of the lives of his fellow men, instead of assisting to support them? And yet is it not an undeniable fact, that every consumer of West India Sugar contributes to a fund for supporting Slavery with all its abominations? Let not then those who desire the abolition of Slavery, and the mitigation of the toils and sufferings of its victims, suffer themselves any longer to be bribed by the trifling difference between the price

*"All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them" is a command universal in its application. With especial reference to the sufferings thus entailed on our fellow men, the writer would direct the reader's attention to it, and also to the following remarks taken from a recent address on this subject:—

"Let us remember that these poor oppressed and degraded beings are really our brethren, our fellow men; and that in our conduct towards them we have no choice; we are bound to do them, what we should wish them to do to us if their circumstances and ours were changed. Should we then, in their circumstances, wish that our more favoured fellow creatures should go on year after year, and generation after generation, consuming the fruits of our unrequited labor, and riveting our chains by paying in the price of the luxuries produced by us, for any pecuniary loss, which the destruction of our lives and our happiness, and the degradation to our morals, might occasion to our oppressors? Should we not wish that all around us should do all they could for our relief: and at least bear their testimony against the injustice to which we were subjected!"

of East and West India Sugar, to swerve from what is so obviously their duty, "let no views of interest prevent practice from coinciding with their theory," and let them practically adopt the sentiment, that it would even "be better to eat no sugar,—nay better even to eat aloes or coloquintida, than be accessory to robbing 800,000 human beings of those eternal rights, of which no law upon earth can justly deprive them."

The following Extracts from a pamphlet, published in the year 1791, show the views entertained by some of the early abolitionists, and may very suitably be added to what has been here advanced:—

"Let us not think that the crime rests alone with those who conduct the traffic, or the legislature by which it is protected. If we purchase the commodity, we participate in the crime. *The Slave-dealer, the Slave-holder, and the Slave-driver, are virtually the agents of the Consumer,* and may be considered as hired by him to procure the commodity; for by holding out the temptation, he is the original cause, the first mover in the horrid process; and every distinction is done away by the moral maxim, that whatever we do by another, we do ourselves. Let us further recollect, that though numbers partaking of a crime may diminish the shame, they cannot diminish its turpitude.

"The case fully lies before us; and we have to make our choice, either to join ourselves with these manufacturers of human woe, or to renounce the horrid association. If we adopt the former, let us at least have the candour to avow our conduct in its real deformity. Let us no longer affect to deplore the calamities attendant on the Slave Trade, of which we are the primary cause: nor let us pretend to execrate the conduct of the Slave-dealer, the Slave-holder, or the Slave-driver, but apologize for them as our partners in iniquity, and be assured, that if we *not* take our share in the transaction, we should, were we placed in a similar situation with them, with as little compunction take theirs; unless we can suppose the order of nature would be so far inverted, as that we should become virtuous, in proportion as the temptation to vice increased; nor should we then, any more than now, be destitute of subterfuges to destroy the feelings of our minds, and the convictions of our consciences.—

"Address to the people of Great Britain and Ireland to abstain from the use of West India Sugar &c."

Genius of Universal Emancipation.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY B. LUNDY, IN THE CITIES OF WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

No. 8. VOL. I. THIRD SERIES.] NOVEMBER, 1830. [WHOLE NUMBER 259, VOL. XI.

— This number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, appears considerably sooner in the month than several that have preceded it. The Editor hopes to be able, hereafter, to lay before his patrons in the early part of each month, as at first designed.

SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

In the last number of this work, I stated that the question of the gradual and total abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, would be a "prominent topic for discussion" in its pages. But I shall not commence it, just yet, in due form. Still, I wish the public mind directed to the subject. It is vastly important—not only to individuals, but also to the nation.

The following extract from the "*Weekly Visitor*," published in Chester, Pa. shows that the subject is under consideration, even where we have as yet heard little said about it. It is very doubtful whether much will be done relative to this matter during the ensuing Session of Congress. There will now be a general breaking up of old political associations, and the forming of new combinations, preparatory to the Presidential struggle of 1832. And whether our friends of our cause will have confidence enough in their strength to make any thing like a successful effort, is quite problematical. A beginning, however, has been already made; and it must be followed up, to its consummation. Nothing will be more easy to accomplish than the abolition of slavery in this District, if the foreign authority wills it. No evil consequences could possibly result from it; and the clamorous manner in which many speak of it, is ridiculous, in the extreme.

From the Weekly Visitor.

It is very probable, nay, almost certain, that an attempt will be renewed, this next Session of Congress, to exterminate Slavery from the District of Columbia. This "ten miles square," under the exclusive legislative control of Congress; and although representatives from free states are sent yearly to this district, the horrors of the slave system are still in full force there! What an anomaly that the representatives of free states should indirectly uphold slavery, and countenance the barbarities consequent upon the system! Yet so it is, the unfortunate victims of a "black code" in the District owe their oppressions, as far as suffering

is concerned, to the supineness of states, where the inspiring words "all men are created equal" is something real.

In some respects, slavery is attended with a degree of oppression in the District, which is chargeable against Louisiana and Mississippi in an inferior degree. The transportation of slaves is from the older states to the new; consequently the District is continually the scene of the most heart-rending separation of families. Children are torn from their parents, and husbands and wives parted assunder, to fill the pockets of their relentless owners, or to glut the avarice of the speculator in human flesh. Groups of these unfortunate victims, torn from all they hold dear on earth, are frequently seen, driven through the streets, manacled, before the lash, in order to be shipped off for a Southern port.

THE "LIBEL" PERSECUTION.

I will not class the "plaintiff" and his interested minions (in the late case of "*Libel*," against the editors of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*) with the open advocates of slavery. They possess not the spirit to "advocate" any measure which they think will be unpopular, whether it be morally in their favor, or not. The whole character of such persons is selfish—all they want is money. They are the most *Spaniel-hearted* creatures among free men!

It should be publicly known that Todd made a cringing application to Garrison, through a mutual friend, very soon after the termination of the State prosecution, for a compromise. He offered to withdraw the civil suit, in case Garrison would admit his insinuation to be incorrect, respecting his having been generally more successful than other merchants, by his connexion with the internal slave trade. Garrison refused to make any such admission. The Court then put off the second trial, until he got weary of waiting, and left the State of Maryland. When the trial came on, Todd's attorney (Merideth) had the unblushing impudence to charge him with absconding! This was too gross an assertion for honorable minded men. The mass of Lawyers, however, are viewed, in general, as mere "*Swiss*" mercenaries, who will "fight" any where for pay—and for that only. Of course, their statements, in such a case, seldom obtain credit beyond the purlieus of the Jury Box. How much influence this averment of the plaintiff's attorney had upon the select Jury

of Merchants* that decided the case under consideration, is not known.

But it is not my intention to mention all the shifts to which these gentry have resorted. Garrison was exceedingly remiss in neglecting to attend to the suit himself; † and his attorney complains that he did not receive the necessary documents, &c. &c. to make a proper defence. Be this as it may, it is much to be regretted that the people of Maryland must suffer the imputation of supporting the abominable system of slave-trading (as the decision of the Jury in the case before us, would seem to warrant) in the estimation of people at a distance. I do not believe that the great mass of them deserve this imputation. As I said before, the whole proceedings of the last trial were *ex parte*. The Jury, with all their mercantile prejudices about

* I believe that much the largest portion of the Jury were merchants. I do not assert that the Court and plaintiff's counsel (who had the management of the business mostly to themselves) selected *merchants only*, to suit their own interests or prejudices.

One of these gentry, I learn, was exceedingly *wroth* when he discovered that the names of himself and colleagues had been published in the last number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. He threatened another prosecution of the editor! He has not yet put his threat into execution; but if he is disposed to *run his head against a fount of types*, he is welcome to do it. They shall be arranged in the best possible order for it! Types are potent implements of modern political and moral warfare. Castles fall before them—canons are silenced—swords and bayonets are crumbled, or turned against the holders, if in the hands of intolerant men. Let tyrants and ignoramuses beware how they bring any thing else in contact with them! Even Courts, Lawyers, and Juries are sometimes fallible and vulnerable! "Give me but the liberty of the press," says Sheridan, "and I will give to the minister a venal house of peers—I will give to him a corrupt and servile house of commons—I will give him a full swing of the patronage of his office—I will give him the whole host of ministerial influence—I will give him all the power that place can confer upon him, to purchase up submission, and overawe resistance; and yet, armed with the liberty of the press, I will go forth to meet him undismayed; I will attack with that mightier engine the mighty fabric he has raised; I will shake down from its height corruption, and bury it beneath the ruins of the abuses it was meant to shelter."

† In a letter to the editor, received just about the time of the trial, Garrison remarked: "I am willing that the Court should have all the sport to itself. I give Mr. Todd every advantage." This was wrong. Though he walked forth in conscious innocence, and thought himself secure, he should know that any cause, however just, depends for its success upon vigilance and activity.

them, were called upon to decide a case where the story on but one side was told them, and when every nerve was strained to give it a coloring that would influence their judgment. I am not about to assume the character of apologists for them. Before their God, their conscience and their countrymen of the present and succeeding generations, they must stand approved or condemned. It is a serious matter; and the subject will hence assume a degree of importance that few attach to it in the present day. It is impossible, that with the present advancement of light and knowledge, both in the old and new worlds, such restrictions and shackles can long be imposed on the press, or on the minds of men, as this decision is calculated to enforce. And more particularly, I am certain that the spread of general philanthropy and publican principles must prevail over isidolatry and despotism, as they have done over the priestcraft of Rome, and the monarchy of Europe. Nothing under heaven can prevent it, if its advocates do their duty—if they remain firm and persevering.

A general review of the proceedings in the case under consideration, is not designed for the present. This will probably be attended to by Garrison himself. Further remark is, therefore, withheld at this time.

The editor of the "American Statesman" alluding to the circumstance of establishing this work at the seat of government, and the proposition for discussing the question of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, remarks:

"The editor is a warm hearted philanthropist—to his philanthropy let him add philosophy, and to these *patience*, and the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* will achieve much. We can assure the editor, in advance, that intelligent and influential men from every part of the Union," view the agitation of this question with extreme jealousy and no slight alarm; and that if it be made the prominent topic of discussion, it must be done with the caution and circumspection, with which the lighted match is applied to a train of gun-powder, or all his airy dreams may be blown sky high.

Now, I can assure the gentleman that, I have labored ten years, PATIENTLY, in this cause. I have necessarily endeavored to muster a little "philosophy" to help me along. For my life, I cannot discover why this question should be viewed with such "extreme jealousy" and "alarm" as he (no doubt truly) intimates. What! shall "American Statesmen" fear to look this evil in the face, while it is yet in its infancy? How, then, shall they dare to counter it, when it assumes the giant-form.

in its blindness seizes the pillars of our national fabric! If this *Herculean monster* can be strangled in the cradle," I think we should act the part of wisdom in doing it. If, indeed, we neglect it much longer, I fear we shall find that, amidst our "dreams" of safety, we are rocking, as it were, on *Ætna's* trembling summit, or rolling 'mid the *red-tinged* billows of "*Egypt's*" awful sea!

THE INTERNAL SLAVE TRADE.

The question is *seriously asked*: What are we to think of men who will engage in such a traffic as this? *Young negroes, only*, are wanted. No matter what the feelings of parents may be, when their children are thus torn from them!—and what should we think of editors or publishers of newspapers, who, for the sake of a little self, will publish *such* advertisements? The following is taken from the "*National Intelligencer*!" The names of the advertiser, &c. are suppressed. I would not, by inserting their names, make an advertisement for them:

From the National Intelligencer.

MORE MONEY

Will he be given for likely young negroes, by the undersigned, than any purchaser who is or who will come to this market. Application to be made at, &c. &c. Nov. 9 1833m.

ANOTHER HARD CASE.

The following advertisement appears in the "*National Intelligencer*" of Nov. 9th. This man, it is supposed, came to Washington for employment, not knowing the nature of the laws in this District; and he is now likely to be sold as a slave! Can no friendly arm be raised to shield him from such a misfortune, by advancing the amount of his jail fees? Do the people of the United States generally know that this state of things still exists in the District of Columbia? And will they not raise their voice against it, in a way that shall reach the ears of their representatives in Congress?

NOTICE.

Was committed to the Prison of Washington County, D. C. on the 27th of October last, as a runaway slave, a negro man, by the name of MANUEL GILBERT. He is 5 feet 8 inches high, supposed to be about 50 years of age; had on when committed a chip hat, blue cloth coat, blue cloth vest, light country cloth trousers, cotton shirt, white yarn socks, and shoes about half worn. Says he was set free by the late Peter Dejean, deceased, of Prince George County, Md. The owner or owners of the above described negro man, if any, are requested to come and prove him, and take him away,

or he will be sold for his prison fees, and other expenses, as the law directs. R. R. BURR, Keeper of the Prison of Washington Cy. D. C. for TENCH RINGGOLD, Marshal.

AFRICAN EDUCATION SOCIETY.

An association, under this name, was organized, a few months since, at the City of Washington. The Constitution, together with a list of the officers, an address to the public, &c. comprised in a pamphlet of sixteen pages, has been received at this office, and should have been noticed before now, but was necessarily deferred for want of room.

The object of this society is, undoubtedly, a good one. The elevation of the degraded sons of Africa to their proper rank and station, is a great desideratum, and should be encouraged by all proper means. The measure in question appears to partake largely of a theological character; and on this account a jealousy towards it will be entertained by some.—This should be strongly deprecated; for although it may not exactly meet the views of all who are friendly to the cause, great practical benefit may be expected from it. Let all sects and parties labor for the extinction of this "supreme curse" of slavery, as may to them seem best; and let those who are not in communion with them lend a helping hand, whenever they conscientiously can. The abolition of slavery by the Society of Friends, so far as its members were concerned, was a "glorious" deed. And if the Presbyterians, and other religious denominations, will exert themselves for the moral improvement of that unfortunate race, though they should not, for a time, do all that should be desired, they will be entitled to the approbation of mankind.

The following is the second article of the Constitution of this Association

"The exclusive object of this society shall be, to afford persons of color destined to Africa, such an education, in Letters, Agriculture, and the Mechanic arts, as may best qualify them for usefulness and influence in Africa."

The terms of membership are *one dollar* annually; or *twenty dollars* paid at one time.

Bishop Meade, of Virginia, is the President of the Society; Isaac Orr, of Washington, Secretary, and Richard Smith, Esq. of Washington, Treasurer.

MARYLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

A meeting of the delegates from some of the branches of the *Maryland Anti-Slavery Society* was held in Baltimore, on the 21st of last month. The meeting was small, and but little business was

transacted. Committees were appointed to prepare sundry addresses to the public, to the various branches, &c. &c.

The Officers of the convention, at present, are:—

Wm. R. Jones, *President*.
Henry Mankin, *Rec. Secretary*.
Benjamin Landy, *Corresponding Sec.*
John Needles, *Treasurer*.

PATRIOTISM IN NORTH CAROLINA.

The annexed extract is the conclusion of an Oration, delivered before the Manumission Society of North Carolina, in September, 1829, by Amos Weaver, of Guilford County.

It will rejoice the friends of our cause to learn, that this patriotic gentleman was very recently elected to the Legislature of that State, by a handsome majority. He was violently opposed by the advocates of slavery; but their opponents triumphed completely. Well done, North Carolina!

"But permit me to remark, in conclusion, that should this and a few other evils in our electioneering policy be suppressed; the evils and impolicy attending a system of absolute slavery fairly and generally developed; and the cause of virtue and knowledge maintained among our citizens, we shall find ourselves served by men of a very different turn from many of those who have served us heretofore in the councils of our country. We shall find men in our Legislatures to whom the appeals of humanity and justice may be made with effect. We shall not then, as heretofore, have our humble petitions ordered to lie on the table, or perhaps hear the hoarse muttering voice of oppression and cruelty, declaring that these things need no Legislative interference." What! Are thousands of our fellow creatures, within our State, (creatures possessing the nature that we possess, united to the great brotherhood of mankind, all having descended from the same original stock,) destitute of every real protection afforded them by Law either in their persons or property, many of whom are under the control of cruel and relentless masters, from whom they receive much inhuman abuse, being deprived of happiness here, and almost entirely deprived of the means of obtaining happiness hereafter; and we yet told that this needs no legislative interference? Are thousands of our fellow creatures living in some way among us, without any Law to guard their marriage rights, or without the law's having any knowledge of marriage among them, (for such is the fact with regard to the whole slave population among us,) and yet this need no Legislative interference? A system of slavery existing which *must* incur the censure of divine justice, it being at variance

with every native sentiment of justice and humanity in the human breast, and yet we are *gravely* told that all this needs no Legislative interference! Monstrous indeed is the doctrine! But on this subject we will appeal to the virtue and good sense of our Countrymen. These evils must be redressed, so as to render a degree of justice at last, to all within our Government, or we cannot rationally conclude that our liberties can be rendered perpetual. And it is in the work that we have engaged, and in this our toil is sweetened by the conscious rectitude of our motives, and our honest and cheerful hope that we may ever be the benefactors of mankind. Therefore, let us work while it is day. It is a glorious privilege which we enjoy, as free men, to engage in this work. In this, our Constitution will protect us. And under the broad protection afforded by the laws of our Country, we may fully discuss this subject; freely advocate what we may deem objects of public utility; freely censure what we may judge improper, and unprincipled, in the public conduct of the ruling authorities; and as freely give our votes, when we must approach the ballot box, against such as act improperly. Strengthen by all your intercourse with society that you are devotedly attached to the cause of freedom, and the highest interests of your country. Urge your cause with mildness but with a determined and unyielding perseverance; and success will certainly crown your labors. And although you may not live to realize the ultimate design of our undertaking, yet the zeal which we have shown, and are yet showing in the cause of humanity, shall survive, and glow in our successors; on them shall our mantles drop, and the good which has been so generally undertaken, shall be dispensed and enjoyed when the Sun shall rise to bless generations yet unborn."

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

The following article will be interesting to those who feel disposed to advocate our cause. The writer takes a serious and *alarming* view of the tyrannical crusade against the liberty of the press, experienced even in this boasted country.

From the American Daily Advertiser.

LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

At this time, when our whole nation is rejoicing over the triumph obtained on the other side of the water, in favour of the liberty of the press, will it be believed, that, at this very moment, attempts are making in Baltimore, to punish by a heavy fine, a citizen of the United States for some remarks made by him while editor of a paper devoted to humanity and freedom? He related some facts

touching a legalized traffic in *human flesh and blood*; and because he spoke of the transaction in a manner becoming a *free-man*, an American, a republican in principle, and not merely so in name, *he was imprisoned*: and old Shylock, not satisfied, is still persecuting him "for the pound of flesh."

If these kinds of prosecutions are to be tolerated, in this enlightened age and in this "land of liberty," then farewell to all our rights—civil, religious, and political. Americans! look to it! Something ought to be done to nip this spirit of persecution in the bud, or else in addition to the groans, chains and scourges of the Africans, we may have fire and faggots for such of us as dare to raise our voices against cruelty and oppression of any kind.

AMERICANUS.

THE GENIUS OF TEMPERANCE.

This excellent work is now published in New York. It is edited by William Goodell and Phineas Crandall, and ably supports the cause in which it is engaged. Our friend Goodell holds a powerful pen. Would that he could find more leisure to wield it against the monster, *slavery*.

THE "RIGHTS OF ALL."

This valuable periodical, edited by the Rev. Samuel E. Cornish, a colored gentleman of Belleville, New Jersey, has not reached us for several months. It is to be feared that the same *withering* apathy that blights every other publication that is devoted to the improvement of the colored race, has extended its scorching influence to the work above mentioned. Shame! shame! to the "philanthropists" of the United States.—When will they reflect, that persons who labor in this cause, stand as much in need and are as deserving of support, as those who engage in any other? They might just as well turn away from the victim on whom the robber's hand is laid, as refuse to assist those who essay to effect his rescue.

The engravings, accompanying a few copies of this number, were intended to be forwarded last month, but were omitted through inadvertence. For an explanation of them, see the "Black List," for September.

A biographical notice of Anthony Benedict may be expected in next number.

CORRESPONDENCE.

For the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

FRIEND B. LUNDY:—The following is an extract of a letter from —, to —, in reply to a communication from the latter, calling in question the propriety of a sentiment advanced by the former, that had the society of friends kept faithful to their original concerns against African slavery and oppression, there would have been by this time, an article of Discipline against the use of the produce of slavery. If agreeable, please insert it in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. A. B.

Fifth Mo. 4th, 1824.

BELOVED FRIEND:—To the first half of thy letter I can cordially subscribe, knowing by some degree of humbling experience that *human reason* unenlightened and undirected by that which is indeed *light*, is wholly insufficient either to guide our own steps right or enable us to point out the path of peace to others; yet while wandering far and wide in error, human acts are not all indifferently alike, since those that are immoral and dishonest in themselves, tend powerfully to obscure and prevent the arising of that which is indeed the true light of men—hence the necessity of discipline made in the light of truth, though not wanted for its faithful followers; these have no guide but *one*, because they know that none but *one* could possibly have raised them out of the pit into which they had fallen. But while the gradual work of the new creation is effected "day after day," various causes may have prevented him who has seen and rejoiced in many of those days from beholding with clearness what is obvious to another in his earliest infancy. How can we otherwise account for the fact, that our worthy ancients, bright and shining instruments, should so long have bought, sold, and kept in bondage, their fellow creatures. And when the stripling Woolman proposed shackling them with "yokes of bondage," how did their feelings revolt from his implied charge of injustice against them, had they not learned obedience from the things that they had suffered in the school of Christ? Being melted, refined, and set free from the law of sin and death. There we may see with admiration and gratitude the infinite compassion and tender dealing of Him with whom we have to do; in thus leading and blessing (as far as they were prepared to receive) those who were entangled in

things manifestly wrong and unjust. When we love one another we feel that we can use great freedom. Allow me then to say that thy arguments appeared to me just such as the beforementioned friend urged against John Woolman, together with others more powerful in their favor, for it is doubtful whether *our* conduct is not in some respects more inexcusable than *theirs*--their slaves they knew were then tenderly treated, and if liberated were often liable to be scourged and sold to worse masters; they were also in the way of receiving religious and civil instruction; whereas, the thousands who are this moment toiling for us, obtain no assistance from us on those accounts. I note thy remarks: "Those who walk by faith are not in the nature of things bound by any human law--for the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath set them free from the penalty of every other law. This is as clear to my mind as it is that no inferior law can possibly judge the law of God, or bind the soul that has purchased its freedom by fulfilling the perfect law of liberty." However great these truths, can the perfect law of liberty sanction clearly, known and acknowledged oppression of our fellow creatures? Oh, my friend! if thy heart has deeply felt for these people (and I know it has) examine once more what it is that so shackles thee--so shackles thousands from pleading their cause. Poor inconsistent creatures that we are! behold us reprobating a system in words, yet supporting it in acts! proclaiming its injustice in the authority of truth (when truth can rise into dominion) and then hanging our heads in a deeply weakening sense of our own participation in its support! Shall we never shake our hands from holding of bribes? How powerful is custom in closing our ears and eyes against perceiving what we do not wish to perceive, and what we should otherwise at once behold in its true colors. Indeed it is scarcely possible to believe that there can be one friend of common understanding who does not know that it is wrong that slaves should toil for him, or who does not know that they *are so toiling*. But here the adversary steps in, and although he cannot persuade us we are doing right, he reasons and reasons almost continually to stifle our convictions, suppressed and smothered as they have long been by habit: pointing out the difficulties attending a different line of conduct, and by a **strange yet most successful piece of so-**

phistry, persuading us that it would even be wrong for us to cease to oppress our fellow creatures, until loudly called upon by convictions that he had incessantly aided us to crush. He does not tell us to go to the theatre and pay our money for the support of actors, while we blame the whole establishment as a school of vice. He does not tell us to purchase articles captured in war, and yet proclaim that war is anti-christian. But he tells us to advance our money to induce another to do an act that we unequivocally condemn, and should disown our members for so doing. He says that to withdraw our support would be a species of coercion, and would not be the right way to remove the evil; and when our understandings of any are opened in the light of truth, to see and expose his snares and delusions, we hear him *reason* most loudly against the use of *reason*. It is not in my power to express the sorrowful sense I have of the loss the society and many of its ornaments have sustained for want of the latter bringing their conduct in this respect to the true touchstone; were they to do this, the example would powerfully aid, instead of retarding the progress of reformation. I feel no hesitation in repeating my conviction, that nothing but our own faithfulness has prevented discipline being made to wipe away this great inconsistency between our *profession and practice*; nevertheless, it may not be right to have that discipline made until we become more faithful, lest we be like another religious body* who sometime since made discipline to prevent their members from keeping slaves, and through weakness failed to rescind it. The path of simple obedience to what we know to be right, can lead through all our difficulties. May we patiently travel it, and if we possess any powers of reasoning on subjects so struse or plain, yield these and every other gift to Him who alone can make them conduce to his own glory--to the good and to the good of our fellow creatures.

Farewell--whenever it is convenient I should be glad to hear from thee: as great freedom as I have done, and without one hint more I shall close my letter. *The armor with which thou art sometimes clothed, is too excellent to be used in a warfare that is not perfectly just.*

Thy assured Friend-- *****

* The Methodists to the Southward.

Extract of a letter from Jacob W. Prout, of Monrovia, Africa, to the editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, dated Sept. 22, 1830.

"I am happy to state that Capt. W. F. Martin, of the schr. *Zembuca*, of Baltimore, burthen about one hundred tons, recently ascended the St. Pauls River, as far up as the extremity of Bashrod Island, which is between the St. P. and the Stockton. It is said by the natives that they have not seen a vessel of this size, on that river, before. I think the discovery will be of considerable benefit to our colony; and Capt. M. deserves applause for the same. I was an eye witness to the performance, as I was on board.

"I have sent for my good friend _____, a few lines, of which, if they arrive safe, shall be enabled to ship any quantity to you. Our Trees hang as full here, as the Apple Trees do in America, and they are more abundant"

From the *Greensborough Patriot*.

AN ADDRESS

Delivered at a meeting of the Jefferson Branch of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, on the 1st of May, 1830, by Thomas Doan.

FELLOW HELPERS IN PLEADING THE CAUSE OF THE POOR AND NEEDY:—In compliance with your request, I now solicit your attention to what I have thrown together in your requested essay, upon the almost worn-out subject of African slavery. Indeed! were it not for the too general apathy which prevails over a large number of the professed advocates for African freedom, I should despair of bringing forward a single idea that was new, or of casting the least glimmer of undiscovered light upon the subject—so nearly has it been exhausted by the numerous speakers and writers that have from time to time treated upon it. But on account of the general apathy, of which I have been speaking, I have made the venture, not knowing but old subjects, long forgotten, might, when revived, be to such characters entirely new and interesting. In addressing you at this time, I must beg of such of you, if such there be, that are almost "twice dead and plucked up by the roots," to awake from your sleep of stupefaction, and arise from your graves of insensibility, and exercise a little more energy in attending your meetings for promoting the object of the institution of which you are members—exert yourselves in procuring new signers

to your petitions; patronize according to your ability, works of utility, in diffusing the principles of freedom; and, in a word, do for your suffering colored brethren, that which you would wish them to do for you, upon a change of circumstances.

To such of you, fellow helpers, as are yet alive, I can only say, endeavor to become still more lively; and I would by all means further advise you, not to be disheartened at the imaginary gloomy prospects which seem to hover around you: for the cause which you have espoused is the cause of Heaven, and the combined powers of earth and hell cannot prevail against it.

Let me now call your attention back to the first formation of your humane institution, and ask you what was then the appearance, and the prospect? A few "earthen pitchers and their lamps," assaying to contend with almost a whole nation of inveterate slaveholders! The prospect, to mortal eyes, was gloomy indeed; and the appearance not less contemptible to the surrounding hosts of slaveholders, than the stripling David was to the mail-coated Goliath of Gath.

But let us mark the revolving rounds of only *fourteen years*, and test the changes which have taken place within that period. The principle which you then advocated, might be compared to the "little cloud of the size of a man's hand;" or perhaps, more fitly, to the "little leaven, hid in the meal;" but what now is its appearance? Why, that same "little leaven"—that same principle of *freedom* which you contended for, has extended its influence, not only over this large continent, but over Spanish America also, and has even found its way into the British Parliament; nor do I believe that its salutary effects will cease, till the "whole lump is leavened," and the *curse of slavery* eradicated from the civilized world.—Thousands, fellow helpers, who were the avowed enemies of African emancipation fourteen short years ago, have been convinced, and are now among the warmest advocates for freedom. Your numbers, as friends to the rights of man, have increased beyond your most sanguine anticipations. In the infancy of your institution, your enemies viewed you with contempt—they neither loved nor feared either you or your efforts; but many, who then considered you as almost beneath their notice, to them you now have a formidable appearance, and they dread the effects of your exertions and influ-

ence. Manumissionists, at this stage of existence, appear terrible as an "army with banners" to the votaries of oppression; and though they endeavor to intimidate you, and to weaken your hands by honoring you with the genteel appellations of *fools, fanatics, enthusiasts*, or whatever other evil epithets they may think proper to confer upon you, yet they fear your powers, and, as if in despair of holding long their *sable human prey* with tiger grasp, growl defiance to every effort to wrest it from them. The spirit of philanthropy is progressing with such rapidity, that the slave proprietors are alarmed at its march, and even daringly threaten a dissolution of the Union, whenever the slave question is ever so slightly agitated. The nabobs of the slave states are exceedingly jealous of their *rights*—their *privileges*—their *property*; and are afraid that Congress, in conjunction with the free States, and the abolitionists in the several States, may, some day or other, put their heads together, and bring about a universal emancipation of all the slaves in the nation; and hence the general hue and cry, which we so often hear sounded by our little and big politicians about *State Rights*—which is nothing more nor less than a new fashioned argument in support of the slave system.—From the general outcry which is raised by our State-Right politicians about State Rights, no other conclusion can be fairly drawn, I apprehend, than that they wish to divest the national government of all its powers or dissolve it altogether, so that every State may act independent of the rest, or of any higher council than its own, either to direct or protect it; and all this and more, from a fear of losing their slaves. But touch upon slavery, and you touch the apple of their eye—and no wonder—having so long lived in idleness and upon the gain of oppression, they are too lazy to work, too proud to beg, and they well know what their next alternative would be. But a word to you, fellow manumissionists: What think you of the consistency of men, professing to be the friends of African freedom, and at the same time lending a heavy hand in promoting one, or more, of these *state-right, slavery-protecting politicians*, to a seat in the national legislature? It might be well enough to take this matter into serious consideration.

One other case, and I have done. This is the most delicate part of my general

subject, and I would willingly have left it unnoticed, did I not believe that duty urged to the contrary. Shall I thus publicly venture to tell my fears, and not be in danger of being called an infidel? To avoid this, let me first state without hypocrisy, that I am a believer in the Christian Religion, and some sort of an unworthy professor of it. Having thus promised, I proceed: I *fear*, fellow helpers, that a majority, perhaps, of the Christian professing societies in our country, are amongst the greatest props, supporters, and upholders of the system of slavery, of any other class of citizens whatever. The most, if not all of them, acknowledge slavery to be wrong, and pronounce it to be both a national sin and a moral evil, and yet keep slave-holders in church communion, and some of them have *slave-holding preachers*, and authorise them to be instructors of others in the mysteries of Christianity! There is something a little mysterious in this:—pronounce a slave-holder to be a moral sinner, and then authorise the same moral sinner to preach the pure gospel of the redemption. Pronounce the slave-holding lay-member to be a moral sinner, and then unite with him in full Christian fellowship, in performing the most sacred acts of Christian devotion, by communing together at the *eucharist board*, and in the *full fellowship denoting love feast*; or the flesh-purifying operation of *washing feet*! There appears to me to be either a very great inconsistency in these things, or a most intolerable "daubing with untempered mortar."

How do you feel, fellow manumissionists, when you join with slave-holders in any or all of the above described emblems of Christian fellowship? or when you sit under the "*droppings of the sanctuary*" of a slave-holding preacher? Do you feel no revoltings of mind upon such occasions? Reflect, if you please, and think upon it. I am fully persuaded, that if all the Christian Churches in America would excommunicate every slave-holding member, who should refuse to manumit his or her slaves, and finally exclude all such from becoming members in future, that it would do more in "breaking every yoke, undoing the heavy burdens, and letting the oppressed go free," than any means that ever have been, or can be, used without it.

All of which I submit to your serious consideration.

LADIES' REPOSITORY

Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

IMPORTUNITY.

It appears to be considered no small grievance by some of our gentle sisters, that the subject of slavery should so frequently be forced before their attention by the friends of emancipation. They complain that it is but little short of persecution or slavery in itself, to be so frequently obliged to endure remonstrances on their inactivity, to be so perpetually called upon for their aid and sympathy, or so often reminded of what, they are told, is their duty.

To us, this extreme sensitiveness seems not to belong to consciences so wholly untouched by the subject as they would be willing to appear. Persons are not usually disturbed at the approach of what is totally indifferent to them. We should rather suppose that their irritations proceeded, perhaps truly unconsciously, from a fear that such troublesome interference might dissipate the slumbers, which they have been at some pains to force upon a sense of duties which might be troublesome to perform. Yet if they were really as indifferent as they would persuade themselves they have a right to be, that could not be a sufficient reason why the voice of remonstrance should be silenced. Were it a subject that concerned only the personal gratification of the pleaders, then indeed their friends might justly complain if they were harried with importunity. But this is not the case. Opposition to slavery is not a theme to be taken up merely in compliance with a prevailing fashion, or an individual taste or inclination. It is a question which concerns the real interests of millions of human beings—thousands—of hundreds of thousands of our own sex; and those of us who feel that the influence of woman must and will be felt in its discussion, have a right to demand that it should be examined patiently. What! are we to behold our fellow creatures suffering and oppressed—must we see as it were tears of blood flowing out, drop by drop, from the crushed hearts of our sisters, and yet stifle the indignant cry of our own bosoms, and fear to lift up our voices in their behalf, because you have grown weary of the harrowing tale of their

anguish? Shall we smother the convictions of conscience, and silence the promptings of humanity, rather than intrude a disagreeable theme upon your ear? And turning to the helpless beings, whose cause our God and our religion commands us to plead as earnestly as if it were our own, shall we tell them, as the dim eye is lifted towards us in passionate supplication, that we are conscious our united efforts would release them from their soul destroying bonds, but that you are wearied of the subject, and we like not to press it upon your attention! Would you not condemn as a heartless wretch, the individual who could act thus by one single sufferer? How much less then may we so betray the cause of thousands! "Strike me," said the Athenian orator, "if you will but hear me!" and shall we desist to press upon your attention a subject of far greater moment than any merely political one that was ever agitated, because you have grown impatient of the often repeated topic? No! we must still again and again present it before you. We must not cease to assail you with our importunity till weariness is changed into interested and active compassion. If your hearts turn sickening away from the thought of so much wretchedness, reflect, then, that no exertions, no sacrifices of yours can be too great, that have for their object the alleviation of the lot of those who are actually groaning under its endurance. Even though you may not be certain of success, it is worth while at least to endeavor to do good; and should your efforts fall short of their desired end, you will be amply rewarded for them in the satisfaction of having done what you could, and in the consciousness that your brothers blood will never lie with a burning weight upon your souls.

THE VOICE OF CONSCIENCE.

It is frequently urged as a plea for indifference and inaction with regard to emancipation, that the mind has never been particularly impressed with the subject, and that the conscience has always remained at rest concerning it. But this we do not conceive to be by any means a valid argument, unless we have diligently called upon, and carefully attended to the suggestions of the mental counsellor. Conscience does not always give her advice unasked; we sometimes walk blindly in a wrong path; but, though we may perhaps be held guiltless, so long as we remain unconsciously slumbering, yet if we obstinately turn away from the hand that would awaken us, and refuse to open our eyes that we may discover whether light or darkness is around us, surely we are not less culpable

than if we knowingly persisted in error.

There seems to be prevalent, a strange opinion, that it is incumbent upon none to become advocates for the rights of humanity, in the persons of the enslaved Africans, but those who have received an especial intimation of their duty in that respect; that the productions of slavery, which are undeniably its foundation and support, may be freely partaken of by all but those to whom they have been forbidden in a voice that might not be gainsayed. In other things we listen to the tones of reason, we seek her guidance to the gate of conscience, and ask her interpretation of the hidden responses of the bosom oracle. Shall we not then in like manner expect to be enlightened in this matter, by a patient investigation and search after knowledge? We know that many persons have been called from a life of sin and disobedience, by the terrible voice of God, sounding like a clear trumpet-note to the innermost recesses of their bosoms. But who would therefore be so mad, as to suppose that we may with impunity persist in a course of impiety, until an irresistible summons comes to turn us from our path, as to Saul of Tarsus, at the broad noon-day? So neither have we any reason to believe, that a particular revelation will be vouchsafed to us with regard to our conduct here. If the system is repugnant to the known general laws of religion and morality; if it is contrary to the written commands of God, and to those which are whispered, in the heart's silent hour, to the spiritual ear, then we know of a truth it must be wickedness, and it follows as a natural and inevitable consequence that we are called upon to lend our influence to its destruction, and that we cannot innocently in any way be partakers therein. We know that the enslaved Negroes are human beings;—our brethren and our sisters; that they are "sick, and an hungered, and in prison," and shall we dare to assert that our duty does not require us to "minister unto them," till we have received a particular command to do so? There are others who seem to fear to enter lightly and with unconsecrated foot upon a field which presents a work of such magnitude, that God's own hand seems only competent to the completion of the task. And if it were only a labor of religious reformation—one of those mighty overthrowings which sometimes take place when the finger of the Almighty is at work secretly in the mysterious depths of the human bosom, then might we indeed justly dread to lay unhallowed hands upon the "Ark of the Covenant." But this is

a plain question of christian duty. The simple performance of a right action—no more involving the danger of an officious interference, than the thousand beneficent deeds for which we uniformly bestow the tribute of our applause on others, or receive the reward of an approving conscience in ourselves. As reasonably might we hesitate to perform the commonest duties of humanity, because our hands were not clear of all evil, as to make our imperfections an excuse for suffering our brethren to remain unaided in their bondage. The rule upon which we are to act, was long since promulgated. It is written upon every page of the christian religion—it is graven upon a broad scroll of light in words that may be read to the farthest extremity of the universe. *All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye unto them, and thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself*"

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE FEMALE ASSOCIATION OF PHILADELPHIA FOR PROMOTING THE MANUFACTURE AND USE OF FREE COTTON.

The Committee who have in charge the concerns of the Association, report that within the last month several pieces of Bed-ticking, and 14 of Canton-flanne have been received from the weavers and a supply of unbleached shirting muslins is daily expected.

An order from Kennet-Square, requesting an assortment of the different articles on hand, has been attended to.

It would be desirable if our members would as much as practicable encourage the use of such articles as are the productions of *free labour*, in preference to those produced by *slaves*, as we think much depends upon individual faithfulness,—and by disposing speedily of the goods now on hand, it would thereby encourage the manufacturers, and still continue to increase the demand for free cotton—and also to endeavour to bear the little sacrifices, as to the quality of the goods, which is necessary in bringing into operation this noble cause.

9th month, 13, 1830.

Report for Tenth Month.

The committee in virtue of their appointment, have duly attended to the serious concerns which have come within their notice during the past month,—and inform the Association, that the increased demand for our goods has rendered

it necessary to bespeak a new supply from the factories—there being yet a considerable quantity of cotton yarn on hand. Therefore, five hundred yards of Bed-ticking and five hundred of sheetings have been ordered.

A considerable quantity of coarse shirtings have been received since last report, but not a sufficiency to meet the applications.

The person who has undertaken the manufacturing of dimity, informs: that owing to the cotton not being of a suitable quality, he is obliged to abandon the making of *furniture dimity*.

An order received from Westchester, Pennsylvania, for a supply of nearly all the varieties of the remaining lots of goods now in the store room, has been attended to, and the articles furnished accordingly.

LITERARY.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

SLAVERY.

If there is one cup administered to the lips of man, more deeply than all others drugged with bitterness, it is that which to its very dregs is drained by the Negro slave. It is vain to speak of the comforts of his situation;—to contrast his certainty of food and raiment, with the anxious care of the indigent freeman, tearing away his days under heart-sickening discouragements and unremitting toil, to provide for the helpless beings who look to him, and to him only, for the means of subsistence. The highest enjoyment in the first case, the mere exemption from physical want, is one in which the favorite steed and the household dog, fellow servants with the slave, partake of a more generous portion than himself. In the other, though the toils of the free laborer should be severe and more lengthened, though his means of providing for the wants of life were more scanty, yet the high swelling of the free spirit, the consciousness of duty well performed, and the grateful affection which rewards his toil, impart even to his darkest hours, a happiness which would be ill exchanged for all the blessings which slavery ever bestowed upon a child of Africa.

The slave! is it not a heartless mockery of his fate, to couple his name in the same breath with that of happiness! What to him the refinement of intellectual

pleasure? What may he know, amidst his degradation, of the high acquirements of mind—of the delicate enjoyments of the taste and the imagination? What is hope to him? What is memory—delicious memory! that kind bestower of a two-fold life? that skilful limner, who, if she cannot preserve to us in an enduring existence, the vanishing moments of delight, sketches with a rapid hand their brightest features, and shadows out a picture which we may gaze upon long after the reality has passed away! Her pencil may indeed be wielded for him—she may call back to his view a vivid picturing of former years and former scenes—but what are the images that crowd upon her easel? Friends, loved friends, from whom he is forever parted—gentle eyes and soft cheeks that have rested in fondness upon his bosom, but are now to be beheld never again, terrible scenes of violent separation,—and that dear home under whose shadowing trees lie the ashes of his mother, where he grew from childhood to youth, where he loved and was wedded, and from which in an evil hour he was torn forever. She has none for him of the blessed recollections, brighter it may be, but not less dear than the more striking circumstances of life,—of happy hours passed in the society of well loved friends, with whom, though you may perhaps, and not unreluctantly, have parted, your intercourse may at some future day be yet renewed,—the moonlight walks, when kind voices sounded even sweeter and softer than their wont, of which all after moons are the remembrancer,—the volume, read aloud under the shadow of the hill-vine, whose pages contain far more to your eye, than only the printed characters,—some added mental acquirement, not so valued for its own sake, as for the thought of the friendly circle where it was gathered up,—moments of glad mirth, the deeper passages of more serious and the thousand remembered kindnesses of years,—most delicious are all these to the heart that can turn back and gaze upon them through no darker medium than a few affectionate tears. But to the slave—he whose partings are forever, and his past hung over with a blood-red cloud of desolation, what can such memoirs bring but added misery—what but to forget can be a blessedness? The few bright spots that may rise to blossom around him in the desert of his life, are like the vine surrounded by the cottage of the peasant, on the side of

uncertain Ætna, the fruits that he has toiled to nourish may be blasted before he can gather them, and all that at the morning hour was brightness to his eye, at the eventide lie ruined in the ashes of desolation.

MARGARET.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

AFRICA.

"Woman's heart,
Remembers Africa."

Forget her not! Forget her not!
Till ye've wrought a change in her dreary lot.
When ye are set at the social board,
When your souls are in converse poured,
When ye are gathered around the hearth,
Mingling your voices in friendly mirth,
When ye are met in the crowded hall,
When the merry feet of the dancers fall —
Never may Africa be forgot,
Till change hath come o'er her dreary lot!
Never, oh, never!

Forget her not! Forget her not!
Her wrongs are your country's foulest blot!
When ye list your children's shouts of play,
When ye soothe their transient griefs away,
When ye bend above the couch of pain,
Or watch where the dying head is lain,
But most of all, when you kneel in prayer,
To seek from your Father his daily care.
Never should Africa be forgot,
Till your land is cleansed from its foulest blot.
Never, oh, never!

SIBYL.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

MEN SELLING.

Slavery! what a name for christian lips! what a fraternal greeting from the lips of freemen. I rose up as if from a dream. I had looked upon the advertisement till my eyes grew dim and my senses bewildered. I knew it was not a strange thing—I had seen such, although not frequently, before; but I had not perhaps perfectly caught their import, for I repeated the words now again and again, without a full comprehension of their meaning. They spoke of a sale of human beings with all the heartless and accustomed terms of trade; men women and children were to be disposed of at auction to the highest bidder. How could it be? In what had these miserable beings forfeited the common rights of humanity? Had the Almighty resumed his benefaction, and given them to be a spoil for those whom he had once made their brethren? Were they no longer possessed of the high capacities of an undying nature—had their destiny been changed, and a new portion assigned them, so that they were not in this life to win an eternity of future bliss or misery? Such might have seemed to be

their lot, from the fate that awaited them. They were to be sold and purchased as chattels—mere implements of labor; they were to drudge out a life of toil like the laborious ox, with whom they were classed in fellowship; their days were to wear away without a consciousness of their capabilities of mind, without knowledge, without thought, without religion. And yet these beings were men! men upon whom a merciful Creator had bestowed the boon of an immortal nature; whose souls had been kindled from the same spark as that which gave animation to the haughty forms of their oppressors. They were human beings, and they who bought and they who sold them, were in form and fashion like unto themselves. Nay, they called upon one God as their mutual Father,—upon one Saviour for redemption and everlasting life. Was it strange that I should gaze with a sick incredulity upon the paper which gave evidence of so much depravity—of such broad and heartless contempt of the divine law, and of the commonest dictates of humanity.

ELA.

The following poem is from the *London Key*, for 1830, and was written by Mr. Pringle, the editor of that work. In a brief introduction the author says that "the chief incidents of the tale were related to him by an African boy, when he first met with near the borders of the great Karroo, or Arid Desert. The expression of the orphan stranger, when asked about his kindred, was literally—"I am all alone in the world!" A few slight circumstances, characteristic of the country are almost all that has been added to poor Mr. Rossi's affecting narrative. The system of outrage and oppression of which this gives a specimen, has been ably developed by Dr. Philip, in his *Researches in Africa*." Here let us ask: How many equally distressing "tales of woe"—of ruthless wrong and outrage—might be related by thousands of young negroes in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama &c. who have been **STOLEN** from their connexions in Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky.

Ed. G. U. Emancipation.

THE BECHUANA BOY.

A story of the Cape Settlement.

I sat at noon-tide in my tent,
And looked across the desert, dun,
That 'neath the cloudless firmament
Lay gleaming in the sun;—
When, from the bosom of the waste,
A swarthy stripling came in haste,
With foot unshod and naked limb,
And a tame springbok following him.

He came with open aspect bland,
And modestly before me stood,
Caressing with a kindly hand
That fawn of gentle brood;
Then meekly gazing in my face,
Said, in the language of his race,
(With smiling look, yet pensive tone)—
"Stranger!—I'm in the world alone!"

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

"Poor boy," I said, "thy kindred's home,
Beyond far Stormberg's ridges blue,
Why wast thou left, so young, to roam
This desolate Karroo?"

The smile forsook him while he spoke—
And when again he silence broke,
It was with many a stifled sigh
He told his strange sad history:—

"I have no kindred!" said the boy,
"The Bergenaars—by night they came,
And raised their murder-shout of joy,
While o'er our huts the flame
Rushed like a torrent; and their yell
Pealed louder as our warriors fell
In helpless heaps beneath their shot—
One living man they left us not"

"The slaughter o'er, they gave the slain
To feast the foul-beaked birds of prey;
And with our herds across the plain
They hurried us away—
The widowed mothers and their brood;
Oft, in despair, for drink and food
We vainly cried—they heeded not,
But with sharp lash the captives smote.

"Three days we tracked that dreary wild,
Where thirst and anguish pressed us sore;
And many a mother and her child
Lay down to rise no more:
Behind us, on the desert brown,
We saw the vultures swooping down,
And heard, as the grim night was falling,
The gorged wolf to his comrade calling.

"At length was heard a river sounding
'Midst that dry and dismal land,
And like a troop of wild deer bounding,
We hurried to its strand—
Among the maddened cattle rushing,
The crowd behind still forward pushing,
Till in the flood our limbs were drenched,
And the fierce rage of thirst was quenched.

Hoarse-roaring, dark, the broad Gareep
In turbid streams was sweeping fast—
Huge sea-cows in its eddies deep
Loud snorting as we passed;
But that relentless robber clan
Right through those waters wild and wan
Drove on, like sheep, our captive host,
Nor staid to rescue wretches lost.

All shivering from the foaming flood,
We stood upon the strangers' ground,
Then, with proud looks and gestures rude,
The white men gathered round:
And there, like cattle from the fold,
By Christians we were bought and sold,
Midst laughter loud and looks of scorn,—
And roughly from each other torn.

[Conclusion next Month.]

DIALOGUE

Between a well-wisher, and a friend to the Slaves,
in the British Colonies.

BY A LADY.

(Concluded.)

3. But even if it would be my duty
to help this cause, if I had any hope of
doing any real service to it, it cannot

be necessary for me to put myself to in-
convenience, perhaps incur ridicule, and
certainly to offend my friends, when I
know that nothing I can do will be of
any avail. I have neither talent, power,
nor influence: and if I exerted my utmost
energy for years, the poor slaves would
not be at all the better, while I might be
a good deal the worse, for my doing so.

A. Do not say you can do nothing!
there are many things that you can do,
even if you possess neither talent, power,
nor influence, beyond what fall to the lot
of almost every member of society: at
the very least you can inform yourself on
the subject, and when you know suffi-
ciently what are the dreadful evils pro-
duced by slavery in our colonies, you can
help to make them known to others; this
requires no shining abilities, nothing be-
yond ordinary common sense, and if this
alone were done by all the women who
think they wish well to the slaves, it
would be a considerable help to their
cause, for the great thing wanted is that
the real nature of the slavery we are sup-
porting should become *known*; if it were
universally so, it seems impossible that its
continuance should be long endured.

B. But I live almost out of society, so
that what I could do in spreading intelli-
gence can be of no importance.

A. Of as much importance probably
as the "two mites which make a farthing,"
that the widow cast into the treasury,
were to the object for which money was
collected there; and she had a far strong-
er reason for withholding them than you
have yet given for withholding your mite
of assistance to the cause for which I
plead. And can any disciple of Jesus,
who remembers what he said on this oc-
casion, think that because she cannot do
much in a good cause, she may as well
do nothing at all? Or can a disciple of
his think that because she has received
but one talent, she may without blame
"dig in the earth and hide her lord's mo-
ney?"

As to power and influence, it cannot be
that you have none; every woman has
a portion of each great enough to allow
her to be useful in some measure; you
can influence your husband, children, re-
lations, friends, acquaintance, neighbors,
in a certain manner and to a certain de-
gree, either by bringing the subject to
their minds, or by bringing their moral
feelings and their religious principles to
bear on it: which last is a very important

part of the business, requiring no great abilities to execute, and for which perhaps women are in some respects full as well fitted as men. You can probably too (or at least it will not be much trouble to make the attempt) procure the rejection of slave-grown sugar in your own family, and those of some of your neighbors.

B. But if I were convinced that I ought to take a part in this work, how could I do so? My husband thinks it improper; and he is not singular in this opinion, for I know many men who will not allow the women of their family to interfere in a business which they say ought to be left to men.

A. It has been left to them for many a year, but the result of its being so left is not very encouraging. If men would indeed take the affair into their own hands, and really fulfil their duty on the subject, the women who are interested in it would rejoice to be spared the irksome task of struggling to do that which they feel in many ways so inadequate, and which they are contemned and blamed for attempting.

To the firmer nerves and less painfully susceptible minds of men, we would most joyfully and thankfully entirely leave a duty which it is certainly in their power to perform efficaciously, and which therefore they might undertake with cheerful confidence, but in which we have no stronger support than that of a faint hope of a small degree of success, and the sanction of our conscience. But they have not adequately performed their duty; if they had done so, the slaves would not, after so many years' discussion, have been left very nearly in the same situation as before it began. They have not generally taken the subject to heart, they have not exerted themselves vigorously and perseveringly in the cause of humanity, justice, and religion. And if they still neglect or coldly undertake this office, I do not know how they can answer it to their conscience, to attempt to discourage those who are willing to labor in this cause, or to hinder those from doing so who are under their influence or control. But this I own should have been said to your husband rather than to you. One word however on the subject I must say to you, and then I will torment you no longer: Have you tried to overcome your husband's objections, or have you not rather been well pleased to think that

his dislike to your exerting yourself in this cause, forms a complete excuse for your supineness? Perhaps if he saw that your feelings and conscience urged you to take a part in this work of charity, he would scruple to oppose your doing so, though his first hasty determination might have been that you should have nothing to do with it. Do not therefore make your husband's opposition an excuse, unless you are sure that he objects in his heart, and not merely by a few careless words uttered on first hearing of a new scheme; for such an excuse I know will not satisfy your conscience, though it may serve to put an end to a troublesome monstrosity.

BLACK LIST.

SLAVES IN NEW ORLEANS.

It is stated that a resolution has passed the City council of New Orleans, the object of which is to "arrest the evil of slaves riding in carriages, gigs, &c."

A penalty, of from five to one hundred dollars is to be inflicted on any owner of carriages, or captain of steam boat, who shall admit into any carriage or boat any slave, without a permit from his master; and the slave is to have five to twenty-five lashes! In what other country in the universe, does such a state of things exist? Can it be possible that it will last long? And yet, how supine—inactive—easy—knowing what to do) are our professors of religion, philanthropy and republicanism!!!

Kotzbue, in his *New Voyage round the world*, relates the following cruel practice of the Spanish Missionaries. It is horrible to think of. Yet, many of the oppressors of the African race, are guilty of crimes equally atrocious.

In Carolina, the Spanish monks frequently send dragoons into the mountains to hunt Indians, for the purpose of making Christian slaves of them. The soldier so employed is supplied with a lasso: and if he succeeds in striking upon a troop of Indians before they can receive him, he throws his noose over the head of one of them, claps spurs to his horse, and loops with his prey towards the stations of the Missionaries, which he sometimes reaches nothing but a corpse. If, however, the Indian arrives alive he is immediately baptised! and becomes the property of the mission; and if he attempt to escape, he is instantly pursued by a horseman, with a terrible noose, and atones his criminal act by cruel punishments and chains. The lives of these unhappy creatures pass in monotonous repetition of pain, which they do not understand, and the per-

ance of severe tasks imposed on them by the monks.

Who can read the following short account of *Charity*, a slave of Capt. Smith, of Virginia, and not despise slavery? This black woman was 70 years old, and we have reason to think her spirit has gone to that undiscovered country where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest. For 40 years she had been a member of the Baptist church, and discharged all the duties which devolved on her, as a servant, honestly and faithfully. She was the mother of 30 children at nineteen births! viz:—Three triplet births, five duplicate births, and eleven single births." If her master made her increase a source of wealth, at \$300 each, the amount would be \$9000! And he ought to have written on his grave stone, in letters of blood, "*Cursed be him that trades in human flesh.*"—*Ontario Phoenix.*

From the *National Gazette.*

THE DOMESTIC SLAVE TRADE.

Early in the spring of 1825, the writer was one of 350 passengers on board the steamboat *George Washington*, bound from New Orleans to the Falls of Ohio. It was no small compliment to this steamboat, that the Levee was covered with people, collected to witness its first departure. She was literally a three decker, and two powerful engines propelled her against the current at the rate of six miles an hour. On the morning of the third day of the voyage, a little before sunrise, we observed a great fire some distance above, which, at first, was supposed to be something burning on the land. It was soon ascertained to be a steamboat; and presently it came floating upon us, the hull, the decks, the towering freight of cotton glowing in one huge magnificent cinder. The helm of the *Washington* obeyed the impulse of the captain on board, and steered in the direction of this portentous beacon. We approached so near as to be incommoded by the heat. Conjectures as to the fate of the crew, and concern for the preservation of those who might survive, animated every breast. The *Washington's* course was directed to the land, from whence the burning boat appeared to have drifted, with the hope of assisting each of the sufferers as might yet be on board or have got to shore. The vessel did not coasted far up that side of the

river, when a man was seen sitting on a log at the water's edge—the yawl immediately went off, and returned with him and a young female. This person was a Mr. Miles, of Frankfort, Kentucky, a wealthy and respectable merchant; he was severely scalded and burnt. He stated that the unfortunate boat was the *Tesche*; that she had a full cargo of cotton, and a great number of passengers, who were all asleep when the vessel took fire and her boilers burst; that such was the noise and confusion, increased by the darkness of the night, that he had no consciousness of any thing that afterwards occurred, any more than that he and the young lady had got ashore on bales of cotton: doubtless many others had gained the land by the same means.

Proceeding up and turning the next point of land, we discovered a group of persons near a cabin on the bank; many of them appeared to be negroes, men and women. The blacks were supposed to be slaves of the adjoining plantations, attracted to the spot by curiosity: it was this belief, I presume, which dictated the order to the two sailors in the yawl to bring off only those who had been passengers on board the *Tesche*. In fact, the whole party consisted of sufferers, which became manifest by their all crowding into the yawl. I could distinguish four white men among them. The burthen was too great for the little vessel, though one of the largest of its class and manned by two experienced seamen. To board us with safety, under such a load, required not only skill in the boatmen, but greater steadiness in the crew than could be expected from a crowd of stupified and affrighted negroes. At the critical moment when the yawl struck the *Washington* they rose up and seized her guard. It was in vain that one of the sailors shouted forth his hurried imprecation against this imprudent and fatal movement. He had barely time to effect his own escape from the fate he had just predicted.—His comrade was about to follow his example, but was arrested by a negro woman, who with both arms grasped him round the neck, at the moment that the side of the yawl nearest to the *Washington* rose out of water, and turned over on them like a trap. Of the poor slaves none were saved. One of the white men was found alive under the jolly boat.—Another had got on the end of a snag or "sawyer:" It was the slave trader. He sunk and

rose, and disappeared, and again emerged, with the elevations and depressions of the amphibious tenement to which he clung with desperation. Nature seemed to recognize him as one of the violators of her rights. The long boat relieved him from his novel and terrible penance. It must be confessed that some slight disgust took the place of sympathy when it was found that this object of our last solicitude was no other than the selfish and hardened retailer of the poor negroes.

He was a young lawyer, the son-in-law of a notorious slave dealer of the name of Boyce, who resides in affluence near Frankfort, on the fruits of a traffic he has followed unremittingly for thirty years.

SELECTIONS.

From the Baltimore Chronicle.

William L. Garrison, for a while one of the editors of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, it will be recollected by some of our readers, was confined in the Baltimore jail 49 days, on account of his inability to pay the costs of a prosecution against him by a sea captain who had conveyed slaves to a southern market. Mr. G. was released by Arthur Tappan, Esq. of New-York. He has since been mulcted in a heavy fine for a renewal of his attack upon the character of the Captain, and may have to try "close quarters" again.*

We do not know that he has many "secrets of his prison house to unfold," but we think it likely his comforts were not materially abridged. Prison chambers are but a trifle inferior to the majority of editorial garrets; and as it is as difficult to confine an active mind, as to "minister to one diseased," a wight of the quill and scissors may, even whilst his body is in limbo, range the universe. Furnish him with his "folio of four pages"—that

"Map of busy life,
Its fluctuations and its vast concerns,"

*I guess not very "close." He is now in Boston; and if "old Shylock" determines to cut away at him for the "pound of flesh," all he will have to do will be to take the prison bounds, consisting of a whole ward in that city, and remain there *thirty days*. "Shylock" will then be legally deprived of his weapons, and, morally speaking, the young lion will again walk forth, *shaking his mane in his face*, and trampling the shrubbery about his dwelling!

G. U. E.

and while snugly ensconced where charity and change but seldom come, he may hold converse with the "world before the flood," or, catching the spirit of the present age, skim in imagination o'er the waves of the "vast deep,"—traverse the Mississippi, in a steamer, from its source to its home in the bosom of the ocean—flit over a rail-way with the velocity of a bird upon the wing—or glide through a canal with the diligence and dignity of the Nautilus.

Thus exercised, and thus amused, what if he have to bring back, at midnight hour, his wandering soul to its clay tenement, stretched upon a pallet of straw, or inanimate upon a flinty couch? Who would forego the glories and rewards of an editor, even though prison damp should occasionally check his ardor.

Liberality.—A man very plainly attended, and of a very unpretending address, called a few days since on the Secretary of the Colonization Society, and after making a few pertinent inquiries respecting the prospects of the Society, presented the Secretary with a *hundred dollar bill*. On being asked to whom the Society were indebted for the liberal donation, he replied, a *friend* to the cause of African Colonization, who lives in New-Orleans, and who for many years has had an opportunity of witnessing the evils of slavery.—*Amer. Spectator*.

King William and Slavery.—The Baptist Magazine says—"On Saturday July 3, *His Majesty in Council* was graciously pleased to disallow the Slave Law. Our readers will joyfully regard it as a new proof of the watchful care of Providence over our missionary Brethren, and as affording an auspicious pledge, that our religious privileges will be as secure under the reign of *William the Fourth*, as in the time of his illustrious predecessors."

The "Slave Law" mentioned above imposes such restrictions on religious instruction and worship, in relation to the slaves of Jamaica, as amounted to actual prohibition, under severe penalties.

The "GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION" is published monthly, in Washington and Baltimore, at *One Dollar per annum*, always to be paid *in advance*. Robert P. Anderson, Corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and Eleventh street West, in Washington, and William R. Jones, No. 18, Market street, Baltimore, are authorized to act as agents, in the absence of the Editor.

Genius of Universal Emancipation.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY B. LUNDY, IN THE CITIES OF WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

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The editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* requests his correspondents, and publishers of periodical works, to direct their letters, papers, &c. in future, to *Washington, D. C.*

ANOTHER LIBEL!—YET ANOTHER!!

Since the last number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* was issued, I learn that the Grand Jury of the city of Baltimore has made out a bill of indictment against me, for my animadversions upon the conduct of the petty jury, in Garrison's second suit. The number of the paper, containing those animadversions, was forwarded to all the subscribers while I resided in Baltimore. A short time thereafter I was informed that Wm. H. BEATTY (one of the jurors) threatened me with another prosecution. I had been to Washington, and made arrangements to remove thither; but hearing of this threat, I waited one day, to see whether he would put in execution. Not learning any thing further upon the subject I returned to Washington, and engaged in business. About two weeks after this period I was informed that the Grand Jury had made out a bill of indictment, as above mentioned.

I am thus particular, in order that the public may know that I have not been driven from Baltimore by the persecution to which I have been doomed. It is a fact that Garrison and myself had made arrangements to establish the paper in Washington, more than a year ago. But just at that juncture the former prosecution for libel was instituted, and the removal was voluntarily deferred, solely on that account. In the present case, a second arrangement was made, and the removal effected, before the suit was commenced; and (whatever they may do hereafter) I have not yet been obliged to appear before any tribunal on account of the prosecution now pending. I do not know that I shall put myself to the inconvenience of going after my persecutors, expressly with the view of throwing myself in their way; but if I see proper to pursue me, where I may reside, or my business may lead, they will ever find me ready to confront them in a legal manner.

Further upon this subject, in the next number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. I shall also soon lay before the public a statement, relative to the termination of my late suit against Woolfolk. If any think that I am disheartened,—I reply: "Nous verrons"—*We shall see.*

W. L. GARRISON'S LECTURES.

Since leaving Baltimore, this intrepid advocate of African emancipation has delivered lectures in sundry places, on the important subject to which he has latterly devoted his attention. He openly and boldly denounces the scheme of the *Colonization Society*, as visionary and impracticable. This has, of course, drawn upon him the most pointed censures of the particular friends of that institution. Their condemnation has been carried so far as to deny him the use of their Meeting-Houses, in several instances. At Boston he met with the most resolute opposition from those who had the charge of them; and before he obtained a hearing, he published the following notice in the "Courier" of that city.

"Wanted.—For three evenings, a Hall or Meeting-house, (the latter would be preferred,) in which to vindicate the rights of TWO MILLIONS of American citizens who are now groaning in servile chains in this boasted land of liberty; and also to propose just, benevolent and constitutional measures for their relief. As the address will be gratuitous, and as the cause is of public benefit, I cannot consent to remunerate any society for the use of its building. If this application fails, I propose to address the citizens of Boston in the open air, on the Common.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON,

No. 30, Federal street, Oct. 11, 1830."

Soon after the appearance of this notice, he obtained the use of a spacious Hall, and delivered his lectures to large audiences.

The language which he uses is warm, energetic, and bold. Nothing but this will reach the adamant hearts of slavites, nor yet the "tender feelings" of our humane ones, whose senses are enveloped in a ten-fold encasement of apathy and unconcern. It is awfully surprising that such vast numbers of the citizens of this Republic, among whom are many of the loudest professors of religion and philanthropy, are so culpably, and even criminally negligent, relative to

The reader may expect to hear something

the performance of their duties in the case before us. If ever the tremendous judgements of Heaven shall henceforth be visited upon a guilty nation, well may the giant sinners of this country tremble for their fate! "What can we do, what can we do?" is their cry from one end of the land to the other, while the lacerating scourge and blood-extorting fetters are clenched in either hand! Yes, even while the guilt-red-dened eye is rolling with fiery glare and the unblistered tongue pronouncing the form of prayer to the Eternal!! Were it proper to use the language of Christ, upon this occasion I would say to such,—“Ye Scribes and Pharisees—Hypocrites!” DO JUSTICE. This is consistent with every thing in nature—every thing in heaven and earth, that comes from the almighty hand, and is regulated by the infinite wisdom of God. You may set the captives free, with suitable restrictions by law. You may first, destroy the hellish traffic in their blood and souls—secondly, commute their punishments, in cases of neglecting their duties as laborers, for a system of rewards—thirdly, prepare the young for the enjoyment of liberty, with the same restrictions that you are under yourselves. This you may immediately do, with strict propriety and perfect safety; and at the same time more of them may be induced to emigrate, under such a regulation.

I do not wholly approve of our friend Garrison's sweeping denunciation of the American Colonization Society. I readily admit that some of the doctrines, promulgated by its members, are at variance with the principles of justice—particularly the sentiment advanced by them, that the colored race cannot be prepared for freedom in the United States. I consider this doctrine monstrous; and I am sorry to perceive that so amiable a writer as the editor of the “American Spectator,” has fallen in the wake of this popularity-seeking philanthropy. He, as well as others, may reconcile it to their consciences, but I could not to mine. I boldly assert, that the spot on which a man is born is his rightful home. DEITY PLACED HIM THERE. And nothing within the bounds of reason, religion, justice, or even expediency, can drive him thence against his will. I strongly object, also, to the timid, half-way measures, adopted by the Colonization Society, for the melioration of the condition of the African race. Indeed, I cannot depend upon it alone, in any sense of the word, as an institution for the abolition of slavery. It looks only to the removal of the free people of color, and their settlement in Africa. And we might as well, to quote an old fashioned couplet,

“Bail dry old Ocean with a thimble,
Or pierce the great Globe with a wimble;
As attempt the abolition of slavery solely by this means. As I have said before, we might, with almost the same propriety, undertake to remove this Continent itself to Africa, as to scatter thither the whole of the colored race in the United States. It will never be done:—and those who calculate on it are merely administering to their troubled minds a species of anodyne that will neither diminish the cause nor the magnitude of their evil forebodings.

But I am clearly of the opinion, that every effort that is made to exhibit to public view the deplorable condition of the colored race, has a tendency to mitigate it; and hence I consider the efforts of the Colonization Society wholly beneficial to our cause, and sincerely desire that it may continue to prosper, while I still urge the adoption of more efficient means for the consummation of our great and philanthropic undertaking.

I have extended this article to a much greater length than I intended when I began: but in conclusion, give an extract from one of Garrison's letters, that his sentiments may be conveyed in his own language.

“My public addresses give great offence to our northern dough-faces, but God forbid that I should cease to plead as boldly for my African countrymen, as my white ones plead for each other, and for Greeks, and for Frenchmen. Are you not disgusted with the hypocrisy of the American people? They can patriotically die on the subject of the revolution in France—give dinners—sing songs—drink toasts—hold processions—make addresses—and inhabit their houses; but as for feeling any compassion for the millions of their own countrymen in chains, that is out of the question—that would be a vulgar pity! I perceive that in Richmond, Va. and Charleston, S. C. the slaveholders are shouting psalms of praise in behalf of the French revolutionists! Do these republican demagogues reflect, that they are putting weighty and bloody arguments into the mouths of their oppressed slaves? And these arguments, I firmly believe, will, ere long, be returned at the point of the bayonet—in fire and blood. Heaven will not—cannot much longer tolerate the hypocrisy and blasphemy of our republicanites.

For ourselves, let us hold no fellowship with slaveholders.* Let us not make a truce with them, even for an hour. Let us blush for our countrymen. Let us never embrace them as Christians. And the higher they raise their professions of patriotism or piety, the stronger must be our detestation of their hypocrisy. They are dishonest and cruel—and God, the angels, and devils, and the universe, all witness that they are without excuse. A republican Christian slaveholder is as great a solecism

* Advocates of slavery, I would say.—G.

religious atheist, a sober drunkard, or an honest thief

Do you know that I have taken up a crusade against the American Colonization Society? Perhaps I am as mad as was the chivalrous Don Quixotte, and may meet a similar fate. But seriously: the more I examine the pretensions of this Society, the stronger is my conviction of its injurious operation; and the more I interrogate its principle, the greater is my dislike to it. A sense of duty to my God and my countrymen compels me to denounce the American Colonization scheme; and in one of my addresses I open a strong battery against it. Some of the numbers of the A. C. S. are very angry with me, and oppose me with great bitterness: but truth is mighty and will prevail. I am persuaded that the cause of the poor slaves will suffer from the avowed principles and ridiculous pretensions of the Society. Instead of urging its claims exclusively to the attention and patronage of the nation, why do not its members warn the people that more energetic measures are necessary? Why are they so sealed up on the abstract question of slavery? Why is every man to be hunted down and proscribed as a mad man or fanatic, who contends for immediate abolition, or who dares to interrogate the motives of the Society? Why do they continue to talk of the *fastidiousness* of our colored population, when they might as well think of suppressing the wind by stopping it up? *Why in short, are they at such haste to convince slaveholders, that they do not question their right to hold men in bondage?*

THE ABOMINABLE TRADE.

It will be gratifying to the friends of the Anti-Slavery Cause to learn, that many of the most worthy citizens of the District of Columbia are becoming more and more alive to the evils of the *eternal Slave Trade*. They are beginning not only to view the subject in its proper light, but to *speaking of it*, in a manner evincive of their utter abhorrence of every thing connected with it.

Let this spirit be fostered, and a course of action commensurate therewith encouraged, and this monstrous assembly, thus tolerated by civil regulations, will as surely be annihilated, as that there is power in public opinion. In addition to the deep condemnation, uttered verbally, in public and in private, the voice of philanthropy is heard through the medium of the newspaper press. I have several times noted, with approbation, some of the remarks on the subject, from the pen of the Rev. W. Colgate, late editor of the "*American Spectator*," published in the city of Washington. A change of editors and proprietors of that valuable work has recently taken place: yet it is with assurance I perceive that those, in whose hands it has fallen, are as fully awake to the horrors

of the system of slavery, and especially the slave trade in our own country, as were their predecessors. The following appeared as an editorial article in a late number of the "*Spectator*." This subject will be further noticed hereafter.

THE SLAVE TRADE IN THE CAPITOL.

"The tender ties of father, husband, friend,
 In bonds of nature in that moment end,
 And each endures while yet he draws his breath,
 A stroke as fatal as the scythe of death;
 They lose in tears, the far receding shore
 But not the thought that they shall meet no more!"

It is well, perhaps, the American people should know, that while we reiterate our boasts of liberty in the ears of the nations, and send back across the Atlantic our shouts of joy at the triumph of liberty in France, we ourselves are busily engaged in the work of oppression.—Yes, let it be known to the citizens of America, that at the very time when the procession which contained the President of the United States and his Cabinet was marching in triumph to the Capitol, to celebrate the victory of the French people over their oppressors, another kind of procession was marching another way, and that consisted of colored human beings handcuffed in pairs, and driven along by what had the appearance of a man on a horse! A similar scene was repeated on Saturday last: a *drove* consisting of males and females chained in couples, starting from Robey's tavern on foot, for Alexandria, where, with others, they are to embark on board a slave-ship in waiting to convey them to the South. While we are writing, a colored man enters our room, and begs us to inform him if we can point out any person who will redeem his friend now incarcerated in Alexandria jail, in a state of distress amounting almost to distraction.* He has been a faithful servant of a revolutionary officer who recently died—has been sold at auction—parted from affectionate parents—and from decent and mourning friends. Our own servant, with others, of whom we can speak in commendatory terms, went down to Alexandria to bid him farewell, but they were refused admission to his cell, because, as was said, "the sight of his friends made him take on so." He bears the reputation of a pious man. It is but a few weeks since we saw a ship with her cargo of slaves in the port of Norfolk, Va.; on passing up the river saw another ship off Alexandria, swarming with the victims of human cupidity. Such are the scenes enacting in the heart of the American nation. Oh patriotism! where is thy indignation? Oh philanthropy! where is thy grief? OH SHAME! WHERE IS THY BURN? Well may the generous and noble minded O'Connell say of the American citizen, "*I tell him he is a hypocrite. Look at the stain in your star-spangled standard that was never struck down in battle. I turn from the declaration of American Independence, and I tell him that he has declared to God and man a lie, and before God and man I arraign him as a hypocrite.*" Yes, thou soul of fire, glorious O'Connell

*At the same time this man was sold, another—a husband—was knocked off. The tears and agonies of his wife made such an impression on the mind of a generous spectator, that he bought him back.

Why shall we tolerate freedom of opinion?

G. U. E.

nell, if thou could but witness the spectacles in Washington that make the genius of liberty droop her head in undissembled sorrow, you would lift your voice even to tones of thunder, but you would make yourself heard. Where is the O'Connell of this republic that will plead for the EMANCIPATION OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA? These shocking scenes must cease from amongst us, or we must cease to call ourselves free, aye, and we must cease to expect the mercy of God—we must prepare for the coming judgments of Him who, as our charter acknowledges, made all men "*free and equal!*"

PENN'A COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

This Association, though professedly auxiliary to the American Colonization Society, seems to confine its operations almost exclusively to the removal of liberated slaves from the U. S. to the colony of Liberia in Africa.—Success attend it!—It is, indeed, quite probable that the charge which it thus assumes has done more than any thing else to render it popular in Pennsylvania.

The citizens of Philadelphia have liberally contributed to its funds; and it is understood that, very recently, donations from England, to the amount of £250, have been received by the Treasurer. Of this sum £50 was from one of the *Female Anti-Slavery Societies*, in England; and the whole is to be appropriated, exclusively, to the "release of slaves from bondage." It is also stated in the Cincinnati "*Christian Journal*," that a plan has been set on foot in that city, to raise the sum of *two thousand dollars*, for a similar purpose to the above mentioned.

THE LATE WM. H. FITZHUGH.

The "*African Repository*," for October, states that this gentleman, in conformity with the character he had acquired for humanity and philanthropy, left a will by which *all his slaves are to be unconditionally free after the year 1850*. What the number is, at present, I do not certainly know, but suppose about two hundred.

It is much to be feared that the untimely demise of this patriotic Virginian will, probably, arrest an experiment that he set on foot, relative to the advantages of a system of *mitigated slave labor*—emphatically one of the most important steps yet taken, by the friends of emancipation, in our southern States. Would that we had a few more such men as him—whose prejudices were sufficiently subdued to let intelligent philanthropy and even-handed justice have a due influence upon their actions.—Then could we soon shew the slaveholders, generally, wherein their true interest lies.

But will not his "mantle" fall on some "Elisha" of our day?—May we not hope that the experiment which he commenced, as above

mentioned, will be carried out, and the public made acquainted, in due time, with its practical results?

The following extract is from the work above mentioned.—

"The arrangements made in his will, in regard to his slaves, are such as might have been expected from his generous and philanthropic spirit. We are permitted to make the following extract from his will. "After the year 1850, I leave all my negroes unconditionally free, with the privilege of having the expenses of their removal to whatever places of residence they may select, defrayed. And as an encouragement to them to emigrate to the American Colony on the coast of Africa, where I believe their happiness will be more permanently secured, I desire not only that the expenses of their emigration be paid, but that the sum of fifty dollars shall be paid to each one so emigrating, on or her arrival in Africa."

"In our number of August 1827, we gave an account of a plan adopted by Mr. Fitzhugh, for the gradual improvement of his slaves, and his invaluable life been spared, much would have been done by him to prepare them duly to appreciate, and wisely to improve and enjoy, the benefits of Freedom. We trust that an example so bright, beneficent, exalted as his, will be loved and imitated in the State which he adorned, and the country which now laments the loss of his talents and his worth.

THE CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR.

I perceive that this work, for September, contains an article on the subject of African Colonization, in which the question of emancipation is also adverted to. The manner in which the latter subject is there handled, surprises me, and I wonder at it the more, as the reputed author is not only a "learned divine," but likewise an avowed and zealous advocate for the total abolition of slavery.

He has taken occasion to express his unqualified censure of the course pursued by the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. Of this, however, I have no right to complain. He has not only a perfect right to entertain his opinion of it, but the privilege of stating his objections to it, in such terms as he may choose.

In my next, I purpose briefly to review the article:—yet while I pointedly condemn the mode of arguing the question, I trust he will receive that courtesy at my hands, which his well-known urbanity and weight of character entitle him to.

POPULAR RELIGION!

The following paragraph is extracted from the "*Christian Advocate and Journal*" of the "*on's Herald*," It is a curious article.

"SLAVERY.

The question submitted to us by "A Friend" Member of the Methodist Episcopal Church on the subject of Slavery, involves con-

ons too weighty for us to decide upon. We are not sufficiently acquainted with local circumstances, and other peculiarities in this case, to enable us to judge for another. All we can say is, in the language of the apostle, "If thou mayest be free, use it rather."

Now can we believe that if the question propounded by this female philanthropist, (as we suppose her to have been,) had related to some of the most abstruse subjects of polemical divinity, the editors would have found any difficulty in answering it? In other words, if it had been a *popular subject*, would they have considered it "too weighty" for them to decide on?

It is, indeed, astonishing that the high religious professors of the day have so far departed from the path marked out by him whose name they assume as the designation of their order, to act thus inconsistently! Because the subject of emancipation is *unpopular*, nineteen twentieths of our loud professors of Christianity turn their faces from it. There are very few of the sectarians of the day that this observation will not apply to. For a large number of the members of the Methodist Church I entertain the greatest respect. They are sincere, honest, and pious.—But these *are* "sufficiently acquainted" with both general and "local circumstances," connected with the system of slavery, to set their faces decidedly against it, and to readily answer "questions" relating to it. In short, it is a *doubtful Christianity* that will shut its eyes to the abominations of this "summe curse," and refuse to urge its extinction.

Upon a late occasion, I learn, that a preacher of the name of *Stockton* (also of the Methodist persuasion) recently held forth the monstrous doctrine contained in the annexed paragraph, when adverting to the subject of slavery in the presence of a large Congregation in Baltimore. His words, I am told, were these:—

"Not upon us rests the guilt of its origin—not upon us rests the guilt of its continuance,"

This is another piece of *popular divinity*; and how the Reverend gentleman can reconcile it to a clear conscience, I am at some loss to judge. On whom, then, does the "guilt" of "continuance" rest? Must it be thrown upon the *broad shoulders* of the "evil one"—the convenient scape-goat of all our sins, political or otherwise? This gentleman is requested to look deeper into the matter, to see whether he cannot find occasion to retract a part of these arbitrary assertions.

WORTHY OF RECORD.

I find the following in a late periodical work; I place it on record, for future reference.

It has been stated, by a foreign writer, that the world is indebted to Ireland for the first ex-

amples of the formal abolition of the slave trade, by a country, and a sect. The Synod, at Armagh, in 1170, decreed the liberation of all slaves in that country; and the resolution passed at the General meeting of the Quakers in Dublin, in 1727, was the first step taken by this sect, to effect the emancipation of slaves."

THE PRESBYTERIANS.

It will rejoice the friends of emancipation to learn that the large body of christians, denominated Presbyterians, are beginning to make some effectual movements relative to the abolition of slavery within the limits of its jurisdiction. The noble example set by the *Society of Friends*, in totally eradicating the cruel and degrading system from the pale of its communion, is operating like the "leaven" spoken of in the Scriptures, which in due time will, no doubt, extend throughout the whole Christian Church. Nothing is wanting to accomplish this, but the active and persevering efforts of those who are convinced of its propriety.

A short time since, I received from a highly valued friend, who officiates as a Minister among the Presbyterians, a pamphlet of 50 pages, containing: "Two Letters on the subject of slavery, from the Presbytery of Chilicothe to the Churches under their care." These papers are too long for insertion in this work; but I shall take an early opportunity to review them, that its readers may be gratified with the perusal of some of the excellent sentiments and arguments contained in them.

ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

The British public has been roused. The most noble efforts are now making, in England, for the eradication of slavery from the colonies of that almost unbounded empire. Mr. Brougham, one of the most popular and powerful members of Parliament, is now considered the principal *leader* of this grand enterprise in the House of Commons. He has been recently elected chiefly on this ground, by the county of York, one of the largest and most wealthy in the kingdom; and we may look for important movements in the British Legislature, relative to this subject, during the coming session.

At a recent meeting of the Newcastle Anti-Slavery Society, Mr. Brougham stated that the result of the late election (in England) had produced a powerful opposition to the Ministry, relative to slavery. "That election," he said, "had given the Anti-Slavery cause, out of 130 places, a clear balance of 30,—making an addition of 60 voices in its favor. The Prince of Waterloo had not gained more by dissolving his chambers, than Prince Polignac had by dissolving his."

The following is an extract from a speech of

this gentleman, in the House of Commons, on the 13th of July last. How supremely ridiculous would our "republican" orators, who labor to extenuate the crime of slave holding, appear beside this philanthropic monarchist! Our Colonization men, and all, would hide their very heads for *conscientious shame!* O that we had among us a few such "souls of fire" as Brougham and O'Connell!—But the time is not far distant when WE WILL HAVE THEM!

Extract from the Speech of Mr. Brougham.

"I trust that at length the time is come, when Parliament will no longer bear to be told that slave owners are the best lawgivers on slavery; no longer to suffer our voices to roll across the Atlantic in empty warnings, and fruitless orders. Tell me not of rights—talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves. I deny the right—I acknowledge not the property. The principles, the feelings of our common nature rise in rebellion against it. Beside the appeal made to the understanding or to the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it. In vain you tell me of laws that sanction such a claim! There is a law above all the enactments of human codes—the same throughout the world, the same in all times—such as it were before the daring genius of Columbus pierced the night of ages, and opened to one world the sources of power, wealth, and knowledge; to another, all unutterable woes;—such it is at this day: it is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject with indignation the wild and guilty fantasy, that man can hold property in man! In vain you appeal to treaties, to covenants between nations. The covenants of the Almighty, whether the old covenant or the new, denounce such unholy pretensions. To those laws did they of old refer, who maintained the African trade. Such treaties did they cite, and not untruly; for by one shameful compact you bartered the glories of Britain for the traffick in blood. Yet, in spite of law and of treaty, that infernal traffick is now destroyed, and its votaries put to death like other pirates. How came this change to pass? Not assuredly by parliament leading the way; but the country at length awoke; the indignation of the people was kindled; it descended in thunder, and smote the traffick, and scattered its guilty profits to the winds. Now, then, let the planters beware—let their assemblies beware—let the government at home beware—let the parliament beware! the same country is once more awake,—awake to the condition of Negro slavery; the same indignation kindles in the bosom of the same people; the same cloud is gathering that annihilated the slave trade; and, if it shall descend again, they, on whom its clash may fall, will not be destroyed before I have warned them; but I pray that their destruction may turn away from us the more terrible judgment of God!"

The Yorkshire "Protestant Dissenters Association for the Abolition of Slavery," lately resolved to support such persons, only, for office, at the elections, as would pledge themselves to use their influence for the extinction of slavery in the colonies. They have publish-

ed an able address to their Christian brethren, upon the subject.

In France, too, the subject of abolishing slavery in the colonies of that empire, in the West Indies, is attracting the attention of the new government. The great, the good LAFAYETTE—the patriot and philanthropist of two hemispheres—has brought it before the Chamber of Deputies, in a speech which he recently delivered at one of its sittings. It is with peculiar pleasure that I make the following extract from the speech here alluded to. He does not, indeed, make any *positive proposition* for the total abolition of slavery, as it still exists in the colonies; but he *hints broadly* at the propriety of it; and, knowing, from his own mouth, the sentiments he entertains upon the subject, I have reason to believe that these hints will, in due time, be followed up with something still more pertinent and direct to the point. The proposition to place the free colored people precisely upon a footing with the whites, is a grand step towards the abrogation of all legal distinctions and will inevitably, as it is no doubt intended, finally lead to such a state of things.*

Extract from the Speech of Gen. Lafayette.

"I feel always ready to unite in whatever tends to alleviate the unfortunate condition of the ancient and unhappy Colony of St. Domingo: but, after the debate which has just occupied our attention, the Chamber will not be disappointed if I pass over the present question of the situation of the Colonies which are still in our possession. I regret very much that, at the time of the Constituent Assembly, the resolutions were not persisted in, which united the free people of color with the other colonists, declaring them entitled to the same rights. I also wish that the slave trade had been rigorously interdicted, and that a law for the gradual abolition of slavery had prevented the misfortunes occasioned by a sudden and unprepared emancipation. And, since have we not sufficient reason to lament this? Consular and Imperial systems, which sent our best troops perish in the service of St. Domingo, which caused the double outrage of re-establishing slavery and the slave trade, at a time when our best French capital was engaged in the infamous traffick? Now gentlemen, after many sacrifices and misfortunes, we find ourselves behind hand with many other nations, least in the suppression of the slave trade. The United States first, the English immediately afterwards, have assimilated it with piracy, the only means of repressing it, whilst the general obtain pecuniary indemnification from those who employ them, who, for example, send to St. Thomas to carry on the direct trade

* According to Paris papers for September the condition of the free colored population of Martinique and Guadeloupe had been taken into consideration in the Chamber of Deputies. Alex. Laborde urged the necessity that they were moderating all aristocratic moderate "the most stupid of them all—aristocracy of the skin."

aves. It is to avoid consuming time with special propositions, and reference to the offices, that I entreat the Minister of Marine, who is present, (and of whose favorable intentions in this respect I am well aware) to communicate to us, decidedly, the determination of Government on this subject, and on the condition of the free men of color in our colonies."

In reply to the General, the Minister of Marine observed:—

"I have the honor of stating to the Chamber, that I agree entirely in the justice and humanity of the sentiments manifested by the illustrious General, who has just descended from the tribune. The Government proposes to present to the Chamber a law, which will condemn all those to the penalties of piracy who engage for the future in this infamous trade for human beings. It must be acknowledged that the trade has diminished, though, in spite of the precautions taken by Government, it still exists in a great degree. The penalties enacted against piracy can alone suppress it entirely. Something may at this time, however, be mentioned honorable to France, which is, that of all the European nations who have maritime commerce, she is least of all given to this odious traffic. As to the fate of the free people of the colonies, the Government acknowledges that free men can no longer exist in different conditions: thus the legislation which will be presented to you, will give you an opportunity of consecrating this principle, that all free men, of what class or color they may be, are equal in the eyes of the law."

The Chamber referred the petition to the Ministers of Finance and Foreign Affairs.

The editor of the "American Statesman" is quite witty upon the subject of supplying the Turkish harems with Circassian female slaves.

But he might employ his sarcasms to much better advantage, (so far as his own country is concerned,) if he would extend his views to Louisiana, and *elsewhere*, and tell of the "carpets" of hand-ome mulatto girls that are taken thither, some of whom soon become "Ladies," and dash away in fine style among white folks! Soon he shall have a *tert* upon this subject.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

ANTHONY BENEZET.

Among the ardent, steady, and persevering advocates of African Emancipation, to whom we are indebted for the most important services in effecting this great object in Pennsylvania and some of the adjacent States, we are to consider Anthony Benezet. Like the humble minded Lay, and Sandiford, and others, whose *unpretending* philanthropy assimilated to that of the *primitive christians*, this chosen instrument, in the hand of a merciful Providence, "pursued the even tenor of his way," without the appearance of ostentation or fear of consequences. True, he did not shun the halls of the self-styled "*noblesse*," when he thought any good might result from his presence there; neither

did he court popular favor, by making himself a candidate for public notoriety. He labored within what he considered his appropriate sphere, with honesty and purity of purpose, and, *on this account*, he was eminently successful in his philanthropic undertakings.

In the following I shall present the reader with a brief review of that part of his biography which relates to his labors in the cause of African Emancipation, not having room for the many interesting details of his philanthropic proceedings in other respects. The work to which I am indebted for this account of the labors, &c. of Anthony Benezet, is a volume of memoirs, published at Philadelphia, in the year 1817, by Roberts Vaux, author of the biographical notices of Benjamin Lay and Ralph Sandiford, which have been reviewed in late numbers of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

After mentioning some particulars relative to his genealogy, the author proceeds as follows:

"ANTHONY BENEZET, was born at St. Quentin, in France, on the thirty-first day of the Eleventh Month, (January) Anno Domini 1713, O. S. His parents were among the most noted and wealthy persons of that time. They associated themselves with those protestants who had been contemptuously denominated Huguenots on the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and who became obnoxious to the unparalleled fury of Romish bigotry during the reign of Lewis XIV. John Stephen Benezet suffered as severely as any of his ancestors for a faithful attachment to his religious opinions. His estate on this account was confiscated in 1715, when he withdrew from his native country, and sought refuge in Holland.

At this time his son Anthony was an infant, a circumstance which no doubt greatly increased the solicitude of his parents, whose afflictions must have been almost insupportable, and whose flight was extremely perilous. It was natural for the protector of a family situated as he was, to resort to any means that might give hope of success to the hazardous enterprise which the urgent necessity of exile had dictated; so great an exigency probably reconciled to the mind of this suffering individual, the method he adopted to effect it, though it offered the bold alternative, which was to sacrifice either the life or the fidelity of the servant of the crown. To accomplish this purpose, he secured the services of a young man, upon whose attachment he could rely, to accompany him beyond one of the military outposts, which then skirted the frontier of France. Nothing occurred to interrupt their progress, until they approached the sentinel; when their adventurous friend presenting himself before him, displaying in one hand an instrument of death, and tendering with the other a purse of money, said, "*take your choice, this is a worthy family, flying from persecution, and they shall pass.*" the guard accepted the gold, and their escape was accomplished. They remained a few months in Rotterdam, and thence removed to London, where they resided sixteen years, during which time John Stephen Benezet, being engaged in commercial pursuits, was enabled to

recover in some degree the losses he had sustained in his fortune. Whilst in Great Britain, Anthony received an education that was deemed sufficient to qualify him for mercantile business, to acquire a knowledge of which, his father placed him with one of the most respectable traders of the metropolis. In this situation he did not long continue, declining, from motives of a religious nature, to be occupied in the enterprises of commerce. Having chosen a mechanical business he engaged himself with a cooper, but it proved to be an employment too laborious for his youthful and naturally delicate frame.

"Of his juvenile habits and dispositions, but an imperfect account is preserved; it is only known that when about fourteen years old he was united in membership with the religious society of Friends, called Quakers. Whether the early development of his mind yielded any promise of the future excellence of his character, no evidence now remains. In the year 1731, at the age of eighteen, he came with his parents to Philadelphia, where the family was permanently established. His pursuits during the first five years after his emigration to Pennsylvania cannot be ascertained.

"In 1736 he formed a matrimonial union with Joyce Marriott, a woman of exemplary piety. Three years after his marriage he removed to Wilmington, in the state of Delaware, and was there engaged in a branch of manufacture, which neither answering his expectation, nor suiting the disposition of his mind, induced him to return in a few months to Philadelphia.

"The unsettled state in which he appears to have been at this period, in relation to his secular occupations, may be attributed to the operation of those benevolent principles of his nature which had not hitherto been brought into complete action, as well as to the desire he cherished, that the energies of his mind might be directed to the most useful and salutary purposes."

He appears frequently to have changed the place of his residence; and at the age of 26, we find him engaged in teaching a school at Germantown, in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia. A portion of his time, while in that situation, was employed in proof-reading for a printer near whom he lived. Passing over many incidents of his life, not immediately connected with the subject before us, the language of his biographer is again used.

"He looked upon the globe as his country, and considered all mankind as his brethren. With such enlightened and unbounded philanthropy, it was to be expected that the degraded and suffering condition of the negroes would occupy a large share of his notice and sympathy. About the year 1750, it began to be observed that his feelings were deeply affected with the iniquity of the slave trade, the unlawfulness of carrying negroes into captivity, and the cruelty which was exercised by those who purchased and employed them. The impulses of duty then, for the first time, brought him from the retirement of private life before the world, to lift up his voice in behalf of an oppressed and wretched portion of his fellow beings.

"Among the earlier proofs of his compassion toward the African race, were the practical exertions which he employed for the promotion

of their welfare. In Philadelphia, the number of these objects of his regard was considerable, and he adopted the most rational course which could have been devised for their benefit, by the establishment of an evening school, which he taught gratuitously himself.*

He was fully convinced, from practical observation, that the natural capacities of Africans are equal to the rest of mankind, as the annexed quotation will prove.

"Among other important facts concerning the dispositions and mental capacities of the negroes, which his intercourse with them as a teacher had afforded him the best opportunity to establish, was, that they possessed intellectual powers by no means inferior to any other portion of mankind. His opinion on this interesting point is entitled to the highest consideration, not only because it vindicates those attributes of the Deity, which religion and reason conspire reverently to acknowledge, but being a determination of the judgment upon practical examination, it ought to be regarded as a solemn and unanswerable protest against the subtle sophistry, degrading avarice, and refined cruelty, by whose unholy league attempts have been made to prove that a sable skin cannot envelope a rational creature!

"*I can (said Benezet) with truth and sincerity declare, that I have found amongst the negroes as great variety of talents, as among a like number of whites; and I am bold to assert, that the notion entertained by some, that the blacks are inferior in their capacities, is a vulgar prejudice, founded on the pride or ignorance of their lordly masters, who have kept their slaves at such a distance as to be unable to form a right judgment of them.*"

He wrote several treatises on the subject of slavery, the largest and most important of which were entitled:

First. "*An account of that part of Africa inhabited by the negroes.*" 1762.

Second. "*A caution and warning to Great Britain and her colonies, on the calamitous state of the enslaved negroes.*" 1767.

Third. "*An historical account of Guinea, its situation, produce, and the general disposition of its inhabitants; with an inquiry into the rise and progress of the slave trade, its nature and calamitous effects.*"†

(Conclusion next Month.)

*Dr. Wilson, late rector of St. Stephens, Walbrook, England, a short time before his decease, sent fifty pounds sterling to him, to be applied to the support of this school, intending to have doubled the benefaction; but he died before he effected his benevolent purpose.

†Notwithstanding the governments of the United States and Great Britain have by law forbidden the commerce in human beings, there is cause for believing that the slave trade is still surreptitiously carried on, by some of the citizens of both countries, under cover of foreign flags. When we reflect upon such violations of civil and sacred prohibition, and are at the same moment aware that the horrid practice of kidnapping free negroes is pursued in some of the states of our union, and also recollect, that more than a million of slaves are owned within its jurisdiction, famed as is the empire of the west for rational liberty and equal law, the understanding revolts, and the feeling sickens at the consideration.

LADIES' REPOSITORY

Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

WELL-WISHERS.

There is a class of persons professedly favorable to the cause of emancipation, who nevertheless content themselves with vague hopes and wishes for the discontinuance of slavery, at some indefinite period, without once attempting to hasten the hour of its approach, by any thing but the active exertion. They are perfectly willing that the good work of emancipation should be accomplished—that millions of their fellow creatures should be raised from the miserable condition of beasts of burden, to the rank of men and useful citizens—provided, only, that such consent involves nothing like personal exertion, or possible inconvenience to themselves, during the process of this transformation. They acknowledge the deep iniquity of the system of slavery, but they act as if the admission of its criminality, instead of being merely prefatory to amendment, was amply sufficient of itself to satisfy all the demands of justice, to silence all the reproaches of conscience. They appear to have one species of justice for their theory, and another, vastly lower in its standard, for actual practice;—or rather, the high and true rule of moral equity by which they meet out justice between themselves, swerve instantly from their own measure when the rights of their sable brethren are brought into competition with their own convenience, or their prejudices. Certainly, say they, every man has a just and natural right to his own person, and to the control of his own conduct, so long as it interferes not with the well-being of others. Yet should the ancestors of any individual, unfortunately guilty of having been gifted by his Maker with a noble brow, have been violently wrenched in some terrible scene of ruin and conflagration from their native home, and having been dragged to some distant land, there sold into perpetual bondage—then, under such circumstances, the sight of the individual to his own flesh and sinews, or of the Creator to the being whom he has made, is superseded and invalidated by the claims of one who hath bought him for money, or received him as a *lawful* inheritance; and, although we regard with horror the idea of

trafficking in human flesh, or holding our fellow men in a state of slavery; yet we would not be so unjust as to wish rashly to deprive the slaveholders of their *property*. We know that the employment of free laborers would be much more advantageous to the planter, but we can convince him of this only by practical experiment; and it is not worth while for us to undergo the expense and inconvenience of obtaining *free articles* unless every one else *would do the same*. So stands the argument; and so, were it committed to their hands, would the destinies of the slave stand unaltered for ages, unless some terrible convulsion, like the sudden springing of a mine, should at once tear asunder the bonds of the slave and overwhelm his master beneath the falling ruins of his wall of oppression.

A PRISON SCENE.

There is much said of the misery induced by the internal slave-trade; tale after tale is repeated, of the separation of families—of the dearest ties of the affections violently broken—of hearts closely allied in their natural affinities, as the leaves that flourish upon one bough, torn rudely assunder and left to bleed and wither far distant from each other and from the parent stem that nourished them. Yet, terrible as are the catastrophes which sometimes arise out of such scenes, we believe they seldom come before the heart in the startling vividness of reality. The ear has been so long habituated to the repulsive terms of slavery, that it almost ceases to regard them; and the mention of a sale of human beings is heard by many persons with as little emotion as if they were unbreathing chattels. To others, the very enormity of the circumstance gives it an air of unreality. The reason may yield an unwilling assent to the facts, but the imagination turns loathing away from the view of so detestable a traffic, and the mind refuses to receive the comprehension of such a scene. To some, indeed, the existence at the present day of so foul a disgrace to our country, is almost unknown. The abolition of the foreign slave trade is conceived to have removed from slavery the most objectionable features, and they are not aware that piratical traders abroad, and regular unblushing dealers in human flesh and sinews in our own land, still pour out to the children of Africa a cup of intolerable cruelty.

These reflections were suggested by our accidentally meeting the other day with a short narration of the following circumstance. A gentleman who visited the prison in Washington

City, found in one of the cells a negro mother and three children, who had been brought from Maryland and were confined there for sale. They were offered in "one lot," or for the accommodation of purchasers they would be parted and disposed of separately to different individuals. Upon enquiring more particularly into their history, the gentleman found that she was the mother of nine children and the wife of a free man. He had toiled industriously and hard to provide for his family, and as they grew of an age to satisfy the rapacious cravings of the monster who claimed them for his prey, the children had been torn one by one from the sheltering arms of parental affection, and sold into a distant captivity. At last his wife and his three only remaining ones were snatched away, and he was left in his declining years alone and desolate to weep beside his forsaken hearth-stone.

And she--to whose woman's heart had come all that weight of unutterable suffering--what was to be her future lot? Were the loving eyes that she had gazed upon so long, and the soft voices whose tones she had treasured up in her heart till they had become her world of happiness, to be seen and heard no more forever? Who could know the agony of her bereaved spirit, as she sat amid the dark loneliness of that damp cell! Who could tell what images of despair were gathering with a horrid distinctness about her brain, as the thought of a still further separation came upon her soul, when the hollow echo of an approaching foot-fall caught her ear, and with a wild shriek she sprung forward and clasped her infants to her bosom as if she would have hidden them in the very centre of her heart from the grasp of the spoiler! And can woman--free, happy, cherished woman--think unmoved upon these things? She whose compassionate nature is moved for the sufferings of the lowest of the animal creation; whose sympathy may be won upon even by the passing grief of happy childhood! Surely she will not forget the tears shed openly and in secret by her victim sister under the stinging lash, over the unaccomplished task--at hot noon day, in the silence of the dark midnight, upon the faces of the doomed infants, and amid the silence of the gloomy prison cell, where though guiltless of crime she has been made to share the abode and the punishment of the criminal.

FEMALE PHILANTHROPY.

The Colonization Society has recently despatched a vessel to Liberia, with 107 colored

persons, 45 of whom were emancipated slaves. Eight of these were children and grand-children of the late Prince Abdul Rahhman, who had been purchased by funds raised at the north. Nine were liberated by C. Bolton, Esq. of Savannah; twelve by Miss Blackburn, near Charleston, Va.; seven by Miss Vanmeter, Hardy Co. Va.; and seven others left free by a gentleman in Essex Co. Va. The husbands of two of those emancipated by Miss Blackburn, were purchased by her, to accompany their wives to the colony, at an expense of \$800. She was generously assisted with funds for this purpose by various persons, among whom were several Ladies residing in Washington and Alexandria and in various places in Virginia. We are glad to perceive that our sister philanthropists in the District of Columbia and Virginia, have thus evinced a disposition to promote the good cause. May they continue their benevolent efforts, and not grow weary of well-doing in so righteous an undertaking.

LITERARY.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
EXCELLENT SENTIMENTS.

The following paragraphs are extracted from the second volume of a work entitled "*Resignation*," the production of a Lady, now residing in the city of Washington. How closely do the sentiments here expressed, entwine with the feelings of philanthropy!--Would that all, who have unfortunately become partakers in the *crime* of enslaving their fellow mortals, would turn their thoughts to the subject, and reason thus.--How rapidly should we then advance in the holy work of "breaking every yoke, and letting the oppressed go free." All the difficulties anticipated, in promoting this great object, would vanish like the mist of night at the approach of the radiant orb of day, or the dark enchantments of the heathen necromancer before the irresistible power of Gospel truth.

HANNAB.

"I hope you will," said Elizabeth, to the poor creatures, (after again receiving from Mr. Harlington an assurance that, though he should no longer use them as slaves, they might continue in his family,) retired with the most glorious exultation.

"Who will contend that beings so susceptible of gratitude and affection, destitute of moral, of human sentiment, does not the example we have just

essed; and indeed does not the *general* conduct of our blacks, prove that this oppressed race might be hopeful subjects of culture, and even of religious instruction?

“Slavery,” replied Mr. Harlington, “is a bitter ingredient in the cup of human suffering. It is particularly to be lamented that it is permitted to exist beneath a government like ours. One would think that the arm of oppression would wither beneath the eye of freedom; and the time, I trust, will come, when this *dra-evil* will no longer constitute the burden, and the disgrace of our country. But it is sufficiently evident even now, that the state of these poor outcasts of liberty might be rendered comparatively tolerable. Kind treatment would greatly tend to secure their good conduct, while at the same time it would render servitude endurable, at least, if not comfortable.”

“There is, I think, no doubt,” said Elizabeth, “that as Christianity extends its mild dominion, the dreadful evil of oppression will yield to its benign influence.—How glorious will be the day when the great human family will be united in one indissoluble bond of brotherhood!—when every heart will submit to the kind and righteous sceptre of Him whose name is Love!—when the various tribes of man, in that subjection which is liberty, shall bow to the “Prince of Peace;” and when the universal extension of God’s kingdom will prove the harbinger, and the security, of universal freedom and happiness!”

“My dear uncle,” said Elizabeth, (endeavoring to change the subject as far as respected herself,) “liberated all his slaves; and they have never abused their freedom,—indeed their conduct has always proved them capable of the most devoted gratitude and affection.”

“I ardently wish that all slave holders could be induced to venture the effect of kindness,” said Mr. Percy. “They would, I verily believe, realize advantages: such an experiment, were they actuated simply by selfish considerations, the oppressed race, writhing beneath the tortures of bondage, in this boasted land of freedom, have human hearts, susceptible of grateful feeling; and could the principle of affection be once awakened,—of what incalculable efficacy would that living principle be found!—to be loved, instead of hated, by these

degraded individuals of our community;—to see them look on us as their friends, and bless instead of cursing us.—O! if we have indeed the hearts of Freemen, we must abhor oppression, especially in this, its direst form.”

“My soul would rejoice at the emancipation of these unhappy beings,” said Ellen. “May we not trust, my father, that there will be a time when every slave in our land will be released from his cruel thralldom?”

“It is, my dear,” replied Mr. Percy, “devoutly to be hoped, that a season will arrive when this blot upon the fair face of our country will be effaced;—when this anathema on her glory and her beauty will be removed. But at present, a general release of the slaves would be, perhaps, extremely dangerous.—The cruelty of their oppressors has given ferocity to their nature. The barbarous ignorance in which they have been kept has tended to destroy in their hearts man’s intuitive sense of moral obligation. To give them freedom, therefore, in their present state of feeling, would be to let loose, as it were, a herd of wolves, gaunt, and fiercely panting for their prey. Slavery may now, at least for a little while to come, be viewed as a necessary evil. The good conduct of Mr. Harlington’s blacks may be attributed to the kindness uniformly manifested towards them while they were slaves. But I assuredly believe, that should a humane course be generally adopted,—should these oppressed beings be from this time instructed in those principles essential to their civilization, and to their happiness as immortal beings, the hideous aspect of slavery would soon change. The evil would become but a nominal one. The melioration of their state would make them feel that they were members of the human family. They would soon attach themselves to the interest of their masters. Increasing knowledge would yield increasing enjoyment; and hatred, and tears, and blood, would give place to affection, to smiles, and to the delightful and ennobling sensibilities of the heart.”

“I doubt it not,” said Onsville. “This happy change, though gradual, would I believe be certain.—But my dear Sir, admitting that the emancipation of slaves in our land would at present be productive of evil, yet surely we need not *promote* the disgraceful and criminal practice of holding in bondage our fellow men. Sure-

ly we might prevent the *extension* of this dreadful usage. For instance, should new states be formed, and added to our confederation, could not laws be passed, prohibiting, in such states, the existence of slavery?"

"Unquestionably," replied Mr. Percy, "and it is my deliberate opinion, that our government is solemnly bound, by every obligation divine and human, to arrest, by the utmost exertions, the progress of an evil which entails misery on thousands and thousands of our race: and which, when we tell of our freedom and happy country, gives us the lie! the word *freedom*, in a land where slavery is tolerated, is perfect mockery! The term Liberty, on the lips of the oppressor, is like the language of heaven on the tongue of impiety.—O! it is indeed a "horror of great darkness," which, in this dire evil, has stolen over our character as a virtuous, an enlightened, and a *free* people."

THE BECHUANA BOY.

(Concluded)

"My mother's scream so long and shrill,
My little sister's wailing cry,
(In dreams I often hear them still!)
Rose wildly to the sky.

A tiger's heart came to me then,
And madly 'mong those ruthless men
I sprang!—Alas! dashed on the sand,
Bleeding, they bound me foot and hand.

"Away—away on bounding steeds
The white man-stealers fleetly go,
Through long low valleys, fringed with reeds,
O'er mountains capped with snow,—
Each with his captive, far and fast;
Until yon rock-bound ridge was passed,
And distant stripes of cultured soil
Bespoke the land of tears and toil.

"And tears and toil have been my lot
Since I the white man's thrall became,
And sorer griefs I wish forgot—
Harsh blows and burning shame.
Oh, English chief! thou ne'er canst know
The injured bondman's bitter woe,
When round his heart, like scorpions, cling
Black thoughts that madden while they sting!

"Yet this hard fate I might have borne,
And taught in time my soul to bend,
Had my sad yearning breast forlorn
But found a single friend:
My race extinct, or far removed,
The boor's rough brood I could have loved—
But each to whom my bosom turned,
Even like a hound the black boy spurned!

"While friendless thus, my master's flocks
I tended on the upland waste,
It chanced this fawn leapt from the rocks,
By wolfish wild-dogs chased:
I rescued it, though wounded sore,
All dabbled with its mother's gore,

And nursed it in a cavern wild,
Until it loved me like a child.

"Gently I nursed it—for I thought
(Its hapless fate so like to mine)
By good *Utika* it was brought,
To bid me not repine—
Since, in this world of wrong and ill,
One creature lived to love me still,
Although its dark and dazzling eye
Beamed not with human sympathy.

"Thus lived I, a lone orphan lad,
My task the proud boor's flocks to tend;
And this pet fawn was all I had
To love, or call my friend;
When, suddenly, with haughty look
And taunting words, the tyrant took
My playmate for his pampered boy,
Who envied me my only joy.

"High swelled my heart!—but, when the star
Of midnight gleamed, I softly led
My bounding favourite forth, and far
Into the desert fled.
And there from human kind exiled,
Four moons on roots and berries wild
I've fared—and braved the beasts of prey,
To 'scape from spoilers worse than they.

"But yester morn a Bushman brought
The tidings that thy tents were here—
And now rejoicingly I've sought
Thy presence—void of fear;
Because they say, O English chief,
Thou scornest not the captive's grief:
Then let me serve thee—as thine own—
For I am in the world alone!"

Such was Marossi's touching tale,
Our breasts they were not made of stone—
His words, his winning looks prevail—
We took him for "our own:"
And one, with woman's gentle art,
Unlocked the fountain of his heart,
And love gushed forth, till he became
Her child—in every thing but name.

EXPLANATION OF TERMS.

Bergenaars—Mountaineers, a marauding horde of Griqua or Mulatto lineage, inhabiting the skirts of the Stormberg mountains, beyond the north-eastern frontier of the Cape Colony. *Bushman*—a wild Hottentot. *Gareep*—native name of the great Orange river. *Springbok*—antelope, pygarg, or euchore. *Wild Dog*—*wilde hond* of the colonists—hyæna *vanatica*. *Sea Cow*, or *Zeehoe*—the colonial term for the hippopotamus. *Utika*—i. e. Beautiful—the Supreme Spirit.

SONNET ON SLAVERY.

By Robert Southey.

Why dost thou beat thy breast, and rend thine hair
And to the deaf sea pour thy frantic cries
Before the gale the laden vessel flies;
The heaven's all-favouring smile, the breeze,
fair;
Hark to the clamours of the exulting crew;
Hark how their thunders mock the patient
skies!
Why dost thou shriek and strain thy red
swoln eyes,
As the white sail dim lessens from thy view!

Go, pine in want, and anguish, and despair,
 There is no mercy found in human kind—
 Go, Widow, to thy grave, and rest thee there!
 But may the God of Justice bid the wind
 Whelm that curst barque beneath the mountain
 wave,
 And bless with Liberty and Death the slave!

SELECTIONS.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS,

To the Manumission Society of North Carolina, met in General Convention.

FELLOW-MEMBERS—Again has the annual return of this day summoned us together as patriots devoted to the best of causes,—that of *Equal Rights*. Are we prepared for the discussion of such subjects as are necessarily involved in those extensive views of *Slavery* and *Emancipation*, that first united us as a Social Body? This is an inquiry important to be made. Let each and every member inquire of himself. We cannot be too circumspect in scrutinizing our own motives; especially, when we venture to call in question what many of our countrymen affect to think *their own* peculiar concern, not *ours*. Is it nothing to us, that SEVENTEEN HUNDRED THOUSAND of the people of our country are doomed *illegally* to the most abject and vile *Slavery* that ever was tolerated on the face of the Earth? Is it a matter of no consequence to us, that this wretchedness of condition, this miserably degraded situation of so large a portion of our population, is rapidly hastening us all into the frightful vortex of one common and awful ruin? Time after time, have we pointed to these things. Again and again, have we shown the absolute necessity, and not only the necessity, but likewise the practicability of reformation. Are Carolinians deaf to the piercing cries of humanity? Are they insensible to the demands of justice? Deplorable, indeed, is the state of a people, given over to a hard heart and a reprobate mind, passing on, filling up the measure of their iniquity, while divine vengeance is bending his bow, and aiming well the arrows of retributive justice. Are we not too patient? are we not too forbearing? Let any man of spirit and feeling, for a moment, cast his thoughts over this land of *Slavery*, think of the nakedness of some, the hungry yearnings of others, the flowing tears, the heaving sighs of parting relations, the wailings, the groanings of lamentation and woe, the bloody cut of the keen lash, and the frightful scream

that rends the very skies;—all this, to gratify ambition, lust, pride, avarice, vanity, and other depraved feelings of the human heart: think of these things, and you must be something more or less than rational men if you can suppress a momentary resentment, and stifle effectually the spontaneous fires of blazing indignation. Too long has our country been unfortunately lulled to sleep, reposing on a kind of fancied security that is only imaginary, feeding on the golden dreams of superficial and visionary politicians, fanciful poets, and anniversary orations. Let all the truth be told, and that without disguise. The worst is not generally known. Were all the miseries, all the horrors of *Slavery* at once to burst into view, a peal of seven-fold thunder could scarce strike a greater alarm. Yet there is a glimmering sunbeam of hope, a ray of consolation, that bids us persevere. We cannot yet believe the condition of our country so desperate as to forbid the judicious application of proper remedies. Surely our fellow citizens will not much longer suffer so righteous a cause to linger on the way, for want of enterprising advocates. Although many of us, and perhaps all that are now present, may, and probably will, lie low in the dust ere the time come: yet we are well aware that *Emancipation* will take place. Should it be brought about in the manner we desire, every one hopes to see it. What a desperate reflection it would be, to one of us now present, to anticipate with certainty, the close of life, before he be permitted to see one of the days of universal liberty. We cannot therefore be too prompt in our obedience to the divine admonition, "Work while it is day, for the night cometh when no man can work."

It is believed best to address you with as much brevity as possible. I have no new measures to recommend at present. It is probable, however, that many may be suggested in the course of your deliberations.

As the *legality* of slave holding and slave driving begins to undergo some scrutiny, and is at all times open to investigation, I feel it my duty to present to your notice, the late *case* of William Lloyd Garrison, tried in Baltimore City Court, in May last. It is of the highest importance that the *liberty of the press* should be understood, and duly appreciated. I therefore consider it advisable

for this General Association to consider duly this *Query*:—Was the publication for which William L. Garrison was indicted and convicted, a *Libel* on Francis Todd; or put the Question into any form that will determine whether Mr. Garrison did, by the publication, go beyond the privilege guaranteed by the liberty of the press. The case is no doubt familiar to the most of you. The facts as they have been published are contained in the file marked (A.) herewith submitted for your examination.

Respectfully I remain your fellow member,
B. SWAIM.

New-Garden, Sept. 10th, 1830.

The following impromptu, on the conduct of the authorities of the United States and Georgia, relative to the Indians; &c. is from the Boston Patriot. It will bear reading *more than once*.

"We are an abused people. If we can receive no redress, we can feel deeply the injustice done to our rights

Cherokee Phoenix.

Oh, point at such baseness the finger of shame,
Ye high minded men of the land!—
Behold, how injustice dishonors your name,
From men you have raised to command.

These Indians have lands which the white man desires,
And the white man to gain them has power;
And, forgetting the noble renown of his sires,
His victim he hastes to devour.

And see the poor Cherokee, fainting and sad,
As the home of his father he leaves;
Where erst pleasing hope made his bosom so glad;
At the prospect forlorn how he grieves!

And what is his voice to the listening world?
"Americans liberty prize—
But the Negro and Indian, to wretchedness hurled
Proclaim this great truth to men's eyes.

That their freedom is lience—their power devote
To such ends as but gratify self—
And their efforts are tending alone to promote
The attainment of low, sordid self!"

Oh blush for your country, ye men who can feel
What humanity claims for the brave;
Nor think, vainly think, to establish his weal
While you crush the poor Indian and Slave.
TELL.

From the Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter.

DISLOYAL SPIRIT OF THE JAMAICA ASSEMBLY

In a debate, which occurred in the Assembly of Jamaica, in the month of December last, on the subject of a dispute, which has arisen between them and the Secretary of State, respecting certain custom-house regulations, the

most violent language was employed by some of the speakers, who even went so far as to threaten a disruption of their ties with Great Britain, intimating their persuasion that the United States of America would gladly take Jamaica under their protection. The Editor of the *Waterman*, (the paper of the people of color,) in commenting on this line of argument thus vehemently expresses himself:

"We can tell Mr. Barret, and every contumacious Member of the House of Assembly, that if America had ten times the population she possesses, she would find herself incapable of wresting this any other of the colonies from the mighty grasp of the parent state." "Jamaica would rise in mass." "Before the trumpet of war is sounded, the House of Assembly would do well to commence a system of exterminating the colored population, who are loyal to a man."

"Is the Assembly of Jamaica aware," he adds, "that if they dared to unfurl the flag of rebellion, every man of them would be hanged in twenty-four hours without reference to judge or jury? England has a standing army in her loyal and devoted subjects of Jamaica, so that the puny threat of a seditious Assembly, excites only a return of ridicule and contempt."

LOOK AT THIS, AMERICANS!!

The following is copied from a late Philadelphia paper:

NOTICE

To Captains of Vessels trading to Austrian Ports.

As the trade of this country with Austria constantly increasing, I consider it my duty to publish an extract of the Imperial and Royal Ordinance of the 25th of June, 1826, for the government of such American captains as intend to visit any Austrian port, and who have any slaves on board.

Extract of the Ordinance of His Imperial and Royal Majesty of Austria, dated 25th June, 1826.

"In order to prevent Austrian subjects and vessels from participating in any manner in the Slave Trade, and in order to protect slaves from bad treatment, His I. and R. Majesty in conformity with the existing laws of Austria (section 16 of the Civil Code, which determines that every human being, in virtue of the rights which are recognized by *reason*, is to be considered a civil person, and that therefore slavery, and every exercise of power relating to the state of slavery, are not tolerated in the Imperial and Royal dominions;) and further in conformity with section 78. of 1st part of the Penal Code, which declares every hindrance to the exercise of personal liberty a crime of public violence (*delitto della pubblica violenza*) has been graciously pleased by his sovereign

Resolution of 25th June, 1826, to determine and order as follows:—

Art I. Any slave from the moment he treads the soil of the Imperial and Royal dominions Austria, or even merely steps on board of Austrian vessel, shall be free."

Austrian Consulate General,

N. York, 15th Oct. 1830. L. LEDERER.

What means all this? Shall *monarchists* thus stigmatize us with their high-toned *republican* detestations—throwing in our very faces the mirror that reflects our hypocrisy and "Democratic" spotism? Shame, shame to us! Let us call on the "mountains and rocks," or any thing else under heaven, to hide us from the scorn of this indignant world!!!

A SAUCY FELLOW

Not long since, a gentleman from Kentucky was standing at the door of one of our hotels, whence he was about starting for the steamboat. Wishing for some one to carry his baggage, and seeing a white looking negro passing along the street, he called out to him—Here, you nig, take my trunk and carry it down to the boat.

The negro stopped and raising his quizzing glass to his eye, stared at the Kentuckian with a mixture of indignation and astonishment. Having scanned him sufficiently with his glass, he gave his hat an independent twist to one side, pulled up his dickey about his ears, drew himself up to his fullest height, and thus replied—"Did you 'dress that language to me, sir?"

"Yes, you black rascal; I want you to take my trunk to the steamboat."

"Indeed! I guess you came from the slave holdin states, didn't you, if I may take the liberty to ax?"

"Ay, you black dog—and what if I did? You take too much liberty, I can tell you."

"Why I was sure you must have come from the slave states, otherwise you couldn't treat a gentleman in this *superb* manner, just because his skin isn't the same color of your own."

"Shut up your thick lips, or I'll stick my fists down your throat."

"We don't have any gag laws in this state."

"Well, you ought to have, to stop the mouths of such saucy black rascals as you are. I wish I had you in Kentucky once."

"I spose you'd gouge me then. But thank heaven, I'm not in Kentucky, and not a slave neither. And what's more, I undertake to tell you, Mr. *Impotence*, that there's no gouging nor gagging in this free state, and one man is as much

inspected as another, if he behaves as well, although he is a black man, or a Nig, as you call him. Behaviour makes the man, sir. For my part, I should be ashamed to show my face 'mong other gentlemen, if I 'dressed a man in the *supersilly* manner you did me."

Having finished his speech, the dark colored beau again raised his quizzing glass to his eye, and giving his antagonist a look of ineffable disdain, walked on; while the Kentuckian, almost doubting his senses, wondered what sort of republican principle that must be which gives a black man as much liberty as a white one.—*N. Y. Constellation.*

A petition is now circulating in England to petition Parliament, which is to assemble on the 10th of October, for the total abolition of Slavery in the colonies.

EFFECT OF EDUCATION UPON SLAVES.

The Committee of the Wesleyan Missionary Society of England, which has instructed many thousands of slaves in the West Indies, assert that, for forty years, no slave in their societies had been either "a conspirator, a rebel, or insubordinate." Here is a most unanswerable testimony to the influence of religious instruction in promoting the personal security of masters.—*Zion's Adv.*

BLACK LIST

The following paragraph, from the "American Statesman," invites the attention of our lawgivers to a monstrous anomaly in the penal code of one of the States. Can it be possible that such a state of things will be much longer tolerated in this land of "freedom" and "equity?"

"*Elijah W. Kimbrough* and negro *Carey*, were executed at Raleigh, N. C. on the 5th instant; the first named for the crime of *murder*, and the latter for breaking into an *unoccupied kitchen* or *outhouse*, and robbing it of articles worth not more than *five dollars*!! Upon the disparity of offences for which these men suffered the severest penalty of the laws, the *Register* takes occasion to call the attention of the Legislature to a revision of the criminal code of that State. "Draco gave as a reason for his code, that *small crimes* deserved *death*, and he could find no severer punishment for the *greatest*!"

The Hagerstown "Herald" states that a man named Frederick A. Klouse, was recently tried in the Criminal Court of Washington county, Md. on a charge of Kidnapping. His trial had been removed to that place, from Alleghany county, in which the prisoner resided, and where the crime had been committed. It appears that he had inveigled a colored man, in his employ, belonging to a citizen of Virginia, and taken him to Louisville, (Ky.) and there sold him to some slave trader from Louisiana. "From his own confession, (says the Herald,) this was not the only villany he had been guilty of—he had once been a pirate on the high seas." He was sentenced to ten years imprisonment in the penitentiary.

Here we have two versions (both coinciding remarkably well) of the system of operations on the coast of Africa, relative to the suppression of the Slave Trade. One is from an American, the other from a British paper. Will the legal authorities of both nations still shut their eyes to the glaring folly of depending on their present measures for the success of their efforts there? Are they yet unconvinced that *nothing, under heaven, but the DESTRUCTION OF THE SLAVE-MARKET, can possibly put an end to that traffic?* Until slavery shall be so far abolished throughout America, as that the demand for slaves shall measurably cease, this "trade" *will be carried on*, despite of all the colonies and naval armaments that will ever proceed to the coast of Africa, from the other three quarters of the globe.

"SLAVE TRADE.—Capt. Parker, of Schooner Harvey, at Philadelphia, 44 days from Liberia, reports that "the slave trade was carried on with increased activity. Three vessels of different sizes, and with the Spanish and French flags, were known to be engaged in this nefarious traffic at the various slave marts, from Trade Town to Galinez, an extent of coast not exceeding 200 miles. A Spanish brig and schr. sailed from Galinez for Cuba, 29th August, the former with 600, and the latter with 200. A small schooner belonging to the colony, with considerable ivory on board, had been blockaded in Cape Mount River, for some time prior to the departure of the Harvey, by a schr. under the Spanish flag."

"SLAVE TRADE.—This traffic is stated by Mr. Fisher, Surgeon of the British ship Athol, on the African station, to be carried on more briskly than usual. *Not one of the ships in ten concerned are taken.* The writer states that 6000 slaves are liberated annually by the British vessels. The whole number taken and carried off annually, is estimated by him at 50,000. The African chiefs and the priests cause all persons among the common people *who learn to read and write, to be put to death.*"

Lander, in his account of Clapperton's second expedition to Africa, mentions the following affecting appeal from a young negro girl to her mother, who had been tempted by the hellish arts of *Christian* professing villains to sell her as slave.

"The unhappy girl, who might have been about 13 or 14 years of age, on being dragged away from the threshold of her parents' hut, clung distractedly, like a shipwrecked mariner to a floating mass, round the knees of her unfeeling mother, and, looking up wistfully in her countenance, burst into a flood of tears, exclaiming with vehemence and passion, "O mother! do not sell me; what will become of yourself in old age, if you prefer me to desert you? Who will feed you corn and milk? Who will pity you when you die? Have I been unkind to you? O mother! do not sell your daughter. I will take you in my arms when you are feeble, and carry you under the shade of trees. As a hen watches her chicken, so will I watch over you my dear mother. I will repay the kindness you showed me in my infant years. When you are weary I will fan you to sleep; and whilst you are sleeping, I will drive away flies from you. I will attend on you when you are in pain; and when you die I will shed rivers of sorrow over your grave. O mother! my dear mother do not push me away from you; do not sell your only daughter to be the slave of a stranger!"

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Genius of Universal Emancipation.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY B. LUNDY, IN THE CITIES OF WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE.

"We hold these truths to be self evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"

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Correspondents, and the publishers of periodical works who exchange with the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, are requested to direct their letters, communications and papers, in future, to *Washington, D. C.*

A PREMIUM FOR RICE.

The sum of TEN DOLLARS will be given, as a premium, over and above the market price, for Five Casks of Fresh Rice, of a good quality, raised by Free labor, and delivered in Philadelphia, to CHARLES PEIRCE, before the 1st of June next.

The gentleman, above named, is well known as a very respectable Grocer, in Philadelphia, who has, for several years past, made it a particular business to keep articles in his line that are, exclusively, the production of free labor.

He has met with great difficulty in procuring rice, of this description, and (he authorizes me to state) is thus induced to offer the premium, as foresaid.

Cannot some of our North Carolina friends furnish the article in question? The premium, together with the market price, will be promptly paid, on the delivery of the rice, accompanied by proper reference and vouchers from some respectable person who is known in Philadelphia.

"FREEDOM OF THE PRESS."

At this enlightened era, when the whole civilized world is emerging from the gloom of despotism—when the mass of the people, in their sovereign capacity, are casting aside the veil of ignorance, and shaking in the faces of their oppressors the recently dissevered manacles that have long bound them down to the footstool of tyranny—when the "Freedom of the Press" is considered almost synonymous with the *Freedom of Man*, and it is viewed as the very palladium of civil and political liberty—how surprising does it appear, at such a time, that some of the most intelligent, the most enlightened, and most free people in existence, shall be the foremost to extinguish that very lamp, whose beacon-fire has illumined their pathway, and led them on to their present exalted and enviable condition! That this is a fact, I think is fully susceptible of demonstration; for in no other country, at the present day, where the principles of freedom have made any considerable progress, do we see so many of such frequent and strenuous attempts to muzzle the Press, as in the United States. True, Despots of Europe, who have long kept their

"subjects" in a state of ignorant vassalage by their tyrannical restrictions and cruel exactions, make bolder strides with the view of annihilating its potent influence; but, for this they are, one after another, paying the forfeit of their Crowns, and losing their influential stations;—and, indeed, it is matter of doubt whether some of them will not expiate their crimes upon the scaffold. It is admitted, on all hands, that the efforts of the late King of France, to stifle the voice of the Press, were mainly instrumental in rousing the resentment of the people, who wrenched the sceptre from his hand, and drove him into exile on a foreign shore.—And the fate of his ministers, (who were supposed to have been his prompters and advisers,) though not yet known, is likely to be of a still more retributive character. I had intended to have made a further statement, at this time, of the proceedings of the Court in Baltimore, relative to the Libel Suit, mentioned in the last number of this work. But as I have not yet been cited to appear before it, and have heard of no further proceedings in the case, I shall postpone it for the present. The foregoing general remarks are merely intended to invite the attention of the reader to a review of the principle involved in the question; and at another time I shall enter upon the subject more in detail.⁶ I will only add, now, that I am merely contending for the same privilege that the people of France lately demanded when they dethroned their monarch, and that the people of this country now claim, in the impeachment of a high Judicial functionary before the Senate of the United States.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

This very important question at present occupies the attention of thousands of the best and most patriotic citizens of the United States. It has a strong claim to the support—the active and persevering advocacy—of every true Republican in the nation. The subject has been fairly laid before Congress; and it will be pressed upon the attention of that body, from time to time. The business will be prosecuted to its consummation.

It is to be hoped that the time is not far distant, when the scandal, the shame and disgrace, that attaches to our government, on account of

the toleration of such a monstrous system as that of slavery and slave trading, within the limits of its exclusive jurisdiction, will be wiped away by a legal enactment. Surely, the people of the United States, who deprecate the existence of this inhuman system, (and they compose an immense majority of the citizens,) will not, at least, much longer bear the insults offered to their feelings, by the prosecution of the "*African Slave Trade*," within the environs of the Capital of the Republic, and the jeers, the scoffs, and solemn expressions of regret, which are frequently heard from the lips of intelligent foreigners, who frequently witness the scenes of outrage connected with it.

Even the great and good *Lafayette* has repeatedly expressed his mortification at the circumstance of the continuance of slavery among us, upon various occasions. In a private letter, to a friend in Pennsylvania, he uses the following very emphatic language:—

"I see, in the papers, that there is a plan of gradual abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. I would be doubly happy of it, for the measure in itself, and because a sense of American pride makes me recoil at the observations of the Diplomats, and other Foreigners, who gladly improve the unfortunate existing circumstance into a general objection to our republican, and (saving that deplorable evil) our matchless system."

But even independent of every consideration of this nature, sufficient cause exists for a determined and vigorous prosecution of this important undertaking. There is no doubt that a great majority of the inhabitants of the District anxiously desire the extinction of slavery; and could their voices be heard, they would, unquestionably, urge the speedy adoption of measures for the purpose. And when humanity, justice, religion, honor, consistency, and even the *vox populi* demand it, why do the constituted authorities still neglect it?

As I stated, at the commencement of this article, many are turning their attention to the subject; and though little or nothing will probably be effected by the present Congress, enough will be done by the people, to keep it alive until the next meeting of that body, when a great

* At another time, it is said he expressed a desire to have the reading of the "*National Intelligencer*," but observed that he could not brook the appearance of those engravings, "representing little negroes with budgets on their backs." This was a cutting rebuke upon the editors of that paper, for publishing such advertisements; and it is to be regretted that they did not sufficiently profit by it, and thereafter refrain from disgracing their columns with them.

effort will be made to accomplish the object.

Meetings have been recently held in various places for the purpose of concerting measures relative to the promotion of this undertaking; and, in some instances, resolutions have been adopted, expressive of the views of the members, and petitions to Congress prepared for circulation and signature. The proceedings of some of these meetings will be noticed hereafter. The form of a petition, as inserted below, is now circulating in Boston. It is copied from the "*Christian Register*," a Unitarian paper, of high standing, which urges this cause with zeal and ability. The "*Christian Mirror*," a highly valuable Presbyterian paper, at Portland, Maine, also joins the "*Register*" in calling the public attention to the subject, and expresses the hope that "there are thousands ready to put their names to such a petition." It is "glorious" to see the members of different religious Societies thus co-operating for the accomplishment of this sacred work. Let this spirit be fostered, and we shall soon perceive the most important effects resulting from it.

This subject will be resumed hereafter; and I shall endeavor to shew that it will be practicable to adopt a plan for the abolition of slavery in the District, with perfect ease and safety, and without the least danger or difficulty.

Petition to Congress for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America: Congress assembled, the petition of the undersigned, citizens of Boston, in Massachusetts, and its vicinity, respectfully represents—

That your petitioners are deeply impressed with the evils arising from the existence of slavery in the District of Columbia. They believe that the holding of slaves is not sanctioned either by justice or humanity. While our Declaration of Independence boldly proclaims, as self-evident truths, "that all men are created equal that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,"—at the very seat of government, human beings are born almost daily, whom the laws pronounce to be, from their birth, not equal to other men, and who are, for life, deprived of liberty and the free pursuit of happiness. The inconsistency of the conduct of our nation, with its political creed, has brought down upon it the scorn and contempt of foreign nations.

In addition to the other evils flowing from slavery, both moral and political, which it is needless to specify, circumstances have rendered this District a common resort for traders in human flesh, who bring into it their captives in chains, and lodge them in places of confinement previously to their being carried to the markets of the south and west.

From the small number of slaves in the District of Columbia, and the moderate proportion which they bear to the free population there, the

difficulties, which, in most of the slave-holding states, oppose the restoration of this degraded class of men to their natural rights, do not exist.

Your petitioners, therefore, pray that Congress will, without delay, take such measures for the immediate or gradual abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and for preventing the bringing of slaves into that District for purposes of traffic, in such mode, as may be thought advisable; venturing also to suggest, that whatever measures may be adopted, suitable provision should be made for the education of all free blacks and colored children in the District, thus to preserve them from continuing, even as freemen, an unenlightened and degraded caste.

NOT RESPONSIBLE.

What will a certain Methodist preacher, whose words were lately quoted, say to the following?—It is copied from a Southern newspaper.

“*Slavery*.—The Georgia Senate, by a vote of 33 to 30, have refused to repeal a law prohibiting the importation of slaves into that State.”

Will it now be said that, “not upon us rests the guilt of its *continuance!*” Shall we (as Americans) now say that our hands are clear of the inhuman traffic?—that the slave is not torn from all the heart of man holds dear and oppressed and despoiled *by us?*—that we are not guilty, *awfully* guilty participators in the “deep damnation of his taking off?”

A QUERY.

Why do many Slave holders fly into a passion sooner, when they meet with reproof relative to Slavery, than upon any other occasion?—*Ans.* Because they *feel* themselves *guilty*—UNCONSCIENTIOUSLY GUILTY of acting MONSTROUSLY INCONSISTENT, and OUTRAGEOUSLY UNJUST.

GOOD CAUSE FOR ALARM!

The following, from the “Village Record,” shews how Nature’s retributive Law operates in Virginia:

“The census of New York is 1,934,496, not official—a gain of half a million in ten years. Take the census of one county in Virginia—fertile—extensive—noble Virginia; and see what melancholy contrast, *Q* and the cause.

CENSUS OF AMELIA.

White males	1598
“ females	1695—3293
Male slaves	3758
females “	3760—7518
Free colored males	103
“ females	117—220
Total	11,031
Population in 1820	11,104
Decrease in 10 years	73

There are two persons who are deaf and dumb; one a white female between 14 and 25 years of age, the other a slave under 14 years. The old-

est white person in this country is 95 years, and only one has arrived at that age—whilst there are eight negroes, three males and five females, whose ages exceed 100 years. Of the females one is supposed to be 120, and another is confidently believed by her master, who is a highly intelligent and respectable man, to be over 130 years old. The general health of the last mentioned old woman, is such as to enable her frequently to walk, unattended, one and a half miles to visit some of her descendants.”

It is stated that, in the aggregate, the returns of the new census of Virginia, so far as received, shew that the whites are increasing in a considerable degree faster than the slaves, which never before has been the case. The free colored population, however, is gaining nearly threefold upon them; but this class composes but a small proportion of the total population, being to the whites as 1 to 16, and to the slaves as 1 to 12.

What will the Malthus’s of the day (who assert that the free colored people are generally in a worse condition than the slaves) say to this? Even our friend Niles will be a little puzzled, no doubt, to reconcile this state of things with some of the views which he has taken of the subject. If I mistake not, both he and Mathew Carey have admitted that the free coloured population in Virginia and some other parts of our Southern country is, very generally, more dissipated and wretched than the slaves. But how will this idea accord with the disparity in the *increase* of the various classes? If any one can give a sufficient, or even a plausible explanation, either of these gentlemen are capable; and it would be gratifying at least to *one* who feels interested in the cause if it were done.

EXTENUATION OF THE CRIME OF SLAVERY.

In an address to the citizens of Brooklyn; Mr. Finley, agent of the Colonization Society, remarked as follows:—

“Eleven times did the colonial Assembly of Georgia pass *Acts* to prohibit the importation of slaves into that colony, but as often did the British king exercise the prerogative of his *veto* to annul and thereby defeat the provisions of those *Acts*—and when the philanthropic and patriot Oglethorpe then Governor of the colony, still persevered in endeavoring to obtain a removal of that pernicious system and crying evil from his people, his persevering efforts in the cause of humanity and his zeal for the best interests of his government, was visited upon him by the chastisement of removal from office.

“Nor did the introduction of the system find greater favor among the early settlers of Virginia. Her most distinguished patriots and statesmen foresaw the evil and deprecated the consequences, which, (as necessarily as effects flow from their legitimate causes) would inevitably follow in the hateful train of *slavery*.—

And it is a fact that the system of slavery, imposed by the government of Great Britain, and the repeated refusal of her monarch, to remove the evil, or abate the nuisance, formed a prominent item in the list of injuries enumerated in one of the drafts of the Declaration of Independence. Hence it appears, the existence of slavery and its concomitant evils among our brethren of the south, has been entailed upon them by the acts of a *government*, which at the time they had not the power to resist, and that they are entitled to the sympathy and kindly feelings of their fellow citizens in other more favored sections of our country, which are exempted from the evils and dangers of slavery, inasmuch as their situation is in a great measure the result of the cupidity and the crimes of others, rather than their own.

"If it be asked, why then do not those states, and all others where the system exists, unite, and at once rid themselves of the evil, by the enactment of laws providing for the *immediate and entire abolition* of slavery among them? To this inquiry the answer is obvious—"the remedy would be worse than the disease"—the manifest wrong which such a measure would be to the *masters*, would only be equalled by the misery and wretchedness which it would certainly entail on the great body of nearly two millions of slaves in those States.—There are certain evils existing in the *body politic*—like some of those which afflict our *physical constitution*, which cannot be suddenly and violently eradicated, without imminent danger of producing convulsive anarchy in the one, or immediate dissolution in the other."

The object of the speaker, in this case, was to shew that as slavery was introduced into some of the southern colonies against the wishes of their Governors and local Legislatures, the present holders of slaves and the State authorities, are not to be considered blameable for continuing the system.

Now what does all this *special pleading* amount to? We might just as well say that the pirates, who yet lurk among the islands in the West Indian seas, are blameless, because the system of marauding was introduced by the buccaneers, a century or two ago. No one censures the present inhabitants of the Slave States for *introducing* the curse of slavery. But for its *perpetuation*, they are highly culpable;—as, notwithstanding the popular doctrine of necessity, among the Slave holders and some others, **IT MIGHT BE GRADUALLY ABOLISHED WITHOUT THE LEAST DANGER.** It has already been *proven*, in various parts of the American continent and islands, that the colored race, so long held in bondage, *may be introduced to freedom with little difficulty and with perfect safety.* The man must be ignorant, indeed, at this time of day, who has studied the history of America, generally, and is not sensible of this fact. My very soul is sick of the mawkish arguments which many of our professed philanthropists are in the habit of using. Why, in the name of common sense, did not the authorities

of Georgia, &c. make the needful regulations for abolishing the system of slavery, when the power of Britain was broken? Why do not they *now* set about the work, in good earnest, and *adopt a system of tenantry*, or some other gradual process, for the termination of that "supreme curse," ere the numerical strength of the oppressed shall set their laws at defiance? It might be done with ease, if a willingness were manifested.

I will take leave of this subject for the present, with observing, that I am astonished at the deliberate manner in which some of our high professing philanthropists extenuate the crime of continuing the system of slavery. That it is owing to a want of reflection, I will admit;—but even this is insufficient to hold them excusable.

THE CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR.

I find myself so much in want of room, at present, that I can scarcely notice the exceptionable article in the Christian Spectator, as promised in my last. An extract from it is here inserted; and next month I hope to have a little more space to give my views of it. In the mean time the readers of this work will have an opportunity of criticising it for themselves. It is true, that the writer condemns the system of slavery, in the abstract. But the propositions here set forth, stand sufficiently disconnected with others, to be viewed by themselves.

"In regard to slavery, many things are to be considered, which the friends of universal liberty are prone to overlook. Distinct ideas of this subject would save much angry feeling in all quarters of the country. We are not aware that our views on this subject differ at all from those of all intelligent men around us, and yet when we read the angry defences of slavery, uttered in the halls of Congress, or published in the Southern Journals, we yield a ready assent to very many of the arguments, strongly as we dissent from the style in which they are ordinarily expressed. Some of the obvious principles by which our judgment is regulated, are the following:

1. For the *existence* of slavery in the United States, those, and those only, are accountable who bore a part in originating such a constitution of society. The men who brought the kidnapped wretches from the shores of Africa, the men who bought the victims, the legislators who permitted and encouraged such a traffic—these must account to God for those crimes, and for the natural results of those crimes, through generations.

2. The bible contains no explicit prohibitions of slavery. It recognizes, both in the Old Testament, and in the New, the existence of such a constitution of society; and it lends its authority to enforce the mutual obligations resulting from that constitution. Its language is, "Slaves obey your masters," and, "Masters give unto your slaves that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven."

There is neither chapter nor verse of holy writ, which lends any countenance to the fulminating spirit of universal emancipation, of which some exhibitions may be seen in some of the newspapers.*

3. Domestic slavery, in the light of the scriptures, and in the light of common sense, is justifiable to the same extent, and on exactly the same principles, with despotism on a larger scale. The right and the wrong of both is materially, perhaps we should say precisely, the same. The emperor of China has one hundred and fifty millions of slaves, on a plantation of about thirteen hundred thousand square miles. The autocrat of Russia has fifty millions of slaves, on an immense plantation, as yet very little improved. The sultan of Turkey has a fine old estate, with probably twenty millions of slaves; but, owing partly to bad management, and partly to the inherent evils of the slave system, the estate, like some of the best on our own side of the Atlantic, has gone to decay and is almost ruined, while the high spirited proprietor is railing, for aught we know, at the tariff. A southern planter is an autocrat, with an empire of perhaps three hundred subjects. The cases are all parallel. What is the duty of the emperor of Russia towards his fifty millions of slaves? Is it his crime, that they are his slaves? He did not make them such. In the providence of God, he and they came into existence, under such a constitution of society as creates a relation between him and them altogether independent of his consent or theirs; a relation which common sense recognizes, and which the bible recognizes; and the question is, In this relation what is his duty toward them, and theirs toward him?"

MORE COADJUTORS.

It is with pleasure that I insert the following extracts from a prospectus for a new publication, about to be issued, weekly, at Philadelphia and New York, alternately. The work is to be entitled the "Herald of Truth," and will be under the editorial control of Marcus T. C. Gould, No. 6, North Eighth Street, Philadelphia; and Isaac T. Hopper, No. 420, Pearl Street, New York.

These gentlemen are both able and zealous advocates of Universal Emancipation. They will have it in their power to aid the cause very essentially; and it is to be hoped that they will meet with all the encouragement that may be necessary to enable them to prosecute their labors successfully.

An excellent work, entitled the "African Observer," was established in Philadelphia, a few

* We know of no "Northern" newspaper liable to this censure, generally; though instances of thoughtless violence in language might, no doubt, be easily hunted up. There is, however, farther south, a journal devoted to universal emancipation, with which we confess ourselves unsatisfied. The philanthropic feeling of the editor we cannot all in question; but the spirit of denunciation which breathes over his pages, we approve as little as we do the pugnacity of Gen. Hayne and others in the capitol.

years since, under the direction of Enoch Lewis. It was devoted, exclusively, to the subject expressed in its title. But after struggling one year against the apathy of the public mind, and failing to obtain an adequate support, it was discontinued. It is to be hoped that the "Herald of Truth" will meet a better fate.

"The period when the United States assumed a rank among the independent nations of the earth, and promulgated the doctrine that all men are born free and equal, was an important era in the history of man. The freedom of the press—the uncontrolled exercise of the rights of self-government—the privilege of pursuing, unmolested and untrammelled by the hand of power, the means of promoting individual happiness—and an exemption from an ecclesiastical establishment, guaranteed to us by our institutions and our laws, are circumstances favorable to the expansion of the intellectual powers, and the development of native talent.

That freedom of speech and independence of thought, which characterize the citizens of these States, has given a new impulse to the human mind, and thrown new light on the destinies of man. The example has spread far and wide, and extended a consciousness and a knowledge of natural rights in the eastern hemisphere. The progress of improvement of the human mind can no longer be arrested by the hand of violence; but must progress, if we are true to ourselves, with a pace as sure as time, till every kind or degree of despotism is annihilated, and dictation and intolerance are banished from society."

* * * * *

"The wrongs of Africa," and the best means of mitigating the evils of slavery, will frequently claim our attention. The contemplation of this subject is calculated to arouse every humane and generous feeling of our nature into activity. The apathy which seems to prevail

on this subject, is not so much owing to the absence of a general abhorrence of the system, as to the little attention of a practical nature, bestowed upon it by the periodicals of the day. Even our representatives in the national and state legislatures, approach it with "fear and trembling." And for this extreme caution in touching "the delicate question," two reasons may be assigned. The magnitude of the evil, which tends to paralyze the energies of man, when directed to its mitigation or removal: and an unwillingness to excite that feverish and morbid sensibility which exists among the holders of slaves. But we think it possible to convince even candid slave holders, that those who have the deepest abhorrence of slavery, are among their truest friends.

The propriety of abstaining from the use of the products of slave labour, as one of the most efficient means of discouraging slavery, and a comparative estimate of the cost of slave labour, will be included in our investigation of the question of slavery."

PETITIONS, PETITIONS!

Late English papers state, that at *no former period* were the tables of Parliament so loaded with petitions, as they now are, from various parts of the kingdom, *for the abolition of slavery*

in the colonies. This has been found an efficacious mode of proceeding, at other times, and they are resolved to give it full latitude now.

"THE LIBERATOR."

Just as this paper was going to Press, I received the first Number of "THE LIBERATOR," published at Boston, by Wm. Lloyd Garrison and Isaac Knapp. Next month I shall notice it further. At present, I can only say, it is a weekly paper, principally devoted to the cause of *African Emancipation*.—It is neatly executed; and, as might be expected, a warm, "enthusiastic" advocate of the total, immediate, abolition of slavery. Let every one subscribe for it that can spare *two dollars a year*.

Subscriptions will be received at the offices of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, in Washington and Baltimore.

CORRESPONDENCE.

It is gratifying and encouraging, amid the continued opposition and fiery persecution that I have witnessed, to receive assurances of the aid and co-operation of the friends of our cause. My heart is not made of the softest materials, neither is it composed of Adamant.—Though scarcely malleable, it might be reduced by intense fusion, were no assistance given to quench the flame that operates upon it.

The following extracts of letters, from two distant correspondents, are, indeed, cheering. The *sentiments* they convey are invaluable. The pecuniary aid is also gratefully received. But I wish it distinctly understood, that I cannot, consistently with my views, receive any thing in the way of *donation*, without doing something, in addition to my usual labors, equivalent to it. For every thing contributed in this way, I shall send the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, or other Anti-Slavery publications, to places where they will answer a good purpose, to at least the full amount of the sum tendered. My thanks, however, are as sincerely given for such benefactions, as tho' they were applied to my own private use.

Extract of a Letter, dated December 16th, 1830.

"Sir: The cause in which you are engaged deserves the sympathies and aid of every man, in whose heart one feeling of philanthropy, or one wish for the happiness of our country, dwells.

With my earnest desires for your success, and that the object you have in view may one day be accomplished, I send you the amount of one year's subscription for the "*Genius of Universal Emancipation*," wishing it were in my power to aid you far more effectually."

Extract of another Letter, dated 12th mo. 18th 1830.

"I duly received thy favor of August 23d,

and notice its contents, and imparted to my father thy acknowledgment for his trifling donation. My present object is to transmit a similar donation from a different source—the voluntary contribution of several colored individuals, as per the names attached to the enclosed paper, with a statement of the motives which prompted them to the act. This generosity is creditable to them."

The following is an extract of a Letter from a friend in Philadelphia, dated Nov. 4th, 1830. It should have appeared in the last number of this work, but was inadvertently omitted.

Since the reception of that letter another very interesting one has been received from the same writer, giving an account of further proceedings at a subsequent meeting, held on the evening of the 20th of December. The matter for the number was principally in type before the reception of the last mentioned communication but it shall be inserted next month. The writer has my thanks for his favors; and hereafter, trust, he will not have occasion to complain of a want of prompt attention, should he be so kind as to continue them.

"The present is quite an interesting time among the coloured persons in our city. The particulars of their late Convention I find recorded in your last number of the *Genius*. The proceedings of the Free Produce Society, and the Female Association for promoting the sale of Free Cotton, you are from time to time surprised of. At the last meeting of the former committee was appointed to consider and adopt the best method of interesting the colored people in giving the preference to free produce. The committee, after duly considering the subject, concluded to have a conference with a select number of the most influential among them, and, accordingly, about twenty of them assembled conjointly with the committee. After making known the objects of the meeting, the committee proceeded to lay before them some documents relating to the organization and proceedings of the Free Produce Society as they thought would interest them, and also show the advancement of the cause since the formation of the Society, and the very flattering prospect for the future. It was truly pleasant to observe the attention manifested by them upon the occasion. Some samples of Groceries, the produce of free labor, were exhibited; and the views of an individual, invited to attend with them, whose whole soul has for years been engaged in endeavoring to introduce measures for the suppression of slavery, this curse upon our land, for *freedom and equal rights*, were expressed with a clearness and energy which added greatly to the interest of the occasion. The colored people

* The paper, here alluded to, contained the reasons of the donors for their generous contributions. The article is too complimentary for me to copy. They will accept my thanks for their good opinion, and their beneficence; and they may be assured that, while life lasts, I shall unceasingly endeavor to promote, by every honorable and *peaceful* means, the great cause in which I am engaged. I am fully sensible that my humble labors can accomplish but little, in comparison with what justice requires:—but the little that I can do, shall be done *cheerfully*.—Ed.

sons requested that there should be a general meeting of their brethren convened, and these same documents and views laid before them. Accordingly committees on both sides were appointed to make the necessary preparations, and a person selected to prepare a short preliminary address for the occasion. The meeting will probably take place next week, after which I will give you further particulars.

There have also lately been two schools established for the gratuitous instruction of colored adults, of both sexes, the one under the care of an association of young men, and the other of young women. They have been established about five weeks, and there are upwards of an hundred scholars in each. The assiduity and attention of the scholars encourage the belief that good will result from these institutions, inasmuch as the improvement of the mind and the expansion of the intellect are calculated to make us wiser and happier. It is an interesting employment for those engaged in it; and it is to be hoped that their exertions on behalf of the poor, neglected, and despised sons of Africa will result in the moral, intellectual, and political improvement of the race. The schools are conducted solely by the members of the Associations, who take turns of three weeks in the male school, and four weeks in the female school, each. The young men's association consists of about twenty-three members, and the young women's of about thirty.—So that in this, like most other benevolent institutions, the females show themselves the most zealous. But benevolence is a leading feature in the female character."

The writer concludes his second letter with the following additional information:—

"On the evening of the 27th inst. [December,] the *Colored Women* also held a meeting, with the view of organizing an association similar to that formed by the men. About 600 were present; and of that number *two hundred and sixty* had their names attached to the Constitution, which had been prepared for the purpose."

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

ANTHONY BENEZET.

(Concluded)

There can be no doubt that the writings, and various labors, of this extraordinary man, had a powerful effect in rousing the spirits of Clarkson and his famous co-adjutors, in behalf of the oppressed Africans. But I must very briefly notice a few more incidents in his philanthropic career, as my limits will not suffer me to enter into detail. His biographer is again quoted.—

"With the progress of life, his zeal and assiduity for effecting the abolition of the slave trade, increased: no exertion was too great, nor any service too minute for him to undertake, if he supposed it might help onward the righteous march of justice and mercy. Consequently it was characteristic, if one day he were seen surrounded by the sable children of Africa, imparting advice, and deriving information from them concerning the cruelties they had suffered, and the next engaged in composing essays on the subject; addressing letters to friends and strangers, from whom he hoped some aid could be obtained; or with an innocent boldness worthy

of his office, spreading the cause of the poor negro in the language of warning and persuasion, before statesmen and sovereigns."

He wrote many letters to men of distinction in Europe, as well as America. The following is an extract of one to the Abbe Raynal, dated *Seventh Mo. 16th, 1781.*

"Let us display to princes, and the rulers of nations, the example of Numa Pompilius, who, by a conduct opposite to that of Romulus, his predecessor, and most of his successors, rendered the Romans, during his long reign, so respectable and happy. Above all, my dear friend, let us represent to our compatriots the abominable iniquity of the Guinea trade. Let us put to the blush the pretended disciples of the benign Saviour of the world, for the encouragement given to the unhappy Africans in invading the liberty of her own brethren. Let us rise, and rise with energy, against the corruption introduced into the principles and manners of the masters and owners of slaves, by a conduct so contrary to humanity, reason, and religion. Let us be still more vehement in representing its baneful influence on the principles and manners of their wretched offspring, necessarily educated in idleness, pride, and all the vices to which human nature is liable."

The answer to this was highly satisfactory, shewing that the enlightened views of the writer were duly appreciated by the renowned Abbe.

"He made a communication on the subject of the slave trade to the queens of France and Portugal, and likewise to the countess of Huntingdon. The latter having founded a college for the education of indigent orphans near Savannah, in Georgia, the managers of it employed slaves for the cultivation of the lands, with which she had liberally endowed the institution. His appeal to that benevolent female was successful, for the countess assured him, in reply to his address, *that such a measure should never have her countenance, and that she would take care to prevent it.*"

It appears that one of his books fell into the hands of the celebrated Virginia orator and statesman, Patrick Henry. It made a powerful impression upon his mind, as appears from the following letter, written by him, to a friend, dated:

"HANOVER, January 18, 1773.

"Dear Sir: I take this opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of Anthony Benezet's book against the slave trade: I thank you for it. It is not a little surprising, that the professors of christianity, whose chief excellence consists in softening the human heart, in cherishing and improving its finer feelings, should encourage a practice so totally repugnant to the first impressions of right and wrong. What adds to the wonder is, that this abominable practice has been introduced in the most enlightened ages. Times, that seem to have pretensions to boast of high improvements in the arts and sciences, and refined morality, have brought into general use, and guarded by many laws, a species of violence and tyranny, which our more rude and barbarous, but more honest ancestors detested. Is it not amazing, that at a time, when the rights of humanity are defined and understood with precision, in a country, above all others, fond of liberty; that in such an age, and in such a country, we find men professing a religion the most

humane, mild, gentle and generous, adopting a principle as repugnant to humanity, as it is inconsistent with the bible, and destructive to liberty? every thinking, honest man rejects it in speculation. How few in practice, from conscientious motives!

"Would any one believe that I am master of slaves, of my own purchase! I am drawn along by the general inconvenience of living here without them. I will not, I cannot justify it. However culpable my conduct, I will so far pay my devoir to virtue, as to own the excellence and rectitude of her precepts, and lament my want of conformity to them.

"I believe a time will come, when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil. Every thing we can do, is to improve it, if it happens in our day, if not, let us transmit to our descendants, together with our slaves, a pity for their unhappy lot, and an abhorrence for slavery. If we cannot reduce this wished for reformation to practice, let us treat the unhappy victims with lenity. It is the furthest advance we can make towards justice. It is a debt we owe to the purity of our religion, to show that it is at variance with that law, which warrants slavery.

I know not where to stop. I could say many things on the subject; a serious view of which, gives a gloomy perspective to future times!"

Many things are omitted, in this hasty sketch, which the biographer has noticed. The following quotation shews that he was the main instrument in forming a society, in Philadelphia, for the protection of the colored race. This society has been instrumental in rescuing from the grasp of the unprincipled kidnapper many an hapless African, as well as the descendants of Africans. It still continues its useful labors, and exercises a powerful and salutary influence in preparing the public mind for the total abolition of slavery in the western hemisphere. The good that it has effected since its organization, is very encouraging to those who are endeavoring to form similar associations elsewhere.

"During the sitting of the Legislature in 1780, a session memorable for the enactment of a law which commenced the gradual abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania, he had private interviews on the subject, with every member of the government, and no doubt thus essentially contributed to the adoption of that celebrated measure.

His agency in arresting a number of kidnapped black people on their passage from New Jersey through Philadelphia, toward one of the southern states, and whose claim to freedom by his perseverance was ultimately established, gave rise to a society for the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, since incorporated with ample authority, and over the deliberations of which have successively presided Dr. Benjamin Franklin, James Pemberton, Dr. Benjamin Rush, and Dr. Caspar Wistar."

The following anecdote, related of him, is truly characteristic.

"Having lived during that interesting period, when the religious community to which he belonged was occupied with those considerations which led to its purification from the ini-

quity of slavery, he took an active part in promoting that righteous work. His ardent and pathetic communications on this subject, in the select assemblies of his brethren, were powerful and irresistible. He awakened the unconcerned, confirmed the wavering, and infused energy into the most zealous. On one occasion, during the annual convention of the society in Philadelphia, when that body was engaged on the subject of slavery, as it related to its own members, some of whom had not wholly relinquished the practice of keeping negroes in bondage, a difference of sentiment was manifested as to the course which ought to be pursued. For a moment it appeared doubtful which opinion would preponderate. At this critical juncture, Benezet left his seat, which was in an obscure part of the house, and presented himself weeping at an elevated door, in the presence of the whole congregation, whom he thus addressed: "*Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God;*" he said no more: under the solemn impression which succeeded this emphatic quotation, the proposed measure received the united sanction of the assembly."

It is stated that :

"The person of Anthony Benezet was small; his countenance was composed of strong and interesting features, and though his face beamed with benignant animation, it was far from being handsome. Of this he was himself sensible, for a friend of his once suggesting a desire to possess his portrait, he did not assign the conscientious objection which he probably entertained on the subject, but thus replied to the request: "*O! no, no, my ugly face shall not go down to posterity.*"

"His kindness and charity towards objects of distress were intuitive. One of his friends related having seen him take off his coat in the street and give it to an almost naked mendicant, and go home in his shirt sleeves for another garment."

A great deal more might very properly be said in praise of this truly virtuous man:—but I must close with one more extract from his biography.—

"He died on the third day of the Fifth Month (May) Anno Domini, 1784, aged seventy-one years. When it was announced that death had numbered him among his victims, the expression of regret was universal.

It was a day of sorrow. The afflicted widow, the unprotected orphan, and the poor of all descriptions, had lost the sympathetic mind of Benezet. Society lamented the extinguishment of the brilliant light of his philanthropy: the friendless tribes who wandered in the American wilderness, and the oppressed Africans, were indeed bereft; for his willing pen and tongue had ceased forever to portray the history of their injuries, or plead for the establishment of their rights, before the sons of men.

At the interment of his remains, in Friends' burial ground, which took place two days after his death, the greatest concourse of people that had ever been witnessed on such an occasion in Philadelphia, was present, being a collection of all ranks and professions among the inhabitants, thus manifesting the universal esteem in which he was held. Among others who paid that last tribute of respect, were many hundred black people, testifying by their attendance, and by their tears, the grateful sense they entertained of his pious efforts in their behalf."

LADIES' BEPOTENTIAL
 Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

INCONSISTENCY.

Almost three centuries since, at a time when Europe was just emerging from the mental darkness which had been long spread over it, unprincipled Pope Leo X, little scrupulous as he was with regard to the means of acquiring wealth, declared "that not only the christian religion, but that nature herself, cried out against a state of slavery." Elizabeth of England, though she shrank not from the commission of a crime which will forever cast a stigma upon her character—the execution of the unfortunate queen of Scots—in expressing her opinion of the guilt of violently separating men from their wives and families, and forcing them into a state of bondage, gave it as her sentiment, that "it could be detestable, and would call down the vengeance of heaven upon the undertakers." Such were the opinions entertained with regard to slavery, at the commencement of the terrible traffic, which has since poured out such an ocean of innocent blood. Opinions expressed at a time when its heart-sickening cruelty was rather to be inferred from its nature, than absolutely demonstrated by previous example;—though, even then, its horrible inhumanity was sufficiently apparent—and expressed, too, by those who were not, as princes have seldom been, remarkable for an enthusiastic devotion to the principles of justice. Yet now, when the light of reason and knowledge has been shed, in a continued increase, over the earth, slavery not only has her strenuous advocates among men of talent and intelligence, but still exists, uncondemned and sanctioned by the laws of a nation which professes a close observance of the rules of christianity and moral justice, and which holds no second place among the free, the liberal, and the enlightened of the earth. The foreign Slave-trade has, it is true, been abolished—has been declared piracy. But our country still remains to the guilt, of which, in the face of the world, she has, by that act, openly avowed her participation; and the domestic traffic in human beings, is still unforbidden. The dark shadow of the slave vessel yet lies upon our bright rivers, and the long shriek of hearts in their mortal agony, rises on the ear, as the brutal driver hur-

ries before him his brother herd, and the dearest natural ties are parted forever.

Strange inconsistency! that we should foster at home, what we denounce as deadly iniquity abroad! As if the American air, hostile to every finer feeling, had deadened all kindly emotions, and that in the bosom of the slave as of his tyrant, and their ties of home, of kindred, and of friends, were no longer worthy a regardful thought. True, the ravage of fertile plains, the glare of burning villages, and the horrors attendant upon the "middle passage," are no longer sanctioned. But what then? are we to consider the evil abolished because an attempt has been made to confine it to our own door? Do fetters cease to gall when they are worn beneath an American sun; or does a breaking heart agonize less when its cords are, one by one, torn away, than when a fierce grasp has severed them at once and it bursts with its first throb of unendurable anguish?

Oh if we would but teach ourselves to reflect! If we would think on all the hearts that so bleed and die beneath the torn fibres of affection—on all the misery that is daily endured—on all the guilt that is incurred—if we would picture to ourselves the infant, wrenched shrieking from the clinging arms of its mother—the wretched wife, torn away in her frantic grief, from the last embrace of her purchased husband—brethren and sisters, who grew up under one roof, scattered asunder, like withered leaves beneath the autumn tempest, and knowing each other's place upon the earth no more forever. Surely, we would "lay our mouths in the dust, in shame and sorrow, for the heartless indifference we have so long manifested for the sufferings of the oppressed."

DOMESTIC ECONOMY.

As the increased expense, incurred by making use of the productions of free labor, is often among the reasons assigned for neglect of that method of opposition to Slavery, it may perhaps be well to examine how far such an objection is entitled to consideration. For our own part, we do not think it should be allowed the least weight in determining our conduct. We do not conceive that it is any more excusable to make use of slave-wrought articles, on account of their cheapness, than we have to indulge in whatever else may please our fancy, at the expense of the unpaid creditor. Yet, as a close attention to household economy is certainly the duty of every female, let us enquire if it is not possible to indulge their feelings of humanity, and satisfy the claims of justice, without extending the

limits they have prescribed for their expenses. The difference in the price of the articles, though trifling, may still, when the income of a family is barely sufficient to cover its expenses, deserve to be taken into account. But if the expressed philanthropy is sincere, if there is really a wish felt to lift the yoke from the neck of our enslaved countrymen, in every case, short of actual poverty, might the change from slave to free produce be made without adding one item to the expenditure, or even in the least encroaching on the aggregate of comfort. It is but to forego some paltry gratification, to resign some trifle in which the vanity only is concerned, (and who has not such offerings to make,) and a fund is at once provided, sufficient for the purpose. Is it not better to eat coarse food, unspoiled by rapine and injustice? Is it not better to wear a plain garb, than to be pranked out in delicate or fashionable array, which has been won by oppression? Surely it is! and if the importance of the subject was more frequently and carefully examined, we believe there are many who would be not unwilling to give such a proof of their devotion to the cause of emancipation.

DOING AS OTHERS DO.

We would not willingly ascribe to selfishness or callous feeling, the general reluctance, which so evidently prevails, to engage in an active and practical opposition to slavery. With some, the fear of ridicule may operate—the dread of being supposed to assume a superior sanctity;—or a diffidence of appearing to adopt a higher standard of moral purity, than those whom they have been accustomed to look up to with respect and veneration. But we believe the principal reason why so little is done, may be found in the disposition of individuals to be guided by the opinion and example of others who are unconcerned upon the subject, rather than to give it a close and thoughtful examination themselves, and follow up the decision of judgment with active support. “My parents, or my husband, or my friends, do not see the necessity of restricting themselves to free labor produce,” serves as a satisfactory excuse to many, who would willingly follow a contrary example. Yet would it not be well for these to consider how far they are justifiable in excusing themselves with such a plea. They cannot look into the hearts of others—they do not know whether the subject has been placed before the minds of their friends in its proper light, or how far it has been resisted as an unwelcome intruder. Neither can they tell how far their own example does, or might, affect the actions of those to whom they them-

selves look for instruction. But in pursuing the course which humanity dictates, they cannot be mistaken. The slave is before them, helpless, fettered, and miserable. Their sister, woman amidst her bonds and her degradation, calls on them for mercy and succour; she is faint and sick with her burden of toil and wretchedness; and will they refuse to listen to the voice of her sad tears? Instead of calling on their friends to fly with them at once to the relief of the sufferer, mingling their tears with her, soothing her sorrows and cheering her heart once more with the light of hope, will they engage in a heartless consultation, whether the duty requires of them to yield her their assistance, and which of them shall first go forward to offer her relief? Alas! let them remember, while they delay, her wounds are still bleeding, her aching brow is burning with insupportable anguish, and that the long deferred aid may perhaps come *too late!*

INFLUENCE.

“If we look around not only on the external, but on the moral and mental distinctions among mankind, and consider the ignorance, the miseries, the vices of others as a ground for our more ardent gratitude; what sort of feeling will be excited in certain persons by a sight and sense of those miseries, those vices, and that ignorance of which their own influence, or example, neglect, has been the cause?”

HANNAH MORE

There is no power so widely diffused, or which we are so little able to compute the extent, as that of Influence. As a spark, originating in the most humble source, or falling first unnoticed or disregarded, is capable of kindling and spreading, of producing a vast and uncontrollable conflagration;—so may a seeming obscure individual, give the first impulse to a sentiment, that, like the rushing flame, bears down in its course the whole broad field of some long enduring error. Such instances may be said, are exceedingly rare;—and grant it. But though it would be preposterous for every individual to expect to influence the opinions of a world, there are few, indeed, whose sphere is so contracted, and whose character of so little weight, as not to hold an ascendancy, either for good or for evil, over the minds and habits of others, and thereby to exert their influence over another and wider circle, producing effects, of which, they, who gave the first impetus to the sentiment, are totally unconscious. Let not any then attempt to palliate or excuse an error of which they are conscious, by the usual and dangerous plea, that they harm no one but themselves. They do not—they cannot but do this—and it is most probably as false with

ard to others, as it is injurious to themselves.—
is scarcely more those who fill a high and
nspicuous station among men—the great, the
ise, and the talented—who exert a controlling
orce over general character, than undistin-
ished woman in her quiet retirement. And
through perilous and culpable indolence, or
alful carelessness, she neglects the duty and the
wer assigned her, suffering them to lie dor-
ant, to be exerted only as chance may direct,
employed for selfish or unworthy purposes,
will it not be sin—sin of no light grade or ve-
al character.”

Oh let her seriously reflect upon this,—
her consider that what appears but a venial
ult in her own conduct, may be the source of
ime and misery to others; and surely she will
ok warily to her way, lest, in her errors, those
om she best loves may be led astray also.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE USE OF FREE PRODUCE.

“No, dear lady, none for me?

Though squeamish some may think it,
West India sugar spoils my tea;
I cannot, dare not, drink it.”

New-Orleans sugar possesses the same
roperties. It is to our taste, and we
pe to that of many of our readers, *un-
inkable*; for there are associations con-
cted with it, which its sweetness can-
t cover. Yet we will confess, that it
quires, at times, some firmness, and is
t a little unpleasant to the feelings, to
nounce decisively the rejecting nega-
e. In a company of strangers, you
ould gladly escape the kindly meant
portunity, which obliges you, though
ncious of being, at the moment, a sub-
et of general remark, for those who will
nsider your opinions affected or singu-
r, to assign a reason for your repeated
usal to partake of anything which is
bued with “the spirit of the cause.”
nd it is still more painful to feel your-
f compelled to disappoint the active
ndness which, unaware of your scru-
s, has exerted itself to provide some
icacy for your gratification, or tasked
enuity to spread before you a board,
ered with what, to you, are forbidden
nds. Then is the strongest tempta-
n to break through your resolution.
u know that so much pains have been
en, solely on your account, you fear
t your reasons will not be understood,
felt, and, gratified as you are by the
tive which has induced the offering,
cannot bear to think of the look of
rtification, and hurt or offended feel-

ing, which you are conscious will meet
your meditated refusal. Yet should you
weakly yield, and suffer your good nature
to induce you to violate your principles,
what will you have gained? An exemp-
tion from a temporary uneasiness, at the
expense of an approving conscience, a
consistent example, and probably of the
ability to remain firm on a future occa-
sion. While, by persisting in your de-
termination, though your reasons, at first,
may not appear satisfactory, or well un-
derstood, you will have an opportunity of
fairly explaining your sentiments, of en-
gaging in a useful discussion, and, per-
haps, bringing light and conviction to
some who have never before thought
upon the subject.

Yet if there be some disagreeable passages
occasionally attendant upon this system of
abstinence; it has also its redeeming hours,
when such trivial embarrassments are far
more than overpaid. They come in the
low-whispered commendation of a satis-
fied conscience;—in the approbation of
those whom you esteem; and in the heart-
felt joy of having won over some one
whom you love to mingle in the delight
of such a moment; you rejoice, not that
you have made a convert, but that the
slave has gained a friend. While even
the slight alloy of selfish affection, that
blends with your pleasure, renders it only
the dearer. But in more trifling things
than these, there is often a sweet gush of
happiness. It comes, though not unming-
led, to be sure, in even the tone of regret
with which some less scrupulous friend
laments the stern rule which dooms the
delicacies before you to remain untasted,
and your tea to be swallowed *sugarless*.
And still dearer is the kindness, which,
bending to your principles, exerts itself
to procure you a share of the good things
of the festal board, unsullied by the crime
for which you reject them. A half form-
ed sigh may mingle with the wish that
the table before you was always so spread,
but it cannot dispel the pleasure with
which you meet the affectionate smile of
the eye and lip that bids you partake
without fear of the proffered cake, and
drink your tea, sweetened as it is, un-
scrupulously. We have some such re-
membrances around us now, and we know
they will compensate for many an unpal-
atable meal;—try it for yourself, gentle
reader, and prove whether the system of
abstinence is a harsh one.

GERTRUDE.

A FEMALE SCHOOL IN LIBERIA.

From the Richmond Religious Herald.

It affords us great pleasure to notice an enterprise, which we feel confident will commend itself to the Ladies, generally, and which we doubt not will secure, as it merits, the enlightened and liberal patronage of many. The Female Colonization Society of Richmond and Manchester have taken incipient measures to establish a Female School, in Liberia. The Secretary has written to a lady in one of the northern States, who, we understand, is well qualified for the duties of a preceptress, and who, from a christian regard for the perishing, wishes to devote herself to this benevolent work. A model institution of this character, it is estimated, may be sustained in Africa, for three hundred dollars a year.—The Society has recently raised, by regular annual subscriptions from members, and by extra efforts, about \$100. This sum it is believed will be considerably increased by donations from the friends of the cause in this city, as soon as an answer shall be received from the lady who, it is expected, will be the governess of the School.

As we shall, probably, have occasion to speak of this undertaking again, we will now only mention two considerations which, we think, must commend the plan to all the female friends of benighted, injured Africa.

1. The education of the females of that colony, is indispensable to its prosperity. This truth is too plain to need explanation. That growing community cannot be intelligent, and enlightened, while the females are left in ignorance, the subjects, perhaps, of weak institutions. Such females are not fit to nurture and train up youth to be freemen, or to exert a salutary influence in improving the manners and morals of Society.

2. The American Colonization Society has no right or power, by its constitution, to appropriate its receipts to the establishment of Schools of any kind. Its funds are, by the rules of the Society, devoted to other objects. If schools, then, are to be planted in Africa, it must be done by donations made expressly for the purpose. And the establishment of a Female School, seems to belong to the Ladies, and as, from custom, they seem to regard it as their right to take the lead in almost every good work, it is confidently expected that they will go forward in this enterprise.

LITERARY.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE KING-FISHER.

A newspaper paragraph, of last summer, gives an account of the instance of maternal affection in a bird, which has been made the subject of the following lines:—

The King-fisher sat on her hidden nest,
Shielding her young with a downy breast;
She had built her home where the wave went by
Soothing her ear with its melody;
And the wild bright blossoms bent to dip
In the the rushing waves their thirsty lip.

Pleasant it was while the skies were fair,
And perfume flung on the sunny air,
While the wind in a low sweet whisper died,
Ere it could ruffle the flowing tide;
And the arching skies o'er the waters threw
The deep clear tint of their own pure blue,

But what that is bright, on earth may last!
Soon were the days of her sunshine past:
On came the storm-winds muttering loud,
Sweeping before them the thunder cloud;
And faster, as flashed the lightning's flame,
Dashing to earth the sky-torrents came.

Yet, with her cold wet wing unstirred,
On her shaken nest sat the mother bird;
Still, 'midst danger and death, she clung
With faithful love to her lifeless young,
Till high around her hath risen the tide,
And with her pinion stretched o'er them she died.

Oh! if affection like this hath part
In the warm depths of a wood-bird's heart—
That e'en to die, is a better fate
Than to leave her dear ones desolate;—
What is the love of a mother's breast,
With the seal of a deathless nature prest?

Yet there are men who will rudely tear
The dearest chords that are cherished there;
Wrench from its mother's frantic hold,
Her weeping babes, to be pawn'd for gold;
And scourge her amidst that living death
If she dares but give her woe to breath!

Know ye the land where such deeds are done
In the broad light of the blessed sun?
Where the spoiler bursts, with savage hand,
The holy links of the household band;
And the ties of natural love are cast,
With a daring hand to the idle blast?

CONSTANCE

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE SLAVE TRADER.

"A christian broker in the trade of blood—
He buys, he sells, he steals, he kills for gold—"

There is no character which, to our view, presents such a mass of total unmingled depravity as that of the slave trader;—the habitual and mercenary dealer in the bones and sinews of his low-beings. All the qualities that most hate, and that are usually divided in single portions through a whole community, seem in him alone to have

an undivided band. The fierce band exhibits in his reckless career a spirit of determined daring, not infrequently mingled with flashes of wayward generosity; and even the skulking midnight assassin needs a species of dogged courage to support him in his dangerous course of guilt. But the sanctioned pirate of the law, the licensed pedlar in blood and agony, stands secure and protected in his hazardless villainy, and employs the safer art of transmuting into gold, the life drops of those who can seek no redress, who can offer no defence against his cruelty. We detest the voracious wretch who can wring the cent from the hand of sickness and poverty, and chuckle as he adds to his piled up store, the narrow pittance of the widow and the orphan. Yet when dragged down into poverty and distress, those whom he might have made blessed and happy, he left them at least the privilege of enduring and suffering together. If he tore away the last paltry coin from his starving debtor, he did not, at least, lacerate his back with stripes in answer to his appeals for mercy. But the slave-dealer—he demanded the payment of no debt—he tore away no gold from the hand of his victim. It was the heart which he made his prey—and ridded it of all love, all hope, all the bright joys of life. When the wretched father and family knelt before him, beseeching mercy and compassion, he did not coldly bid them go labour for their support, but wrenched them away from him forever. When the agonized mother wept before him, and he cast her prayer to the idle winds, it was not to petition that he should leave wherewith to provide bread for her children, but that he would leave only one, of all her infants, upon which to pour out the affections of her bereaved bosom. And what is the passion that urges him on in his career of inhumanity and crime? Avarice! mean, ruthless, soul-destroying avarice! The insatiable thirst of gold that roots every finer feeling from the bosom of the grasping miser—that steels the heart of the felon murderer—and prompts the abandoned “recker” to secure his spoil by plunging the knife into the heart of the shipwrecked mariner.

ELA.

the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

TO THOSE I LOVE.

Turn ye not displeas'd away, though I should sometimes seem

Too much to press upon your ear an oft repeated theme;
The story of the negro's wrongs is heavy at my heart,
And can I choose but wish from you a sympathizing part?

I turn to you to share my joy,—to soothe me in my grief—
In wayward sadness, from your smiles, I seek a sweet relief;
And shall I keep this burning wish to see the slave set free,
Locked darkly in my secret heart, unshared and silently?

I cannot know that all the chords, which give their magic tone
Like Memnon's harp, in music out, leath sunshine smiles alone,
Are torn by savage hands away from woman's bleeding breast,
And with their sweetness on my soul, my feelings keep repress!

If I had been a friendless thing,—if I had never known,
How swell the fountains of the heart beneath affection's tone,
I might have, careless, seen the leaf torn rudely from its stem—
But clinging as I do to you,—can I but feel for them?

I could not brook to list the sad sweet music of a bird,
Though it were sweeter melody than ever ear had heard,
If cruel hands had quenched its light, that in the plaintive song,
It might the breathing memory of other days prolong.

And can I give my lip to taste the life-bought luxuries wrung
From those on whom a darker night of anguish has been flung—
Or silently and selfishly enjoy my better lot,
While those, whom God hath bade me love, are wretched and forgot?

Oh no! So blame me not, sweet friends, though I should sometimes seem
Too much to press upon your ear an oft-repeated theme!
The story of the negro's wrongs hath won me from my rest,
And I must strive to wake for him an interest in your breast!

MARGARET.

SELECTIONS.

FREE LABOUR IN TRINIDAD.

“In the year 1814, a large British squadron, having on board a powerful land force, made a descent on different parts of the coast of the southern United States. During these expeditions, some hundreds of the American slaves joined the British standard by invitation. When the campaign was over, a difficulty occurred about disposing of these. It was at length determined to fix them in Trinidad, as *free labourers*. But an objec-

tion was started by the planters against receiving them. They were sure that no free negro would ever work for hire, and that therefore they would support themselves by plunder. Sir Ralph Woodford, the governor, however, resisted these prejudices. He received them into the island, and settled them where he supposed the experiment would be most safely made. The result has shewn his discernment. These men are now earning their own livelihood, and with so much industry and good conduct, that the calumnies originally spread against them have entirely died away. Their number in 1816, when they were settled, was 774, men, women, and children. The official return of the number of these settlers at the close of 1824, was 932, being an increase, in eight years, of 149, at the rate of about 2½ per cent. per annum; while the slaves in the same island have been decreasing at the rate of 2½ per cent. per annum. Mr. Mitchell, the superintendant of these free Negroes, himself a sugar planter, who had resided in Trinidad for 27 years, says, he knows of no instance of a manumitted slave not being able to maintain himself. Their easy circumstances rendering them independent, though they are ready to work for hire on sugar estates from sun-rise to sun-set, yet they will not submit to the toil of the slave, who in many instances, is forced to work 18 hours out of the 24. The manumitted slaves, who do not cultivate their own ground, generally work as journeymen tradesmen. They are generally observant of the marriage tie. The women are careful of their children, and feed and clothe them well; and they attend to their domestic concerns. The free settlers enjoy the rest of Sunday, and never work in their grounds; they generally hear a lecture from one of their preachers; and pass the rest of the day quietly,

"In the island of Trinidad, there are upwards of 15,000 free people of colour. There is not a single pauper amongst them. They live independently and comfortably, and nearly half of the property of the island is said to be in their hands. It is admitted by all, that they are highly respectable in character, and are rapidly advancing in knowledge and refinement."

It is stated in a recent communication from Trinidad, "that the most work is done by free blacks and people from the

main, at a much cheaper rate than by slaves, and as these are generally employed by the foreigners, this accounts for their succeeding better than our countrymen, who are principally from the old islands, and are unaccustomed to any other management than that of slaves; however, they are coming into it fast, and it is the general opinion, that if no importation is allowed, the slaves will soon give way to a free population."

EXTRACTS OF A LETTER

From the Presbytery of Chillicothe to the Churches under their care.

DEAR BRETHREN:

As those who must shortly give an account, we consider it our duty to address you, in regard to the following resolutions which, after mature deliberation, was passed unanimously at our meeting in September last—viz:

"Resolved, That buying or selling, or holding a slave, for the sake of gain, is a heinous sin and scandal, and requires the cognizance of the judicatories of the church." To one, who has but little acquaintance without our region, it would be natural to ask, what have the churches in Ohio to do with slavery? The assumption is, that in our land of freedom there are no slave-holders. Yet, scarcely a year passes without application for privileges in the churches of Ohio, by persons more or less involved in this sin. It is possible, that within our own bounds there may be professors of religion living on farms which were bought with the price of human flesh and blood; and there are others who derive a yearly revenue, from the hire of slaves left behind them in other States, in the hands of unprincipled men, who care neither for their souls nor their bodies, provided they obtain from their labours the wages of their hire. It is also well known, that unthinking persons are almost daily tempted by advertisements of large rewards, to seize, and restore slaves, who are escaping from bondage; notwithstanding the command, (Deut. 23. 15, 16.) in that to which slave-holders themselves, sometimes appeal: "Thou shalt not deliver unto his Master, the servant which is escaped from his Master unto thee; he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him." It may be, that there are among you, brethren, some who

ty in these matters, and yet impenitent. If so, the sin of slave-holding is not only the sin of our land, and of our church; but it is *our* sin. We wish to draw your attention to three points embraced in the resolution. We say—

I. That buying or selling, or holding a slave, for the sake of gain, is a heinous

We say nothing about cases of involuntary and unavoidable slave-holding, which do exist. We speak exclusively of that which, whatever else may be pretended, is, in fact, the offspring of covetousness, or the love of gain. We consider it unnecessary to prove that it is a sin to rob a fellow man of that liberty, which we generally profess to hold dearer than

On this subject, there is no diversity of sentiment among us. We hold it a self-evident truth, "that all men, by nature are, and of right ought to be, free." One with whom we have intercourse, either in the church, or out of it, is willing to be ranked with the enemies of universal liberty. Even the lordly owner of a hundred slaves, will tell you, that he hates the principle" of slavery. Much he delights in the practice of trading the bodies and souls of men, and denying them of their freedom; he hates the principle.

It is lamentable too, that those professors of religion who are most deeply immersed in the guilt of this sin, are often declaring, that they are conscientiously opposed to the "principle," and are loud in their lamentations, that an evil should prevail among us. Brethren, do you weigh the import of your own acknowledgment, that slave-holding is a sin? Do you realise that it is nothing more nor less than an acknowledgment that it is a transgression of God's holy law; that it exposes to the wrath of a sin avenging God, and that there is no forgiveness of it, but through the atoning blood of the Saviour? It would be an alleviating circumstance, if we could believe that the slave-holder pardoned no man's soul but his own. It is otherwise.

This sin is,

I. A scandal in the scriptural sense of the word; it is a stumbling block to others. If by things harmless in themselves, such as eating meat offered to idols, a christian might become chargeable with the blood of souls; much more may he cause others to stumble, by that which is, in itself, a transgression of

God's law. It requires but a limited acquaintance with the world around us, to perceive that it is the example of christian slave-holders, which keeps the slave-holding world in countenance. They are compelled to draw the inference, that either to trample on the rights of our neighbours, is consistent with the religion and example of Jesus, or that those professors who are doing so, are inconsistent with their profession, and they will sometimes draw one of these conclusions, and sometimes the other, just as they may find it convenient to quiet their own consciences, or give vent to their enmity against the cross of Christ. We say therefore, that,

III. This heinous sin and scandal requires the cognizance of the judicatories of the church. We mean, that Ministers and church judicatories ought to deal with this, as with any other sins and scandals—by preaching and other means of instruction; or by the exercise of discipline; or whatever means the Saviour has given us, for the purpose, they are bound to bring the guilty to repentance, or exclude them from the communion of the church. That the church ought thus to take cognizance of every thing which is heinously sinful and scandalous, is an axiom in Theology, which no well informed christian pretends to deny. But still there are objections: for there are those who will claim the privilege of lording it over the rights of their fellow men. To be able to live in sin because they love it, and because they think it profitable, and yet to have nothing with which to sooth the conscience, and quiet their fears, appears to be exclusively, the attainment of Devils. There is one plea which we feel ourselves bound to answer, or be silent on this subject. We are told that slavery existed in the days of the Apostles—slavery of a very frightful kind—the Master had power over the life of the slave, and the Apostles prudently said nothing about it. That this sin did prevail extensively in the world, in their days, we believe. If we had no evidence of this in history, we should consider it probable, that men who under the influence of pagan despots were up in arms of rebellion against the Almighty, would of course be trampling on each other's rights. Men who hate their Maker, cannot love one another: but, that the Apostles said nothing about slavery, or, that it was tolerated in the church, is most untrue; and we feel ourselves bound to show that it is false. We

cannot but remark, however, that it is painful to hear professed followers of Jesus, claiming kindred in their practice, with men, some of whom, were worshippers of Devils; and alleging a supposed silence of the Apostles, as a plea for living in that, which they themselves acknowledge to be a sin. It is this plea of supposed Apostolic example, and silence, which has, for ages, kept the consciences of slave-holders quiet; and sealed the lips of many Ministers on the subject, and in many parts of christendom, has riveted the chains of the poor African. In our remarks on this subject, let it be distinctly kept in view, we have not a word to say to Atheists, who deny the existence of any law of God, which forbids a man to deprive his neighbor of his rights; nor to reprobates, who deny that to trample on that law, is sin; nor to any man who refuses to be regulated by the Bible. Our concern is exclusively with those christians who acknowledge that slave-holding is a sin; but maintain, that owing to some peculiarity of circumstances, we should say nothing.

BLACK LIST

INTERNAL SLAVE TRADE.

Hear the wretched victims wailing—
Hear the clanking of their chains—
See the Hell-Ship swiftly sailing!
Cursed be her wicked gains!

The following is an extract of a letter to the editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, dated, Alexandria, Dec. 22d, 1830:

"The Brig *Comet*, Capt. Staples, (I believe,) of New York, sailed from this place on the 18th instant, with one hundred and seventy slaves on board, shipped by one House:—and the Brig *United States* is expected to sail in a few days, with more. Besides these, the Steamboat, nearly every week, carries a greater or less quantity to be shipped at Norfolk."

In the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, for last month, an extract from Lander's account of Clapperton's Expedition was inserted, giving a heart-piercing description of the sale, &c. of a negro girl. But what are we to think of ourselves, or what will others think of us, when it is considered that we tolerate the same system that gives rise to such horrible practices on the coast of Africa. This we positively do; for here, in these United States—these "*Free States*!"—scenes quite as affecting, and of a similar character, frequently occur. Here the children are torn from their parents, by the same cruel arts, and the same kind of hardened, soulless monsters. Here fathers have often sold

their own children, their ossified hearts possessing as little of the feeling of humanity as the most brutal barbarian upon earth!! Is this a "libel" upon my countrymen?—It is THE TRUTH!!!—*O tempora, O mores!*

The same letter, from which the foregoing extract is taken, gives an account of a daring attempt at kidnapping, as follows—The names of the villains are suppressed, as they are in the hands of the Law—

"An alarming attempt at kidnapping occurred here, a few days since, an account of which I perceive has not been noticed in the newspapers, probably for fear they might lose the advertising of "a few likely young Negroes," &c. The circumstances, as far as I have been able to learn, are these:

A Captain, whose name I have not heard, came to this market with slaves, having on board a free boy of colour. A man by the name of ——— either bought or helped to unload the schooner. After he had finished, he proposed to the boy to go with him, with an empty jug, to purchase some Whiskey, with which to treat the Captain. The boy complied, and followed him up town, as far as Franklin & Armfield's, to whom he offered to sell him for \$100, affirming that he was born a slave. They inquired if he was the owner. He said no, & repeated that the boy was a slave. They asked the owner's name, which was refused. They then asked his name; this he also refused. They then sent for an officer, who took him immediately before the Mayor for examination: as Messrs. F. & A. were determined not to be imposed upon, they employed a Lawyer to prosecute him. He is now in jail, as is also the Captain, to await their trial."

AN AWFUL PROSPECT!

The two following paragraphs, from Southern Papers, are momentous. But the only measure that we hear of being proposed, to obviate the danger, are of a piece with those projected by late tyrannical Ministers of the British & French Governments—THEY CONTINUE TO INCREASE THE CAUSE OF ALARM, INSTEAD OF REMOVING IT!! Do we need any better evidence that the pretensions of many of our high-faluting "Republicans" are hollow, and that more political reformation is absolutely requisite?

Domestic Slavery!!—The *New Orleans Argus*, of the 15th of November, states, that the brig *Ajax*, Bentall, had arrived there, from Norfolk, "*With a full cargo of Slaves!*"

Insurrection of Blacks.—On the 22d of October, a citizen of Plaquemine, (Louisiana,) received some information relative to a contemplated insurrection of the negro slaves. On the following day one or two companies of militia were ordered out, and succeeded in arresting several slaves—four of whom, on being interrogated and examined separately, testified that there were upwards of 100 negroes concerned in the plot, several of whom were free. The ringleaders were to be punished.

Genius of Universal Emancipation.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY B. LUNDY, IN THE CITIES OF WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

No. 11. VOL. I. THIRD SERIES.] FEBRUARY, 1831. [WHOLE NUMBER, 263, VOL. XI.

Correspondents, and the publishers of periodical works who exchange with the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, are requested to direct their letters, communications and papers, in future, to *Washington, D. C.*

One number more will complete the present volume of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. New subscribers, wishing to commence with the next volume, are requested to send in their orders immediately. Should any of those at present on the list decline, they are desired to signify their intention to the post masters, or to my agents, and thereby relieve me from the tax of postage. Remittances may be made, as usual, by mail (post paid) at my risk, and in the current *Bank paper* of the section of country in which the subscriber resides.

A few copies of the present volume may be had, complete, on immediate application, at the original price. The engravings, themselves, are worth the sum demanded for a volume.

THE "LIBEL."

Nothing further has yet been done in this momentous affair. My *Libelees* appear to be lying on their oars, waiting, probably, for a stronger popular breeze, or the anticipated popular sunshine of a more convenient season.

Wm. L. Garrison also informs me, that his friend Todd has neither demanded a compliance with the terms of his "bond," nor the forfeit of the "pound of flesh."

Our persecutors suddenly manifest a considerable degree of lenity, without even a show of repentance on our part! It is to be hoped they are about reforming themselves.

"THE LIBERATOR."

When the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* for the last month was issued, I had barely room to advert to the establishment of the above named work in Boston, the first number having just come to hand. Since that period I have received four numbers more; and instead of giving it a dry, old-fashioned "puff," I request every friend of our cause to immediately subscribe for it.

It will be remembered that, in August last, Wm. L. Garrison issued proposals to publish a paper under the same title, in the city of Washington. These proposals were extensively cir-

culated in the newspapers of the day. But soon afterwards, the prospect seeming rather hopeless, the project was abandoned. Arrangements were then made to open an office for the publication of this work, in Washington. It appears, however, that the experience which our friend Garrison has had in the *Anti-Slavery Vineyard*, has roused his spirit to action, in so much that he is quite unprepared to abandon the cause. He has now raised the standard of philanthropy in a quarter where (although public opinion may not at this moment admit the necessity) a genuine anti-slavery press was greatly needed.—And I rejoice to learn that there is a disposition in many to patronise his undertaking. I do sincerely hope that his truly laudable efforts will meet with the success they so eminently deserve.

He has associated a gentleman with him, in the publication of the paper, of the name of Isaac Knapp, whose zeal in the good cause is scarcely inferior to his own. He is a young man of sterling worth, and will be a valuable coadjutor in this holy enterprise.

The noble stand which these two champions in the cause of humanity have taken, will endear them to the true friends of the unfortunate African. The present generation, however, will not do them justice. If it gives them the wherewithal to live and labor in their vocation, it is all they must expect. If they hold on, their youth and manhood will be spent in facing the fiends of slander and persecution—but their old age will be cheered with the smile of an approving world. What glorious scenes have they before them! Let the heartless miser delight in piling up his hoarded treasures, like Pelion upon Ossa—Let the aspiring Demagogue list to the unmeaning huzzas of a thoughtless multitude, and revel in the moonshine of popular applause—Let the ambitious warrior glory in the crimson sheen of his burnished armorial, the sound of the prancing hoof, or the rush of the gory surge on the field of carnage—the cup of their pleasure is filled with the ingredients of woe; in a moment it becomes a very chalice to their lips; and anon themselves and their bliss and their fame are consigned to merited oblivion, or remembered with execration. But the less ostentatious and unpretending devotees of justice and philanthropy have a more broad and solid found-

dation whereon to build their hopes of happiness and fame. The perennial bloom of joy sheds its fragrance on their minds, and neutralises the gloomy shadowings of care. They sit quietly under the Vine of self-approbation and the umbrageous boughs of Divine favor, smiling at the impotent fierceness of the elements of human wrath, in commotion around them. They startle not at the roar of the angry thunder—they wink not at the lightening's keenest flashes—Though assailed by the showerings of the storm, they are subjected to nought but its vapoury peltings—the scathless rage of its own dissolving power. With undisturbed serenity of mind they digest the bread of peace and contentment, and their bowl is never drugged with the poison of self-condemning anguish. If they persevere unto the end, with honest intent and purity of purpose, they will not only be amply remunerated for all their toil and trouble, but the *value* of their reward will be incalculable.—When summoned to the bar of Eternal Justice, they will possess, in addition to the blissful treasure of Divine approbation, the highest human enjoyment,—the satisfaction of leaving behind them even an *earthly* immortality, that shall excite the admiration and praise, and likewise influence the moral and virtuous efforts of a grateful posterity.

But my limits will not permit me to say the thousandth part that I could wish, for the encouragement of these noble coadjutors in the sacred work of African redemption. Friends of humanity! hasten to their aid. Patronise them, not with mere *promises*, (as too many have “patronised” me,) but give them *substantial support*. They will deserve it, *richly* deserve it. I cannot ask any of my friends to *forsake me* for that purpose—it would be suicidal to my own publication—but I do earnestly recommend every one, that can afford it, to subscribe for the “*Liberator*.” Who can sufficiently admire the resolution of its proprietors? In a letter from W. L. Garrison, of a very recent date, he informs me that they have adopted the most economical system of supporting themselves and prosecuting their business; and he concludes with these emphatic words:—

“*We shall fare on bread and water, a long time, before we strike our flag. Whether we sink or swim, in this new enterprise, we shall remain the unyielding advocates of the poor slave.*”

Advocates of freedom! “fare,” of this sort, is not meet recompence for such charitable devotion. *I know what it is*. I have, myself, (when engaged in the same cause,) *fred* as humbly, while braving the rude blasts of winter, in the wilderness, with my knapsack and my staff:—and I repeat, it is *not* due recompence for an

honest labourer in such a field; neither can it be supposed that every one can endure it. All the citizens of the United States are interested in this matter; and, of course, all are in duty bound to *consider it*.

In conclusion, I quote several paragraphs from the editorial address, accompanying the first number of the “*Liberator*,” with the single additional remark: that I am glad to perceive neither *religious* or *political* controversy, of a sectarian or partizan character, in the numbers yet issued; and, also, that I trust nothing of the kind will appear in those to come.

TO THE PUBLIC.

In the month of August, I issued proposals for publishing “*THE LIBERATOR*” in Washington City; but the enterprise, though hailed in different sections of the country, was palsied by public indifference. Since that time, the removal of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* to the Seat of Government, has rendered less imperious the establishment of a similar periodical in that quarter.

During my recent tour for the purpose of exciting the minds of the people by a series of discourses on the subject of slavery, every place that I visited gave fresh evidence of the fact, that a greater revolution in public sentiment was to be effected in the free states—and particularly in *New England*—than at the south. I found contempt more bitter, opposition more active, detraction more relentless, prejudice more stubborn, and apathy more frozen, than among slave owners themselves. Of course, there were individual exceptions to the contrary. This state of things afflicted, but did not dishearten me. I determined, at every hazard, to lift up the standard of emancipation in the eyes of the nation, *within sight of Bunker Hill and in the birth place of liberty*. That standard is now unfurled; and long may it float, unhurt by the spoliations of time or the missiles of a desperate foe—yea, till every chain be broken, and every bondman set free!

* * * * *

I am aware, that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? *I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice*. On this subject, I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! no! Tell a man whose house is on fire, to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen;—but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—**AND I WILL BE HEARD**. The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal, and to hasten the resurrection of the dead.

It is pretended, that I am retarding the cause of emancipation by the coarseness of my invective, and the precipitancy of my measures. *The charge is not true*. On this question my influence,—humble as it is,—is felt at this moment to a considerable extent, and shall be felt in coming years—not perniciously but beneficially—not as a curse, but as a blessing; and posterity will bear testimony that I was right. I desire to thank God, that he enables me to dis-

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

regard "the fear of man which bringeth a snare," and to speak his truth in its simplicity and power.—And here I close with this fresh dedication:

Oppression! I have seen thee, face to face,
And met thy cruel eye and cloudy brow;
But thy soul-withering glance I fear not now—
For dread to prouder feelings doth give place
Of deep abhorrence! Scorning the disgrace
Of slavish knees that at thy footstool bow,
I also kneel—but with far other vow
Do hail thee and thy herd of hirelings base:—
I swear, while life-blood warms my throbbing
veins,
Still to oppose and thwart, with heart and hand,
Thy brutalising sway—till Afric's chains
Are burst, and Freedom rules the rescued land,—
Trampling Oppression and his iron rod:
Such is the vow I take—SO HELP ME GOD!

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

Boston, January 1, 1831.

COLORED PEOPLE IN PHILADELPHIA.

In the last number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, an extract of a letter from a friend in Philadelphia was inserted, giving an account of a meeting of the colored people to consider the propriety of forming an association to encourage the use of the productions of *free laborers*, in preference to those of slaves. In another letter, from the same gentleman, I have received the following report of a committee of the Free Produce Society of Philadelphia, relative to the proceedings of a second meeting for the same purpose.

"On the evening of the 20th of the 12th mo. (December) a very respectable assemblage of male colored persons took place at R. Allen's church, agreeably to the proposal made at the meeting on the 6th of the same month. The number present was estimated at about 500.—The sub-committee, (consisting of Dr. C. Noble and J. L. Pierce,) appointed at the last meeting of the committee for the purpose, met with them, accompanied by a few other individuals. The meeting was properly organized by the appointment of Ignatious Beck, chairman, and Charles Levick, and James Cornish, secretaries. A short address, which the committee had prepared for the occasion, was then read, and received with great attention and interest. A Constitution was presented by one of their number, which was read and unanimously adopted:—after which the names of such persons were called as felt desirous of joining the Society, when about two hundred and thirty names were attached to the Constitution. A committee was then appointed to select suitable candidates for the different offices of the Society, previously to their next meeting, and to procure other signatures to the Constitution. The meeting then adjourned."

The preamble to the Constitution of this association was prepared for insertion in this number of the *G. U. E.* but is, for want of room, laid over for the next.

DELAWARE CONVENTION.

From the proceedings of the Legislature of Delaware, as published in the *Wilmington papers*, it appears that body has authorized the call

of a *Convention*, to remodel the Constitution of the State.

Now is the time, for the opponents of the system of slavery to be up and doing. The Convention will meet on the second Tuesday in November next: and, consequently, no time should be lost in collecting facts, and preparing arguments, to submit to its consideration.

But the papers are silent upon the subject.—Where are the stout-hearted, the warm and philanthropic members of the Abolition Society of that State? Surely, we shall soon hear from them.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

As there is not the least probability of any step being taken in Congress, at the present session, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, I have postponed the insertion of several articles relative to it, intended for this number.—Some of them, however, will appear next month. A petition from Boston has been presented; and a few others will yet be handed in—enough, merely to keep the subject alive.—But *next session*—then, we hope, the friends of our cause will speak in *louder tone*.

MARYLAND LEGISLATURE.

A recent attempt has been made, in the Legislature of Maryland, to *prevent* the citizens from emancipating their slaves, except on condition of their leaving the State. Mr. BRAWNER and Mr. HICKS reported bills to that effect. They were, however, *rejected*. The ferocious beast of oppression rages, as though he were in the agonies of death!

KENTUCKY.

Two bills were lately before the Legislature of Kentucky, one of which is intended to prohibit the use of common jails for the traffickers in human flesh. The other provides that all slaves shall be free, after the 1st day of J next, who shall be brought into the state for . . . This is *striking at the root of the horri* . . . de.

More than a dozen editorial articles are in type, or prepared for it, which must lay over. A number of communications, and a great mass of selected matter (some of which is in type) must share the same fate.—*I have not room enough!*

A biographical notice of *John Woolman* was designed for this number, but is necessarily deferred to a future period.

From the Report of the Secretary of the Navy, it appears that the cost of removing 252 re-captured Africans from the United States to Liberia, (with the expenses of "providing sup-

port for the persons removed for some time after their arrival in the colony," amounted to the round sum of \$264,710 !! If President Jackson had placed these people under my care, and authorized me to settle them in *Hayti*, for that price, I should have *made a fortune* by it! Surely, our friend, Chilton, never looked into *this office of disbursement*. The hand of "*retrenchment*" and "*reform*" "approaches it not!

THE CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR.

I will, now, further briefly notice the propositions, copied from the above named work, in the last number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.—And, first, the writer says:—

"For the *existence* of slavery in the United States, those, and those only, are accountable who bore a part in originating such a constitution of society."

According to this idea, gambling, drunkenness, lewdness, and many other capital vices—even high-way robbery itself, may be considered as attaching *no blame* to the people of the present generation, because, forsooth, those vices originated with their predecessors! Is not this a rational interpretation of the proposition? Surely the writer will not contend that the simple enactment of human laws, is a fair criterion to judge of moral right and wrong!—And here we are presented with a strange display of consistency, when we consider the treatment of persons who are guilty of (no *not "guilty" of, but familiar with!*) such evil practices. They are denounced as scandalous and criminal, from the pulpit and the press.—They are shunned by the moral and the virtuous, as degraded and wicked beings.—Penal statutes are brought to bear upon them, not because they are blameworthy, but because their ancestors were!—Even the *gallows* is put in requisition, and some are doomed to expiate their *misfortunes* (not their crimes!) upon its awful threshold!!!

The writer acknowledges the *evils* of slavery; and he asserts that our predecessors, who originated the system, "must account to God for those crimes, and for the *natural results* of those crimes, through all generations." But this doctrine, which exonerates from blame the *living participants* in crime, and throws all accountability upon the original transgressors, who have long since received the reward of their demerits and ceased to interfere with earthly concerns, is, in my estimation, the most preposterous and dangerous that ever was broached. It most effectually shuts the door of reformation, so far as its influence extends, and aids powerfully to perpetuate vice and crime, without answering any good purpose whatever. It

is indeed astonishing, that intelligent men of the present day can adopt such a paradoxical and illogical course of reasoning—and more strange is it still, that eminent "divines," professing the holy religion of JESUS, shall suffer themselves to sanction theories so absurd, and arguments so totally at variance with the maxims of Christian philosophy. And it may be observed, that there is no class of men, from whose erroneous doctrines more harm is likely to result, than from theirs.

In his second proposition, the author of the article in question roundly asserts, that:—

"The Bible contains no explicit prohibition of slavery. It recognizes, both in the Old Testament and in the New, the existence of such a constitution of society; and it lends its authority to enforce the mutual obligations resulting from that constitution."

To this it will be almost impossible for me to reply, *at length*, in that spirit of courtesy that I wish to observe in discussing the subject with one whom I have long held in high estimation. I will, here, simply enter my *solemn protest* against the *opinion* thus advanced, and invite the writer to peruse the extracts from the letter of the Presbyterian Synod of Chillicothe, as well as the resolutions of the Synod of Indiana, which are inserted in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

The comparison instituted in the third proposition, between the Russian system of peasantry and the Chinese and Turkish despotisms, on the one hand, and American slavery, on the other, is totally inapplicable. Throwing aside all consistency of principle—all profession of christian virtue, on our part, and considering the different nations merely as "*heathens*," the Russians, the Chinese, and the Turks have (morally speaking) the advantage of us in the question. The slavery which they tolerate—referred to by this writer—is more *political* than *personal*. It is infinitely *less absolute* than that tolerated by us. In Turkey, it is true, a system of personal slavery exists; but it is less heinous in its nature than that in the United States or the European colonies. But the writer of the *Spectator* does not particularly advert to this. He notices the *political condition* of the people of the nations above enumerated, and compares it with that of hereditary, absolute, unconditional, *brutal* bondage, as practiced in our own country! What is the political condition of the people above mentioned? They have, among many other privileges, that of *locomotion*. They choose, they may leave their country and seek a home where they will be invested with all the rights and immunities of freemen. *Are slaves permitted to do this?* Let the thousand

of advertisements for runaways, which disgrace our newspapers, and their publishers, answer the question. And further, in those nations the persons alluded to are not considered as mere chattel property. Families cannot be forcibly separated, at the will of a haughty unfeeling tyrant, as they very often are in this country.

But I consider it unnecessary to pursue this part of the subject further. The intelligent reader will, I trust, perceive the inapplicability of the comparison, and, consequently, the fallaciousness of the reasoning based upon it. Far be it from me to justify any thing in the shape of *political tyranny*. No man upon earth is more opposed to it than I am. In the language of the day, I have ever considered myself a *democratic republican*. But I do consider personal slavery more heinous in its nature than political despotism, so far as the nature of both are understood, and the different terms are, by common consent, applied. And any attempt to confound them, argues either a want of reflection or a disingenuousness in an author.

I might say a great deal more upon the general subject before us.—Ancient records, sacred and profane, could, with all ease, be quoted to my advantage. But I consider that it would be a mere waste of time, in this instance.

As respects the censure bestowed upon my conduct, in advocating the cause of African Emancipation, I am prepared to meet it. It is but natural to expect it, if I perform my duty in promoting a reformation in the community. So blind and corrupt have many become, that nothing but the severest moral chastisement will have the least effect upon them. The "sons of Belial" and the "scribes and pharisees" of the present day, are the same sort of beings, in principle, that they were in the days of yore; and those who endeavor to expose them, with the view of correcting the abuses which they have introduced in society, must expect treatment similar to that which the prophets, apostles, and other reformers in days gone by, have uniformly met with. There are, also, *popularity-seekers* every where—in the pulpit, in the forum, in the cabinet, and in every private society. These will always set their faces against a wholesome denunciation of vice, or they will flatter, extenuate, and excuse the conduct of some such as practice it, provided they suppose it may redound to their advantage, ease, or pleasure. And whoever expects to make headway in the righteous cause of political, moral, or religious reformation, must put on the harness of iron, and shield himself with the breastplate of truth and unyielding courageous perseverance.

The writer, whose article I have thus briefly

commented on, has advanced nothing therein calculated to shake my faith in the principles I have long since embraced; and he is requested to excuse me for handing back to him the full amount of censure which he so liberally applied to me. And, in conclusion, I again recommend him to peruse, and also to weigh well, the arguments of his *Presbyterian brethren* of Ohio and Indiana, as before mentioned. The Indiana resolutions are appended to this article, and some further extracts from a letter of the Synod of Chilicothe will follow, in continuation of those heretofore inserted.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE SYNOD OF INDIANA.

"*Resolved*, That the buying, selling, or holding of a slave for the sake of gain, is a heinous sin and scandal, requiring the cognizance of the church judicatories—and whereas these sins prevail to an alarming extent in our nation, and in our church.—

"*Resolved*, That the third Thursday of January next be set apart as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, in view of the deplorable condition of the people of color in our land: that all the ministers and sessions under the care of this Synod, be requested to convene their respective churches and cry mightily to God, that he would not visit us in wrath, but would in mercy give repentance to such as are guilty of depriving their fellow men of their natural rights, and especially of the means of instruction and grace. And that I would, in his providence, point to, and prosper such means, as may speedily effect the release of the oppressed, and restore to them their rights and privileges, and at the same time, secure the peace and prosperity of our church and nation.

"*Resolved*, That J. Crothers, J. H. Dickey, and Wm. Graham, be a committee to correspond with other Synods and individuals, to call forth, if possible, such an expression of public sentiment on this subject as shall induce the judicatories of the church to attend and to take such steps as shall finally remove the evil from the church.

EXTRACTS OF A LETTER

From the Presbytery of Chilicothe to the Churches under their care.

(CONTINUED.)

We remark,

I. If it be true that the Apostles said nothing about slave-holding, that fact ought to put an end to all controversy about it. All *orthodox* christians maintain, that Apostolick example is just as obligatory, as Apostolick precept. It is by the example of the Apostles, and churches under their care, that we are taught many of the important truths and duties which we believe and practice every day. If it can be proved that they maintained an habitual silence on the point in question, that fact ought to seal the lips of every minister and christian on the subject; and every one who would open his mouth against slavery, ought to

be dealt with immediately as a scandalous person.

II. To admit that slave-holding is a sin, and then maintain that the Apostles, from prudential motives, said nothing against it, is absurd in itself. It is just saying that they permitted their hearers to die unwarned in a damning sin: and to call this prudence, is only to give ministerial unfaithfulness a christian name. How did they come to say nothing about it, if they knew it to be a sin? Was the Popish notion of venial sins so fashionable among them, that they considered it a matter of no consequence whether men repented of it or not? Or, did they suppose that their hearers were naturally so prone to repent of this sin that it would be a matter of course; or did they suppose it would be time enough, when they would get to Heaven? We read in the the New Testament, of their requiring of christians, to abandon things which were in themselves innocent, and to deny themselves of some important privileges, from motives of prudence or expediency; and to say that they ever counted it imprudent to abandon sin, or to tell men to do so, is just as foolish as it is wicked. We care not what you tell us of the peculiarities of their situation; it is in the face of all peculiarities, that God has said: "Thou shalt in any wise reprove thy neighbor, and not suffer sin upon him." And again, "when I say unto the wicked, thou shalt surely die, and if thou givest him not warning, nor speakest to warn the wicked from his wicked way, to save his life, the same wicked man shall die in his iniquity, but his blood will I require at thine hand." But what was there in their situation, so peculiar? The most imposing account of the matter is this: "In the time of the Apostles, slavery was every where, in Pagan countries, established by law—the rulers, and the great body of the people were slave-holders; and in order that christianity might obtain a footing and keep its ground, the Apostles prudently said nothing about holding slaves.

III. We consider this a gross slander on the Apostles, and the religion which they preached. No man of plain common sense, can look such a statement fairly in the face, without being confounded by its impiety and impudence. We know that the Jesuits undertook to convert idolators by meeting them half way. We know that Mahomet made proslytes,

by putting polygamy and many abominable sins on the list of virtues. We know that Pagans succeeded in propagating their systems, by accommodating them to the taste of adulterers and drunkards. But it was reserved for the advocates of slavery to tell us that even the Apostles succeeded, in propagating the religion of Jesus, by compromising with the lusts of slave-holders. Thus the Apostles must be put on a level with the vilest impostors; and the religion which is from above, must claim kindred with some of the worst systems on earth, and in one of their meanest features. But who does not know, that one of the distinguished features of christianity, and one of her chief glories, is, and always has been, her pure, uncompromising spirit. Nothing so confounded infidels in the first ages of the christian church, as the fact, that a religion which frowns upon every impurity in man, and requires the absolute abandonment of every sin, should, in a few years, through the preaching of plain and honest fishermen, be able to number, among her sincere followers, almost whole provinces of those who were once the vilest of men. They were constrained to acknowledge, that it was the Lord's doing, and marvellous in their eyes. But there is not so much mystery in the matter, if it be true, that the Apostles bribed the world into friendship, by an undisturbed permission to make slaves of their neighbors.

Is it credible, that under a proper sense of responsibility to their master, they should preach against every other sin, and yet habitually avoid telling any man that it was a sin to make a slave of his brother? Can we believe, that while they endeavored, by the exercise of discipline, to banish every other sin from the church; the sin of buying and selling and holding their brethren in slavery, was permitted, like the "sacred bulls" among the worshippers of Juggernaut to come and go as it pleased; and even when they found it in the church travelling on the hope of salvation, they would not disturb it, lest the powers of darkness should rise and drive them out of their coasts? We have heard of Pagans who sometimes worshipped the devil merely to keep him quiet. But that the Apostles kept the enemies of the cross quiet, by tenderness towards their favorite sin, is a slander, which for originality and malignity, has no parallel.

We appeal to the whole history of the Apostles—to their behaviour in every instance, in which the will of man came in competition with the will of God. If the spirit of christianity be such a trimmer, how do you acquit the Apostles of folly, in suffering so much persecution; and in dying on crosses and gibbets?—We know why they were persecuted, and why they died martyrs. Wherever they saw sin, they would call it by its own name; and wherever they saw a soul in danger of being ruined by it, they would speak out, though suffering, and even death should be the consequence.

IV. To say, that the Apostles said nothing about slavery, is contrary to fact. They preached against it wherever they found it. This is quite susceptible of proof, though not one of their sermons can be produced. What did they preach? This question is answered by deciding another. What did the Saviour send them to preach? They were sent to preach the gospel. More particularly—their commission was, to preach in his name, repentance and remission of sins. Of what sins did they tell all men in the name of Jesus to repent? For what sins did they tell them they would find remission in the Saviour's blood? Or did they purposely preach these things so entirely in the gross that their hearers could not possibly understand the particulars? We have heard preachers reprimanded for preaching against slavery, by reminding them that they had better preach the gospel—as if preaching the gospel, were preaching unintelligibly; or, as if preaching repentance and pardon for a particular sin, were not preaching the gospel. If the Apostles carefully (or if you please prudently) concealed from those who were guilty of claiming power over the lives and liberties of their fellow men, that they had offended God, and if they never told them there was pardon for them bought with the Saviour's blood, how do you acquit them of the charge of treason against their Master, or of unfaithfulness to the souls of men.

Let us hear the Apostle Paul's account of his own preaching, in his farewell address to the elders of Ephesus. After reminding them that he had taught them publicly, and from house to house, testifying, both to Jews and Greeks, repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ; and after assuring them that they would see his face

no more; he adds: "Wherefore I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men. For I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God." Are we to be told that when the Apostle made this solemn appeal, the fact was staring him in the face, that in his whole life he had never told a man that he must repent of the sin of enslaving his neighbor; and that in the last day every soul to whom he had preached would rise up and tell him that throughout his whole ministry he had uniformly shunned to declare that part of God's counsel, which relates to the sin of slave holding, and all that part of his counsel which relates to the pardon of that sin, through the blood of his son. O Brethren! it is a bad cause which cannot be defended without such "girds" at the Apostles.

V. The Apostles do condemn slavery in their epistles, and in every one of them.

To prove this would be evidently gratuitous, were it not that professors are never more inconsistent, than when advocating this sin. They themselves acknowledge that it is a sin, and of course contrary to the Bible; for none but infidels have the impudence to pretend to know what is contrary to the will of God, without the Bible. They are ready to acknowledge, at any time, that to hold a neighbor in slavery is sin, and they insist that they are conscientiously opposed to the principle! And they will lament, as long and as loud as you can have patience to hear them, that such an evil should exist among us. If you enquire how they can live in a sin to which they are so conscientiously opposed; they will tell you a great deal about necessity, and their unfortunate situation. But lest their having nothing better than the "*tyrant's plea*," should make you question their religion, they will undertake to prove to you from the Bible that it is no sin at all; and of course, so far as religion consists in being conscientious, they have even more of it than the scriptures require. It appears too, that the sole object of their efforts to make the Apostles dumb on the subject of slavery, is to prove by their dumbness, that to live in what they acknowledge to be a sin, is really no sin. They are willing to be shamefully inconsistent with themselves, they are willing that the Apostles should be like those watchmen whom the Prophet Isaiah styles dumb dogs that cannot

bark; they are willing to risk the consequence of dying without repentance, and without asking forgiveness of an acknowledged sin; but they are not willing to part with their slaves.*

* To appeal to the law of Moses to justify slavery, as it exists among us, betrays either great ignorance of that law, or great want of common honesty. The term "slave" is not found in the Old Testament, excepting, in Jer. 2. 14. and there it is a mere *supplement* inserted by the translators. It is useless to labor, as some have done, to prove that the lust for slave-holding did exist in Israel; and that they sometimes deprived their neighbors of their just freedom.—The very threatenings of God's wrath, on account of that sin, sufficiently establishes the fact. But to make the wickedness of the church the interpreter of the Bible, or the rule of our faith, is setting up a worse pope than the one at Rome. By attending to Lev. 25. and Deut. 15, &c., we may ascertain what kind of servitude the law allowed in Israel. It appears from these, and other passages, to have been common, both for Israelites and Heathens, to become poor, and to be sold. But there was to be a great difference between them. The Hebrew servants must not be ruled with rigour; that is, they must not be put to drudgery or menial offices. They must be as companions in the family; or as hired servants or sojourners. They must not serve more than six years: In the seventh year, and in the year of jubilee, they must go out free, liberally furnished by their masters. But the bond servant, from the Heathen, might be made to serve with rigour—He might be sold or inherited, as any possession or property; and he must serve until the year of jubilee. But how are we to understand (Lev. 25. 46.) "they shall be your bond men forever." All, except Universalists, understand "forever," as a definite term, whether it mean eternity, or a limited portion of time. If it be here used to define the duration of this statute, it means the whole of the Jewish dispensation; but if it define the length of the bond man's service, it means the period of servitude which the law of Moses prescribed (*viz:*) fifty years; or from one jubilee to another. That the year of jubilee, cleared the land of every thing like bondage, will be admitted, by every one who is not the dupe of a theory or something worse. "And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof; it shall be a jubilee unto you, and ye shall return every man to his possession, and ye shall return every man to his family." (Lev. 25. 10.) It was required (Isa. 5. 6.) that all bonds of wickedness should be loosed, and that the heavy burdens should be undone, that the oppressed should go free, and that every yoke should be broken. This jubilee which commenced on the day of atonement, was the type of that acceptable year of the Lord, which was to be ushered in by the Messiah's great atonement, when the gospel was to be preached to every creature, proclaiming spiritual liberty to all the captives of sin, and the opening of the prison doors to all that were bound. It is not strange that the Old Testament abounds with threatenings against those who would not, when they heard the sound of the jubilee trumpet, break every yoke. Such men were doing what they could to make the jubilee a false type of

the gospel jubilee. They were holding up to the world a heresy in regard to the merit of Messiah's atonement, and the extent to which salvation should be offered to sinners.

There was another regulation which prevented the land of Canaan from wearing the gloom of a land of bondage. The law of circumcision and the passover required of the Israelites, that the man bought with money should be admitted to the ordinances; unless, perhaps, he refused or was somehow disqualified. In that case, he was cut off from the congregation of Israel. A man who became a proselyte of righteousness, by admission to these ordinances, was to all intents and purposes an Israelite. He was a child of Abraham, a servant of the living God, and an heir of the promises.

It is to this change in the condition of a heathen, that allusion is made by the term adoption, which, like most technical terms in the New Testament, is Jewish in its origin, and is to be explained by a reference to the law and customs of Moses. Whenever the bond man was proselyted, he was entitled to all the privileges of a Hebrew servant. The Apostle (Rom. c. 8. v. 15) seems to compare the case of christians, who go back to the law for justification, to that of a proselyted servant, who by apostacy from the religion of Abraham, is thrown back into the state of a bondman.—"Ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear." Thus it appears, that excepting when persevering enmity to the God of Israel kept the bondman in bondage, a bondman according to the law of Israel was rarely seen; a slave never.

It would often be amusing, if it excited no feelings inconsistent with amusement, to hear one who is a slaveholder from covetousness, appeal to the Jewish law. When you introduce the subject of slavery, he will assure you, that "there is no difference between us as to *principle*." If you insist there is considerable difference, at least as to practice, he will remind you that slavery is a very *delicate* subject—one on which it is not prudent to talk much. If you contend that it is not more imprudent to talk about a thing than to practice it every day, he will quote Lev. 25, 46, as the charter under which he holds his slaves, and perhaps remind you that this is that ancient law, under which David, and some of the best of men lived, and perhaps inform you, that it was veneration for that ancient law, which induced him to practice somewhat differently from that principle in our venerated declaration of independence, [*viz:*] "that all men are born equally free." Ask him how he can live in the neglect of circumcision and the passover, and he will tell you that these things belong to the law of Moses, and that law is abrogated. Ask him why the baptism of slaves produces no change in their situation, contrary to the spirit of the Jewish law, and why they are never gladdened with the sound of the jubilee trumpet, he will tell you again, with considerable surprise at your ignorance, that these things belonged to the law of Moses, and that law was abrogated long ago. If you inquire how then, as an honest man, he can appeal to an abrogated law for authority to hold his fellow men in slavery, he will tell you with some warmth, that his slaves cost him money, and that they are his property by the laws of the land, and no man shall take them from him. Thus when the ostensible reason fails, you will get the true one.

LADIES' REPORT
Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

FREE COTTON SOCIETY.

Our friends of the Philadelphia Free Cotton Society, still hold steadily on in their course of usefulness, noiseless, but gradually enlarging the bounds of their practical utility. Our hearts are much with them, and we earnestly hope their designs may prosper to the extent of their wishes.

BENEVOLENT EDUCATION SOCIETY.

The object of the association, "for the instruction of colored women," which has been recently organized among some of the females of Philadelphia, is a highly commendable one, and we do most heartily wish them encouragement and success. It gives us so much pleasure to know of any efforts made to rescue this injured race from the thrall of ignorance and debasement, that prejudice has so unkindly cast around them, we cannot do otherwise than bestow our cordial approbation upon such a scheme. It is gratifying too to know, that those who have come forward upon this mission of benevolence, are among the youthful of the sex;—some of them just entering upon a world whose pleasures yet wear to them an aspect of dream-like beauty, and who have never themselves tasted of the bitterness of life, that experience should teach them compassion for the hard lot of others. It is a token of better prospects for the children of Africa, when such as these will voluntarily resign a portion of that which youth too often devote merely to vanity and transitory enjoyment, to what many would think the dull and patience-wearing task of confounding into their benighted minds the elementary principles of knowledge. We hope, and believe, that their labour of benevolence will be rewarded by its usefulness to themselves. Occasional employment in the manner they have chosen, is well calculated to subdue the restlessness of vagrant imaginations, and to discipline the mind to its high and true standard of enjoyment and usefulness.

ficient to effect a *ready sale*, will soon enable the advocates of this cause to come into market upon at least as good terms as others possibly can. Perseverance will certainly ensure success.

CONSUMERS.

"The enormous crimes and miseries inseparable from the system of slave cultivation have at length been fully exposed; henceforth the guilty responsibility of slave-holding rests with the consumer of slave produce. Let conscience therefore do her office, and fix the conviction of blood-guiltiness in our own bosoms."

That if there were no consumers of slave produce there would be no slaves, is an axiom too self-evident to the meanest capacity, to require us to use a single argument in its demonstration. But that the class of consumers share equally in the guilt of slavery with those who are the more immediate upholders of the system, will not probably, by the multitude, be so readily admitted. Even while they acknowledge themselves to be the main supporters of this scheme of oppression, they would exonerate themselves from any portion of its turpitude; as if it were possible for them to be innocent of a crime of which they are wilfully the cause! Can they employ another in the commission of evil, enjoy the advantage of his villiany, and yet suppose that the stain of iniquity clings only to him who was but the agent of their will? Were they disinterested reasoners, we think such would not be their decision. Their own hands do not, it is true, wield the blood-extorting lash, or rivet the fetter, but they know that it is done by others, in order to afford at the cheapest rate the luxuries which they will neither resign, nor make one exertion to obtain from the hands of freemen. They have no hesitation in branding the trafficker in human flesh with the stigma of shame and cruelty; but while they would not for the universe engage personally in the exercise of so much barbarity, they will not relinquish one single iota of the comforts it procures for them. Is this consistency? Is such fastidiousness the result of humanity;—or has it not rather, if fairly examined, its root in mere selfishness? Their education has unfitted them for mingling actively in scenes of cruelty, they would sicken and shudder at the sight of wantonly shed blood, and the agonizing cries of a breaking heart would frighten sleep from their pillows, or were like a haunting spirit to their dreams. Is it so vastly meritorious, then, to consign to other hands what would be revolting to their feelings? Or may such sensibility claim its spring from the nobler principles of beneficence and justice, while they un-

A letter from one of the members of the Philadelphia Free Cotton Society, dated 1st mo. 11th, informs that many articles are now manufactured in Philadelphia, from free cotton, and at cheaper rates than heretofore. This furnishes satisfactory evidence that a demand, suf-

hesitatingly receive from the hands of another, that which they have not *verre* enough to obtain for themselves? Let them remember when they execrate the enormities of the slave system, that it is themselves who hold out the inducements for their perpetration. Guilty as the slave holder may be, let them not flatter themselves that he alone is guilty. To them the criminality and hideousness of slavery are clearly discernable. But he is mentally benighted. The bribe which they have given him, the unrighteous mammon, hath "perverted his judgment." He is compassed about with the iron bands of prejudice,—he fancies that to break the fetters of his slaves would be to insure his own ruin. — But it is the purchasers of his ill gotten produce who have woven around him this filmy web of prejudice. Let them but make it his interest to be just, and his moral perceptions will be clear as the day light. Emancipation will no longer appear to him a visionary scheme, ruinous and impracticable. His opinions will be grounded on wiser and juster reasoning, and he will make haste to render back their liberty to those from whom he has so long withheld it. He who clings with so tenacious a grasp to his gathered stores of human wealth, while we hate his crime, may claim our pity for his self delusion and his unhappy situation. But what have those to advance in behalf of their heartless conduct, who, with the full light of conviction around them, obstinately persist to abet him in his error? Nothing, absolutely nothing, beyond the miserable and even criminal plea of self-convenience, or a disinclination to encounter a trivial portion of salutary self-denial!— And they, who can so lightly weigh their own gratification against the intolerable anguish of their sister's lot,—who count the sacrifice of a few paltry luxuries, too vast a ransom for the redemption of thousands and tens of thousands of their fellow creatures from a fate of servitude and darkness, are the good, the amiable, and the gentle of the earth. Such a maze of inconsistency is the human heart! We could fling away the pen and weep in very shame and bitterness for the hard-heartedness of our sex. One would suppose that the bare knowledge of the terrible price at which those cherished comforts have been procured, would cause a woman to turn shuddering and loathingly away as though they were infected with a taint of blood. And the curse of blood is upon them! Though the dark red stain may not be there visibly, yet the blood of all the many thousands of the slain who have died amid the horrors and loathsomeness of the slave ship—been hurled by capricious cruelty to the yawning wave, or sprang to its bosom in the madness of their proud

dispair—of those who have pined away to death beneath the slow tortures of a broken heart—who have perished beneath the tortures of sensitive tyranny, or on the ignominious gibbet—of this lies with a fearful weight upon the soul and unnatural system, and that insatiable thirst for luxury and wealth in which it first originated and by which it is still perpetuated.

THE INFLUENCE OF SLAVERY ON THE FEMALE CHARACTER.

This is not one of the least important points of view, in which we are all called upon to examine the effects of slavery. On the right formation of the female character depends so much not only of her own happiness, but of the well-being of all who are nearly connected with her, that whatever circumstances possess the power of moulding her mind and habits, imperatively demand a careful examination. The debasing effects of slavery on those who are its victims are too painfully obvious to require a portrait. On these therefore we need not dwell, but we turn at once to their fairer, and more fortunate sisters.

It is on all sides acknowledged that the domestic circle is the proper sphere of woman. We do not say that her talents and influence should be confined within these boundaries, but however beneficially they may be felt abroad, her homebred usefulness forms no part of her character, be her claims on our respect and admiration what they may, she fails of one half of perfection. A knowledge of 'household' goods is one of the most essential branches of tertiary education. "I will venture to affirm," says the venerable Hannah More, "that let a woman know what she may, yet if she knows not it she is ignorant of the most indispensable, and most appropriate branch of female knowledge." It is not in the fair, fluttering thing of fashion the beautiful wonder and admiration of the hour, lovely though she may be, and possibly even gifted with high attainments of mind and character, that we are to look for the true standard of female excellence. "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon," is not a more undeniable obligation, than that woman cannot at once satisfy the demands of fashionable and domestic life. They are wholly incompatible with each other, and whatever is yielded to the importunity of the one, detracts from the power of satisfying the claims of the other. In deciding this destiny of our country-women in unfitting them to the calm pleasures of domestic life, and leading them into the tumultuous vortex of folly and vanity—in giving them an education of showy accomplishments, instead of cultivated mind and well regulated tempers—in teaching them the wish to shine, rather than the ambition

useful—the desire of wealth and expensive pleasures, rather than intellectual advancement—in leading them to prefer the uneasy excitement of a crowd, to the quiet enjoyment of books, retirement, and rational conversation—the flattery and admiration of the many, to the sober approbation of the few—in teaching them to consult rather their inclinations than their duty—to follow the dictates of fancy or caprice instead of reflective judgment—we believe the slave system will be found a powerful agent. Those who have been accustomed from youth to the ready service of dependents, rarely acquire habits of industry and extensive usefulness. The mind as well as the body sinks into habits of listless indolence, and is suffered to remain inactive and unoccupied, or fritters away its noble energies in the trifling excitements of vanity and fashion.—Wealth becomes of immense importance as the means of supporting her extravagance and of rivalling or eclipsing her competitors in their course of folly; her responsibility—her high nature as a rational creature are almost forgotten and unheeded; anxious rather to outshine her equals in their petty distinctions of splendour and display, than to raise those who are beneath her to a higher standard of intellectual and moral worth, she learns to trifle away the loan of her existence, and to waste in selfish gratifications, the thousands that have been wrung from the most odious injustice from the hand of the rewarded toil. Thus with a heart undisciplined by self control, a mind enervated by frivolous pursuits, and a temper accustomed to the indulgence of all its humours, how frail is the bark of her happiness! How imperfectly is she calculated to fill the station and perform the duties assigned her by the hand of Providence. Prosperity, a thing, it may be, of beauty and grace, but of unsubstantial endowments—in adversity without support, and without resource, she is in neither performing the duties of a contented christian. Nor is the evil we speak of confined to that district to which slavery is limited. The frequent intercourse between the inhabitants of the different states, gives a ready admission to manners and habits. The ladies of the north imitate those of the south, and a madness for show, ornament and extravagance, prevails almost to the exclusion of a desire for the better health of substantial acquirements and moral excellence, invades all classes of society.

MENTAL METEMPSYCHOSIS.

Could we but persuade those with whom we had, in behalf of the slave, to imagine themselves for a few moments in his very circumstances, to enter into his feelings, comprehend

all his wretchedness, transform themselves mentally into his very self, they would not surely long withhold their compassion. Let them feel the heart-brokenness of being separated from all they love—take the long last glance at all that is dear to them, and while the brain is reeling and the hot brow throbbing with agony, know that their sufferings excite only the heartless jest, or the brutal curse—let the fetter lie with its wearing weight upon their wrists, as they are driven off like cattle to the market, and the successive strokes of the keen thong fall upon their shoulders till the flesh rises in long welts beneath it, and the spouting blood follows every blow—let them go day after day with their sick hearts to their unceasing and hopeless toil, fainting beneath the hot sun, or exposed to all the pitiless beating of the elements—let them yield up their hearts again for a while to the gentle influences of affection, till they feel almost as if there was yet something like to happiness in their lot, and then know suddenly that they are to gaze no more upon their beloved objects forever—let them enter into the desolateness of that moment; stand alone and forsaken in the world; without religion, without a friend in earth or heaven, to whom they may turn for consolation in their hour of trial: with no kind accents to sooth, no hope to cheer them—oh! would they but endeavor to realize the bitterness of such a lot, surely, surely, they would rush to the rescue of the thousands who are agonizing beneath its endurance.

LITERARY.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

SADNESS.

Shine not on me oh, moon! with the weak light
Of thy still beauty; mocking the turmoil
Of this tumultuous and jarring world
With thy serenity, as if she were
Thy satellite, and thou did'st deem it scorn
To let her passions move thee. I am sad—
And how may I have fellowship with thee,
Thou thing of perfect brightness? If the clouds
That sometimes pass athwart thy lovely brow,
And shadow it as with a pensive thought,
Were round about thee now, with thy mild veil,
I would not turn from gazing;—but, away.—
Thou art too brilliant for a tearful eye!
And mine is dim in sympathy and shame,
For the heart broken, and the guilty ones,
Of my star-banner'd land.

The blessed breeze!

How most deliciously its coolness comes,
With its soft stealing touch to charm away
The slow dull fever of my heavy brow;
And as I close beneath it my wet lids
To dry away their tears.—Yet is't not strange,
How lightly it bears its load of sighs!
Why 'tis from the soft south—the guilty south!
Where those who should lift up a free, clear brow
To the brave light of Heaven, go bending down

The clouded forehead, neath the heavy shame
Of painful fetters, to the very grave.
How, then, light thing of music, how can'st
thou

Come thus, all gladness, from the burial place
Of the hearts best affections? Did'st thou not
A moment check the fluttering of thy wing,
To listen to the voice of woman's grief,
Lamenting for her lost ones?—Hence with
thee?—

Thou seem'st to me as thou wert made of sighs,
And the beseeching breath of wasted prayers,
Poured out to hearts that knew not how to
feel!

Wo for man's selfishness! I will go in
And cover up my brow in the dull light
As with a mourner's garment.

MARGARET.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE TEARS OF WOMAN.

AN ALLEGORY.

The Angel of Justice stood before the
throne of the Most High. Father, said
she, behold the creatures whom thou hast
made. Lo! the children of earth have
lifted up their hearts to oppression, their
hands are full of wrong and violence,
and they have laden their brother with
heavy fetters, that he might be to them
a bondman forever. I called unto them
—I warned them of the evil of their
way, but they refused to hearken to my
voice; give me therefore my sword, oh,
Father! that I may smite them from be-
fore thy face.

Oh, not yet my sister! exclaimed the
pleading tones of a sweet voice:—and
the young Angel of Philanthropy bowed
himself beside her, and looked up from
the midst of his fair curls with a face filled
with beseeching earnestness. Not yet,
beloved sister, said he, do thou unsheath
thy sword for vengeance. I will descend
to the earth by thy side and plead with
the erring one for his unhappy brother.
I will win for thee an offering of peni-
tence from the hearts of the guilty, and
with thy blade break asunder the heavy
fetters of the slave. The eyes of the
beautiful boy were suffused with tears
while he addressed her, and mercy bent
over him as he turned towards the heav-
enly throne, joining her appealing glance
to his petition.

It was well nigh to eventime. The
sunlight fell in yellow gleamings through
the branches on the gliding waves of the
stream beside which the Angel of Justice
stood leaning on her empty scabbard.—
She was watching with a calm eye the
eager and untiring efforts of philanthropy,
as he strove to free the shackled limbs
of a sad group who wept before him.—

He called on man to aid him in his exer-
tions. He pointed to the threatening
attitude of Justice, as she lifted up her
stately brow and stretched out her hand
with a stern glance towards the sun,
whose setting was to be *her* signal. But
prejudice and selfishness were strong in
the human heart, and they to whom the
earnest appeal was sent, gazed on idly for
a few moments, and departed. Already
the hand of Justice was extended to re-
sume her blade, and her eye bent in
lowering anger on the impenitent oppres-
sor. Yet still the unwearied boy, with
the passionate earnestness of approaching
despair, steadily persisted in his exertions,
though his eye at times grew dim, and
his heart sick, as his repeated entreaties
were again and again answered by the
same cold repulse. Then he called on
woman. He pointed to her sister—suffer-
ing—degraded—miserable—and stretch-
ing out her manacled hands to *her* for suc-
cour. The call was heard. Slowly, and
with uncertain steps, and eyes half aver-
ed from the sad spectacle before her,
woman approached him. Her heart was
touched with the wrongs of the injur-
ed ones, but she felt that her arm was weak
and her strength powerless; and bowing
down her head, she wept in pity and
sorrow over the objects of her compassion.
But her aid was not in vain. The tears
she shed rusted the chains on which they
fell!—and the exulting shout of the young
Angel, as he again snatched up the sword
of Justice, rung like a victorious battle-
cry upon the ear of the oppressor.

MARGARET.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THINK OF THE SLAVE.

Think of the slave in your hours of glee.

Ye who are treading life's flowery way,
Nought but its rankling thorns has he,

Nought but the gloom of its wintry day.

Think of the slave in your hours of woe—

What are your sorrows to that he bears?
Quenching the light of his bosom's glow,

With a life-long stain of gushing tears.

Think of the slave in your hours of prayer.

When wordly thoughts in your hearts are
Offer your thanks for the bliss ye share,

But pray for a brighter lot for him.

AGNES.

FEMALE SCHOOL IN LIBERIA.—The Female Colonization Society of Richmond and Manchester has taken incipient measures to establish a Female School in Liberia. Had it better establish a similar school for free colored females, in Richmond and its vicinity?

Liberator

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

It is thy favorite season, Coz. The gorgeous clouds of sunset have almost departed, and the air has grown dim amidst its perfect tranquillity, like a starry eve whose brightness hath been shadowed by the depth of a delicious feeling.— Come let us go abroad and stand upon that old bridge thou wot'st of, where we may watch the still shadows that lie on the smooth deep places of the stream, and the flashing ripples that go on singing to the gentle light. Or, if thou sayest, we will take the wood path, that leads over the scattered stones of yonder drawling gullet, to where the green sod slopes away nearly to the waters edge from the heaped up pile of webs, and the old half burnt tree stands in its bleakness as a solitary watcher in the solemn twilight. Is it not pleasant to be so together in the gentle hush, while indistinct shadings of happiness come over the heart, and the soft dimness upon the clinquant waters?—and, look, friend, seest thou not under bright spark—the star thou lovest a beautiful and lonely thing in the blue heavens, shining like a far seen beacon, to summon all hearts to the gathering place of prayer! The wild bird catches the light of its pale beams as he hurries homeward to his nest, and its first twinkling ray is the signal that

Summon's "home the bee,"
And sets the weary laborer free

in his day long task of industry. Oh, there is gladness of spirit in the twilight for to those who are indeed free, and who may eat in fearlessness of heart, amidst their band of loved and loving ones, the bread, which they have wrung with a strong sinew from the earth.— What matters it that, from the rising to the setting of the sun, they may have put their limbs to the service of another? The twilight brings them their reward, and they go onwards to their humble homes with an unstooping mein, and the blessed consciousness that no hand dare invade the privileges of their home sanctuary. But the slave—how may he lift a glad eye to yon bright messenger? Release from toil, if release indeed it brings him, lifts not the heavy yoke of servitude from off his neck, nor gives to his heart one delightful throb of security and happiness. He too may have a home, a wife, and a smiling group of young ones, yet happy amid their child-ignorance, who have been wont to

meet his returning step with the fond name of father. But the threshold and the hearth stone that he left at the early dawn, surrounded by faces of glad innocence, may now be stripped and desolate, or echo back from its solitary walls only the sad voice of maternal lamentation. He knows not but to-morrow's sun may find him a far distant wanderer, torn away from all the breathing affections of his bosom, and transferred to another master and another scene, as reckless as though his heart were pulseless as the unsuffering clod. May the peacefulness of the pure twilight impart its tranquillity to his bosom—or sooth with its tender light the darkness of his fate? Will it teach him to forget that he is a slave?—a wronged, despised, degraded slave! Alas the scar of his fetters is too deeply printed in his soul, and the dim air cannot cover it with its shadow. Let us go home, sweet cousin, and loose the memory of the beautiful twilight;—for the thought of my country's shame and guilt hath bro't a deeper sickness to my heart than the unstirred quietness may minister to; and I can revel no longer in the luxury of happy dreams. E.L.A.

SELECTIONS.

From the Herald of Truth.

The present British Ministry are understood to be pledged to promote three great and important changes: A retrenchment, a reform in parliament, and the abolition of colonial slavery. In a political point of view, they are all objects of great importance to the character and prosperity of the British nation. A reform in parliament, which would insure a more equal and uniform representation, would promote the speedy accomplishment of the other two, by rendering the house of commons the proper organ of public opinion. There is no doubt that the voice of the nation is decidedly in favor, both of retrenchment in the expences of the government, and the abolition of colonial slavery. The meetings in England and Ireland, for petitioning parliament to abolish slavery in the British colonies, attest the strong feeling which pervades the country on this subject.

From the Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter.

"The annual meeting of the Cork Anti-Slavery Society, was held on the 21st of August, 1830, W. Crawford, esq. in the chair, and was most numerous and respectably attended. So

intense was the interest which it excited, that twice the number of persons whom it was possible to accommodate, applied for admission.—The chairman said, they were assembled to petition parliament, to name a day when slavery should cease. For his own part, he was utterly opposed to the recognition of the slave-holder's right of property; and yet he was willing to tell the legislature, that there was no pecuniary burden he would not bear, rather than that our unfortunate brethren should continue in slavery." "We are told," said the rev. Mr. Barnett, "not to meddle with vested rights: I have a sacred feeling about vested rights; but when vested rights become vested wrongs, I am less scrupulous about them."

"I did not come here, said Mr. O'Connell, to argue the question, whether man may be the slave of his fellow man; whether a man born of the same common parents, formed by the same great Creator, and redeemed by the blood of the same common Saviour, may become the goods and chattels of another. Slavery is not an offence to be tolerated; it is a foul crime, to be abolished. It is the duty of every man to unite in extirpating this crime. The great majority of the English nation are disposed to countenance it no longer. In Ireland, this hostile feeling begins to spread far and wide. Let it not sink into inertness, but be brought into energetic action, and conveyed to the legislature in a tone that cannot be mistaken, and with a voice that will not be unheard. The value of associated exertion is well known in Ireland. I am anxious it should not be less successful in this, than it has been in a different cause, but that he who has liberated himself, may have the pleasure of striking the chain from others. Mr. O'Connell attacked the conduct of the U. States with great vehemence. "Here, from this tribunal," said he, "I raise my voice against the American independent, and I tell him he is a hypocrite. I stain his star-spangled standard, that never was struck down in battle. I read, in his bill of rights, his declaration of independence, that man has an indefeasible right to freedom. He does not say the white man or the black man, the man of this country or of that, but emphatically *man*. And when I read this, I turn to the American, and I tell him, that he has declared to God and man a lie, and before God and man I arraign him as a hypocrite. All Neptune's ocean would not wash out from America this stain."

"The annual meeting of the Bradlington Anti-Slavery Society took place on the 27th of August, Archdeacon Wringham in the chair. The object of the Society was declared to be the complete emancipation of 800,000 of their fellow creatures from the chains of slavery and oppression; and petitions to that effect were prepared for signatures, in the hope that the great moral Governor of the world would follow with his blessing, the efforts of this and kindred associations. Mr. Sykes, M. P. attended on the occasion, as he had done the day before at a still larger meeting at Driffield, and laid before the assembly a remarkably able and luminous exposition of the whole question. To transcribe his speech, would be to give, in a succinct and impressive form, the substance of many a lengthened statement, spread over the pages of many a weary reporter. The evils of colonial slavery, the reforms proposed with a view to its extinction, the defective manner in which those reforms have been executed even

at a show of compliance, has been conducted in the chartered colonies, are sketched with great clearness and force, and with strict regard to accuracy."

"On the 22nd of September, 1830, a general meeting of the inhabitants of Leeds, and its vicinity, was held in the spacious area of the Coloured Cloth Hall, the mayor, Christopher Bennett, esq. in the chair, for the purpose of considering the propriety of an address to the king, and a petition to both houses of parliament for the total abolition of negro slavery. The number assembled on the occasion amounted to about 6000 persons, and among them were Mr. Morpeth, and Mr. Brougham. Mr. Duncombe and Mr. Bethell were necessarily absent, but they expressed their warm approbation of the object of the meeting."

"A highly respectable meeting was held at Devises on the 17th of September, J. S. Fuller esq. in the chair, to consider the subject of negro slavery; at which there was a display of energy, both intellectual and moral, which has seldom been surpassed. It would scarcely be possible, without transcribing into our pages the whole of the interesting proceedings of the day, to do any thing like justice to those who on that occasion stood forward to advance the cause of the oppressed slave."

With these evidences of the feeling and opinions of the people of England before us, (and much more of the same character might be given) we think we may reasonably conclude, that in the abolition of slavery in the colonies, the present parliament and ministry would accomplish the general desire of the nation. There is no doubt that such a measure would be an advantage to the mother country, and the means of promoting the ultimate prosperity of the West India Islands.

There is no question in political economy more fully demonstrated, than that slave labour in all countries, and under every circumstance, is less productive and can never compete with free labour. The duties imposed in Great Britain on East India sugars, which operate as bounties on the growth and produce of the West India Islands, are founded on a knowledge of this fact, that the produce of slave labour is dearer than that of freemen, and requires the aid of bounties to protect it in the British market. But if the sugar colonies were cultivated by free labourers the case would be widely different. The profits of the owners of the soil would be more than doubled, and bounties would no longer be required to protect their produce. Brian Edwards the historian, though he was an advocate for slavery, has proved that the sugar plantations do not, and cannot support themselves under the present system of slavery. They

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

supported, and kept up by frequent and heavy drafts upon English capitals. It then the interest of the West India interests, as well as of Great Britain, to ten to the claims of justice and humanity. We think the time is not far distant, when slavery will cease in the British colonies.

But when will it be abolished in this country? When will the stain of slavery be eradicated from the soil of liberty and equal rights? Alas! "we see it, but now, we behold it, but not near."

BLACK LIST

ANOTHER ATTEMPT AT KIDNAPPING!
 The following circumstance will not convince the American people that the Slave trade carried on in the United States, is possessed of some atrocious features that are attributed to the Foreign traffic in human blood, they indeed, be blinded by prejudice, or exceedingly averse to reflecting upon the subject. In fact, in the latter part of the last month, an attempt was made to kidnap a free man of color named Benedict Herbert, by a few of the traders, (in connexion with a villainous man.) in Washington. They proceeded to a dwelling, a little out of the city, in the evening, with a constable, under the pretence of arresting him upon a charge of theft. Instead of taking him before a magistrate, however, they told him they were about to do, they led him immediately to one of the slave houses where he was handcuffed with a short chain passing between the wrists, and lodged in a garret of a three story house. He was taken southward, with a number of others the next morning. But, resolving to resist himself from this predicament, or *perish in the attempt*, he tied several blankets and together with his teeth and hands, (the chain being but a few inches apart,) and fastened the same to a piece of a bedstead, and escaped the window in the inside, and descended the stairs, and made his escape. When he got about half way down, (as he says,) one of the blankets broke, or slipped, and he fell on the pavement, which hurt him so much that he is yet very lame. He has not been able to procure the evidence of the persons, so as to prove the facts here as the law would require in a court of law. The names of the principal kidnappers are before suppressed. But I am fully satisfied of the truth of the statement; which I have from the man, himself, upon whom the crime was committed, and which is fully corroborated by other circumstantial testimony.—

He states that the name of the black scoundrel, who assisted in the nefarious transaction is BEN BELL.

How many poor wretches are abducted in this way, God only knows!—But if Congress do not soon turn its attention to the subject, the members of that body will richly deserve all the approbrium that a virtuous and truly republican people can heap upon them. The poor man who now suffers from this attempt to deprive him of his liberty, should receive a pension, for his more than Spartan courage. He says he will faithfully serve a man seven years, who will prosecute the villains to conviction.

SHOOTING A SLAVE!!!

Americans!—Is it possible that such demoniac deeds as the following will *much longer* be tolerated in this Republic? Is it to uphold a system fraught with such horrible abuses, that the United States' troops are employed in patrolling the southern part of our country? (See page 176.) In short, *dare you say* that this is not true? We have *southern testimony* for it.—And the monster, never having doubted the *legality* of it, PUTS IN A PLEA OF RIGHT!!!

From the New Orleans Advertiser, Jan. 5.

"INCREDIBLE VICTIM!"—Criminal Court.
 —The State vs. Francois B. Trepagnier.—This was a case wherein the defendant was accused of having cruelly punished a negro girl, named Mary, aged about ten years, and belonging to Mrs. Rest. The facts proved were, that Mr. Trepagnier fired a gun at the said slave, Mary, when she was on his plantation. The defence set up was, that he had a right to fire on any negro or negroes when flying from his pursuit.—In his defence the accused further stated, that he had been informed by a free white person that one of Mrs. Rest's slaves, a run away, was on his plantation; that he went out in the morning and found the said slave, Mary, and that on bringing her to his house he several times told her that if she attempted to run away, he would shoot her; that after he got her home she ran from him; he called her to stop, still she kept running, when he fired on her, not to kill but to wound her. He would not deny the fact that he had shot her; he conceived that he had a right to do so, when he ordered a slave to stop and she was not given to his orders.—The court, after explaining the law to the accused, was of opinion that he was entirely guilty, as charged, and that the same opinion would have been rendered, had not the accused in his defence admitted the fact. After passing such observations as the case required in an able and just summary, the Court sentenced Mr. Trepagnier to pay a fine of two hundred dollars and cost of prosecution."

The following *murderous atrocity* equals almost any thing that we have ever heard respecting West Indian, or Spanish American cruelty! And what was the occasion of this cold-blooded butchery?—Simply a *suspicion* that an insurrection was contemplated!!! Let us hear no more of the the republicanism, or the christian-

ity, or the humanity of slave holders, who tolerate such horrible conduct as this. The paragraph is copied from a Southern paper.

"Milton, (N. C.) Dec. 25.—We have learned from authority of the most undoubted kind, that the inhabitants of Newbern, Tarborough, Hillsborough, and their vicinities, are considerably excited with the anticipation of insurrectional movements among their slaves. Our informant, just from the latter place, states that considerable consternation exists among its citizens: that they have provided arms and ammunition, and are vigilantly patrolling every exposed situation. The inhabitants of Newbern being advised of the assemblage of sixty armed slaves, in a swamp in their vicinity, the military were called out, and surrounding the swamp, killed the whole party. It appears, from various rumours, that Christmas morning had been selected as the period of rebellious motions."—*Roanoke Advertiser*.

THE FREE STATES "NOT INTERESTED."—The two paragraphs below, are copied from a late newspaper, and will furnish a striking comment upon the doctrine, held up by many, that the free States have *no interest* in the question of abolishing slavery.

"*Insurrection of Slaves*.—We notice in the *Southern papers* several hints at a dark plot which spread some terror through certain parts of Louisiana; but *Southern papers* are particularly sensitive on this point, and often omit to notice such occurrences, even when they happen in their immediate vicinities. On this subject we find the following paragraph in the report of the Major General commanding the army of the United States, to the Secretary of War:—

"In consequence of the application of the Governor of Louisiana, the troops stationed at Baton Rouge, and at the posts within Louisiana, had been directed to co-operate with the authorities of the state in *suppressing any insurrectionary movements* that might be discovered.—A battalion of the 4th Regiment of Infantry assembled at New Orleans, and made a demonstration along the banks of the Mississippi, which produced a salutary effect."

DR. ALLEN, of Louisiana, has been sentenced to 14 years imprisonment, for kidnapping slaves.

LIBERAL SENTIMENTS!—The *Wilmington (N. C.) Journal* contains an article, advancing the following *enlightened* opinions!—

"By the bye—what kind of charity or policy is that, which leads some of our white citizens to take pains to instruct colored people how to read? The thing is wrong. It is demanded neither by religion or common sense. It is forbidden by every dictate of prudence and self-preservation. The practice ought to be discountenanced."

Following up the principle, here recognized, the Legislature of that State has recently passed an act to prohibit the teaching of slaves to read or write. The same *enlightened* body lately attempted to bring a "*Libel Suit*" against our friend Swaim, of the Greensboro' Patriot, for

some remarks on this subject,—but failed to accomplish it.

THE FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE.

The annexed account of the capture of a *Slave*, is taken from an official statement, recently published by the English Board of Admiralty.—And this will, no doubt, be hailed by many as *further evidence* that the devilish traffic is likely soon to be abolished by the measures now in operation!!!—

ADMIRALTY OFFICE, Nov. 22.

Captain Gordon, of his Majesty's ship *Atalanta*, has transmitted to the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker, a letter from Commander William Broughton, of his Majesty's sloop *Primrose*, Captain Gordon, dated at the Island of Ascension, 5th October, 1830, of which the following is an extract:

Proceeding in execution of your orders of the 3d September, I had the good fortune to fall in at 21. 30. P. M. on the 6th of that month with the Spanish ship *Velos Passagero*, of Antonio de la Vega, master, from Whydah, bound to Havannah, pierced for 28 guns, but having only 20 mounted; and from the officer with whom I sent on board not being allowed to examine her below, as usual, I concluded she had slaves on board. Finding that I had much the advantage of her in sailing, and wishing to avoid an effusion of blood by a night action with a vessel crowded with slaves, I remained by her until morning, when being within hail, and still absolutely refusing permission to search her, we opened our fire, which she returned immediately, the ships nearly touched each other, after the second broadside we laid her on her side and in ten minutes carried her, with a loss on our side of three killed and twelve wounded, the *Velos* had 16 killed and 20 wounded, and a crew of as near as I could ascertain of 150 of different nations, and having on board 100 slaves, five of whom were killed.

A PREMIUM FOR RICE.

The sum of TEN DOLLARS will be given as a premium, over and above the market price for *Five Casks of Fresh Rice*, of a good quality, raised by *Free Labor*, and delivered in Philadelphia, to CHARLES PEIRCE, before the 1st of June next. (1831.)

The gentleman, aboved named, is well known as a very respectable Grocer, in Philadelphia, who has, for several years past, made it a particular business to keep articles in his line, exclusively, the production of *free labor*.

The premium, together with the market price, will be promptly paid, on the delivery of the Rice, accompanied by proper reference vouchers from some respectable person well known in Philadelphia.

The "GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION" is published monthly, in Washington and Baltimore, at *One Dollar per annum*, always to be paid *in advance*. Robert P. Anderson, corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and Elm street, west, in Washington, and William Jones, No. 18, Market street, Baltimore, are authorized to act as agents, in the absence of the Editor.

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EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY B. LENDY, IN THE CITIES OF WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE.

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.—1776. 1787. 1791. 1801. 1820. 1831.

No. 12. VOL. I. THIRD SERIES.] MARCH, 1831. [WHOLE NUMBER, 264, VOL. XI.]

Correspondents, and the publishers of periodical works, who exchange with the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, are requested to direct their letters, communications, and papers, in future, to *Washington, D. C.*

CLOSE OF THE VOLUME.

This number completes the eleventh volume of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. But as there is much interesting matter lying over, that should have been inserted, in order to keep up a regular chain of events, and should be connected with that which precedes it, the editor has determined to issue two or more *supplements*, to accompany this volume, and to be bound with it. These supplements will be furnished the subscribers *gratis*.

All who are willing to continue their patronage to the publication, are desired to be prompt in forwarding the amount of their subscriptions. The editor has suffered too much, to dally long, with those who neglect him. *The work will go on*—the friends of the cause need be under no apprehensions on that score; but they are *strongly urged* to furnish the means to make it more efficient and useful.

POSTAGE.

The postage of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* is now the same as that of weekly newspapers. *One cent and an half* for each paper, is the highest that can be legally charged within the U. S. If the distance be *less than one hundred miles*, but one cent can be demanded. Postmasters will please attend to this notice. The post-office in Washington forwards the paper under this regulation.

EMANCIPATION IN KENTUCKY!

One of the *most important* articles that I present the readers of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, this month, is the following proposition, which first appeared in the "*Western Luminary*," published at Lexington, Ky. I shall not attempt comment upon it.—For were I to do this, I could have room for nothing else! I will merely say, *It is a "glorious" movement—GOD SPEED IT.*

PROPOSALS.

Several citizens, slave-holders, under a full conviction that there are insurmountable obstacles to the general emancipation of the present generation of slaves, are equally convinced of

the *necessity and practicality of emancipating their slaves*. They are desirous that a society be formed for the purpose of investigating and impressing *these truths* on the public mind as well by example as by precept, by placing themselves immediately, by mutual voluntary arrangement, under a well regulated system for gradual emancipation—such a system as they would recommend to their fellow citizens for adoption as the law of the land. In this view it is proposed to all slave holders, of every religion, opinion, or country, who are willing to abolish slavery by the gradual emancipation of the coming generation, and who are willing, as a pledge of their sincerity, to emancipate all slaves born their property hereafter, when they shall severally arrive at the age to be fixed on by compact, to form themselves into societies having these great and glorious objects in view. Persons inclined to make the experiment, will forward their names to the Publisher of the *Luminary*, Lexington. And so soon as the names of fifty slave-holders are obtained, a meeting will be notified for the purpose of forming an institution and organizing the society.

Since the foregoing was put in type, another number of the "*Luminary*" has been received, containing the following communication. *The society will be formed: AND SLAVERY WILL SOON BE ABOLISHED IN KENTUCKY.* This is *AS CERTAIN AS ANY FUTURE EVENT*:—and it is wholly attributable to the *active philanthropy* of the friends of our cause. May all who feel the glow of humanity and patriotism, strengthen the hands of those who devote themselves to it.

Mr. T. T. Skilman—I have been travelling for some time, as you know. I therefore have not read all the late essays in your paper on the subject of slavery. But I this day have read the Essay No. 6, and I heartily approve of the proposal there made. You may set me down as one of the fifty who will with all readiness of mind come into the arrangement. The proposal does not go far enough for me. But it is a maxim with me, if I cannot get people to go as far as I wish them, to go with them as far as they are willing to go, and help them to do all the good they are willing to do, whilst I leave myself free to go as much further as I choose. With joy I say therefore you may put me down as one of the fifty.

SAMUEL K. SNEAD.

February 26, 1831.

"ADVOCATES OF SLAVERY."

The editor of the *Liberator* retorts upon me for my *critical distinction* between "Slave-holders" and "Advocates of slavery." He insists that they are all blame-worthy—that "there is none innocent; no, not one." I admit they are all guilty; and I have no disposition to extenuate their guilt.

But I would observe that there are degrees of crime. Felons have, *legally*, the benefit of classification; and I would allow slaves *equal privileges* with them! *Would not this be just, friend Garrison?* I do not, myself, hold a very cordial "fellowship with slave owners." I would go as far with them as Christians were taught to go with "publicans and sinners;" but not much further.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Several interesting articles, relative to the abolition of slavery in this District, were intended for the present number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.—But, upon further reflection, I have concluded to postpone them a little longer, until the subject shall be taken up in good earnest, preparatory to a loud and general appeal to the people of the U. S. *and their representatives in the next Congress*. Then will be the time for action. Let every man, woman and child, throughout these States and Territories, *make themselves heard* upon the occasion.

RELIGIOUS PROFESSION!!!

One of the most objectionable articles, in relation to the education of coloured people, that I have ever met with in a professedly religious paper, is contained in a late number of the "*Southern Religious Telegraph*," published at Richmond, Virginia. This paper is edited by *J. Courser*, who is said to be a Presbyterian clergyman! How must the western Presbyterians, who are so nobly—*piously* labouring in the good cause of African improvement, blush with shame and indignation, on hearing such sentiments from one holding an exalted station within the pale of their communion! There is no use in mincing matters with men of this description. I boldly pronounce the opinion, that they possess little more true religion than Pagans. Such doctrines, advanced by men in high clerical offices, are calculated to operate as a disgrace to the church, and a curse to the cause of philanthropy. The darkness of heathen idolatry scarcely ever produced a more detestable species of sophism. Hear him!—

From the *Southern Religious Telegraph*, Feb. 12.

A NORTH CAROLINIAN ON TEACHING THE COLOURED PEOPLE.—A writer, whose article may be seen in another part of this paper, advocates the expediency and duty of teaching slaves and other coloured persons *to read*, as a means of instructing them in the doctrines and precepts of christianity. Some time ago we were as decidedly in favour of this mode of teaching them as he is—but we have been led to doubt both the expediency and practicability of giving them this kind of learning. We have not room to day, to present our views fully on this subject—and we do not wish to have much debate upon it—nor would we interrupt the efforts of those who re-

gard it as a duty to teach their servants to read the Bible.—We add but a few brief remarks.

1. Oral Instruction, in reading and expounding the Scriptures to servants, in a plain and practical manner, is the most direct way of giving them the knowledge, and of causing them to feel the sanctions of religion. Without this kind of instruction, given steadily and regularly, there is very little reason to expect that the knowledge of letters will be made to contribute to their spiritual improvement.

2. Teaching a servant to read, is not teaching him the religion of Christ. The great majority of the white people of our country are taught to read—but probably not one in five, of those who have the Bible, is a *christian*, in the legitimate sense of the term. If black people are as depraved and as averse to true religion as the white people are—and we know of no difference between them in this respect—teaching them to read the Bible will make christians of very few of them.

3. If christian masters were to teach their servants to read—we apprehend that they would not feel the obligation as they ought to feel it, of giving them oral instruction, and often impressing divine truth on their minds. We have known grey headed christians who appeared to feel that they had about done their duty to their servants, by merely inviting them, or giving them the opportunity, to attend religious worship in their families. And had they, in addition, taught them to read, we fear that they would have quieted their consciences with a belief that they had done quite enough for the salvation of their servants.—Do faithful parents treat their children in this way? Do they require them to attend worship regularly morning and evening? Do they not often speak to them in accents of affection, to persuade them to attend to the things which concern their salvation? And do they not repeat these lessons of christian instruction from one week, month, or year, to another? And ought not the christian master to adopt the same course, to save the souls of his servants?

4. If the free coloured people were generally taught to read, it might be an inducement to them to remain in this country. We would prefer them no such inducement—for we believe to be for their interest, in every respect, and for the benefit of their children, to cross the Atlantic and join the flourishing colony at Liberia.

5. A knowledge of letters and of all the arts and sciences, can not counteract the influence under which the character of the negro must be formed in this country. Placed as he is among a people with whom he can form no connection, among whom he can hold no office, he must remain from the circumstances in which he is placed, a degraded being. A white man, in similar circumstances, is the same servile creature. To meliorate, permanently, and elevate the condition of the negro—we must send him to a nation of his own colour, where he will learn the way of character, and correct the servile, independent habits, which are inseparable from his condition here.

6. It appears to us that a greater benefit could be conferred on the free coloured people, by planting good schools for them in Africa, and encouraging them to remove there, than by giving them the knowledge of letters to make them contented in their present condition.

We repeat the remark—a shorter and

direct course than teaching them to read, ought to be taken to give them the knowledge of God, and teach them to obey His commandments. This is indispensable to save their souls, and this must be done, whether they are taught to read or not, by oral instruction.

It appears that the remarks of "A North Carolinian," here adverted to, were elicited by a previous article, in kindred sentiment, inserted in the Telegraph. That article I have not seen. But a writer in a subsequent number, over the signature of "Justice!" (probably the author of the first,) undertakes to palliate and excuse the outrage upon christian feeling which was occasioned by the promulgation of such sentiments. The editor also made a few additional remarks upon the subject; but he neither retracted, nor manifested the least penitence, relative to his monstrous heresy. His correspondent would seem to be ashamed to make himself known, as the advocate of such oppressive doctrines. Not so with the editor. He valiantly doffs the clerical attire, openly arrays himself in the habiliments of tyranny, and proceeds to bind down his fellow man to the footstool of ignorance and degradation. To this charge he will no doubt plead innocence, as he recommends the "oral" instruction of the coloured race! Were we to search the records of the darkest period of Roman ecclesiastical despotism and cruelty, it is doubtful whether an edict or a sentence could be found based on a more obnoxious principle. If the hateful fiend of *Priestcraft* was fairly mounted on his Tartarean hobby, we have him here us. *Oral instruction*, merely, will do for the people of colour, according to the logic of the pious and learned Divine! I should like to see what kind of *teaching* they might expect in his hands. The principal *text*, or lesson, that he could consistently read them, would be, "Slaves [or Servants,] obey your masters." &c.

But I have neither patience or leisure to pursue this subject further. I have arraigned this "Priest" of *ignorance* and oppression before the eyes of an enlightened people, and in their hands have him,—simply adding, that when we see the advocates of despotism, both in church and state, combining to increase our country's moral

Several of the southern state legislatures have lately been deeply engaged in devising measures to tighten the cords of despotism under which the colored population is groaning. I have before adverted to the proceedings in Louisiana and North Carolina. In a late Richmond paper we find the following notice of a bill, which was introduced in the Virginia house of delegates, last winter, and *rejected by a majority of one vote!* In the debate, to which this bill gave rise, it is said the Rev. A. Campbell distinguished himself on the liberal side of the question. Virginia is greatly indebted to him for his public-spirited philanthropy.

darkness, in the case of African degradation, it is high time for the virtuous sovereign people to rouse from their slumber. THEIR OWN FREE INSTITUTIONS ARE IN DANGER!

“AFRICAN SENTINEL AND JOURNAL OF LIBERTY.”

Proposals have been issued at Albany, N. Y. by John G. Stewart, (a coloured man,) for the publication of a paper, under the above title.

The moral world, at this time, resembles a great mountain, shaken to its very base by a tremendous heaving volcano. As heat precedes light, so ardent desire goes before the acquisition of knowledge. The grand efforts of the protestant reformers, and the political revolutionists of this country, have roused a spirit of liberty and scientific research that knows no bounds save that of Creation. Every class of mankind is destined to feel the holy impulse of its renovating power; and it would be strange, indeed, if the descendants of Africans should not, while

“It subjects all free negroes who shall be convicted of remaining in the commonwealth, contrary to law, to the liability of being sold by the sheriff.—It gives the superior courts as well as the county courts, jurisdiction of all prosecution against free negroes offending in this manner. It makes it the duty of the commissioners of the revenue to present the grand juries with a list of all free negroes, who shall remain more than 12 months contrary to law. All emancipated slaves, who shall remain more than 12 months, contrary to law, shall revert to the executors as assets. All meetings of free negroes at any school house, or meeting house, for teaching them reading or writing, is declared an unlawful assembly—and it is made the duty of any justice of the peace to issue his warrant to enter the house where such unlawful assemblage is held, for the purpose of apprehending or dispersing such free negroes. A fine to be imposed on every white person who instructs at such meetings. It forbids any free negro to keep any dog, unless he be a house-keeper or head of a family; and in no case shall he be allowed to keep more than one dog.”

Upon this attempt to shut out the light of knowledge from the mind of the African, the editor of the "Liberator" makes the following lively comment, adverting also to the article in the Telegraph, above noticed.

“We believe not one of the religious papers in Virginia published a sentence condemning this wicked effort to prevent the instruction of the coloured population of Virginia. On the contrary, the Richmond Telegraph, edited by the Rev. Mr. Converse, advocated the prohibition, so far as it related to instruction in reading and writing. Here is an editorial commentary upon the heathenish suggestions of a correspondent. O monstrous depravity of heart, and cruelty of design! We cannot give vent to our indignation this week, but will pour out a torrent in our next number. The Boston Recorder, last week, republished the paragraph without note or comment—and, of course, approvingly!!! Are we in a Christian land?”

Præter Justitia Ruat Cælum.

they are themselves subject to its most powerful operations, exhibit the same symptoms of improvement in science and literature that others do. I have long contended that they are possessed of faculties and capacities similar to those of their fair-skinned brethren:—and it is gratifying to perceive that they are determined to show it.

The following paragraph is extracted from the prospectus of the work above mentioned. I would cheerfully copy the whole, but my limits are too narrow. The paper will be published monthly, in quarto form, at \$1 50 per year. Should patronage warrant, however, it is the design of the publisher to issue it weekly after the first year.

“ We trust our efforts, feeble as they may be, will be duly appreciated by our friends, and meet with a cordial support from every man whose bosom flows with the least spark of liberty and equality, and who believes as we do, and as is set forth in the Declaration of American Independence, “ that all men are created free and equal” and “ endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, among which, are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” In order to promote that happiness so desirable to all, it is necessary, and indispensably so, that there should be at least one public Journal, conducted by a coloured man, and devoted to the interests of the coloured population throughout this country, for the purpose of diffusing such information of passing events as may be calculated both to instruct and amuse, and for the general communication of our thoughts and sentiments upon such subjects as are frequently agitated in the world, touching our condition, as a part of the great family of man: and more particularly here, where the arts, sciences and literature are as accessible to the humble peasant as to the more proud and opulent,—here, where people of every clime, save Africa, are hastening to enjoy the benefits of those Institutions so congenial to the cultivation of every science and of every art.”

The *Foreign Review* states that Professor Blumenbach, of Göttingen, possesses a small library of books, all of which are written by Negroes, showing that there is hardly a science in which some negro has not been distinguished.

RHODE ISLAND.

The following is extracted from the proceedings of the R. I. legislature, of a recent date, as published in the “ Providence Journal.” It is a curiosity!

“ The committee to whom was referred the petition of *Alfred Nizer*, et al. persons of colour, praying to be exempt from taxation, in consequence of their not being admitted to equal rights with other citizens, reported against granting the prayer of the petition—report received. The Committee reported a bill exempting colored persons from taxation. Mr. Potter moved the indefinite postponement of the bill. He said, if the bill should pass, there would arise as much controversy in the state between different degrees of color, as there was in Circuit Court, about

half and whole blood. The motion was carried without division.”

CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES--1830.

The returns of the marshals are not yet complete; and, of course, we cannot present a full detail of this census. The following table gives a partial view. Hereafter, the readers of this work will be furnished with a more general and complete statement, accompanied by some reflections upon the subject. Enough is here exhibited to appal the hearts of conscientious slave-holders, relative to the increase of the slave population, compared with that of the white. But the worst is yet to come! S. Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi—to say nothing of Kentucky and Arkansas—will increase the dark aspect which the gloomy subject already presents.

	Free white persons.	Free coloured persons.	Slaves.
District of Maine	398,255	1,207	
New Hampshire	268,910	623	
Vermont	279,780	885	
Massachusetts	603,094	7,006	
Connecticut	289,624	8,064	
Rhode Island	92,631	3,565	
N. district New York	1,355,009	11,412	
S. do do			
District of New Jersey	300,226	18,307	2,4
E. dist. Pennsylvania	724,226	31,133	2
W. do do	567,680	6,614	1
District of Delaware	57,605	15,829	3,3
Maryland	291,092	52,942	102,5
E. district Virginia	357,305	39,330	399,7
W. do do			
District N. Carolina	472,433	19,575	246,4
S. Carolina			
Georgia			
N. district Alabama	81,212	410	44,4
S. do do	108,959	1,131	73,3
District of Mississippi			
E. do Louisiana	60,565	14,332	30,4
W. do do	28,626	2,421	29,2
E. do Tennessee	176,544	1,943	11,5
W. do do	361,386	2,570	124,1
District of Kentucky			
Ohio	928,093	9,586	
Indiana	333,020	3,562	
Illinois	155,176	1,653	
Missouri	112,065	542	24,1
Arkansas			
Michigan	20,348	253	
E. Florida	4,515	343	4,1
W. do	5,329	366	3,8
S. do	368	33	
M. do	8,173	18	7,1
Columbia	27,635	6,163	6,1

ANTI SLAVERY PROCEEDINGS IN ENGLAND.

To the polite attention of my valuable correspondent in Liverpool, I am indebted for a complete file of the “ *Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter* to November, 1830.

Never before, did the cause of African Emancipation wear so propitious an aspect as at

Plat Justitia Ruat Caelum.

ent. The whole kingdom of Great Britain is roused. The might and majesty of the popular will proclaims destruction to the system of slavery; and it will speedily be accomplished in all the Colonies of that vast Empire. Nor will the work stop here. France, regenerated France, is also awake to the evils of that system, and will soon eradicate it. We have the character of a *Lafayette* pledged for its accomplishment.

It will be impossible to give the reader an adequate idea of the spirited movements in England, relative to this subject, in the small space that can be spared for it in this work. But the following extract from a very late English paper, will throw some light upon it. It is stated in the same paper, that forty meetings were held in England and Scotland, within the previous three months, for the purpose of petitioning against slavery. When, alas! will the people of republican America be thus roused?

Anti-Slavery Petitions.—From the 17th of Nov. to Dec. 23d inclusive, eleven hundred and twenty-five petitions for the early and entire abolition of Colonial Slavery were presented to the House of Commons. From the commencement of the session to the Christmas recess, the whole number was three thousand two hundred and fourteen. A very large additional number, it is believed, will still be presented before the discussion of the question, in pursuance of the notice given by Mr. Buxton, for the first of March.

SLAVERY IN FLORIDA.

A pamphlet has recently been issued, as I understand, by an inhabitant of Florida, attempting to shew the advantages of slavery in the United States, and the European colonies. I have not yet been able to lay my hand on this emanation of "republican" despotism. The *Herald of Truth* of the 5th inst. contains a spirited review of it. I give the following extract from the pamphlet, as copied in the *Herald*, without a word of comment. But the author shall receive further notice when I get my hand on his book.

"To counteract the existing prejudice against slavery, by making it evident that the condition of slaves may be equally happy, and more independent of the ordinary evils of life, than that of the common class of whites, denominated free—that they are now equally virtuous, moral, and less corrupted than the ordinary class of labouring whites—that their labour is more productive—that they yield more support and benefit to the state; which under a well regulated system of management, is better able to endure a state of war than it would be with an equal number of free white people of ordinary means and condition; and, finally, that the slave, or patriarchal system of society, [so much commiserated as a subject of deep regret] which constitutes the bond of social compact of the southern sea-board of the United States, is better adapted for strength, durability, and inde-

pendence, than any other state of society hitherto adopted. To endeavour to prove all this, and to destroy the prejudice existing against slavery, under the circumstances with which it is now associated in the south, is the object of the present essay, dedicated to the people of Florida, and to political economists throughout the southern states, by a votary of rational policy."

PRESBYTERY OF CHILICOTHE.

The great length of the letter from this religious association, necessarily precludes the insertion of the whole. It is a masterly production, and I have wished to give as much of it as the limits of this work will permit. Some further quotations are here presented, which are put in small type, that they may occupy as little space as possible.

Correspondents have frequently requested me to explain certain passages of Scripture. As I am no theologian, and merely wish to proceed upon the broad ground of justice and equity, which may be comprehended by every sane mind, I have generally declined entering upon this fruitful theme of discussion. In this article, however, certain points are elucidated very much in accordance with my own views, and I recommend it to the notice of those who have made the inquiries aforesaid.

Since writing the above, I have conversed with one of the most intelligent and philanthropic Presbyterian clergymen in the western country; and he informs me that it is the full determination of many of their influential characters to press this subject upon the attention of their people, until they prove successful. May Heaven prosper their glorious efforts!

"The Apostles often speak of slave-holders; but they never address them as christians or members of the church. On the contrary, they treat them with marked abhorrence. When we say that they speak of slave-holders, we do not mean that they wrote in English; but, that they use a term which is fairly translated, *slave-holder*. The Greek word used in (1 Tim. 6. 1, 2. and in Titus 2. 9.) and other places, is *Despotes*. It is from this that our English word *Despot* is derived. The word does not necessarily imply any worse idea than absolute authority. It is used in a good or bad sense, according to the person to whom it is applied. In a good sense, and with great propriety, it is applied to the Most High, and is translated *Lord*. (Jude 4. Acts 4. 24. Luke 2. 29.) The Apostles and other pious men use it in their prayers to God, as the Supreme Lord of the Universe, and the Lord of life. In a bad sense it is applied to men, who, usurping the authority of the Almighty, claim power over the lives and liberty of their fellow men, and make them slaves. Hence the term *Despot*, derived from it, has been, from the first, a name of infamy. It is remarkable that this title is never used by the evangelists, as applicable to any one who lived under the law of Moses. The Apostles use it as a title of men, who had grown up amidst the darkness and abominations of paganism, in

countries where there was no jubilee, and where there was not even a name for humility or mercy.

We consider it as unfortunate that Despot is translated Master, (though it can easily be accounted for,) and that, therefore, in our English Bible, we have nothing to distinguish the Despot from the Kurios, which is also translated Master, but designates a master of a very different kind. For the sake of distinction, we shall take the liberty of translating the one Despot, and the other Master, in our quotations from the Scriptures, and our remarks upon them. That the Despots were slave-holders, even the advocates for slavery will not be disposed to deny. They insist that there were such characters as slave-holders, and they will not insist that they were held in such detestation by the Apostles, that they were never once named. That Kurios, the other word which is translated Master, was not the title of slave-holder is abundantly evident. It is translated in different places Master, Sir, and Lord. It is the title by which the disciples generally address the Saviour; and they were not such reprobates, as to use the word which would insinuate that they considered their situation under him, like that of poor slaves. When the Greeks, who wished to see Jesus, (John 12. 21.) used it, in their address to Philip, they were not so consummately polite as to wish him to consider himself a slave-holder, and themselves as his slaves. The Apostle Peter, when addressing wives, (1 Pet. 3. 6) on the subject of duty to their husbands, recommends for their imitation, the example of Sarah, who obeyed Abraham, calling him Lord (Kurios.) Even a trader in slaves would not infer from this, that Abraham and all other husbands were slave-holders, and that Sarah and all wives were slaves; and that when he is making up a drove of the wives of his neighbours for the market, he may complete it with his own wife! Yet this would be both good logic, and good divinity, if Kurios means slave-holder. Kurios means Master of an indented, hired, or any voluntary servant.

We have decisive evidence that the Despots were the slave-holders. The Apostle, [1 Tim. 6. 1] addresses the servants of Despots as slaves, and he addresses the servants of no others as slaves. "Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own Despots worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed." Servants under the yoke, is the appropriate name of slaves. The allusion is to the manner in which the Romans doomed individuals, and sometimes cities, and even whole provinces, to slavery, by making them to pass under the yoke, the symbol of bondage. If there is any meaning in names, we should suppose that when the term Despot is applied to any creature by inspiration, it would be a sufficient indication of his character, if we heard nothing more about him. But the Apostle [in 1. Tim. 6. 1, 2.] plainly intimates that the Despots were unbelievers; and that when they became believers, it was in the power of the slaves to refuse to do them service, as servants. "Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own despots worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed, and they that have believing Despots, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather let them do service, because they are faithful and beloved partakers of the benefit." He was anxious that slaves or servants under the yoke, should count their Despots worthy of

all honour. In the 4th and 5th verses, he suggests the reason. A different spirit was inculcated by some teachers, "who were proud, knowing nothing, but dotting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envies, stifes, revilings, evil surmising, &c." Any one who is familiar with the epistles, recognizes in this picture, the Judaizers, those troublers of Israel in those days. These men had been taught by their Rabbies, that it was a sin for a Jew to serve a Gentile; and among Christians they were inculcating a similar principle. They taught them to disregard every tie which bound a believer to an unbeliever. The Apostle had some difficulty in persuading believing husbands and wives that they ought not to put away their unbelieving partners, and in persuading some professors, that infidelity in their rulers would not justify rebellion. There were sufficient grounds for fears that some pious slaves might be induced to believe that it was inconsistent with the religion of Jesus to honour a vile pagan. It was easy to perceive how the name of God and his doctrine would be blasphemed so soon as it should be known that slaves were making the Gospel a plea for rebellion. He therefore urges them not to let any thing in their conduct be the occasion of reproach to the cause of Christ. Now let it be distinctly marked, that the Apostle was apprehensive that all slaves were in the same danger. Why? Because they all had Despots of such a stamp that they might consider it a sin to honour them. They were all unbelievers.

But from the second verse it appears that Despots did sometimes believe. He here addresses servants that have believing Despots. That they were a different kind of servants from those under the yoke, is very evident from the fact that they are introduced by the conjunction *de*, improperly translated *and*, instead of *et*. Any Greek scholar knows that the characters introduced by that conjunction are different from those preceding. If those in the first place were slaves, these were not. The object of the Apostle's address is to persuade servants not to take occasion from their Despots' having become brethren to despise them, by refusing to do them service as hired servants, or in any other way. He does not enjoin them to do service, nor does he intimate that there was any law which required it: but advises it *rather*. Being poor they must serve somebody. The fact, which is obviously implied, is that so soon as a Despot became a believer, and put himself under the care of the church, it was in the power of the slave to despise him, and refuse to serve him in any capacity. It was then in his power to complain to the church, that a man who was now a brother in Christ was robbing him, of a few dollars, but of that which outweighed all price—his liberty; and was claiming power over his life. Whether a church under the direction of men, some of whom had been companions of the Son of God, and were full of the Holy Ghost, would sustain a brother in such a plea, and require the usurper to repent, is a sin no more, is easily decided. A church that will allow her members to cheat their neighbour to the amount of a single dollar, is either grossly ignorant or grossly wicked. But the Apostle was apprehensive that slaves, in the event of the conversion of their Despots, would act imprudently; that smarting under past injuries, they would, beside claiming their liberty insultingly refuse to be employed as servants.

and thus not only leave a repenting brother in embarrassed circumstances, and throw themselves out of employment, but, worse than all, manifest an unforgiving spirit, and give occasion to the enemy to blaspheme. We make a remark on the phrase, "believing Despots." As this is the only text in which believing and slave-holding are found in such near connection, much use will be made of it. We shall be told that such a phrase as believing Despots, proves that they remained Despots after they believed. Let us apply this principle. The apostles often speak of Jews which believe, and of Gentiles which believe. Does it follow that they remained Jews and Gentiles after they believed? We read that the dumb spake and the blind saw, and the lame walked. Any one knows, that such phrases are often used to designate at once the person's past and present character. So we use them to this day. We speak of converted gamblers and swearers; but we are never understood, and never wish to be understood, as saying that they swear and gamble after conversion. That no man remained a Despot after he became a member of the church, is easily proved.

The Apostles never address a Despot as a believer, or member of the church. They frequently address Masters on the subject of Christian duties, and tell them how to treat their servants. [Eph. 6. 5. Col. 3. 22. and 1. 1.] They never address their servants without addressing their Masters also. But though they often address the servants of Despots, they never address the Despots but as wicked men. How shall we account for this? How shall we account for it, that while they address all classes of believers, magistrates and subjects, ministers and people, husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and servants, and particularly notice slaves, there is not a word to pious Despots? Here were no such pious men. Such were the Jews which the Apostle entertained of their characters, that he treats them with marked abhorrence. He never tells them how to manage their slaves, for the same reason that he never tells them how to steal! He never undertakes to regulate a wicked thing. An address to the Despots in any church would have been as absurd as an address to the man-stealers in the church. No such men were in the church.

VII. All addresses to servants of Despots which are to be found in the New Testament, either plainly imply, or fairly warrant the inference, that the Despots were irreligious men. In these passages all the tenderness and sympathy of the Apostles appear to be called up. They seem to be bringing into view the most pressing considerations which the gospel furnishes to animate them to perseverance; and to setting before them in most commanding arguments those that were calculated to fortify them against permitting themselves to be driven into any hardships or sufferings. They speak to men who were in the hands of sworn enemies to the cross of Christ. The Apostle Paul [1 Cor. 7. 20. 24.] decides the question whether a servant, not free, [which in a Pagan country like that around Corinth was only another name for a slave] might be baptised, or admitted to the church? "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called. Art thou called being a servant, care not for it; but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather. For he that is called in the Lord, being a servant, is

the Lord's freeman, likewise he that is called, being free, is Christ's servant. Ye are bought with a price; be ye not the servants of men." In the commencement of the chapter he gives notice, that he will now consider those things of which they had written to him. After deciding that husbands and wives may be admitted though their partners be irreligious, he decides the question respecting servants, by this general principle. Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called. The Apostle never decides, as a case of conscience, a question with which nobody's conscience was troubled. He takes up these matters as difficulties which had so baffled the collected wisdom of the church of Corinth, that they had written to him for a decision. The fact that under the Old Testament a husband, or a wife whose partner was a pagan, would not be retained in the communion of the church, made it a question with the Corinthians whether such persons ought to be admitted to the privileges of the Christian church. The same disposition to judaizing embarrassed them with regard to servants not free. Had their Despots been believers, there would have been no difficulty; for the law of Moses required that the bond servants of Israelites should be circumcised unless they refused. But the situation of a slave, subject to the caprice of a pagan Despot, was a different thing. We cannot but remark that the Apostles and churches appear not to have adopted the polite custom in some slave-holding churches, of refusing to baptise any slave, till he can produce a note from his master and mistress; thus putting his privileges, and so far as outward means are concerned, his hope of salvation, in the hands of persons who are sometimes avowed enemies to the name of Jesus. Having relieved the church of Corinth from embarrassment by the general principle, that it is only personal irreligion which bars admission to the Christian church, he proceeds to address the servants. For it seems to have been a serious question with them, whether they ought to wish to be baptised. It would be natural for a conscientious slave to reason thus: May I undertake to follow the Saviour, who have an ungodly Despot, whose commands will often interfere with the commands of God; who not only from covetousness, but from enmity to the cross, will require me to profane the Lord's day, and forbid me to attend the house of God, and, perhaps merely to vex my soul, will require me to attend him to his Idol's temple? The Apostle, as one who could weep with those that weep, tells him not to care for it, that he is a servant; but advises him "if thou mayest be free, use it rather." He then gives an important lesson why he should obtain his freedom if he could; "He that is called in the Lord, being a servant, is the Lord's freeman; likewise he that is called, being free, is Christ's servant." The sum is, that every Christian, whether bond or free, must serve his divine Master. His must be the paramount authority. Aware that such a course would often expose to great suffering, and that the servant might suppose that his hard lot would justify some deviation from the path of duty, he reminds him that there can be no compromise between Christ and Belial. "Ye are bought with a price, be ye not the servants of men." Considering the Apostle's sympathy for these servants, why does he not say a word to their Despots, about their freedom—or about permitting them to attend the house of God—or, about their having lei-

sure on the Lord's day to attend to the concerns of their souls. This would be a hard question, on the supposition that any of them had the fear of God. But the answer is plain; they were the very men who were not Christians; and he knew enough of human nature to know that to talk to an ungodly man, whose heart is under the dominion of the slave-holding lust, about mercy, would be like making supplications to the wind.

The Apostle Peter manifests the same concern for slaves, and the same abhorrence of their despots. "Servants be subject to your own Despots, with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward. For this is thankworthy, if a man for conscience towards God, endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if when ye be buffeted for your faults ye take it patiently; but if when ye do well, ye suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God. For even hereunto were ye called, because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that ye should follow his steps: who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, threatened not, but committed himself to Him that judgeth righteously, &c. [1 Pet. 2. 18—18 23] We presume no one will undertake to find Christians, under the naked title, good and gentle Despots. Good is used simply to express benevolence. It is used to express the benevolence of Barnabas, and other believers, but it is in connexion with other phrases employed to shew that they were believers. The good and gentle Despots are here distinguished from the froward; whose characters and spirit are impliedly portrayed in this passage. Compared with the latter, the former might be gentle, good slave-holders, and yet wretches as regards religion.

If this address of the Apostle was appropriate, we see what was the lot of pious slaves. When we think of what Christians endured in primitive times, we generally think of only what they suffered who were brought before kings and rulers. We seldom reflect on what Christian slaves endured every day, from the hands of Despots, who had power over their lives and liberties, and were giving vent to their enmity to Jesus by tormenting those who wore his image. We read and talk a great deal about the sufferings of Missionaries in heathen countries now, but we seldom think seriously on the condition of pious slaves but a few hundred miles from our homes, in countries where the laws of the land make it penal publicly to instruct them, or their wives, or their little ones, where they cannot without danger of receiving many lashes on their bare backs be caught at the place where they may hear the way of salvation; and where many professed Christians, and some ministers, as unblushingly as if they had stricken covenant with hell, will tell you by their conduct, if not with their lips, that it would be improper to give them the Bible.* But the Apostle, like one who was in the habit of thinking of, and sympathising with his brethren, who were in slavery, addresses them more particularly than any other class of Christians—as those who now had to endure the very brunt of the sufferings of the times for Christ's sake—as people who were buffeted, and suffering wrongfully, and enduring grief for well doing, and for con-

science toward God. Like one who was trembling for the issue of their Christian warfare, he urges them to perseverance by reminding them of what Jesus endured for them when he bore our sins in his own body on the tree. He tells them they must walk in the footsteps of him whom no persecution could drive into sin. To shew them how they must bear evil treatment, he sets before them the last scene of the Saviour's sufferings. "Who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered he threatened not, but committed himself to Him who judgeth righteously." This, according to an inspired Apostle, must be the spirit of a Christian slave. But there are those who will tell us the Apostles were too prudent to manifest much of this spirit themselves, that they would risk letting their hearers go down to hell by thousands, rather than displease any one by telling him to repent of enslaving his neighbour. The truth is, the slave-holding spirit is a fiend-like spirit. It can trample on the authority and law of God, and trample under foot the rights of man, and stab the character of the Apostles when their example rebukes it, and sneer at the littleness of the man who is less daring; and in the mean time talk about liberty and religion and conscience, and the example of the holy Apostles! How does it come to pass, that the Apostle divides Despots into only two classes, those who are good and gentle, and those who were froward. Why does he not give the pious slaveholder a word of exhortation and instruction? He did not believe there were such men on earth. The man who can get along pleasantly to himself in the exposition of the epistles, and maintain that the Apostles manifested no disapprobation of the sin of slave-holding, or that they received into the church those who were living in this sin, must be possessed of some qualities which no wise and honest man would envy.

We feel, brethren, that we have sinned in long holding our peace on this subject. If we trust, with sincere sorrow for our past neglect, that we have resolved that in deciding all future applications for privileges, and in the exercise of discipline, as regards those who are already in our communion, we will consider buying, or selling, or holding a slave for the sake of gain, a heinous sin and scandal. We calculate as matter of course, on hearing objections. The sin of slave-holding having been a long time in the church undisturbed, any attempt to dislodge it will meet opposition. An enemy of souls will be roused. Worldly professors, like the craft at Ephesus, will be alarmed, and sincere Christians, simply because old habits are shocked, will for a time join the opposition. Like men just waking out of a dream, they will make objections which themselves do not understand, and which, on a little reflection, they will find to be so foolish or so wicked, that they will be ashamed they ever uttered them. We shall hear, that to take cognizance of this sin, would be tyrannical—it would injure professing slaveholders—it would injure the church—it would injure poor slaves—it would injure the country."

CANADA COLONY.

Complaints have been made that the first employed to prepare for the settlement of the coloured people in Canada, have g-

* A good hint for the editor of the "Standard Religion Telegraph."—Ed. G. U. E.

mismanaged the business entrusted to them. I rejoice, however, to find, that some very intelligent persons have already gone thither, and that the colony is likely to prosper. The Rev. Nathaniel Paul, an influential coloured man from Albany, has gone out, with his family, and writes back encouragingly. The editor of the "American Spectator" will find that his "prediction" is not yet verified—neither is it likely to be.

NORTH CAROLINA.

An outrageous proposition has been submitted to the Legislature of this State, which has for its object the infliction of a *special tax* upon the free people of colour, with a view of aiding in defraying the expenses of their removal to Africa. Was this measure proposed in accordance with the views of the Colonization Society? Do the members of that association generally approve it? I pause for an answer.

TEXAS.

Certain ambitious advocates of slavery in this country, are still planning ("Bent-on") the annexation of Texas to the United States, or the establishment of its independence, with the view of extending the system of slavery therein. Paragraphs occasionally appear in the newspapers, confirming the truth of this remark. Are the friends of universal emancipation alive to the importance of the subject? Let them be prepared for the conflict! It will as surely be attempted, ere long, as that the Territory exists. Will the people of the United States permit it? Wo to our country, if we have a slave-holding President then!!

STORES FOR THE PRODUCTIONS OF FREE LABOR.

This concern appears to be rapidly increasing. George Truman, of Philadelphia, and A. Laing, of Rahway, N. J. have embarked in the business. Charles Collins, of New York, Lydia White and Charles Peirce, of Philadelphia, a sister of Benjamin Webb, of Wilmington, Del. and many others, elsewhere, also continue in the same line.

A late letter from Nathan Hunt, of North Carolina, to a gentleman in Philadelphia, mentions that a considerable quantity of cotton, produced by free labour, will soon be shipped by him for the latter place. *The work will go on.*

"HALF-WAY MEASURES."

If the editor of the "Anti-Masonic Register" had attentively read the whole of the article in the Genius of Universal Emancipation, upon which he has spent a column or two of criticism,

he certainly would neither have misunderstood my sentiments, nor misinterpreted my language. I intended to say that I was "opposed" to stopping at "half-way measures,"—not the adopting them. I rejoice that "half-way" or even quarter-way measures are approved by those who cannot "see clear" to encourage any thing further.

THE "GERMANTOWN TELEGRAPH."

The editor of this paper chides me for my "severity," &c. and immediately copies an article from my "Black List!"

I wish this gentleman to understand, that I am not to be schooled in this cause by my Juniors, who can "look with composure on blood and carnage."

DEATH OF BISHOP ALLEN.

Just as this paper was going to press, information was received that the venerable Richard Allen, Bishop of the African Methodist Church, in Philadelphia, hath departed this life. Long will his surviving coloured brethren lament their great, if not irreparable, loss.

GEN. SIMON BOLIVAR.

This distinguished man, who was second to none for patriotism and political philanthropy that the last dozen centuries have produced, is no more. He has finished his earthly career; but has left an example worthy the imitation of all slave holders, of every country and clime.

In addition to his great and untiring efforts to break the chains of clerical and political bondage that oppressed his countrymen, he acted the part of perfect consistency, in using his influence for the enfranchisement of the African Slaves, who were there reduced to abject servility. We have been informed that, in the early stage of the Colombian revolution, he emancipated from 700 to 1000 slaves; and that he strenuously and successfully urged the total abolition of slavery by the government. Since his death, it is stated that he has freed 150 more, by will, who were still held by him, and who, probably, preferred remaining with him while he lived. Would that the professed "republicans" of this nation could shew us even one solitary example of consistent, virtuous patriotism, equal to this!

FRENCH COLONIES.

Since the late change in the French government, it appears that orders have been issued, (in accordance with the sentiments of General Lafayette,) to place the free coloured inhabitants of the colonies upon a footing with the whites. This has exasperated the latter to a high degree.

Disturbances have occurred, both in Martinique and Gaudaloupe. A *St. Domingo* fate awaits all the French West India colonies, (and will speedily unfold its dire calamities,) unless the government promptly puts an end to the system of slavery therein. The cup of their iniquity is nearly full.

“LIBERIA HERALD.”

The number of this work, for January the 6th, 1831, has just been received at this office. The most important information, contained in this paper, is that embraced in the “*Report of Public Schools, at Liberia.*” To shew the laudable spirit which actuates the colonists, in this respect, the following extracts from said Report are inserted. What a contrast does this present to the *abominable* doctrines advanced by the legislators of some of our southern states, as well as certain *religious professors* there! Surely, young as we are in iniquity, and loud as we prate of liberty and justice,—the regeneration of Africa, and the downfall of our own free institutions, are going hand in hand. Let the people look to it; on them depends the welfare and prosperity, or the misery and ruin, of this boasted *free Republic*.

Extracts from the Report of the Committee on Public Schools, at Liberia, Jan. 1831.

The Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, anxious to extend to the Colony at Liberia, the blessings of useful knowledge, whereby all its inhabitants may eventually enjoy the means of developing their resources, of improving their moral and intellectual condition, and of thus presenting to Africa, a model worthy of imitation, consider the universal education of the children as among the most effectual instruments for securing this great object.

That to this end, schools fitted to the state of the colony, shall be forthwith established, under the direction and superintendence of the Colonial Agent, at Monrovia, Caldwell, and Millsburg, in which Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, shall be taught to all the children; and such other branches as circumstances may from time to time render expedient.

That it be the duty of the Colonial Agent, whenever in his opinion, or that of respectable colonists, it shall be expedient to establish schools at other places, to communicate his views to this Board, that proper order may be taken thereon.

That one tenth part of the public lots and lands, that have been, or may from time to time be hereafter laid out, and which shall be inalienable, be set apart to this object, but whose rents or fruits shall be applied to it.

That for the present, and until otherwise ordered, the whole proceeds of the sales of public lots and lands shall be so applied.

And that in addition the annual sum of five hundred dollars be given by this Board.

The following is the 9th section of the “*Regulations for the Port of Monrovia:*”—

All vessels engaged in the slave trade, are

prohibited from anchoring in the harbour, or having any communication with the inhabitants of this Colony; except in cases of distress, when the circumstances are to be reported to the Agent for his decision.

FRANKLIN AND ARMFIELD'S SLAVES.

A very interesting case recently occurred in the British West Indies. The brig *Comet*, from Alexandria, D. C. bound to New-Orleans, with 164 slaves, (belonging, it is said, to Franklin & Armfield,) was wrecked on the island of Abaco, and the slaves WERE ALL TAKEN TO NASSAU, AND LIBERATED.

Further particulars will be given hereafter.

ANTI-COLONIZATION.

The proceedings of sundry meetings of the coloured people in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, will be noticed in this work for next month. They are decidedly opposed to African colonization, and it is right and proper that they should be heard. *They shall have the privilege of telling their own story.*

MEETING OF THE COLOURED PEOPLE IN BALTIMORE.

The following communication was received just in time for this number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. This is the voice of the great majority of the coloured people in the city of Baltimore. Few white people are more intelligent than the officers of this meeting. Let the Colonization Society ponder on this subject.

For the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

BALTIMORE, MARCH 21, 1831.

At a respectable meeting of persons of colour, convened pursuant to public notice, for the purpose of expressing their sentiments in regard to the pretensions of the American Colonization Society.—William Douglass was called to the chair, and William Watkins appointed secretary. The object of the meeting having been explicitly stated, the members immediately proceeded to the consideration of the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted.

1. *Resolved*, That the object of the American Colonization Society, as published to the world, be read to this meeting.

2. *Resolved*, That it is the belief of this meeting, that the American Colonization Society is founded more in a selfish policy than in the true principles of benevolence; and, therefore, so far as regards the life-giving spring of its operations, is not entitled to our confidence, but should be viewed by us with all that caution and distrust which our happiness demands.

3. *Resolved*, That we are not insensible of the means usually employed by that society, and its auxiliaries, to effectuate our removal;—that we sincerely deprecate their gratuitous, and illiberal attacks upon, and their too frequently exaggerated statements of, our moral standing, in the community;—that such means are unworthy of a magnanimous people, and of a virtuous and noble cause.

4. *Resolved*, That we consider the land in which we were born, and in which we have

been bred, our only "true and appropriate home," and that when we desire to remove, we will apprise the public of the same, in due season.

5. Resolved, That we are deeply sensible that many of our warm and sincere friends have espoused the colonization system, from the purest motives,—and that we sincerely regret that their efforts to ameliorate our condition are not more in accordance with our wishes.

6. Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the daily papers of this city, and signed by the chairman.

WILLIAM DOUGLASS, *Chairman.*

William Watkins, *Secretary.*

JOHN WOOLMAN.

It was my intention to present the reader with a general biographical sketch of John Woolman in this number; but I cannot command the materials for it just now. The following short notice is taken from the "*Friend or Advocate of Truth*," published in Philadelphia. It will be read with interest.

Extract from a Testimony from the Quarterly Meeting at York, in Great Britain, concerning John Woolman, formerly of Mount Holly, New Jersey.

"That which hath so closely engaged my mind, in looking to the Lord for instruction, is, whether, after so full information of the oppression the slaves in the West Indies lie under, who raise the West India produce, (as I had in reading a caution and warning to Great Britain and her colonies, wrote by Anthony Benezet,) is it right for me to take a passage in a vessel employed in the West India trade?"

"To trade freely with oppressors, and without labouring to dissuade from such unkind treatment, to seek for gain by such traffic, tends, I believe, to make them more easy, respecting their conduct, than they would be, if the cause of universal righteousness was humbly and firmly attended to, by those in general, with whom they have commerce; and that complaint of the Lord by his prophet, "They have strengthened the hand of the wicked," hath very often revived in my mind; and I may here add some circumstances preceding my prospect of a visit there. The case of David hath often been before me of late years; he longed for some water in a well beyond an army of Philistines, at war with Israel; and some of his men, to please him, ventured their lives in passing through this army, and brought that water.

It doth not appear that the Israelites were then scarce of water, but rather, that David gave way to delicacy of taste; but having thought on the danger these men were exposed to, he considered this water as their blood, and his heart mote him that he could not drink it, but poured it out to the Lord. And the oppression of the slaves, which I have seen in several journeys southward, on this continent, and the report of their treatment in the West Indies, hath deeply affected me; and a care to live in the spirit of peace, and minister just cause of offence to none of my fellow creatures, hath, from time to time, vivily revived on my mind; and under this exercise, I, for some years past, declined to gratify my palate with those sugars.

"I do not censure my brethren in these things, but I believe the father of mercies, to whom all mankind by creation are equally related, hath

heard the groans of these oppressed people; and is preparing some to have a tender feeling of their condition: and the trading in, or frequent use of, any produce known to be raised by the labours of those who are under such lamentable oppression, hath appeared to be a subject, which may yet more require the serious consideration of the humble followers of Christ, the prince of peace."

The Constitution of the Coloured People's Free Produce Society in Philadelphia, was laid off for insertion this month; but is again crowded out. It will appear in one of the supplemental numbers.

FADING REPOSITORY
Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

THE DOMESTIC SLAVE-TRADE.

This is the most indefensible, as well as the most detestable feature in the system of slavery. It will not admit of even an attempt at justification. There are many who profess to deplore the existence of slavery, who yet consider its abolition impracticable, or unjust to the owners of the slaves, or dangerous to the community. Others, again, will descant largely on the blessings and advantages of slavery, to those who are favoured with the enjoyment of its benefits, ending with a declaration that their situation, if restored to freedom, would be infinitely more deplorable. But none of these reasons can be urged in behalf of this shameful traffic. It is a guilt and an infamy for which our country has no excuse. If her slave population was entailed upon her against her will, and cannot now be got rid of, she is, at least, under no compulsion to permit herself to be disgraced by this infamous traffic. If the state of the slaves is a happy one, their happiness cannot possibly be increased by being torn from their homes and friends, manacled and driven in gangs across the country, exposed to the gaze and insults of an unfeeling rabble, or hurried on board a slave ship and conveyed they know not whither, save that it is far from all they have ever known or loved. If they are unfit for the station of freemen, it does not necessarily follow that they should be treated as brutes; now, though there may be dangerous consequences to be feared from their emancipation, can the security of the present state of things be in anywise increased by goading them to madness with excessive cruelty? Hard as the lot of the slave is,

and ever must be, still while he is surrounded by those he loves, with the security that this blessing at least will be spared to him to soothe the darkness of his lot, and while the familiar faces and scenery which he has been accustomed to gaze on from childhood are still before him, he will probably indulge in an apathetic acquiescence with his fate, nor risk his present enjoyments for a doubtful future. But he who feels that his dearest ties of life are broken, never more to be united, and is driven by anguish and a sense of injustice into an utter recklessness of his fate, is a fit instrument to plan desperate deeds, and to infuse into the bosoms of others a portion of his own spirit. Thus should we allow entire validity, which we do not, to all the arguments that are urged in favour of the continuance of slavery, no one of them affords the slightest plea for this unchristian practice. It is utterly at variance with every law of humanity and religion, and in its very existence is a curse to the land in which it is tolerated.

—
 “THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR AS THYSELF.”

This is a distinct and positive command. There is no obscurity attending it, no room for evading or explaining it away to suit the selfish purposes of individuals. Were it received with the belief of obedience, it would thoroughly exclude inhumanity from the heart. The sufferings of others would be made our own, and the apathetic indifference with which they are now too often regarded, would no longer be possible to our feelings. “Who is my neighbour,” was the question asked by the Jewish lawyer; and the beautiful parable, which was given in reply, could not possibly be more applicable to any circumstance, than the situation in which we are placed with regard to our enslaved brethren. Too surely have they ‘fallen among thieves;’ men who have robbed them of their own flesh, stripped them ‘of their raiment’—the precious garment of liberty, and sorely ‘wounded’ them with unmeasured cruelty; while woman, who should have been the first to pour into their hearts the oil and the wine of sympathy, and to seek to lift them up from their degraded condition, though it might be at the expense of some of her own accustomed comforts, has too long, like the priest and the Levite, ‘passed by on the other side,’ disregarding of their situation. Yet surely she, to whom the kindly affections are the deepest bliss of life, should be the first to shelter them from outrage, and to plead for the oppressed and miserable. By her own sorrows she should be taught to feel for their far more bitter ones; and in her hours of happiness, gratitude for her own blessings should awaken a sigh for those whose fate is widely different.

SLAVERY.

“By thine infinite of woe,
 All we know not, all we know.”

Aye, by all the long catalogue of evils that are comprised in this one name of slavery—all its vileness, its misery, its guilt—by all that is holiest and dearest to the female heart—all that can stir the soul or awaken the sympathies, is woman called upon to advocate the cause of suffering and outraged humanity in the person of the injured slave. Let her not give credence to those who would persuade her that her interference is uncalled for and unfeminine; that the existence of slavery is no concern of hers, and the attempt to alleviate the condition of its victims, without the pale of her duties. There never was a case in which the sympathy and assistance of woman were more strongly claimed by circumstances, or more imperatively needed. No concern of hers! Why is it not her own sex that is suffering under the most barbarous system of oppression that ever disgraced a christian land? Are not they her sisters who are so despised, ignorant, and miserable? Does she not know that they are driven like brutes to public auction, and forced too, like them to toil in the labours of the field? Is she not degraded in their degradation? and when their flesh is lacerated by the whip, or their hearts still more cruelly torn by the agony of their frequent bereavements, does she endure no portion of the pang? And yet shall she be told, while her whole soul is recoiling with horror and indignation at the thought of such a fate, that it behooves not her to attempt to alleviate its bitterness? To whom then, may woman turn for aid and compassion amidst her wretchedness, if her own sex should shut their hearts against her? But they will not they cannot do so. They know the means by which this great mountain of tyranny may be eventually overthrown, and their assistance will not be wanting, until patient perseverance is crowned with success.

LITERARY.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE FREE COTTON ASSOCIATION.

Your gathering day! and I am not,
 As erst, amid you set;
 But even from this distant spot,
 My thoughts are with you yet,
 As freshly, as in hours forgot,
 When I was with you met.

His blessing on your high career!
 Go, press unwearied on,
 From month to month, from year to year,
 Till when your task is done,
 The franchised Negro's grateful tear,
 Proclaims your victory won.

Oh faint you not, ye gathered band!
 Although your way be long,

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

And they who ranged against you stand,
Are numberless and strong;
While you but bear a feeble hand,
Unused to cope with wrong.

Upon your injured brother look,
And nerve ye with the sight!
Could you the good, the gentle, brook
To wear your days in light,
Regardless that by sorrow struck,
He pines in rayless night?

Oh surely 'tis a blessed fate,
A lot like that ye bear—
To bid the crushed and desolate,
Not yield them to despair,
For even amidst their low estate,
Some hearts their sufferings share.

And never your high task forget,
Till they are chainless—free!
Alas! that ye should be so met,
And I not with you be;
Yet sometimes when you thus are set,
One heart may turn to me.

B.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
CHILDHOOD AND MANHOOD.

"I had a dream, which was not all a dream."
It was the hour of sunset; and as the
fading light melted through the warm sum-
mer air, every thing on which it fell
caught from it a tinge of added loveli-
ness. Yet amidst a landscape of surpass-
ing brightness, no object was half so beau-
tiful as the young laughing boy who was
sporting in his baby innocence among the
summer flowers. His soft piping voice
had just learned to frame a few words of
infantile endearment, and the clear sing-
ing laugh that burst continually from his
rosy lips, was more musical than the song
of the woodbird that carolled above his
head. His nurse, an old negress, was
seated near him on the grass; and her
grandson, a boy of his own years, shared
with her in his frolicksome caresses and
pumping mirth. It mattered not to him
that his comrade bore the degrading name
of slave; as yet it came to his ears only
as an idle sound. He cared not, when
his white brow and long golden curls
sometimes rested against the dark cheek
of the young African, that their contrast
showed him a man of their future fates,
and that a little skin the stamp of an in-
alienable destiny. He knew not that
in future years he should learn to despise
the companion of his artless infancy, and
that the arms which even were twined
often with his own in loving playfulness,
should be valued only while their posses-
sion added to his coffers.

Years passed away, and a trace of
deeper thought stole silently and gradu-
ally upon his beautiful forehead. He had

grown from infancy into childhood, but
for a time his docile and affectionate spi-
rit, that longed to pour itself out in acts
of love toward every breathing creature,
yet remained unaltered, and his eye still
wore the unsullied light of his early in-
nocence. But he dwelt in an atmosphere
of slavery, and the poison of its influence
was secretly doing its errand at his heart.
Change came over him with his bold im-
petuous boyhood; yet still there remained
much in the passionate and self-willed
child, for the heart to cling to with ad-
miration and love. Warm, confiding, and
generous in his temper, and an enthusi-
astic admirer of that republicanism
whose praises were so often echoed in
his ears, he would not stoop to tyrannise
over those whom fortune had placed be-
neath him; and more than once had the
imperative resistance of the young mas-
ter rescued his favourite servant from the
degrading lash. He had not yet learned
to unite private despotism with loud
plaudits of public liberty.

But for a time came over the vi-
sion;—and then the free glad-hearted boy
had risen into manhood. But oh, how
changed from the promise of his early
years! Too surely had his heart been
tainted by the infection of evil example,
and the lesson of oppressive tyranny was
well learned. The stamp of generous
feeling was no more upon his brow, for
dark passions had been there and marred
it with their gloomy traces. The light
of genius and intellect flashed no longer
from his beamed eye. He who had be-
come accustomed to servile obedience,
refused to submit to control;—idleness
and an ungoverned mind had been his
ruin, and his days were now divided be-
tween mad intoxication and sullen chur-
lishness. They who had once flown to
him for redress and protection, now fear-
ed to lift up their faces in his presence;
and he whose boyish visions had been of
smiling faces gathered round him in hap-
piness and gratitude, had only now cared
to wring from them the last drop of
wealth that their worn sinews might af-
ford him. That slave, the playmate of
his childhood, again stood before him.
He alone, of all his master's menials, still
clung to him with something like affec-
tion. He could not wholly forget all
thought of past hours, even in the capri-
cious cruelty of the altered despot. He
had now unwittingly offended—and he
stood calm and patient amid the storm
of threatenings and curses that burst from

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

the lips of his enraged master, till the lash was raised to inflict upon him its disgraceful punishment. Hitherto, some sense of gratitude, for he had been the preserver of his master's life, had preserved him from its indignity; and now he sprung aside to avoid the blow, while he attempted to expostulate. Unused to aught of opposition, the infuriated tyrant grasped his knife, and rushed forward to compel obedience, or inflict a deadlier vengeance. They grappled, struggled, and fell together; but the strong grasp of the negro was on his master's arm, and he lay helpless and powerless at the mercy of his injured slave. The black gazed for a moment silently, but with a look of sorrowful reproach, into the face whose glances had once spoken to him only of kindness and mercy. The thought of other days was busy at his heart, and loosing his grasp, he folded his arms mournfully and submissively across his breast. The next instant the blade was buried in his heart,—and the once lovely and pure-hearted boy arose from the earth—a murderer. **BERTHA.**

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE GRAVE OF THE OPPRESSED.

The sod was fresh that cover'd that lone grave,
Tow'rd's which, at twilight's sweet and solemn
hour

My pensive step had turn'd.—Who rested there?
I asked:—an old man, bending o'er the spot
Wept, as his white hair floated on the breeze,
Which whispered mournfully the tale of death.
Slow he replied, "It is the grave of one,
Who, torn by cruel hands from all he lov'd,
His home, his friends, his country, sunk beneath
Oppression's galling chain.—*He died a slave!*
Lady! I weep, because no mother's bosom
Pillow'd his dying head—No father's hand
Closed the dim eye—kindred and friends belov'd
Were far away, beyond the deep blue sea.
In a strange land he sunk to his last rest,
Unwept by those who lov'd his op'ning youth.
How sacred, and how sad, the captive's grave!
Poor victim of relentless cruelty!—

Of woe—and toil—and suffering—inflicted
By MAN!—**THY BROTHER MAN!**—Hark!—'twas
a voice

From the deep earth!—a voice of BLOOD has
reach'd

Unto high heaven.—Oppressor! God has mark'd
Thy work of darkness—done in the pure light
Of the bless'd sun! Tyrant! the eye of God
Rests on that deep, lone grave! **MARY.**

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE SHIP.

"Oh, what doth that vessel of darkness bear?"

On and on, steadily before the breeze,
with her white sails set, the foam fea-
thering gaily before her prow, and the
sunny waves leaping up around her, as

she moves onward in her course, like a
glad sea-bird bathing her proud bosom in
the laughing waters. Look how beauti-
fully and gracefully she breasts the shore,
or bows her tall spars to the saluting wind,
as if with the receding shore, she had left,
too, all of the sadness of earth behind her.
Alas! who would deem that she wore only
"that falsest of false things, a mark of
smiles," while beneath is horrible dark-
ness, and all hideousness? Her bosom is
the charnel house of hope—the recepta-
cle of vile depravity and heart-broken
wretchedness! Instead of the merry
whistle of the sailor, or the gay carol
poured upon the morning air,—the low
curse of deadly hate is heard there, the
sound of falling lashes, the groan of agony,
the heavy clank of iron fetters, and the
wild lamentations of despair. 'Tis a
SLAVE-SHIP! Human hearts are stowed
away for merchandise in that suffocating
hold—hearts that are bursting with ago-
ny at the thought of the home and the
friends which they shall never more re-
visit, and voices whose tones of love shall
never more come like a healing balsam
to still their painful throbbings. Eyes
just glazing in death are there—bosoms
heaving and gasping for breath amid the
hot poisonous air of the crowded dungeon-
hold—and shackled hands already cold
in death, fastened yet by their iron bolts
to those which are still living. The wid-
owed and the orphaned are there, child-
less parents and bereaved relatives, all
of whom were but a few days since happy
in the interchange of life's dearest affec-
tions. And now all that scathe hath
been wrought upon them, not by the vi-
sitations of the Almighty through the
stroke of death, but by creatures like
themselves—human beings, who have
thus torn them from their native homes
to be sold into hopeless, perpetual slave-
ry, in a stranger's household and a for-
eign land, that their free-born hands
may be bartered for vile gold! **ELA.**

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE BEREAVED FATHER.

Ye have gone from me, gentle ones!
With all your shouts of mirth;
A silence is within my walls,
A darkness round my hearth.

The brightness from my life has gone,
The gladness from my heart!
Alas! alas! that such as you
!From home and love should part!

Wo to the hearts that heard, unmoved
The mother's anguish'd shriek!

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cœlum.

And mock'd, with taunting scorn, the tears
That bathed a father's cheek.

Wo to the hands that tore you hence,
My innocent and good!
Not e'en the tigress of the wild,
Thus tears her fellow's brood.

I list to hear your soft sweet tones,
Upon the morning air;
I gaze amidst the twilight's gloom,
As if to find you there.

But you no more come bounding forth
To meet me, in your glee;
And when the evening shadows fall,
Ye are not at my knee.

Your forms are aye before my eyes,
Your voices on my ear,
And all things wear a thought of you,
But you no more are here.

You were the glory of my life,
My blessing, and my pride!
I half forgot the name of slave,
When you were by my side!

Wo for the lot that waiteth you,
My victim babes! through life;
Who now shall teach you to bear up
Amidst its bitter strife!

Wo for your lot, ye doomed ones! wo!
A seal is on your fate!
And shame, and toil, and wretchedness,
On all your steps await.

MARGARET.

SELECTIONS.

SLAVE-HOLDERS' ARGUMENT.

Here is an excellent sample of a Slave-holder's logic. It should be stereotyped for them! suits them exactly.—*Ed. G. U. E.*

From the Liberator.

PRISON ANECDOTE.

I will give the public an anecdote, showing in what manner a slave-holder can reason.

During my late incarceration in Baltimore prison, four men came to obtain a runaway slave. He was brought out of the cell to confront his master, but pretended not to know him—did not know that he had ever seen him before—could not recollect his name. Of course the master was exceedingly irritated. 'Don't you remember,' said he, 'when I gave you not long since, fifty-nine lashes under the apple-tree? Another time, when I gave you a sound flogging in the prison? Another time, when you were scourged for giving me the lie, by saying the horse was in bad condition?'

'Yes,' replied the slave, whose memory was quickened, 'I do recollect. You have beaten me cruelly without cause; you have not given me enough to eat and drink; and I don't want to go back again. I wish you to sell me to another master—I had rather even go to Georgia, than to return home.'

'I'll let you know, you villain,' said the master, 'that my wishes, and not yours, are to be consulted. I'll learn you how to run away again.'

The other men advised him to take the black man, and cut him up in inch pieces for his impudence, obstinacy and desertion—swearing tremendously all the while. The slave was ordered back to his cell.

I had stood speechless during this singular dialogue, my blood boiled in my veins, and my limbs trembling with emotion. I now walked up to the gang, and addressing the master as calmly as possible, said—

'Sir, what right have you to that poor creature?'

He looked up in my face very innocently and replied—

'My father left him to me.'

'Suppose,' said I, 'your father had broken into a bank and stolen ten thousand dollars, and safely bequeathed the sum as a legacy: could you conscientiously keep the money? For myself, I had rather rob any bank to an indefinite amount, than kidnap a fellow being, or hold him in bondage; the crime would be less injurious to society, and less sinful in the sight of God.'

The man and his crew were confounded. What! to hear such sentiments in Maryland,—and in jail too! Looking them full in the face, and getting no reply, I walked a few steps to the door. After a brief consultation, the master came up to me and said—

'Perhaps you would like to buy the slave, and give him his liberty?'

'Sir, I am a poor man: and were I ever so opulent, it would be necessary, on your part, to make out a clear title to the services of the slave, before I could conscientiously make a bargain.'

After a pause he said—

'Well, sir, I can prove from the bible that slavery is right.'

'Ah!' replied I, 'that is a precious book—the rule of conduct. I have always supposed that its spirit was directly opposed to every thing in the shape of fraud and oppression. However sir, I should be glad to hear your text.'

He somewhat hesitatingly muttered out—

'Ham—Noah's curse, you know?'

'Oh, sir, you build on a very slender foundation. Granting, even—what remains to be proved—that the Africans are the descendants of Ham, Noah's curse was a prediction of future servitude, and not an injunction to oppress. Pray, sir, is it a careful desire to fulfil the scriptures, or to make money, that induces you to hold your fellow men in bondage?'

'Why, sir, exclaimed the slaveite, with unmingled astonishment, 'do you really think that the slaves are beings like ourselves?—that is, I mean, do you believe that they possess the same faculties and capacities as the whites?'

'Certainly, sir,' I responded; 'I do not know that there is any moral or intellectual quality in the curl of the hair, or the colour of the skin. I cannot conceive why a black man may not as reasonably object to my colour, as I to his. Sir, it is not a black face that I detest, but a black heart—and I find it very often under a white skin.'

'Well, sir,' said my querist, 'how would you like to see a black man President of the United States?'

'As to that, sir, I am a true republican, and bow to the will of the majority. If the people prefer a black President, I shall cheerfully submit; and if he be qualified for the station, may peradventure give him my vote.'

'How should you like to have a black man marry your daughter?'

'I am not married—I have no daughter. Sir, I am not familiar with your practices; but allow me to say, that slave-holders generally should be the last persons to affect fastidiousness on that

point; for they seem to be enamoured with *amalgamation*.'

Thus ended the dialogue. Here you have the notions of a Maryland slave-holder.

A "gentleman," from one of the southern states, beat a black man, in New York, lately, for standing on the side walk while he was passing. The coloured man remonstrated, and the "gentleman" drew a pistol upon him, and threatened to blow his brains out. Some of the un-gentlemanly people of New York conveyed the "gentleman" to the police office, and the magistrate ordered him into a room, for a few weeks, WHERE ALL ARE OF ONE COLOR.—*U. S. Gaz.*

[Does the editor of the Gazette mean to convey the idea that all, there, are *free-ly* equal?—*Ed. G. U. E.*]

The revolution of France, which deprived Charles X. of his throne, was celebrated at Port au Prince, Hayti, by a large number of Haytiens and French. We translate from an account of the celebration, the following toast, by the Abbe *Achenoria*, vicar of Port au Prince.

"To the Patriarch of Liberty, the Aristides of the revolution, the citizen of two worlds, Gen Lafayette, who, at the head of the National Guards of Paris, has twice shown to kings, that it is in vain they invoke the protection of Heaven by public prayers, if they keep not upon earth the engagements they have contracted with the people."

The French Chamber of Peers have, by a large majority, passed the Slave Trade Abolition bill.

BLACK LIST.

A law has been passed by the council of Savannah, laying a fine of one hundred dollars on every free coloured person visiting the place.

A negro girl had the small-pox in Nashville, and she was put up in the third story of an old steam-mill near town, and was recovering. The building has been destroyed by fire, and the negro girl with it. It is supposed to be the work of design!

HUMANITY!—The following advertisement is copied from a Kentucky paper. It shows in what light one portion of the human species are regarded by another:

"NEGROES FOR SALE.—Four likely negroes—a Woman and three Children—are offered for sale at Maj. Moore's Lafayette Inn.—They will be sold altogether, or separately, except the woman and her youngest child, who cannot be separated. Those wishing to see them will please call.

"Lexington, Nov. 25, 1830."

From the Pensacola Chronicle, Nov. 30, 1830.

On Thursday night last, a negro woman, the property of Dr. Lawson of the U. S. Army, came to her death by a pistol ball, discharged from the hands of Lt. Wm. H. Baker of the U. S. Army. He has been recognized by the Magistrate in the sum of one thousand dollars, for

his appearance at the next term of the Superior Court.

A large portion of the citizens are loud in their declamations against the proceedings in the case of the individual charged, they complain of partiality in administering the laws

Where offences of a more trivial character have taken place against the laws, in this city, the prisoners have been invariably committed to prison, and not unfrequently carried to a blacksmith's shop, and chains rivetted on them to secure their appearance before the proper tribunal. In the case alluded to, the prisoner has been permitted literally to go at large. Circumstances of this character call loudly for the interposition of the Executive.

From the N. Y. Working Man's Advocate.

WILMINGTON, [N. C.] Jan. 7.

"There has been much shooting of negroes in this neighbourhood recently, in consequence of symptoms of liberty having been discovered among them. These inhuman acts are kept profoundly secret—wherefore I know not. Two companies of troops have very lately been stationed here." [*U. S. United States' troops.*]

SLAVE TRADE.—A letter from Rio Janeiro says—The *Druid* took a schooner close in Bahia with 58 slaves. They had nearly finished searching her, when an officer put his sword into the lung hole of one of the water tuns, and was answered by a cry within. The cask was broken open, and out crept three fine coast of Mal blacks. They immediately proceeded below and found in the immense puncheons more slaves. Of course the sch. was immediately seized, and has come in company with the frigate.

The Captain has been much applauded by the slave dealers here for this new contrivance, which was effected in twelve hours that the frigate chased her.

The above is copied from a late newspaper. The last paragraph shews the ignorance of some of our newsmongers. The "contrivance" is a "new" one. It has been in operation a long time. But what can we expect from the intelligence of editors who scarcely ever fully examine or even think upon, this subject?

A PREMIUM FOR RICE.

The sum of TEN DOLLARS will be given as a premium, over and above the market price for Five Casks of Fresh Rice, of a good quality raised by Free Labour, and delivered in Philadelphia, to CHARLES PEIRCE, before the 1st June next. (1831.)

The gentleman, above named, is well known as a very respectable Grocer, in Philadelphia, who has for several years past, made it a particular business to keep articles in his line that are exclusively the production of free labour.

The premium, together with the market price will be promptly paid, on the delivery of Rice, accompanied by proper reference vouchers from some respectable person well known in Philadelphia.

The "GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION" is published monthly, in Washington and Baltimore, at One Dollar per annum, always to be paid in advance.

Genius of Universal Emancipation.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY B. LUNDY, IN THE CITIES OF WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Dec. Ind. U. S.*

SUPPLEMENTARY TO VOL. XI.—APRIL, 1831.

It was stated in the last regular number of this work, that two or three Supplements would be issued, to be attached to the volume which has just closed. But in consequence of having made some new arrangements for the publication, and being under the necessity of hastily taking a tour, for the purpose of collecting a portion of the arrears due to the establishment, I have determined to change the plan, so far as to print but one Supplement, and commence the new volume immediately in May. The Supplements were intended to be gratuitous, but yet to answer for each month, as they might appear. The present one is issued in the place of a regular April number, though it appears a little after the proper time.

I am rejoiced to perceive that my former patrons, generally, evince a disposition to hold on with me; and, also, that a considerable number of new subscribers have (unsolicited) sent in their names, for the next volume. I hope many more will follow their example, and that they will not omit the necessary proportion in paying the little title demanded for the work. Although it now has a pretty extensive circulation, many of the subscribers send their accounts owing in arrears, great difficulty exists in continuing the publication.

A Title-Page and Index, for the eleventh volume, will shortly be printed, and forwarded to subscribers.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Another *beginning* is made. The work of genuine "reform," in the District of Columbia, has recommenced. And it is to be hoped that it will now be persisted in to its consummation.

A meeting of the Washington Anti-Slavery Society was recently held, at which a committee was appointed to prepare a petition to Congress for the *Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia*. This meeting stands adjourned to the 13th of May, when the said petition will be presented for adoption. It will be immediately printed, and circulated in every part of the United States.

Our friends in other sections of the Union are requested to attend to this subject, and back our efforts to wipe from the national escutcheon *this* blot. We are well aware that the members of Congress will feel themselves under less obli-

gation to answer our prayers, than those of their *unfortunate constituents*; we therefore urge the citizens in every State, to second our exertions. The national legislature *will* act upon the subject when it comes over the *will of the people* demands it. Alas on this subject hereafter.

LIBERATION OF THE SLAVES.

The wrecking of the brig "Comet," on the Island of Abaco, and the liberation of 161 slaves, shipped in that vessel, at Alexandria, D. C. for the New Orleans market, is confirmed. The particulars of the case are thus stated in a Charleston paper, of Feb. 30.

"The vessels ofered shipwreck on the night of the 24th ult. on Abaco. The crew and slaves were all saved, and carried into Nassau, N. P. where they were about to be re-shipped by the owner, or his agent, for the original port of destination, when permission, for this object, was refused by the officers of the Customs, at Nassau, and they have subsequently been seized by the Court of Vice Admiralty, for other disposition. The case is now under consideration by this court. How it will be determined, admits of considerable speculation. The slaves, agreeably to the laws of the United States, are of mixed character. In his relation to his owner, he is considered as property—to the laws, he is accountable as a human being. If the English laws at Nassau consider him in the former point of view they are subject to division among the wreckers, as in all other cases of property; but citizens of that place, we believe, are not permitted to hold this kind of property from its supposed incompatibility with what is termed the freedom of the English Institutions; although this practice in the West India Islands, commonly, is under the express sanction of that government. Considered as human beings, they are there enlarged and free, and the wreckers, and original owners, alike, are refused all claim upon them, in any point of view. In the mean time, many of the slaves have been suffered to escape, and without question, this has been winked at by those in authority."

By later accounts from Nassau, we learn that the decision of the Vice Admiralty Court was published, and **ALL THE SLAVES WERE SET AT LIBERTY**. It is said that about one hundred of them were purchased and shipped by the notorious slave-dealers, Franklin & Armfield, of Alexandria; and it is added, that they had taken the precaution to get the value they set upon them *insured*. I have not yet learned at what Insurance Office this was done.

The foregoing decision is important; and it is

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

to be hoped that it may throw another obstacle in the way of prosecuting the *legal* traffic in human flesh along our coast, which is now carried on nearly to as great an extent as that on the coast of Africa!!

PENNSYLVANIA FREE PRODUCE SOCIETY.

A meeting of this association was held in Philadelphia, on the 12th instant. It was large, and the proceedings were interesting. A Report then submitted relative to sales of free produce, in that city, states that *one* of the grocers (Charles Pierce) has sold, within the last eighteen months, goods of this description, to the amount of *five thousand three hundred and seventy dollars*. There are several other stores, in Philadelphia, Wilmington, Del. and New York, which are exclusively confined to such goods.

The *Dry Goods* store kept by Lydia White, in North Fifth Street, Philadelphia, should be more generally known. She has a handsome variety of calices, &c.

From this view of the subject, connected with the fact that the disposition to promote this concern is *fast gaining ground*, may we not hope that a few of the southern growers of sugar, rice, and cotton, will be induced to experiment upon the plan of free labor? This is the grand object which the above-named Society has in view, and it is to be hoped that eventual success will crown its noble and philanthropic efforts.

A large meeting of the Coloured Men's Free Produce Association, was also held on the 15th inst. The business transacted, evinced that they took a lively interest in the good cause.

Next month, a more detailed statement will be given of the proceedings of these Associations.

THE FLORIDA PAMPHLET.

To the kindness of the editor of the "Herald of Truth," I am indebted for a copy of this famous production. It is a curiosity. The writer appears to possess a large share of the "milk of human kindness," yet it is imbued with the spirit of despotism! He is evidently a sort of hermaphrodite philanthropist, with, perhaps, good intentions, but strong prejudices, and little philosophy.

I have not room to do him justice now; but next month his bantling shall have further attention. It exhibits tolerably gay attire, but the "Daw" shall be "stripped of his borrowed plumes."

HAYTI.

Another silly report of insurrection in Hayti, the desolation of the island, in consequence of the *unprofitableness of free labour in the West In-*

des, &c. has been coined at the Jamaica courier's mill, and circulated with avidity by our prejudiced and credulous editors. It is astonishing that intelligent conductors of newspapers will persist in palming such stuff upon their readers, when they have sufficient reason to believe that there is no truth in it. It is scandalous.

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

In the number of this work, for March, I inserted the proceedings of a meeting of *coloured* people in Baltimore, convened for the purpose of expressing their views of *African Colonization*. Below, I give the resolutions, &c. adopted at a recent meeting, for a similar purpose, in Washington.

At the present time, I shall say nothing as to the propriety or the impropriety of these proceedings. It is enough that the coloured people wish to express their sentiments, upon a subject so interesting to themselves. The time was, when they could not speak through the Press; *but that time is past*.

I am again reluctantly compelled to omit a notice of the proceedings of the coloured people in several of the free States, relative to this subject. Next month I shall endeavour to give the reader a specimen of *their arguments*, from their own addresses, and a full view of the ground they take in opposing the *doctrines* advanced by some of the members of the Colonization Society.

MEETING OF COLORED PEOPLE IN THE CITY OF WASHINGTON.

Pursuant to previous notice, a large and respectable meeting of the coloured citizens of Washington, D. C. convened at the African Methodist Episcopal Church, on Wednesday evening, April 27th, 1831, for the purpose of expressing their views upon the subject of African Colonization.

Mr. John W. Prout was called to the chair and Arthur Waring appointed Secretary.

The chairman briefly explained the object of the meeting, in a short speech, well adapted to the occasion, which was followed by several neat and very appropriate addresses, delivered by sundry gentlemen present.

The following preamble and resolutions were offered and adopted nearly unanimously.

Whereas, we consider that the period has arrived for the coloured citizens of this place to express their opinion upon the subject of Colonization in Liberia, a subject of great importance to themselves as well as to the coloured citizens of these U. States generally:—and whereas our brethren at a distance are desirous of obtaining our opinion relative to the object and the policy pursued by the American Colonization Society—Therefore be it

Resolved, That this meeting views with disapprobation the efforts made by the Colonization Society to cause the free people of colour of the U.

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

to emigrate to Liberia, on the coast of Africa, or elsewhere.

Resolved, That it is the declared opinion of the members of this meeting, that the soil which gave them birth, is their only *true and veritable* home—and that it would be impolitic, unwise and improper for them to leave their home without the benefits of education.

Resolved, That this meeting conceive that among the advocates of the colonization system they have many true and sincere friends, and do regret that their actions, although prompted no doubt by the purest motives, do not meet their approbation.

Resolved, That we believe the *Press* to be the most efficient means of disseminating light and knowledge among our brethren;—and that this meeting do acknowledge, with gratitude, the efforts made in our behalf by the editors of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, and *The Liberator*—and do most earnestly recommend their respective papers to our brethren generally, for their approval and support.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolutions be signed by the chairman and secretary, and published.

Joux W. PUGET, *Chairman*.

Arthur Waring, *Secretary*.

“THE LIBERATOR.”

The great “offender” against the “dignity and peace” of Slavites, W. L. Garrison, has lately added a new wreath to his brow. He has mounted a dashing vignette on the front of his “Liberator,” representing a *Slave Auction*, almost to the very life! A group of human beings appear, of various colours—some large and some small—some serious and some sorrowful. A fellow stands on a platform, with a mallet in his hand, in the attitude of an auctioneer. A sign-board is elevated above the rest of the scenery, denoting a “Horse Market.” But on the front of the Auction Stand, these words are chalked: “Slaves, horses, and other cattle, to be sold at 12 o’clock!” On the left is to be seen the Capitol of the United States, and a *whipping-post* beside it, with a poor wretch drawn up to it, and an executioner plying the cruel lash. The *United States flag*, from the centre dome of the Capitol, overshadows this part of the picture, shielding therefrom the scorching rays of heaven, which else would consume it with the fire of wrathful indignation! Below, is a representation of the rejection or violation of *Indian Treaties*, further showing our justice towards the coloured race.

The whole tout ensemble is but too faithful a delineation of the actual state of things. The principal fault is, the *whipping machine* is in the wrong place. That ornament of a civilized nation, the proudest monument of legal justice, erected by human hands, in the District of Columbia, has recently been removed to the door of the Washington Jail. There are sundry marks, also, around this standing emblem of mercy—pret-

ty deep niches, in fact—that should not have been forgotten; as they must have saved a portion of the torture designed for many a wretched sufferer.

Upon the whole, the *Liberator* increases in interest as it increases in age. The advocates of slavery should *borrow it*, whenever they can;—and those who would like to know more about the system than they now do, and would be willing to patronize a zealous, worthy advocate of emancipation, should subscribe for it.

MULTUM IN PARVO.

One of the most complete recommendations of this work, that I have ever met with, appeared, as follows, in the *Pennsylvania Inquirer*, conducted by Robert Morris, of the 11th ult. The editor has my thanks for his friendly notice. His good opinion is worth having. The “*Inquirer*” and “*Philadelphia Album*,” both of which are under his direction, sustain a high rank among the periodicals of the day. I regret that he entertains a very unfavourable opinion of the public course of our friend, Garrison. That, however, is their own business.

“The *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, published simultaneously at Baltimore and at Washington, by Benjamin Lundy, has completed its eleventh volume. The editor promises that the work will be continued, and the objects of it prosecuted with unabated vigour. Those who have the cause of emancipation at heart, cannot aid it better than by extending their patronage to this journal. Its editor is zealous in the cause, but his enthusiasm is tempered with a discretion that might be happily imitated by some of his co-labourers.”

MOVEMENTS OF THE PEOPLE OF COLOUR.

A pamphlet has recently been published, by J. W. Allen, son of the late Bishop Allen, of Philadelphia, containing the Constitution of the “*American Society of Free Persons of Colour, for improving their condition in the United States, for the purchase of lands, and for the establishment of a settlement in Upper Canada*.” To this Constitution is appended the proceedings of a Convention of Coloured persons, held sometime since, in Philadelphia, and also an Address, from that body, to their coloured brethren in the United States.

We cannot but hail the enterprising exertions of these people with lively satisfaction; and believing that the readers of this work will take a deep interest therein, the proceedings of said Convention, together with the Address alluded to, are here inserted. Nothing will have so powerful a tendency to meliorate the unfortunate condition of the coloured race, in America, as

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

their own pacific, yet spirited, efforts to elevate themselves above their degradation. Every true philanthropist will encourage them therein.

CONVENTION OF PEOPLE OF COLOR.

As much anxiety has prevailed on account of the enactment of laws in several states of the Union, especially that of Ohio, abridging the liberties and privileges of the Free People of Colour, and subjecting them to a series of privations and sufferings, by denying them a right of residence, unless they comply with certain requisitions not exacted of the Whites, a course altogether incompatible with the principles of civil and religious liberty.

In consideration of which, a delegation was appointed from the states of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, to meet in Convention in Philadelphia, to consider the propriety of forming a settlement in the province of Upper Canada, in order to afford a place of refuge to those who may be obliged to leave their homes, as well as to others inclined to emigrate with the view of improving their condition.

The said Convention accordingly met in Bethel Church, city of Philadelphia, on the 20th of September, 1830; and having fully considered the peculiar situation of many of their brethren, and the advantages to be derived from the proposed settlement, adopted the following

ADDRESS

To the Free People of Color of these United States.

Brethren,

Impressed with a firm and settled conviction, and more especially being taught by that inestimable and invaluable instrument, namely, the Declaration of Independence, that all men are born free and equal, and consequently are endowed with unalienable rights, among which are the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuits of happiness.

Viewing these as incontrovertable facts, we have been led to the following conclusions: that our forlorn and deplorable situation earnestly and loudly demand of us to devise and pursue all legal means for the speedy elevation of ourselves and brethren to the scale and standing of men.

And in pursuit of this great object, various ways and means have been resorted to; among others, the African Colonization Society is the most prominent. Not doubting the sincerity of many friends who are engaged in that cause; yet we beg leave to say, that it does not meet with our approbation. However great the debt which these United States may owe to injured Africa, and however unjustly her sons have been made to bleed, and her daughters to drink of the cup of affliction, still we, who have been born and nurtured on this soil, we, whose habits, manners, and customs are the same in common with other Americans, can never consent to take our lives in our hands, and be the bearers of the redress offered by that Society to that much afflicted country.

Tell it not to barbarians, lest they refuse to be civilised, and eject our christian missionaries from among them, that in the nineteenth century of the christian era, laws have been enacted in some of the states of this great republic, to compel an unprotected and harmless portion of our brethren, to leave their homes and seek an asylum in foreign climes: and in taking a view of the unhappy situation of many of these, whom

the oppressive laws abided to continually crowd into the Atlantic cities, dependent for their support upon their daily labour, and who often suffer for want of employment, we have had to lament that no means have yet been devised for their relief.

These considerations have led us to the conclusion, that the formation of a settlement in the British province of Upper Canada, would be a great advantage to the people of color. In accordance with these views, we pledge ourselves to aid each other by all honorable means, to plant and support one in that country, and therefore we earnestly and most feelingly appeal to our colored brethren, and to all philanthropists, here and elsewhere, to assist in this benevolent and important work.

To encourage our brethren earnestly to cooperate with us, we offer the following, viz. 1st. Under that government no invidious distinction of colour is recognised, but there we shall be entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of other citizens. 2d. That the language, climate, soil, and productions are similar to these in this country. 3d. That land of the best quality can be purchased at the moderate price of one dollar and fifty cents per acre, by the one hundred acres. 4th. The market for different kinds of produce raised in that colony, is such as to render a suitable reward to the industrious farmer, equal in our opinion to that of the United States. And lastly, as the erection of buildings must necessarily claim the attention of the emigrants, we would invite the mechanics from our large cities to embark in the enterprise; the advancement of architecture depending much on their exertions, as they must consequently take with them the arts and improvements of our well-regulated communities.

It will be much to the advantage of those who have large families, and desire to see them happy and respected, to locate themselves in a land where the laws and prejudices of society will have no effect in retarding their advancement to the summit of civil and religious improvement. There the diligent student will have ample opportunity to reap the reward due to industry and perseverance; whilst those of moderate attainments, if properly nurtured, may be enabled to take their stand as men in the several offices and situations necessary to promote union, peace, order and tranquility. It is to these we must look for the strength and spirit of our future prosperity.

Before we close, we would just remark, that it has been a subject of deep regret to this convention, that we as a people, have not availing ourselves of every opportunity placed within our power by the benevolent efforts of the friends of humanity, in elevating our condition to the rank of freemen. That our mental and physical qualities have not been more actively engaged in our pursuits more lasting, is attributable in a great measure to a want of unity among ourselves, whilst our only stimulus to action has been to become domestics, which at best is but a precarious and degraded situation.

It is to obviate these evils, that we have recommended our views to our fellow-citizens, by the foregoing instrument, with a desire of raising the moral and political standing of ourselves, and we cannot devise any plan more likely to accomplish this end, than by encouraging agriculture and mechanical arts: for by the first, we shall be enabled to act with a degree of independence

which, as yet has fallen to the lot of but few among us; and the faithful pursuit of the latter, in connexion with the sciences, which expand and enoble the mind, will eventually give us the standing and condition we desire.

To effect these great objects, we would earnestly request our brethren throughout the United States, to co-operate with us, by forming societies auxiliary to the Parent Institution, about being established in the city of Philadelphia, under the patronage of the GENERAL CONVENTION. And we further recommend to our friends and brethren, who reside in places where, at present, this may be impracticable, so far to aid us, by contributing to the funds of the Parent Institution; and, if disposed, to appoint one delegate to represent them in the next Convention, to be held in Philadelphia the first Monday in June next, it being fully understood, that organized societies be at liberty to send any number of delegates not exceeding five.

Signed by order of the Convention,

Rev. RICHARD ALLEN, *President*,

Senior Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Churches,

Junius C. Motel, *Secretary*.

THE AFRICAN SENTINEL.

Two numbers of this work have made their appearance. The editor (John G. Stewart) exhibits much tact and talent in his essays and selections. The friends of the African race should use every exertion to patronize him. Let it not be said that a third attempt to establish a periodical work, by the coloured people, in this country, shall fail. To the influential of that class, in particular, the appeal should go forth in a tone of thunder. Rouse ye! and shew to your traducers, beyond the power of contradiction, that the African bosom yet glows with the generous emulation that erst nourished the arts and sciences to maturity in Ethiopia and Egypt, while Asia made less pretensions to knowledge and moral grandeur; Europe was involved in barbarism; and America was unknown to the civilized world.

I shall give copious extracts from this work hereafter;—and it will afford me great pleasure to receive subscriptions for it, with the view of assisting the proprietor in his praiseworthy career. It is neatly printed, in quarto form, and issued monthly, at Albany, N. Y.—Price \$1.50 per ann.

FUNERAL OF BISHOP ALLEN.

The immense concourse of coloured people, who attended the funeral of this pious patriarch, exceeded perhaps any thing of the kind ever witnessed in this country. No other African corpse, it is presumed, was ever attended to the place of interment, in America, by as great a number, or more sincere mourners. The deceased was most extensively known for his many virtues; and the veneration of his brethren is scarcely limited. The following obituary notice, is from the pen of the editor of the "African

Sentinel." I prefer inserting it to any further remarks of my own.

OBITUARY.

When a good man dies his country sustains a loss; but when not only a good but a great man has been summoned by the Angel of death to bid farewell to existence, humanity throughout the world becomes a mourner. In the death of RICHARD ALLEN, the first Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, religion has lost one of her brightest, most talented, and distinguished ornaments; philanthropy one of her firmest and most practical advocates and supporters; and the great cause of African Emancipation one of the purest friends and patriots that ever exerted his energies in favour of civil and religious liberty. When the humble African was even dragged from the altar of his God by the inhuman whites who disgrace the land, rendered sacred by the glowing recollections which arise at the mention of the name of William Penn, Richard Allen stepped forth as their defender and protector, built at his own expense and upon his own ground, the first African Church in America. He it was that through persecution, through malice and through envy, walked like the Saviour upon the troubled waters, in favour of African Religious Independence—it was he, who "rose up early in the morning and took the stone that he had put for his pillow, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it; and he called the name of that place BETHEL."* The tears of the virtuous will moisten the flowers that the hand of friendship will strew upon his grave—Angels will smile upon him in the blessed regions of immortality, and his noble deeds will remain, cherished in the memory of mankind in imperishable monuments of eternal glory.

* The name of the Church which he erected in Philadelphia.

ANOTHER GONE!

It is stated in the "Liberator," that the Rev. THOMAS PAUL, for many years Pastor of the African Baptist Church in Boston, died on the 13th inst. of a consumption. It is said of him, with truth, that:

"In manners, he was dignified, urbane and attractive;—his colloquial powers were exuberant and vigorous;—his intellect was assiduously cultivated, and produced the choicest fruits;—his influence was as beneficial as extensive. His fame, as a preacher, is exceedingly prevalent:—for his eloquence charmed the ear, and his piety commended itself to his hearers."

KENTUCKY.

The late proposition to form an Anti-Slavery Society, among the *Slave-Holders* of Kentucky, will certainly be adopted. The following is from the *Western Luminary*, of a recent date.

GRADUAL EMANCIPATION.

To facilitate the object of a Proposition, which we have published a few weeks, the author of that has furnished us the following form of a Subscription Paper, which may easily be copied by any of the friends of the cause, and subscribers solicited. With a little exertion we are sure the requisite number for calling a meeting

can be obtained in a short time. The sooner it is done, the better.

Gradual and Safe Emancipation.

We, the undersigned, Slaveholders, under a full conviction that there are insurmountable obstacles to the general emancipation of the present generation of slaves, but equally convinced of the necessity and practicability of emancipating their future off-spring, have determined to form ourselves into a society, for the purpose of investigating and impressing these truths upon the public mind, as well by example as by precept, by adopting among ourselves such a system for the gradual emancipation of our slaves as we would recommend to our fellow citizens for their adoption as the law of the land; and by dispersing such writings as may be likely to contribute to so good an end. The Society will not be called together until fifty subscribers are obtained.

The following gentlemen have already signified their wish to become members of the proposed Emancipation Society. It is hoped that it will not be long before the list will be increased to 50, so that a meeting may be called.

William R. Hines, Bardstown.
 Samuel K. Snead, Jefferson county.
 J. M. C. Irvin, Fayette county.
 R. J. Breckenrige " "
 A. J. Alexander, Woodford county.
 Charles Alexander, " "
 J. R. Alexander, " "
 James McCall, Rockcastle county.
 John Wallace, Fayette county.
 Norman Porter, Lexington.
 Thomas T. Skillman, " "
 George Clarke, Fayette county.
 James Blythe, Lexington.
 George W. Anderson, Fayette county.
 James G. McKinney, Lexington.
 James H. Allen, Fayette county.
 James McDowell, " "

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

The following touching effusion, though not original, may be interesting to the advocates of emancipation. If approved by the editor, I would like to see it copied into the Genius.

A FRIEND TO THE CAUSE.

THE POOR NEGRO.

On Afric's wide plains where the lion now roaring,
 With freedom stalks forth, the vast desert exploring,
 I was drag'd from my hut, and enchained as a slave,
 In a dark floating dungeon, upon the salt wave.
 Spare a half penny, spare a half penny,
 O spare a half penny, to a poor negro.

Toss'd on the wide main, I all wildly despairing,
 Burst my chains, rush'd on deck, with mine eye balls
 wide glaring,
 When the light'nings dread blast, struck the inlets of day,
 And their glorious bright beams shut for ever away.
 Spare a half penny, &c.

The despoiler of man, his prospect thus losing,
 Of gain by my sale, not a blind bargain choosing,
 As my value compar'd with my keeping was light,
 Had me dash'd overboard, in the dead of the night.
 Spare a half penny, &c.

And but for a bark, to Britannia's coast bound then,
 All my cares by that plunge, in the deep, had been drown'd
 then,
 But by moonlight descried, I was snatch'd from the wave,
 And reluctantly robb'd, of a watery grave!
 Spare a half penny, &c.

How disastrous my fate, freedom's ground though I tread
 now,
 Torn from Home, Wife, and Children, and wand'ring for
 bread now,
 While seas roll between us, which ne'er can be cross'd,
 And Hope's distant glim'rings, in darkness are lost
 Spare a half penny, &c.

But of minds, foul and fair, when the JUDGE and the
 Poulterer!
 Shall restore *Light and Rest*, to the blind, and the w
 derer,
 The Europeans deep dye, may out-rival the aloe,
 And the soul of an *Ethiop*, prove white as the Snow.
 Spare a half penny, spare a half penny,
 Oh! spare one half penny, to a poor Negro.

ADMISSIONS
 REPOSITORY
 OF
 Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

TRUTHS.

There are moments when our mind almost refuses to yield its belief to the reality of the system of American Slavery. Its iniquity seems too daring, its shame too broad, to admit of credibility. It seems too enormously impious to be tolerated, except among the rudest savages; and when we reflect where, and among whom it is permitted to exist, and what spot of earth is polluted by its vileness, it is not wonderful that we should again and again, like the illustrious Clarkson, ask ourselves the question—"Can this be true?" Alas! like him, we receive the bitter affirmative echoed back from the recesses of our bosom—"It is true!" Aye, it is true that in free, polished, Christian America, ten millions of human beings are languishing out their life of abject slavery! true that human beings are pronounced by her laws to be merchantable commodities—that a portion of her citizens derive their wealth from the sale of their countrymen—that regular markets for human flesh are established in various places—that the strong laws of humanity, and the holiest ties of blood and affection, are as lightly broken, "as flax is sunder'd at the touch of flame"—true that American women are beaten with the horsewhip, ranked as cattle, and driven with their brethren in herds about the the country to be sold! true that the people of the United States make a profession of Christianity—profess to regulate their actions by the pure standard of the precepts of the blessed Gospel! They assume the character of a brave, polished and enlightened nation—but a nation which suffers her sons to tyrannize over women and children!—polished and enlightened!—when thousands of her children are bowed down by her laws in a state of the most degrading ignorance! It matters not that this state of things is confined to only a portion of the community—or rather, it casts a still deeper stain of shame over those who could, and will not

...ce this stigma from the name of their fair country. But, should our country women sigh over the dark picture we have drawn them of a land they love, let them not deem that they are innocent of perpetuating that darkness. No, collectively and individually, they are in their full portion answerable for the guilt of its continuance. Had they interposed their prayers in behalf of the defenceless sufferers, had they been conscientiously earnest in impressing the minds of all those over whom nature or affection had given them any influence, with a conviction of the true nature of slavery, had they steadily refused to partake in its iniquity, our country could ere now have been redeemed from its pollution. But it is not yet too late to arouse themselves—they have hitherto been blindly swayed from the path of right principle, but they have it still in their power to withdraw their hand from committing evil for the future, though they cannot remedy the past. They have yet the power to prove, that though they might for a time thoughtlessly persist in error, they cannot, and will not, when they have reflected on its enormity, continue to support a system which derives its nourishment from the life blood of human hearts.

The consumption of slave produce is the very root of the system of slavery; while that is firmly planted in the earth and continually nourished by fertilizing dews, it will be difficult to destroy the vitality of the branches. It is this which has bank up such rivers of tears, and torrents of human blood—and when that is destroyed, the whole bulk of this pestilential evil must inevitably perish.

PHILADELPHIA FREE COTTON SOCIETY.

To the politeness of the Secretary of this Association, we are indebted for several Reports, of the months of January, March, and April, of the present year, presenting accounts of their proceedings. As these Reports possess considerable interest, we have thought best to defer their insertion until next month, when a new volume of this work will commence, and a large number of new subscribers will have the benefit of the information contained in them.

The last meeting of the Society, which was held on the 15th inst. we learn was well attended, and an increasing desire was manifested, among the members, to aid in promoting the good cause.

A very encouraging letter was lately received from the Secretary, from the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society at Birmingham, England, and read at our meeting. Much good will, no doubt, result

from a regular correspondence between the various societies in the two countries; and we hope to have the pleasure of laying a part thereof, at least, from time to time, before our readers.

We have been favoured with a copy of the proceedings of the Coloured Female Free Produce Society, of Philadelphia, which we design for insertion in our next paper.

LITERARY.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

REMINISCENCE.

Away and away to Memory's land!
To seize the past with a daring hand,
And bear it back from oblivion's bowers,
To brighten again this dull world of ours.

There's many a walk beneath summer skies,
Starry and blue as some earthly eyes;
There's many an eve by the winter's hearth
Sparkling all over with friendship and mirth.

There's many a ramble through wood and glen,
Away from the sight and the haunts of men;
There's climbing of rocks, and gathering flowers,
And watching the stream through summer showers.

There's many an hour that quickly went,
In the boughs of the old hill grape-vine spent;
There's many a ride, and many a walk,
And many a theme of friendly talk.

How freshly comes to the spirit back,
The merry light of its early track!
But let it pass far around my brow
For deeper thoughts are gathering now.

I have learned too much of woe and wrong,
Of hearts all crushed by oppression strong,
To deem the earth, as in other days,
A fairy theme for a poet's lays.

How may I linger within the bowers,
Bedight with memory's fairy flowers,
While woman's cry, as she drains the cup
Of her bitter lot, to the sky goes up?

How may I joy in my better fate,
While her heart is bleeding and desolate?
Or give my thoughts to their blissful dreams,
While no bright ray on her darkness gleams?

GERTRUDE.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

NEGRO FRIENDSHIP.

The friendships of the African race, are said to be peculiarly strong, and their characters highly susceptible of enthusiastic and ardent attachment. Numerous instances have occurred, in which they have sacrificed their own lives, to preserve those to whom they were united by a strong tie of gratitude or affection. When, as it frequently happens, they are compelled by the will or the poverty of their masters to quit their homes and the companions of their youthful days, and having been disposed of to some new purchaser, are transferred to "another service and another scene," they not unfrequently droop and pine away to death beneath the agony of their feelings, heart-broken with their unendurable grief. "It is inconceivable," says Lang, in his history of Jamaica, "what numbers have perished in consequence of the law for the recovery of debts, which permits slaves to be levied on and sold at *vendue*." Poor fellows! the exercise of the heart's kindly affections, all of bliss that is left to them on earth, and when that, too, is rudely snatched away from them, they can no longer endure the coldness and desolation of life; They sink to the grave unwept and forgotten.

and their fate awakens scarcely a transient sigh of sympathy. Instances of faithful attachment, which, in their more fortunate brethren, would be held up to the admiration of the world, in the slave are passed by as unworthy of notice. Yet who that has partaken of the sweets of friendship, and knoweth the blessings of a free communion of warm and congenial feelings, will not give a sigh of compassion to him, whose happiness has—so unlike their own—no better security than the caprices of another's will! and will not those who, like him, have "mingled hearts, and then been parted," lend their aid to secure him a destiny less capricious? Think of his sufferings and his fate, ye whose glances of joy are reflected back from the circling eyes of your many friends, as if they were the mirrors of your heart's emotions!—think—and when your souls are met in social communion, then pray them to assist you in alleviating the sorrows of the slave.

BERTHA.

SELECTIONS.

From the New England Christian Herald.

[EXTRACTED.]

Our readers will recognise in the following lines, which are full of strength and beauty, the lofty genius of the indefatigable philanthropist, and friend of suffering humanity, WILLIAM L. GARRISON. He has of late delivered a number of addresses in this city on Slavery, and has been admired for the clearness of his conceptions, the forcibleness of his reasoning, and the pungency of his arguments. May Heaven smile upon him, and bless him in his labours of mercy.—ED.

UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

Though distant be the hour, yet come it must—
Oh! hasten it, *in mercy*, righteous Heaven!
When Africa's sons, uprising from the dust,
Shall stand erect—their galling fetters riven;
When from his throne oppression shall be driven,
An exiled monster, powerless through all time;
When freedom—glorious freedom, shall be given
To every race, complexion, caste, and clime,
And nature's sable hue, shall cease to be a crime!

And ye—sad victims of base avarice!
Hunted like beasts—and trodden like the earth;
Bought and sold daily, at a paltry price—
The scorn of tyrants, and of fools the mirth—
Your souls debased from their immortal birth!
Bear neckty—as ye've borne—your cruel woes;
Ease follows pain—light, darkness—plenty, dearth:
So time shall give you freedom and repose,
And high exalt your heads above your bitter foes!

Not by the sword shall your deliverance be;
Not by the shedding of your masters' blood;
Not by rebellion—or foul treachery,
Upspringing suddenly, like swelling flood;
Revenge and rapine ne'er did bring forth good.
God's time is best—nor will it long delay:
Even now your barren cause begins to bud,
And glorious shall the fruit be!—Watch and pray,
For, lo! the kindling dawn, that ushers in the day!

W. L. G.

From the Liberator.

SONNET.

O Persecution! fearful as thou art,—
With scowling brow, and aspect stern and rude,
Thy hands in blood of innocence imbued,
Wrung, drop by drop, from many a tortur'd heart,—
Why should we dread thy gibbet, axe or stake?
Thou dost our faith, our hope, our courage try—
Thou mak'st us valiant where we thought to fly:
Who shuns thee, never shall the crown of vict'ry take,
Thy fires but purify our gold from dross;
Once undiscern'd, our value now appears,
Which shall at interest increase with years;
So we do gain by thee, nor suffer loss!
'Twere base to sacrifice the truth, to save
Our names from foul reproach—our bodies from the grave.

G—n.

THE SLAVE TRADE.—We learn from late English papers that the British squadron on the Coast of Africa have been eminently successful in detecting this horrible traffic. On the southern coast of the Bay of Loango, the Spaniards, Portuguese and Brazilians had destroyed their forts and deserted their slaving establishments. Some time previous to the visit of the *Primrose* to that quarter, the king of Loango had brought 100 slaves to the coast for sale, but finding no slaver on the station, *butchered them all in cold blood, as he thought it too expensive to feed them!!!* The bleached bones of the unfortunate victims were to be seen on the shore.

H. B. M. sloop *Primrose* arrived at Portmouth, on the last of January. She brought 24 men, (including the mate) being part of the crew of the *Velos Pasajero*, captured by her on Sept. 7, who are to be tried for piracy, whose capture has been heretofore mentioned. The rest of the crew had been left at Ascension and Ana-Bona. Her captain, whose arm had been amputated, was left at Ascension. She carried 26 guns, and had a crew double that of the *Primrose*. She had 555 slaves. Others of the squadron had captured the Spanish schr. *Santiago* off Cuba, with 165 slaves; a Portuguese slaver with 35; another off Tomba, by boats; and the Spanish brig *Favorito*, the slaves from which were liberated at Sierra Leone, and the vessel released. His majesty's ship *Talbot*, on the 20th of October, captured the French brig *Duc de Bordeaux* 250 tons, 6 guns, and 55 men. She was bound to Guadaloupe, and had five hundred and sixty-one slaves, men, women and children huddled together in a state of nudity. The deck of his slave deck was exactly three feet. The brig was in fine order, all the slaves and the deck clean. The charge of one gun, a 24-pounder, was round, canister and grape, and was nearly to the muzzle. By the treaty with France she was liberated.

The *Talbot* heard of five piratical vessels. They had all been at Port Praya, and had been captured and cleared without molestation. One in particular, the *Estrella* brig, from Cuba, of 100 tons, and 53 men, and 8 guns, committed many depredations, and disposed of her booty at Port Praya; she was seen off the island for two days under topsails, supposed to be waiting for the *Louisa*, Mackay, from London. This vessel carried 20 guns. The others are the *Prinzess*, a Galega schooner, 90 tons, 40 men, and 3 guns; the *Restauradora*, 160 tons, 30 men, and 3 guns; the *Priemira*, 97 tons, 27 men, and 1 24-pounder; and the *Urania*, 182 tons, 71 men, and 5 guns, all from Havana. The *Urania* belongs to Havana but reported from Cadiz, where she carried a royal passport. They all reported themselves as slave ships, bound for the Coast of Africa, and cleared out at St. Jago, between May 15 and Sept. 6, all under Spanish colours.

Extract of a letter dated Havana, 17th March 1831:—"The Planters in Cuba, as well as in other West India Islands, are in a ruinous condition, in consequence of the low price of Sugar and Coffee, the great staples of this valuable Island. In spite of John Bull's cruizers, two thousand negroes were landed at the ports of this Island within the last forty years, and now command only \$250 a \$300 a head, or less, in one, two, and four years. Several Cruizers are fitting out at St. Thomas, one of which mounts 18 guns and 75 men—a Baltimore privateer—all of course under Spanish colours."

THE

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION,

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MONTHLY PERIODICAL WORK,

CONTAINING

ORIGINAL ESSAYS, DOCUMENTS, AND FACTS,

RELATIVE TO THE SUBJECT OF

AFRICAN SLAVERY.

To hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—DECLARATION INDEPENDENCE, U. S.

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BENJAMIN LUNDY, EDITOR.

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VOLUME II. THIRD SERIES—COMMENCING MAY, 1831.

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1831—1832.

INDEX TO VOL. II.—THIRD SERIES.

No. I.

Editor's Address to the public, District of Columbia, Memorial of Washington Abolition Society to Congress, Page 1. English Mode of proceeding on petitions, 2. The Florida pamphlet, on slavery, by T. Kingsley, 3. Philanthropic Example.—Dr. S. Hamilton, 4. Detestible Proceedings, Truly Christian proceedings, 5. Colored Free Produce Society, Mexico in 1830, 6. More Slaves Emancipated, Trial for Kidnapping, Inurrection in Martinique, Revolution in Brazil, Emancipation in Kentucky, 7. Convention in West Indies, Awful Calculation, Notice—Premium for Rice, 8. Ladies' Department, Notice, Cause, A Specimen of western Newspaper advertisements, 9. More Female Philanthropy, another interesting case, Progress of the concern, (see Produce Societies,) 10. A Kidnapper threatened, Female Association for the manufacture and use of free cotton, 11. Colored Females' Free Produce Society, Lines—O tell me I shall forget, Home, 12. Lines—What is a Mother, If and But, 13. Notice—To Editors and correspondents, Western Weekly Review, Lines—Washington City Prison, 14. African Education Society, Free colored Persons North Carolina, Sonnet to —, William Roby, tract—Contributions for the Poles, &c., Liberia War, 15. Decision of S. Carolina Court, Effect of Slavery in Virginia, 16.

No. II.

An Editor's Predicament, Anti-Colonization, 17. Colonization Society—Mr. Frelinghuysen's resolution, 18. Danish and British Colonies, British West India Population, Population of Brazil—Our own Views, 19. More of the Florida pamphlet, 20. African Education Society, 21. Prejudice yielding to Facts, The Slave—a sentiment, 23. A favourable Omen, District of Columbia, Our Jail, 24. Pennsylvania Sentiments, 25. A Correspondent, 26. Advertising fees—Disapproval of the practice, 27. Female exertions, Disgraceful practices, 28. Self-Exhortations, Female Associations recommended, Twilight thoughts, 30. The Black at Church, Child's Evening Hymn, Extract, 31. Premium for Rice, 32.

No. III.

Editor's Notices—Another change, Patronage of his work, &c., The fourth of July, 33. Convention of colored people, Kidnapping in the District, Petitions to Congress, Canada Colored Settlement, The Liberator, 34. American National Slavery Society, The late Bishop Allen—Production of Slave labor, Affairs in Hay-outrage near Cape May, 35. Prize Essay, 38 39, 40. American Misery, 41. Teaching Trifles, The Season, 42. Elizabeth Green—Notice—Philadelphia Ladies' Society, &c., Lament, Musings, Slave produce, 44. Lines how unlike, &c., Free produce story, The Liberator, 45. Notices, Another new paper, Errata—communications, 46. Slave Trade at Cuba, Arrestment of a Slave for preaching, 47. Premium for Rice, 48.

No. IV.

Editorial Notice, District of Columbia, Petitions to Congress, Slave Trade in the District, 49. Correspondence, 50. Slavites in the Pulpit, 51, 52. Productions of Slave Labor, African Sentinel, Kidnapping in N. Jersey, by the agent of a Maryland Senator, Equality in the British Islands, Colored slaveholders, 53. Kentucky Emancipation Society, Encouraging vs. Discouraging prospects, Affairs of Hayti, Wishes nothing—Perseverance every thing, Projected insurrection, 54. The Mexicans in 1830, 55, 56. Cruelty, 57.—Perseverance, Neutrality, 58. On the Slave Trade, Juvenile advice, 59. The grave stones, The Question, Notices, 60. The Slave's Farewell, Poland, Doings at Washington, Slavery in the District of Columbia, 61. Insurrection in Virginia, 62. The first man stealer, Horrible Sentence, The Black Astronomer, Abbe Gregoire, Ode for the 4th of July, 63. Col. Johnson, Kidnapping in Tennessee, Strange fact, 64.

No. V.

Insurrection in Virginia, 65, 66. Troubles in S. Carolina, 67. Prevention of Slave Insurrections, No. 1, 68. Great Britain and the West Indies, 69. Incendiary publications, 70. The Mexicans, continued, 71, 72. Our friends in G. Britain, The work began by England, National Registry, 73. Extract, 74. Little Sado's story, Extracts, 75. Notice, Evening Walk, Cash in Market, Anomaly in Nature, 76. Negro Slavery, 77. Alarm in Delaware, Rhode Island mob, 78. Disgraceful maltreatment, Franklin and Armfield's slaves, Mexican Emancipation, The American Convention, Expedition to Africa, Wilberforce Settlement—Rev. N. Paul, &c. 79. Colonization, A Fact, Haytian benevolence, 80.

No. VI.

The Southern Insurrection, Ignorant and temporizing Editors—tyrannical doctrines, 81, 82.—Capping the Climax, France, Blindness of Tyranny, Garrison's vindicators, A Challenge, Notices, 83. The Mexicans, continued, 84, 85, 86, 87. College for colored people, An Excellent hit, 88. Woman's interest in Emancipation, Female Slaves, 89. The enfranchised slaves to their benefactress, Appeal for the Slave, Summer morning, 90. A sketch from real life, Poetical extract, A warning to Columbia, The Slave Trade, 91.—The Afric's Dream, Extracts from an Address, 92, 93. Prevention of slave Insurrections, No. 2, 94, 95. An Appeal to the benevolent, What is to be done with the slaves at the South? Jamaica, American Convention, 96.

No. VII.

Editor's Notice, American Convention, Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, 97. Memorials Presented, 98. Important Decision, Census of the U. States, 99. Wilberforce Settlement, The Virginia Massacre, 100, 101. Mexico and the U. States, 102. Persecution of free people of color, 103. Mob at Norfolk, The phrensy of conscious guilt, Emigration of colored people, Prevention of Slave Insurrection, No. 3, 104, 105.

108, 107. Slaveholding, Conversation, 108. Petitioning Congress, Editorial notice, The sunset hour, Slave Luxuries, 109. Apology for Ladies' Anti-slavery Associations, 110, 111. Challenge accepted, How to overthrow Slavery, Definition of the word Cuffee, 112.

Supplement—Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, Refuge for the persecuted, 113. Geographical description of Texas, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119. Abolition of Slavery in Virginia, 120.

No. VIII.

Irregularity of the mails, The Surplus Revenue, 121. Louisiana, 122. Mexico and the United States *concluded*, 123, 124. Brazil, Anti-Slavery Proceedings in Virginia, 125. The Petersburg outrage, 126. Another abominable assault, Flogging Female slaves, Division of Virginia, 127. West Indian Emancipation, Republic of Hayti, Another Euthusiast, 128. Definition of the term Freeman, Threats and Personal Danger, Address to the people of Great Britain, 129, 130. On the use of Free Produce, Extract from the petition of the Ladies of Fluvanna county, Va., Dirge, 131. A New-Year's ode, 132. Apology for Ladies' anti-slavery Associations,—*continued*, 133, 134. A Touch of the Comic, Kentucky, 135. American Anti-slavery society, Insurrection in Tennessee, 136.

No. IX.

The late Stephen Girard, Annual Convention of the people of Color, 137. Virginia Legislature, 138. Virginia, 139, 140. Maryland, Census of the U. States for 1830, 141. Mexico, Brazil, Liberty or Death, Good conduct of Slaves, Abominable Sentiments, African Colonization, 142, 143, U. S. troops in slave states, 144. Not interested, Prevention of Slave Insurrections, No. 4, 145, 146, 147. Female Slaves, The New Year, 148. The long evenings, New Year's Eve, Apology for Ladies' Anti-slavery Associations,—*concluded*, 149, 150, 151. Liberia, Late and important from Jamaica—insurrection, 152.

No. X.

Wilberforce Settlement, 153, 154, 155. Jefferson's Plan, 156. Decision of the Virginia Legislature, 157. Free people of color in Philadelphia, Purchase of Texas, African slave trade, Convention of France and England, 158. Alabama, Cost and trouble of Slavery, 159. Georgia, Review—Torey's portraiture of Slavery, 160, 161.

Winter, The free cotton Association, Flavia Gardner, 162. Inscription under the picture of an aged Negro Woman, Female Associations—Constitution of the Afric-American Female Intelligence Society of Boston, 163. The confessions of the Year, An Apologue, 164. Toussant the Negro Chief, Ancient Slavery in England, 165.—Rhode Island the first against Slavery, 166. Maryland, Virginia Legislature—law relating to free Negroes, The slave trade, Errors in the Census relating to the slaves in the free states, Legislation in North Carolina, 167. African Colony at Monrovia—reading room, Virginia—rejection of the bill providing for the removal of free colored people, 168.

No. XI.

Tour in Upper Canada, 169, 170, 171. The Colony at Liberia, 172. More libelling—Doing at Washington, 173, 174. Their eyes are opening, Legislative movements in Virginia, 175. Proceedings in Maryland—Memorial to the General Assembly, 176. Slave insurrections in Jamaica, 177. Retrospection, National Anti-Slavery Society, Emancipation, 178. Encouragement of free labor, Free sugar and molasses, Maryland Legislature—free negroes in Maryland, 179. Females in the U. States, 180. Indifference to slavery, Cards, Tracts, &c., The Virginia Ladies, 181. John Woolman, Old and Young, 182. Our Country—poetical extract, Prevalence of the slave trade, Jamaica—losses by the insurrection, 183. Indiana—happily a free state, Abolition of Slavery, 184.

No. XII.

Editorial Notice, Tour in Upper Canada—*concluded*, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190. Kidnapping propensities, Emancipation by purchase, Kidnapping in Indiana, 191. Clarkson and Wilberforce, 192. Liberality, The Texas country, Mr. N. Field's letter to the Vigilance Society of S. Carolina, 193. Schools for Colored children, African Education Society of Pittsburgh, Pa., 194, 195. Women and Slavery, Sugar, 196. Friend's School in Africa, 197. An Appeal for the Slave, Pity the Negro, 198. Lines, &c., Wilberforce Settlement, 199. Sailing of Colonists for Liberia, Jamaica—damages and costs of the late Insurrection, 200.

Supplement—Wilberforce Settlement, The United States Telegraph, The Rev. George Bourne, Evils of the accursed system, 201. The natural effects of Slavery, Disgraceful conduct, Jefferson's opinion of slavery, 202, 203. Errata, 204.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

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"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights: that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence, U. S.*

No. 1. VOL. II. THIRD SERIES.]

MAY, 1831.

[WHOLE NUMBER 265. VOL. XII.]

THE TWELFTH VOLUME.

Another period has arrived, when it may not be improper for the editor of this work to hold moment's familiar chat with his friends and patrons:—but it must, indeed, be brief,—as subjects of public importance claim the narrow space to which the *Genius* is at present confined.

Well—it will be asked: What is the prospect? answer, much better than formerly, as respects the ultimate success of our exertions; but, little difference with regard to the severity of toil and privation.

Many honest laborers have already entered the field of reformation, and others begin to see at a glorious harvest of happiness and fame await those who signalize themselves therein.—Prejudice and delusion are beginning to tremble on the lofty pinnacle of power, and the whispers of reason and justice are becoming vocal in the halls of the learned and the influential. The doctrine of hereditary property in man flesh and blood, is about to be exploded among the honest devotees of republicanism,—that of the divine right of kings, and the infallibility of prelates, has in the modern schools aristocracy and the temples of Christendom. *Active exertion* and **STEADY PERSEVERANCE** is all that is requisite for the promotion of our sacred cause. These will as surely command success, in this important undertaking, that they ever have done it upon other occasions. No reformation, in any quarter of the globe, since the beginning of time, was ever founded on a more legitimate basis; and it may be affirmed that none was ever more susceptible of certain progression, were the proper means employed.

As respects my own humble labors—they are not to cease *just yet*; for humble as they are, I am vain enough to think that, *while Providence favors me with the means*, it will be the better to continue them. But, perhaps, I may be justifiable in saying to the patrons of this work, that it is calculated to do some good. Indeed I may triumphantly point to one paragraph in the present number, for the proof. In the ladies' department, (page 10,) will be found a short article, from which it appears that, through the influence, **SIX HUMAN BEINGS** have been liberated from hereditary bondage. This

is, of itself, sufficient remuneration to every one concerned, for every dollar that has yet been expended in its publication. It would be silly affectation to deny that I am pleased with this evidence. However, I claim very little of the merit of its usefulness. To my amiable *sister editor*, and others who have lent their aid, must be ascribed a great proportion thereof.

In conclusion, I will observe, that, expecting to leave home, for a few months, I have engaged a friend to superintend the publication of the work, during my absence, in whom I repose full confidence relative to his ability and disposition to render it instructive and entertaining. Its readers have frequently been indebted to his pen for important suggestions and information; and his zeal in the good cause is steady and unwavering. I shall still, while absent, contribute much to its pages; and my female assistant, whose beautiful effusions have hitherto adorned and enriched the "*Ladies' Repository*," will continue to supply her department as usual. Our friends are, therefore, earnestly solicited to lend us their aid in collecting and disseminating, through the medium of this work, such facts and information as may be interesting to the public, relative to the subject before us.

B. LUNDY.

Having consented, at the request of the Editor, to superintend the publication of this periodical, during the few months he expects to be absent, (if I should find in myself qualifications for the performance of duties so new, and for which I feel myself so unprepared,) I think it best to apprise our readers, that they may not hope to have their first course so highly seasoned, nor their desert so neatly served up, as they have been wont to find it in the *Genius*. Still, if its monthly fare serves but to keep them from suffering until his return, this disposition of my time may not be amiss. I crave their forbearance with inexperience, and other disabilities.

A. GILBERT.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Memorial to Congress.

On Friday evening, the 13th inst. the Abolition Society of Washington met, pursuant to adjournment, and adopted the following memorial to the Congress of the United States. Three thousand copies were ordered to be printed, for

distribution; and the editors of newspapers, generally, are requested to give it at least one insertion. It will be circulated in each of the several States; and the friends of the cause, elsewhere, are urgently requested to forward similar memorials or petitions to Congress, at its next session.

As the advocates of emancipation, in the District of Columbia, are now about renewing their appeal to the constituted authorities of the nation, in behalf of republican consistency, universal philanthropy, and the sacred rights of man—may they not hope for aid from every corner of this extended empire? May they not confidently rely on the prompt and speedy adoption of measures to sound the Clarion of Justice through the national halls, with the deep-toned reverberation of millions of sovereign voices, drowning the shrill echoes of political strife with the thundering mandates of justice and patriotism?

Seriously: we hope that the genuine philanthropists of this nation will now arouse, as the Lion from his lair, and pour into the Congressional chambers the language of firm, unyielding remonstrance against the further toleration of the cruel system of oppression in the District of Columbia. Nothing can possibly prevent our ultimate success, if the prayers of the people of the District are properly seconded by *those who elect* the members of the National Legislature. The members of that body *will* obey the voice of their constituents, in the case before us, when that voice is fairly expressed; and they will *hasten* to obey it, when they find (and this we hope they soon will do) that it is in accordance with the wishes of the great mass of intelligent, virtuous, reflecting citizens, who are the most particularly interested.

We shall not dwell upon this subject now, as we shall frequently have occasion to refer to it in future numbers of this work.

MEMORIAL.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

The Memorial of the undersigned, citizens of the District of Columbia, respectfully sheweth:

That your memorialists, in common with a large portion of the people of this Union, view the existence of slavery as one of the greatest evils that afflict our country; but more especially, do we consider its continuance in this District, under the immediate jurisdiction of the General Government, as inconsistent with those principles of republicanism, set forth in the excellent constitution which we have adopted as the great Magna Charta of our civil rights and privileges.

Comparing those sections of our country in which slavery is tolerated, with those where it is not permitted to exist, we are strongly impressed with the belief, that, both in a pecuniary and moral point of view, the advancement

of our future prosperity measurably depends on the abolition of that system. This is not a mere hypothesis; founded on an imaginary basis; but we have the light of experience, derived from the practical operation of known causes, to guide us in forming this conclusion.

We deem it unnecessary to adduce facts or arguments, at this time, to prove the correctness of the opinion here advanced; for we think it must, in general, be obvious to reflecting minds. And we believe it will be perfectly practicable to eradicate the growing evil of slavery within this District, at no very distant period, in a manner consistent with the safety and welfare of all concerned.

Your memorialists, therefore, respectfully suggest to your Honorable Body the propriety of adopting measures, at as early a day as may be convenient, for the accomplishment of this object. Trusting to your wisdom for devising an efficient plan of proceeding, we shall not presume, at present, to point out a detailed system of operations. We beg leave, however, to premise, that it would be proper to name a period, after which all children, born in the District of Columbia, shall be free, at a suitable age.

Your memorialists conclude, in the hope that your honorable body may duly consider the importance of the subject here presented to your view, and be enabled, through the favor of Divine Providence, to provide a safe and effectual remedy for the evil to which we have alluded.

And your memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

ENGLISH MODE OF PROCEEDING.

The annexed paragraph will shew something of the modus operandi of "petitioning" in Great Britain. It is by such means that the representative is made acquainted with the *will* of his constituents in a *civil way*. It is a kind of "argument" that is irrefutable, and *powerfully influential*—especially when a distant or proximate hope of *votes* is in prospect. Let the advocates of emancipation *reflect* on this.

A LONDON paper, noticing the flood of petitions poured into the House of Commons immediately before the debate on the reform bill, says—The scene on Saturday at the House of Commons was, perhaps, the most remarkable that ever characterized the history of the right of petitioning. On Friday, as well as on Saturday morning, hackney coaches, porters, and footmen were arriving with bundles of petitions; and the ante-rooms, the vote-office, &c, were literally crammed with them. There was scarcely a spare room, closet, or corner, near or about the lobby, that was not occupied with bundles of reform petitions. When the House assembled the seats were so covered with bundles that, in many instances, the Members found it difficult to find a sitting-room for themselves. It is the fashion of the House, that the Speaker should call the names of those who have signed the "Speaker's Paper" as having petitions to present; and he does so in regular succession; but on this occasion many Members waited five hours without their names having been called, while others, tired, after the exhaustion of so many hours, without presenting the petitions with which they were intrusted.

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

THE FLORIDA PAMPHLET.

A Treatise on the patriarchal, or co-operative system of society, as it exists in some governments, and colonies in America, and in the United States, under the name of slavery, with its necessities and advantages. By T. Kingsley, an inhabitant of Florida." This tract contains seven quarto pages, and it is unusual to find in a work of this size so many accords and discords; sympathies, and antipathies, as the intelligent, benevolent, reader must experience in perusing the work now under review. Many of the author's facts, and more of his reasonings, prove exactly the opposite of that which he professes to establish; namely, that slavery may be so regulated, as to increase the sum of human happiness. It is, however, difficult to ascertain whether this is his position—or whether he is serving up milk, to stomachs, illy prepared for solid nourishment. The readers of the *Genius* shall have some of his paragraphs, accompanied with such thoughts as suggest themselves while copying. In the preface he

The idea of slavery, when associated with liberty and injustice, is revolting to every philanthropic mind; but when that idea is associated with justice, and benevolence, slavery, commonly called, easily amalgamates with the ordinary conditions of life."

The association between slavery and cruelty, may be weak in many cases—but how it can be connected between the ideas of slavery, and injustice is extremely difficult to conceive.

Those, however, if any such there be, who elevate their conceptions to this point, will find no difficulty with this paragraph, or that which succeeds it; except being "of the lower class of whites, denominated free," they will repine a little at their degradation below the condition of a black slave:—that they are more corrupt; less productive; and yield less profit and benefit to the State than the slaves. It may be true—and the intelligent philanthropist will give the cause of their worthlessness, and degradation, in the existence of that slavery, which our author praises. In page 4, is the following:

Many, from a superficial view of things, suppose that the aversion, to labor observable in the South, among the working classes of whites, proceeds from natural indisposition. But a nearer view, and better acquaintance with facts, will show that the radical cause is the want of health, which produces an apathy or aversion to work, frequently a relaxation, or want of natural vigour in the powers of life, which seek artificial stimulants; as we see frequent instances of the strongest, soberest and most industrious mechanics coming from the North, becoming, in a few years hard labor, weak and idle, and finally, falling a sacrifice to the abuse of ardent spirits. Some are of opinion, that the want of

health in these classes, is owing to their being unaccustomed to a hot climate. But as many years have elapsed since the first white people settled among the Southern swamps, and their descendants have not improved either in looks or longevity, it becomes evident that people of white complexions are unfitted by nature for that situation."

According to the author's shewing, the whites are out of place in the South; and in page 6, he seems to anticipate, that ultimately, no trace of them will be found there, only in a state of mixture. One would think it would be no very pleasant prospect to southern slave-holders to contemplate their posterity, gradually supplanted by what they deem an inferior race. It is their business—they can avert it. Does not exercise, suited to circumstances, always promote health? Are there not emigrants from Europe, particularly from Ireland, who even at the time they are becoming acclimated, labor hard, and enjoy better health than those who merely superintend the operations which they perform? Do New-Orleans, and other southern ports, afford no examples? Are they rare? He next says:

"Some of our Northern neighbors, living in a state of health and affluence, and not being aware that this prosperous state, in many instances, proceeds indirectly from Southern slave labor, and without duly investigating, and comparing the hardships, and humiliation of the lower condition of their white population with the more comfortable state of the Southern negroes, have denounced the patriarchal state of subordination of the latter, called slavery, as the most abject and miserable of all possible grades of human existence. Now it appears to me, that no one State can be perfectly free from these evils; but that all must experience some modifications of dependence. The negro under the management of a just, conscientious, and humane master; (of which description it will certainly be allowed that there are some) who provides for the physical wants of his servants, his wife and children, in health, sickness and old age, for no other consideration than the equitable one of competent labor, when in health, will surely enjoy a happier and more enviable state of existence than the poor white man, burdened with a family, who has to contend with cold and hunger, besides religious and moral tyranny.

"Moreover, the free white man, with the greatest economy and industry, usually consumes nearly the whole product of his labor; laying by but little, even upon the most favorable circumstances, but with a smaller stock of prudence and exertion, which more commonly happens, he not only consumes all his earnings, but is compelled by cold, hunger, and want of employment or ill health, to apply to the public for charity. Whereas, the negro by his own labor, discreetly restrained under the co-operative or Patriarchal system, not only furnishes clothing, implements of husbandry, and provision, but creates a large export surplus to meet contingencies; thus increasing the comfort and capital of the establishment, of which he considers himself an integral part.

"In short, the greatest value of agricultural produce for export, and nearly all the springs of

national and individual prosperity, flow from slave labor, as is fairly demonstrated by our annual account of exports. It could not reasonably be expected otherwise. The labor of the negro, under the wholesome restraint of an intelligent direction, is like a constant stream; that of the white man is economically measured out by his urgent necessities, or dissipated by his expenses. Besides, climate enables the one to furnish articles of greater value; while the white man's labor is usually applied to raise cheap articles of food for the mere subsistence of himself and family."

A northern citizen, who has travelled to the south, should always be permitted to smile when he hears a comparison made between the intellectual peasantry of his section, and the animated matter called a slave, even if the system which has him for a part of its machinery, should be known by the handsomely sounding epithet, "patriarchal."—And so tenacious is he of the habits of his own district, that he would scarcely be brought to think it a favor, to labor during health, or ability to furnish means, with which another may, *if he pleases*, make his days of sickness or old age comfortable. This is a species of logic, not taught in northern schools—he could not, therefore, be expected to understand it. He is instructed to believe it is as much his duty, and there need be no doubt but he feels it as much his interest, to provide for his own comfort as the owner does in the case of the slave. After giving the Brazilian system of slavery a decided preference, in page 6, is the following paragraph:

"The door of liberty is open to every slave who can find means of purchasing himself. It is true, few have the means, but hope creates a spirit of economy, industry, and emulation to obtain merit by good behavior, which has a general and beneficial effect. Slaves are also allowed to hold some kinds of property, under limitation—such as stock. But the grand chain of security by which the slaves are held in subordination, is the free people of color, whose persons, properties, and rights are protected by law; which enables them to acquire and hold property in their own name, and allows the free children of quarters by a white man, to be white by law.—By this link, they become identified with the whites on one side, and with the slaves by descent on the other; a connexion which perfectly cements the three casts of which the whole nation is composed; and each being perfectly contented with its permanent, lawful privileges, the jealousy, which might otherwise arise from cast or difference of complexion or condition, is totally extinguished, and no one feels an interest in disturbing that with which every one is satisfied."

If they cannot get into the Hall of Freedom, it is not that the door is shut against them—if they should fail to enter, one good thing is effected—the sight of the door makes them industrious, and economical—so that if the *slaves* are not benefitted, it is easy to perceive who is.—He who understands the structure of the human

mind, well knows that the stimulus of this lascivious, and deceptive hope, will effect what coercion never did, and never can. Where, after all, is the manly, generous mind, that does not revolt at the idea of such cruel duplicity? The latter part of the paragraph is a noble countenance!—have always on hand a sufficient number of free, to assist in keeping the slaves subordinate. This is rendered still more practicable, by having this caste mixed.

The remainder of the pamphlet will be continued in our next number.

PHILANTHROPIC EXAMPLE.

Such is the heading, under which the editor of the *African Repository* introduces a communication, from which the following is extracted. We rejoice to have it in our power to aid in diffusing *such* information. The name of *Silas Hamilton* stands enrolled among genuine philanthropists of the age. Why not the name of his equally worthy *Lady* mentioned?

"Ten or twelve years ago, Dr. Silas Hamilton, of Mississippi, purchased in the state of Maryland, nine thousand dollars worth of slaves, and employed them for some years on his plantation in the neighbourhood of Natchez. He did not own them long before he felt it his duty to manumit them, but how to accomplish this consistently with the interests of the country, and the happiness of the slave, was a difficult matter. As the best means of effecting his benevolent designs, he offered them to the American Colonization Society, to be transported to Liberia. But they were obliged to refuse for the want of sufficient funds to bear the expense of their transportation. In 1828 Dr. Hamilton brought them to Cincinnati, and there emancipated them, 22 in number. In 1830 he visited them a visit, and saw painful reason to fear he had conferred upon them a very equitable benefit.

But his feelings and the feelings of his noble wife had become so much interested in their behalf, and in behalf of their unfortunate children, that they determined to devote the remainder of their lives and fortune to the improvement of their condition. To this end, they purchased land in Illinois, and established a labor school to rear up young slaves and qualify them for usefulness in Liberia, by giving them instructions in letters, agriculture, and the mechanic arts, as far as practicable on the plan suggested by the illustrious Fellenberg of Hesse in Switzerland. Dr. H. informed the writer he could without difficulty procure gratuitously any number of young slaves, say 80 or 100 from Mississippi and Louisiana, from masters who would esteem it a privilege to make so good provision for them without expense to themselves.

Last summer I received a letter from Dr. H. communicating the afflicting intelligence of the death of his wife, who had been his faithful companion and counsellor for upwards of 30 years. This calamity seemed to have severed almost the only tie that bound him to this world. He, however, said that he had not abandoned

ject. He had purchased a tract of land near the junction of the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, erecting his buildings, and had with him a portion of his emancipated slaves. I have not heard from him, but think it of importance to communicate even thus much to the public, for the sake of the example, and that Dr. Milton may receive from an enlightened community that encouragement and co-operation which may be necessary to make his philanthropic efforts extensively useful.

DETESTABLE DOCTRINES.

The editor of the "Southern Religious Telegraph" still maintains his opinion relative to the impropriety of teaching slaves to read or write. Speaking of the strictures upon his comments, from the editor of the Boston "Liberator," he says:

"I regret that he should oppose the only practical means of raising the black man from a state of degradation. The condition of the blacks in the Southern States,—we speak of a fact with which we have been well acquainted—is proof that it is morally impossible to deliver them from improvident and servile habits and feelings in a community of white people.—And it requires no argument to show, that moral instruction is the most direct way to impart them the knowledge of the Gospel."

These sentiments are not entertained by the members of the Colonization Society in general, but it is to be feared that too many embrace them. And the only proper plan of proceeding with such men—men so blind or corrupt—is to expose them promptly, and denounce their conduct in the plainest terms. They interpose the heaviest clog to the wheel of reform—they are the heaviest incubus on the bosom of humanity—they point the deadliest shaft to the temple of philanthropy—in short, they are the inveterate foes of justice and equity. All the influence of their "holy office," derived from the respect accorded to their sacerdotal functions, they trample, with iron heel, upon the rights of their fellow men, and anathematize their brethren in bonds. It is in vain they attempt, by words, to disclaim the odious tyrannical soul, while their acts speak, with trumpet tones, the oppression they exercise.

Will now take leave of this *reverend* gentleman, after quoting another short article from the "Liberator," in which he is, deservedly, rebuked without mittens.

INSTRUCTION OF THE BLACKS.—In our number we promised to advert upon the outrageous doctrines maintained by the editor of the Richmond Religious Telegraph, respecting the temporal and eternal welfare of the free black and slave population of Virginia. We have since received another number of the Telegraph, in which we find the sentiments reiterated and at greater length. Our indignation will not permit us to pour out the indignation which is swelling in our bosom. Let it be remembered that their author is a Presbyterian clergyman—a professed "minister of right-

eousness." Jesuitism was never more subtle—Papal domination never more exclusive. The gospel of peace and mercy preached by him who advocates the Popish doctrine, that "ignorance is the mother of devotion!" who would sequester the bible from the eyes of his fellow men! who holds that knowledge is the enemy of religion! who denies the efficacy of instruction in lifting up a degraded population! who would make men brutes, in order to make them better christians! who desires to stop free inquiry, by making the clergy intallible guides to heaven! Now, what folly and impiety is all this! Our amazement is without bounds—our senses almost doubt their evidence. How could the Rev. Mr. Converse (whom we have considered a pious man and an able editor) entertain such detestable sentiments? He has inflicted a severe blow upon his own denomination—upon the christian religion—and upon the cause of emancipation.—May the Lord forgive him, and open his eyes to the sinfulness of his conduct! Let him not preach Popish debasement and subserviency under a Presbyterian garb; for, by so doing, he dishonors the one, and compliments the other.—Besides, is it not mockery to preach repentance and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ to the persecuted blacks, and at the same time to deny them the right and ability to "search the scriptures" for themselves? They have an inalienable right to freedom; their ignorance should be enlightened; instruction will not injure their morals or usefulness, nor endanger the safety of the people.

"If the free colored people were generally taught to read," says Mr Converse, "it might be an inducement to them to remain in this country. We would offer them no such inducement." Here is the cloven foot of colonization—here the spirit that is hunting down the free colored population in every State. Show them no mercy—deprive them of all knowledge—make their situations uncomfortable—give them no chance to rise in the scale of being, among ourselves—and then send them to Africa as missionaries to save souls, and to evangelize the continent!! What hypocrisy!

TRULY CHRISTIAN PROCEEDINGS.

It is pleasant and cheering to turn from so disgusting a subject as that upon which the preceding article is founded, and review the truly christian efforts of some, who are laudably exerting themselves to enlighten the minds and meliorate the condition of the unfortunate colored people in our slave-holding States.

The "Eleventh Annual Report," of the Methodist Missionary Society, enumerates, among others, the following missions:—

"Mission to the slaves of St. Johns, Pon Pon and Cambache.

"Mission to the slaves on the Santee river.

"Mission to the slaves on the Savannah river.

"Mission to the slaves on Little river.

"The missions to the people of color," says Bishop Soule, "have been successful beyond our most sanguine expectations at their commencement. The good effects which have been produced have been attested by masters whose servants are embraced in the several stations. And by a number of those gentleman a very liberal encouragement and support have been given to those missions."

COLORED FREE PRODUCE SOCIETY.

The circumstance of a society having been organized some months since in Philadelphia, under the above title, has been mentioned before in this work. The following is the preamble to their Constitution. We should be glad to insert the articles themselves, but have not room to spare at present.

This association may be considered as auxiliary to the Pennsylvania Free Produce Society, the proceedings of which have been heretofore noticed.

“Whereas, the Constitution of the United States expressly declares, that “all men are born free and equal,” but in consequence of the superior wealth and influence of the white population, they have deemed themselves justifiable in establishing and pursuing the notorious practice of holding their colored brethren, who are the children of the same Almighty Parent, and possessed of the same feelings with themselves, mental and physical, in the most abject servitude and oppression—trading in their flesh, separating parent from child, husband from wife, and brother from sister, without any regard to those social and domestic enjoyments, which they themselves profess to esteem so highly: And, whereas, it is well ascertained, that self-interest will induce individuals to perform acts for which reason and humanity have long been appealed to in vain; and as every individual who uses the produce of slave labor encourages the slave-holder, becomes also a participator in his wickedness, and rivets the chains of the oppressed more firmly: And, whereas, the substituting of the produce of freemen for that of slaves, is a sure method of lessening the value of slave-labor and destroying the gains of the hardened oppressor, and will, therefore, induce him, sooner or later, to restore to the oppressed those inalienable rights, of which they have been so cruelly and unjustly deprived: And, moreover, as it particularly becomes us, who are more closely allied to the sons of Africa, to use our influence to change their present degraded condition, and restore them to the rank which nature and nature's God designed they should occupy: Therefore, we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, agree to form ourselves into an association, to be called the “*Colored Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania*,” that we may the more easily obtain and impart such information, connected with this subject, as may promote the objects above stated: and for the furtherance of these views we adopt for our government the following Constitution.”

The annexed proceedings of a meeting of this association, are inserted at the request of the officers thereof.

A stated meeting of the Colored, Free Produce Society, was held in Philadelphia, on the evening of the 18th of April, 1831. The meeting was honored by the presence of several of our white friends, who are members of a similar institution. The House being organized, business commenced by calling the roll, after which the quarterly contributions were taken up.

The minutes of the preceding meeting were then read by the Secretary; and the minutes of the corresponding committee were read by their Secretary.

A report being presented by the corresponding committee, on motion it was read & adopted. A communication was handed in by one of our white friends:—which was also read.

The meeting was then addressed, by Mr. Ledy; he stated many important things, for encouragement; he was followed by another gentleman, with some very salutary remarks.

It was, on motion, resolved, That this society appropriate ten dollars, to be added to the premium offered for Rice, raised by free labor.

On motion, resolved, that the thanks of the meeting be given to those white friends, who have honored us with their presence and vice.

JAMES CORNISH, Secretary

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

The committee to whom was referred the preparation of a report, relative to the proceedings of the colored Free Produce Society, respectfully state: That they have had the subject under consideration, and cannot regard it in any other light than that of the deepest interest to us—because it looks forward to the annihilation of a practice, which has long been regarded by some of the most enlightened nations in Europe, as piratical, unjust, and anti-Christian in its operations—because it deprives man of the privileges which are inseparable from his constitutional habits, for no other reason than the unalterable color of his skin.

Your committee has the satisfaction to serve, that since the formation of this society the demand and consumption of the articles of Free Produce have exceeded the most sanguine expectations of its friends; and as an evidence of this, we learn, by a statement of Mr. J. L. Pierce, a gentleman who is extensively engaged in the sale of articles of Free Produce, that the sales within the last 18 months have been between five and six thousand dollars. And so warmly have some of the members of the society entered into the spirit of the undertaking, that from 25 to 50 lbs of free sugar have been purchased at a time for family consumption. And one of them has commenced the sale of Free Cotton articles, upon a small scale.

Your committee would further mention that they have had repeated interviews with the members of the white Free Produce Society, from which they have derived much satisfaction and information.

Your committee humbly hope that they have fulfilled the duty assigned them—and, therefore beg to be discharged.

FREDERICK A. HINTON
ROBT. PURVIS.

MEXICO, IN 1830.

We have before us a valuable paper, relative to the population, resources, and political condition of Mexico, in 1830. The writer is, evidently, well acquainted with the subject upon which he treats. We very much regret that our space are too narrow to review it at present. Together with the ample details in Ward's “Mexico in 1827,” (for which we are indebted to the politeness of a friend in Liverpool,) will present us to present our readers, shortly, with an interesting view of the prospects of our Colored Republic. The tone of public sentiment there, relative to the system of slavery, at

manner in which the Indians have been treated by our government; the jealousy, manifest among them, of our designs upon Texas, &c. &c. will furnish important items of information, and, no doubt, be calculated to attract the notice of readers generally. The subject, last mentioned, is one of peculiar importance, and claims the attention of every individual of this nation.

MORE SLAVES EMANCIPATED.

An interesting suit has just terminated in the Circuit Court, at the city of Washington. A family of slaves, (five or six in number) belonging to a person of the name of Dell, a resident of Georgetown, was removed, some years since, to the State of Virginia, and within a certain length of time brought back again to the District of Columbia. After their return they were sold to Judge Duvall. But on account of their having been removed, as aforesaid, contrary to the laws of Virginia and Maryland,—they petitioned for their freedom. A suit was entered, and has been long pending. It terminated on the 19th inst., in the complete emancipation of the slaves. Thus another triumph has been gained for the cause of humanity and justice. A rapid change has lately taken place in public opinion within the District of Columbia. This, we trust, will soon be more openly manifest. The hateful form of slavery is becoming more and more disgusting to the people, as they view it in its various shapes, and reflect upon its corrupting tendency. Let the advocates of emancipation persevere in their praise-worthy efforts, and certain success awaits them, at no very distant period.

TRIAL FOR KIDNAPPING.

The two persons that were charged with attempting to kidnap the colored man who made his escape from the garret window of a 3 story house, a short time since, were prosecuted, and lately acquitted, simply because he was over the age of 45 years when emancipated, and, of course, his liberation was illegal!!! The Court, however, held one of them to bail, and remanded the other to prison, (as he could not obtain it,) to take their trial for an assault and breach of the peace. This suit is yet pending.

THE INSURRECTION IN MARTINIQUE.

It is stated that 150 colored persons have been executed, on a charge of being concerned in the late insurrection in Martinique.

Had our WASHINGTON been caught by the British Slave-holders, he too would have been hung!

REVOLUTION IN BRAZIL!

This is the tenor of a report from St. Salvador. It is stated that Rio Janeiro and Bahia have been completely revolutionized. *So sure as this proves true, SLAVERY HAS RECEIVED ITS DEATH-BLOW IN THE BRAZILIAN EMPIRE.*

EMANCIPATION IN KENTUCKY.

The Society, proposed to be organized among the slaveholders of Kentucky, will, no doubt, soon go into operation. Forty-eight gentlemen have already sent in their names, with the view of becoming members. They have been published in the "Western Luminary," as follows:

- William R. Hynes, Bardstown.
- Samuel K. Snead, Jefferson county:
- J. M. C. Irvin, Fayette county.
- R. J. Breckenridge, " "
- A. J. Alexander, Woodford county.
- Charles Alexander, " "
- J. R. Alexander, " "
- James McCall, Rockcastle county.
- John Wallace, Fayette county.
- Norman Porter, Lexington.
- Thos. T. Skillman, " "
- George Clarke, Fayette county.
- James Blythe, Lexington.
- George W. Anderson, Fayette county.
- James G. McKinney, Lexington.
- James H. Allen, Fayette county.
- James McDowell, " "
- J. S. Berryman, " "
- Thomas Cleland, Mercer county.
- John Green, Lincoln county.
- Robt. A. Lapsley, Caldwell county.
- John L. Yautis, Lincoln county.
- Michael G. Youce, Danville.
- P. G. Rice, " "
- John C. Young, " "
- Rowland Chambers, Cedar Grove.
- Geo. M. Chambers, " "
- John C. Richardson, Fayette county.
- William E. Ashmore, Versailles.
- Samuel Wingfield, " "
- Sam'l V. Marshall, Woodford county.
- Robt. Moffett, " "
- C. P. Bacon, Frankfort.
- Hugh Foster, Fayette county.
- J. T. Edgar, Frankfort.
- J. C. Harrison, Fayette County.
- Rev. Robert Stuart, " "
- Dr. Louis Marshall, Woodford county.
- Col. John Steele, " "
- Dr. C. Wallace, " "
- Mr. James C. Todd, Fayette county.
- Mr. William Armstrong, Mercer county.
- Mr. David Weller, Hardin county.
- Rev. J. D. Paxton, Danville.
- Samuel Warren, Lincoln county.
- John H. Bell, Fayette county.
- Daniel Yeiser, Danville.
- Warrick Miller, Louisville.

To shew of what religious profession they are, who have so nobly embarked in this righteous cause, the Luminary remarks:

"In reply to a correspondent in Illinois, who desires to know what Presbyterians are doing in this cause, we remark, that the first projector of

this emancipation scheme, as published in several of our last numbers, is a Prysbyterian; and that so far as we are informed Presbyterians generally have taken a prominent part in promoting those benevolent schemes whose object is the amelioration of the condition of our colored population."

CONVENTION IN THE WEST INDIES.

The very circumstance of a Convention having been called, as mentioned below, (it is but a prelude to "Conventions" of an opposite nature) may be considered the most unequivocal evidence that the holy work of emancipation is progressing in the British colonies. Heaven speed it to a glorious consummation! But the ascertained fact, that the *free colored* people, in most of the West-Indian islands, particularly in the English, French, and Danish, have been admitted, by their respective governments, to *equal privileges with the whites*, speaks to us in the language of burning shame and awful menace! What will become of our slave-system, and *ourselves*, when power concentrates in the hands of the colored race, on the islands and the main; when order shall be fairly established among them; and when retribution shall be mailed with intelligent valor, and accoutred with the vengeance of ages!!

On the 1st of March, a meeting was held at Barbadoes, for the purpose of petitioning the King and both Houses of the British Parliament, that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to exert his royal authority in order to avert the destruction with which the British Colonies are threatened, by the measures now in progress with reference to the question of colonial slavery. Deputies were present from Barbadoes, Antigua, Demerara and Esequibo, Dominica, Grenada, Nevis, St. Christopher, St. Vincent, Tobago, and the Virgin Islands. Various resolutions were passed by the meeting, setting forth that the Colonies are now, and have been for some time past, laboring under multiplied difficulties and embarrassments, and—

"That they protest most solemnly against any spoliation of, or interference with their property, which they hold by a right as sacred as the public creditor has claim on the national funds—the highest or lowest subject in the united kingdom, his lands, his mansion, or his cottage—or any corporate body their chartered rights.

"That this right of property has been sanctioned by various acts of Parliament, encouraging their ancestors to embark their capital, their industry, and their fortunes, in the settlement of lands, on the express condition of cultivating them by the labor of slaves imported into these Colonies by British subjects. That the consequences of this traffic are not now to be charged against the character of the W. India colonist, whose principal share in the transaction has been that of civilizing and bringing to order and comparative comfort, persons brought into the Colonies in a state of barbarism.

"That out of the settlement and cultivation of the West India Colonies has arisen a commercial intercourse, amply supplying the mother country with colonial produce, giving employment to upwards of four hundred thousand

tons of shipping, and more than twenty thousand seamen, diffusing immense wealth among her people, and contributing millions to the public revenue.

"That the existence of slavery and of property in, or connected with, and depending upon slaves in the West Indies, having been thus created by Great Britain for her own object and benefit, and having been recognized and guaranteed by repeated acts of Parliament and decisions of the highest law authorities, any attempt to injure or destroy property, so sanctioned, is a gross violation of every principle of law and justice, unless full and complete indemnification for all losses which may be sustained, by any changes in such property, shall have been previously provided at the expense of the nation in general.

"That the inhabitants of the West Indies have by their efforts to improve the condition of the slave, already raised him far above his original state of barbarism—have placed him in possession of comparative comfort—have invested him with privileges and immunities, and are gradually proceeding to qualify him for a larger participation in the advantages of civilized life."

AWFUL CALCULATION!!

Reader! Pray thee, ponder the following—Slavery, in our own country, is a BRANCH of this horrible system. What, alas! will be the fate of the nations who have thus sorely oppressed and despoiled the natives of unfortunate Africa?—what the woful result,

"When the malison rolls from eternity's breath,
And her battle-song breathes of defiance and death
To use the language of the great Jefferson, we may we "tremble for our country, when we reflect that *God is just*, and that his justice can not sleep forever."

It would be easy to prove, says Humboldt that the whole archipelago of the West Indies which now comprise scarcely 2,400,000 negro and mulattoes, (free and slaves,) received from 1670 to 1825, nearly FIVE MILLIONS of Africans. In these revolting calculations on the consumption of the human species, we have included the number of unfortunate slaves who have perished in the passage, or been thrown into the sea as damaged merchandize.

It will be seen, by the following notice, that the *Premium for Rice*, produced by free labor, has been doubled. Where are the Philanthropists of North Carolina? Where, friends, where

A PREMIUM FOR RICE.

The sum of TWENTY DOLLARS will be given as a premium, over and above the market price, for *Five Casks of Fresh Rice*, of a good quality, raised by *Free Labor*, and delivered in Philadelphia, to CHARLES PEIRCE, before the 1st of September next. (1831.)

The gentleman, above named, is well known as a very respectable Grocer, in Philadelphia, who has for several years past, made it a particular business to keep articles in his line that are exclusively the production of *free labour*.

The premium, together with the market price will be promptly paid, on the delivery of the Rice, accompanied by proper reference and vouchers from some respectable person who is known in Philadelphia.

Ladies' Repository.

Philanthropic and Literary.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

OUR CAUSE.

The commencement of a fresh volume!—'tis a fit theme for a paragraph—and it may be a fit occasion for examining into our own feelings with respect to the cause in which we are engaged. Have our eighteen month's experience in the field of emancipation cooled our zeal and wearied us with our task? Or has it been, rather, a stimulus to our ardor, and incentive to renewed exertions? It should have been so, from the nature of the subject, and it has. We are engaged in combatting one of the darkest crimes that ever disgraced humanity—in pleading for a portion of our own sex, who are shut out by American despotism, not only from their privileges as women, but even from their commonest rights as human beings. It is meet, therefore, that our detestation should increase with our knowledge of the subject—that a familiarity with the features of slavery should only render their appearance more horrible—and that every hour of reflection upon the subject should augment our sorrow for the prevailing indifference to the situation of its victims. We thank God that he has given us the means of publicly declaring our sentiments, and endeavoring to awaken our country-women from the strange torpor of their apathy. Our voice may be long unheeded; our entreaties may be regarded with careless contempt, or retorted with light ridicule. But we will not be discouraged—we will still hold on our way—again and again we will renew our importunities and repeat our warnings—again and again we will present the subject before them, until we succeed in attracting their attention. While we have the power to lift up our voice in behalf of our miserable sisters, we shall not cease to do so. While we behold one portion of our sex, regarded only as pecuniary wealth, and the others flitting thoughtlessly through life, unaffected by the sufferings of those oppressed ones, we will not remit our efforts to excite their sympathy, dwelling on the dark tale of the African's accumulated wrongs. We are not so miserably selfish that we can sit down unconcerned in the guilty enjoyment of our own better lot, while their moans are ringing in our ears, and their tears and their blood sprinkled upon the very hem of our garment. No! in their degradation, we are degraded—with their sufferings, we are afflicted—with their stripes, we are wounded; and for their miserable fate, we entreat the commiseration of our mutual sisters. Our cause is a noble

one! and would to Heaven we might see a crowd of our talented country-women rallied round the same standard, carrying light and conviction to every heart!

A SPECIMEN.

Let our readers peruse and reflect upon the following advertisement. It is selected only as an individual sample from the many, which disgrace our southern newspapers. It sketches the outlines of a scene of very frequent occurrence, and may enable those who are not familiar with such things to form some idea of the sufferings endured by their countrywomen.

"Valuable Negroes."

"An excellent female servant, thirty-four years of age, with her two children, the one *four years old*, and the other turned of *twelve months*, will be sold *low for cash*. The whole will be sold together, or SEPARATELY, to suit purchasers."

And this is slavery—*American slavery!*—These are the deeds of a christian land! And will the pious and the gentle, the enlightened and the benevolent, hear of them with the unmoved brow of self-satisfied apathy? Mothers! which one among you will not lay down the paper with a murmur of execration against the brute who could so wantonly trifle with the holy chords of maternal tenderness? Will you not snatch up the prattler by your side, to hide amid his clustering curls the burning tears of your sympathy and indignation? Will you not clasp him to your bosom in the emotion of your startled love, as though some hand were suddenly stretched out to rifle you too, of your heart's brightness? Oh, if your heart is indeed so touched, then pause a moment in that mood of softness, and, with your infant still upon your knee, give up your thoughts to serious reflection. Let the consciousness come with its solemn and undeniable truth upon your heart, that you have been through the greater part of life, and probably are still at this moment, a supporter of this guilty system, and an accomplice in its enormous cruelties. If you have never lifted up your voice against it, if its products are in your house and on your table, ministering to the gratification of your vanity and your luxury, if you have never pleaded with those around you, to combine their efforts with yours, in resisting the demoniac influence of oppression, then be assured that you have fallen far short of your duty, and that the taint of crime is upon you. Remember that the voice of your sister's agony "crieth out against you," from the prison cell and the market place, where her degradation and her tears have been witnessed by men and angels, while you made no effort to rescue her from her lot of darkness.—And when you kneel at eventide, with your

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

fond hand laid upon the tresses of your sinless child, let the fearful thought start up amidst your prayers that *that* hand is stained with a dark blot of infamy and oppression. Think when your heart is lifted up to beseech a blessing from a *just* and righteous, as well as most merciful Deity, how you have neglected to alleviate the misery of your fellow creatures; and, while you shrink from the merited pang of self-reproach, let its present endurance teach you no longer to deserve it. Picture to yourself what would be the agony of your feelings, was your infant about to be severed from your arms, forever, to "*suit*" the *convenience* of some cruel barbarian. Think how you would rend the air with your cries, were that fair young girl who is now by your side, with her dancing steps of joy, and the soft music of her affectionate voice, borne into your arms a bleeding victim to the savage anger of some unfeeling monster—and while you dash away the tear that has gathered to your eye at the bare imagination of such a circumstance, breathe a high resolve that you will, from this time henceforward, aid, to the utmost of your power, in abolishing a system which gives birth to such atrocities.

MORE FEMALE PHILANTHROPY.

It is with the greatest pleasure that we lay the interesting extract appended to this article before our readers. Though we may even subject ourselves to the charge of egotism, we cannot consent to withhold such valuable information from them. How happy must this good lady now feel, in the moments of retirement and reflection! All the wealth of the Indies, and the aggregate fame of the mightiest heroes, would never, never, bring to the mind of their possessor that blissful peace—that heavenly felicity—which arises from the pure consciousness of having performed such noble and virtuous acts. A blessing must ever attend the completion of a work so holy in its design and just in its nature. And the influence that it will have upon the community, will be both salutary and extensive.

The paragraph is extracted from a letter lately received at the office of the Genius of Universal Emancipation, from the Rev. Jesse Haile, of Illinois, formerly of Arkansas Territory.

I have received a letter from Mr. Rees Alexander, of Arkansas, a gentleman of high respectability, in which he says: "I must not forget to tell you that the papers (*Genius of U. E.*) you left with Mother Dixon" (her name is Mary) "has had a most powerful influence. They have converted her from slavery. She has recently emancipated all her slaves.—She employed the best attorney in the Territory to attend to the business for her, in order that there might be no future advantage taken.—She

has recorded a bill of emancipation of all her slaves at her death; and also has made a will, bequeathing to them two thirds of all her property, of every description; which will is also recorded. Would to God that all who hold them would do likewise!" Then would their light break forth out of obscurity, and their darkness would become as the noon-day."

You will understand that, when I left the Territory, I deposited the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* with the above named Mary Dixon, who is an aged widow. She had six slaves.

ANOTHER INTERESTING CASE.

We learn that an aged widow lady, of the name of Greenfield, who has resided several years in the city of Philadelphia, and who had emancipated a large number of slaves in Louisiana, has recently visited that section of country, for the express purpose of taking them to Hayti, in order to prevent the new law, enacted there, from reducing them again to slavery. This truly benevolent lady is said to be upwards of *seventy years of age!* Tell us no more of the patriotism of "*Grecian or Roman Matrons*"—American Female philanthropy will soon outshine them all. Those deeds of transcendent virtue, which we already have the pleasure of recording, will embellish the pages of history and excite to emulation an admiring posterity.

PROGRESS OF THE CONCERN.

The following has been communicated, for insertion, by a female friend, in Philadelphia. It is an extract of a letter from an acquaintance in Boston, whose opportunities for procuring information relative to the subject, and whose zeal in the good cause, are unquestionable. We thank our friend for her communication; and we hope she will remember us, when she may have any thing further that will be interesting to the advocates of African emancipation, whatever may be the particular matter to which it relates:

"I am sure it will animate your heart to learn, that there is a growing uneasiness among many persons in this city—male and female—in regard to the use of articles raised by slave labor, and a desire to procure those which are the products of free labor. We expect, very soon, to get up a *Free Produce Society*; and, if we succeed, (or, indeed, whether we succeed or not,) we wish to have a *Free Goods' Store* in Boston. I was agreeably surprised to receive, a few days since, from an individual in an obscure village in New Hampshire, who wished to know where these Free Goods could be obtained, and said that a society would be immediately formed in his village, if they could be purchased in Boston. You see, therefore, that the good work is progressing. The little "*leaven*," begun in Philadelphia, I trust will soon leaven all the Free States."

The writer of the above, we learn, has ordered a number of articles in the *Free Produce*

line, from Philadelphia, and also made many enquiries relative to the subject generally. Our sisters, who have embarked in this noble undertaking, should feel encouraged to persevere in their philanthropic labors. Their reward will be sure and glorious.

A KIDNAPPER FRIGHTENED!

The following is an extract of a recent letter from an esteemed female friend, in North Carolina, to the editors of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. She will please accept our thanks for her interesting communication. The anecdote is particularly instructive and amusing.

"The inland slave trade was ever, perhaps, carried on with more industry than it now is, through this part of the State. They go the main road, through our plantation, handcuffed, by dozens. There have been some acts of cruelty committed, within a few miles of this place, that would increase the darkness of your *black list*. I frequently intended giving you an account thereof, but was hindered, until the transactions got out of date.* One laughable instance of kidnapping lately occurred at Chapel Hill. A gambler stole a child in the evening from its mother, who had just been set free.— He rode all night, and got within a half mile of our house at sunrise. It is supposed he then first discovered that the child (three years old) had six toes on one foot. He put it down, and ran away from it!!"

FEMALE ASSOCIATION FOR THE MANUFACTURE AND USE OF FREE COTTON.

The several Reports, received a short time since, from the Secretary of this Association, are inserted below. We are gratified to learn that our female friends in Philadelphia are encouraged to persevere in their laudable undertaking. The *fruits* of their labors must not be looked for *at the time of budding*,—but they will appear in perfection, at a proper season, if the regular operations of philanthropic exertion be not impeded.

At a stated meeting of the Female Association of Philadelphia for the Manufacture and Use of Free Cotton, held 3d mo. (March) 16th, 1831, it was agreed to call a special meeting on the evening of the 15th of 4th month, (April,) for the purpose of giving information to such Friends, attending the yearly meeting, whose interest in the abolition cause would induce them to give attendance thereto. Accordingly, a considerable number convened, and the following Reports were read:

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT.

The Committee having discharged the trust committed, during the last year, as exhibited by the monthly reports, inform the Association: That the thirty bales of cotton have been manu-

*No, no, sister; such things do not get "out of date" soon. It is "never too late to do good"—never too late to expose such wickedness.— Let the people *know* the extent of the evils of slavery, that they may be convinced of the necessity of exerting themselves to counteract them.

factured, and most of the goods disposed of. In addition to those mentioned in the report of last month, have been received eleven pieces of Canton flannel, fourteen of sheeting, sixty-three of shirting, some finer, bleached, and some dimity.

The increased inquiry, the multiplied demand, and the ready sale of our goods, are stimulating causes to persevere in the course we have hitherto adopted. Nathan Hunt, Jr. having been addressed by our corresponding committee, to procure a large supply of the last year's growth of free cotton, we are in daily anticipation of its arrival.

"Do good and communicate," is a gentle yet impressive command; simple in its expression, but extensive in its import. We feel much inability to accomplish what we ardently wish,—and we know that our feeble efforts are like the "small dust in the balance" towards the great cause of Negro emancipation; still we believe our thus meeting together has not been altogether in vain, but has tended to strengthen and encourage each other to persevere in the good cause, measuring the inconveniences to which we are subjected, and the sacrifice of fine clothing, by the sufferings our fellow-creatures have endured for the procuring of such. We believe considerations of this kind would enhance the value of a coarse article, and even direct our choice thereto.

Thus even social intercourse may be made the vehicle for promoting good actions, by exciting desires for using our utmost efforts to free our brethren and sisters in bondage.

First Month (January) 17, 1831.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THIRD MONTH (MARCH) 1831.

Although little has transpired since the date of our last report, we think proper to invite your attention to some subjects relative to our affairs. The last lot of Cotton has been worked up, and that expected from North Carolina not having arrived, there is necessarily a suspension in the manufacture of goods at present. We have observed in a daily paper an advertisement of a lot of St. Domingo cotton, said to be of a quality nearly equal to the Sea Island. As the duty arising from importation increases the price, perhaps three cents per pound above that of the same article raised on the Continent, it offers no inducement to Thomas Craig to purchase it. The Committee have been cautious in holding out encouragement to him to buy it, apprehending they were not warranted in engaging to take all the goods made from it, lest there should not be a sufficient demand for the articles ordered at the advanced prices.

Six hundred and fifty-four yards of Muslin have been sent to Thomas Lindley, who has promised to use exertion to have it printed, according to patterns selected, in the course of a few weeks. The same quantity, of a coarser kind, has been sent to Jeremiah Harrocks, to be colored and glazed.

REPORT PRESENTED TO THE SPECIAL MEETING, HELD 4TH MONTH (APRIL) 15, 1831.

The purchasing committee having been informed that a small lot of St. Domingo cotton, and two bales of South Carolina cotton, prepared by free persons, were to be sold, they communicated the intelligence to Thomas Craig, who has proposed to purchase and commence the manufacturing of them.

A letter was read, from Nathan Hunt, Jr. to

a merchant in this city, stating that, owing to the general and protracted drought last summer, the cotton crops on the uplands are very short, and in that section of the country a considerable diminution is sustained. Discouraging as this may appear, he has nevertheless persevered in his inquiries, and believes he will obtain twenty-five or thirty bales of free cotton, and intends embracing the earliest opportunity of shipping them to Philadelphia.

An interesting communication is received from our correspondents, the members of the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Birmingham, West Bromwich, Wednesbury, and Walsall, in Great Britain, containing much valuable information, relating to the important subject in which we are engaged. Among other matters, the Secretary states that, with one exception only, she knows of no ladies' society in England that has not resolved to reject the use of West India sugar, because it is the great staple and support of British slavery in their colonies.

When we consider the advantages we possess, and contrast them with the miseries of the poor slaves, a train of serious reflection takes possession of our minds. Our sympathies are excited on account of their sufferings, and our feelings revolt at the degradation to which they are subjected. Here then let us inquire of ourselves, whether we participate in this which we so much regret. Yes, our very garments and our tables assure us of the fact. But we deem it unnecessary to reiterate the miseries attendant on slavery. These have been too frequent for memory to lose sight of. The practical lesson is now before us; let us be diligent to learn it, and endeavor to provide ourselves with such articles as are the produce of free labor,—thereby lessening the demand for goods manufactured by slaves:—then, and not till then, shall we be provided with an argument against the slave owner, and an insurmountable barrier to his most plausible reasonings.

COLORED FEMALES' FREE PRODUCE SOCIETY.

We have been obligingly furnished with the following proceedings of a late meeting of this Association, and cheerfully insert them—partly to shew the interest which they take in this concern, and partly to inform our white friends of the regular manner in which they transact their business.

At a meeting of the Colored Female Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania, held in Bethel Church on the evening of January 24, 1831—

Mrs. Judith James was called to the chair, and Mrs. Laetitia Rowley appointed Secretary.

After reading the Constitution, the nominating committee reported; and, on motion, it was unanimously received. The meeting then proceeded to an election of officers, by ballot, as required by the Constitution.

On counting the votes in the presence of the judges, the following persons were declared duly elected for the year 1831.

Mrs. Judith James, *President*.

Mrs. Susannah Cork, *Vice-President*.

Mrs. Hester Burr, *Treasurer*.

Mrs. Laetitia Rowley, *Secretary*.

Committee of Correspondence.—Priscilla Wilkins, Rebecca Hutchins, Mary Benjamin, Sarah White, Pleasant Lloyd, Lydia Lecompt,

Elizabeth Baker, Martha Holcombe, Maria Potts, Hannah Alexander.

After transacting some further business, the meeting adjourned *sine die*.

JUDITH JAMES, *President*,
Lactitia Rowley, *Secretary*.

• For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

O TELL ME NOT I SHALL FORGET.

Oh! tell me not I shall forget,
Amid the scenes of nature's reign,
The cheeks with bitter tear-drops wet,
The hearts whose every throb is pain.

The wood-bird's merry notes may ring,
Exulting 'neath the free blue sky;
But louder still the breezes bring
The echo of a sister's cry.

The forest brook may sparkle fair,
And win my heart to love its sheen;
But still it shows me mirror'd there
The image of a distant scene.

The verdant sod around my feet,
The treasure of its flowers may spread,
And close embowering branches meet,
In fresh'ning coolness o'er my head.

Yet not for these, oh! not for these,
Can I forget the Afric's woe,
The sighs that float on every breeze,
The streaming tears that ceaseless flow.

No! though the loveliness of earth,
Hate touch'd my spirit like a spell,
And sooth'd me back to joy and mirth,
When darkness else had round it feil.

Though not the simplest bud that droops
Beneath its weight of morning dew,
When light the orient zephyr stoops
To trifle with its petals blue.

Though not a breeze that stirs the grove,
Or wing that cleaves the summer air,
But hath a link upon my love,
Or strikes some chord of feeling there.

Yet think not they can lull my heart,
To carelessness of human woe;
Or bid the bitter tears that start
For Afric's wrongs no longer flow.

GERTRUDE.

• For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

HOME.

Home! that dearest spot upon this earth! that gathering-place of the hearts best affections!—it is the pole-star of the heart to which it turns with true and undeviating gaze, amidst all its wanderings. The bark hut of the desert dweller is as dear to him, as the costly palaces of crowned kings, to their proud inhabitants; it is invested with the same sacred charm, the same sweet spell, and is, perhaps, even better loved for its very humility. To the negro slave his home is peculiarly dear. The scenes of his childhood have a thousand links upon his heart, which are soon lost or forgotten by those to whom the whole world is but a broader dwelling. Every tree, every stone, is associated with some cherished remembrance. The ashes of his buried

friends lie close within its precincts, and he clings to that buried dust with a tenacity of affection, that is unknown to those who lay their dead to moulder away far from them, in the appointed places of graves. Sickness, sufferings, nay even death itself, is frequently more preferable to the slave, than to part from the spot to which he has given, what is truly to him, the consecrated name of home. Yet, alas! how often is he severed at the command of tyrannical caprice, not only from the scenes which he has so long loved, but from all those for whose sake they were so dear to him. His children are scattered over the face of the earth; his wife has been torn from him, and conveyed he knows not whither; and yet he is still required to toil on, amidst his heart's ruin, as though his sinews were but the acting levers of a mere machine, unknowing of any other exciting principle than the control of their director.

GERTRUDE.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

WHAT IS A SLAVE, MOTHER?

What is a slave, mother? I heard you say
That word with a sorrowful voice one day;
And it came again to my thoughts last night,
As I laid awake in the broad moon-light;
Methinks I have heard a story told,
Of some poor men who are bought and sold,
And driven abroad with stripes to toil
The live-long day on a stranger's soil,
Is this true, mother?

May children as young as I be sold,
And torn away from their mothers hold—
From home—from all they have loved & known,
To dwell in the great wide world alone,
Far, far away in some distant place,
Where they never may see their parents face?
Ah! how I should weep to be torn from you.
Tell me dear mother, can this be true?

Alas, yes my child.

Does the master love the slave child well,
That he takes away in his house to dwell?
Does he teach him all that he ought to know,
And wipe his tears when they sometimes flow—
And watch beside him in sickness and pain,
Till health comes back to his cheek again—
And kneel each night by his side to pray,
That God will keep him through life's rough way?

Alas, no, my child.

Ah, then must the tales I have heard be true,
Of the cruel things that the masters do;
That the poor slaves often must creep to bed,
On their scatter'd straw, but scantily fed;
Be sometimes loaded with heavy chains;
And flogged till their blood the keen lash stains;
While none will care for their bitter cry,
Or soothe their hearts when their grief is high!

It is so, my child.

And is it not, mother, a sinful thing,
To bid them go labor and delve the soil,
And seize the reward of their weary toil—
For men to tear men from their homes away
And sell them for gold like a lawful prey?
Oh surely the land where such deeds are done,
Must be a most savage and wicked one!

It is this, my child.

MARGARET.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

IF AND BUT.

These little words seem, sometimes, almost as if they were gifted with supernatural power; for diminutive as they are, they frequently form a bulwark apparently impenetrable to the attacks of reason and argument. They are cousins german, and usually act in concert; but we have succeeded for once in forming them into opposition with each other, and ask the attention of our readers to the result, in the following dialogue:

If—I was convinced that my efforts in the manner you speak of, could really advance the interests of Emancipation, I should not hesitate to engage in it. What you say respecting slavery is entirely true. It is a barbarous system, and a disgrace to our country.

But—you will not suffer yourself to be convinced. You can easily make the trial. The use of Free Produce is a very ready, as well as feminine method of avowing your sentiments, and making the experiment.

If—the community at large would adopt that plan, I too, should be willing to unite with it. At present it would subject me to much inconvenience, and many deprivations, without producing any effect on the condition of the slaves, besides exposing me to the imputations of affecting singularity.

But—you are a portion of that community, and you do not, and cannot know, what effect, your example and influence may have upon the conduct of others. For the least, allow me to assure you, that you will soon learn to regard your inconveniences and privations, as very trifling.

If—every one were to follow your advice, I fear the situation of the slaves would be rendered more painful than at present; and thus we should injure those whom we meant to serve.—For their masters being unable to dispose of the produce of their ground, could no longer maintain them in tolerable comfort.

But—they could *emancipate* them, and allow them to maintain themselves with the wages of their hired labor. And they would do so; for that would at once remove the bar to their prosperity. This would occasion no violent convulsion, and the negroes generally would still labor for a time on the plantations to which they had been accustomed, and pass quietly and gradually from a state of degraded ignorance, to that of a virtuous, refined, and intelligent people.

If—your picture could ever be realized, it would be a happy thing for your country; and if I were actually a slave holder, I think I should not long remain so. As I have no slaves in my possession, I consider myself justifiable in taking no part in the matter.

But—are you quite certain that you are not virtually a slave holder? I confess that I consider you such. The planter is merely your agent, or a more active partner in a speculation of which you virtually reap the benefit. The system of slavery derives its very existence from the consumers of its products, and how they can imagine themselves exempt from the responsibility of its guilt, I am at a loss to comprehend. The two classes are indivisibly connected with each other, and if the conduct of one is criminal, that of the other must necessarily be the same. You tell me that you cannot encounter the trouble and inconvenience of doing any thing further than occasionally in-

dulging in a pathetic lamentation over the sufferings of the poor slaves; and the miscalled owner of a hundred of his fellow creatures, whom he claims the right to shoot, or scourge, or fether, at his sovereign pleasure, while he descants eloquently on the happiness of his slaves, and the distress, the danger, and the injustice that would be attendant (as he is pleased to tell you) upon their emancipation, will repeat over as feelingly as yourself, the set phrases of regret for the existence of the system; and you both, by doing nothing to remove the evil, give the same evidence of your sincerity. Do not think I am the apologist of the slave holder, with his vamping professions, and cowardly injustice, his boasted magnanimity, and heartless despotism; neither will I seek to palliate the unwomanly conduct of those who look on and behold their sister writhing beneath her stripes, and subjected to every degree of indignity, without breathing one entreaty for his forbearance, without making one effort to convince him of his turpitude, or to rescue his victim from her state of deep abasement.

E. L. A.

The Ohio.

NOTICES—COMMUNICATIONS—SELECTIONS.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

"A Subscriber," who politely furnished the information, a short time since, of another case of "Yankee Slave Trading," should have accompanied his communication with his proper name. Editors cannot, consistently, shoulder the responsibility of anonymous correspondents, in all cases. Without personal knowledge, or proper vouchers, they may sometimes thereby risk too much.

"Clarkson" should have had an introduction to our readers this month, but is reluctantly crowded out for the present. When we become more popular, we shall hold our levees more frequently, and in larger rooms.

Many communications are yet on hand, which we cannot insert without neglecting matters of an important character, that demand speedy attention. We thank our friends for their favors—shall still be glad to receive them—and when the subjects upon which they treat are of immediate interest, will endeavor to attend to them without delay.

Several articles are in type, which must lay over for the next number—among them a review of an address from the colored people of New York, on the subject of *African Colonization*.

"WESTERN WEEKLY REVIEW."

This is the title of a paper, recently established at Franklin, Tennessee. It is under the editorial direction of *Thomas Hoge, Jr. Esq.* a young lawyer, who was for several years, connected in business with the editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. Possessed of fine talents and a cultivated intellect—to which is added a humane public spirit, that utterly abhors the system of oppression—he will, no doubt, present the public with a truly valuable Miscellany. Success attend him. May his patronage be equivalent to his merit, and his usefulness co-extensive with his superior worth and the honest aspirations of his generous and philanthropic mind.

For the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

WASHINGTON CITY PRISON.

Thou dark and drear and melancholy pile!
Who seemest, like a guilty penitent,
To brood o'er horrors in thy bosom spent,
Until the sun-beams that around thee smile,
And the glad breath of heaven, have become
A hatred and a mockery to thy gloom—
Stern fabric! I'll commune with the awhile!
And from thy hollow echoes, and the gale
That moans round thy dark cells, win back the tale
Of thy past history. Give thy stones a tongue
And bid them answer me; and let the sighs
That round thy walls so heavily arise,
Be vocal, and declare from whence they sprung;
And by what passion of intense despair—
What aching throb of life-consuming care
From the torn heart of anguish, they were wrung.

Receptacle of guilt!—hath guilt alone
Stain'd with its falling tears thy foot-worn floor,
When the harsh echo of the closing door
Hath died upon the ear, and flinging from
His form upon the earth, thy chilling gloom
Seem'd to the wretch the sentence of his doom—

Say bear'st thou witness to no heart-wrung groan,
Bursting from sinless bosoms, whom the hand
Of tyrant powers hath sever'd from the band
Of the earth's holiest and dearest things,
And thrust amidst thy darkness? Speak! declare
If only the rude felon's curse and prayer,
Mix'd with wild wail and wilder laughter rings
Within those dreary walls?—or if there be
No spirits fainting there with agony,
That not from their own crimes, but foul oppression, springs!

Ha! am I answered?—in that startling cry,
Bursting from some wild breast with anguish riven,
And rising up to register in heaven
Its blighting tale of outrage—the reply
Was heard distinctly terrible. It sprung
From a sad household group, who wildly clung
Together, in frantic agony,
Till they were torn by savage hands apart,
From arms, from twining arms, and heart
from heart,

Never to meet again! What had they done—
Thou tool of avarice and tyranny!
That they should thus be given o'er to thee,
And thy guilt haunted cells—sister, sire and son,
Mother and babe, all partners in one crime
As dreadful as the fate that through all time
Clings to them with a grasp they may not shun!

No! let the tale be spoken, though it burn
The cheek with shame to breath it—let it go
Forth on the winds, that the wide globe may know

Our vileness, and the rudest savage turn
And point with trembling finger to the spot
Whereon thou standest; that all men may blot
Our name with its deserved taunt, and spurn
Our vaunting laws of justice with the heel
Of low contumely; that every peel
Of triumph, may be answer'd with a shout
Of biting mockery, and our starry flag,
Our glorious banner! may, dishonor'd, drag

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cœlum.

Its proud folds in the dust, or only flout
The gales of heaven, to be a broader mark
For scorn to spit at—oh, thou depot dark!
Where souls and human limbs, are meted out,
In fiendish traffic—no! those weeping ones
Have done no evil—but their brother's hand
Hath rudely burst the sacred household band,
And given, with heart more flinty than thy stones
His victims to thy keeping, and thy chains,
Till he hath sold THEM! they within whose
veins
Blood like his own is coursing, and whose moans
Are torn from hearts as deathless as his own!
And there thou stand'st!—where Freedom's
altar stone
Is darken'd by thy shadows—and the cry
That thrills so fearfully upon the air,
With its wild tale of anguish and despair,
Blends with the peans that are swelling high
To do her homage! I have sometimes felt,
As I could hate my country, for her guilt—
Till in bitter tears the mood went by.

E. M. C.

AFRICAN EDUCATION SOCIETY.

We regret that our limits are too narrow to insert the address, recently published by the managers of this institution. The philanthropist will rejoice at any and every attempt to raise the colored race from the cruel debasement to which prejudice and power have reduced them. The following brief extracts, from the "American Spectator," is all we have room for, just now, in relation to this subject.—G. U. E.

"The American Spectator is connected with the African Education Society. The Society is responsible for conducting the editorial department; and in return they are allowed a space in each paper, not exceeding two columns, and they are to receive the amount of half a dollar yearly on each subscriber to the Spectator. They have thus a common interest with the Proprietor in its circulation and success.—Therefore, those who aid the paper, will at the same time be aiding the Society. The Spectator is needed, not only as the organ of the Society, but as the means of promoting its primary interests. Its general character, however, will remain unaltered; and with respect to this, we refer our readers to its past numbers, and to the Prospectus which we publish to-day. The Colonization and Education Societies are not connected, and the funds of one will not be used by the other."

We publish to-day the amount of money and subscriptions received in more than a year by the African Education Society. From this it will be evident, that unless there should be a considerable advance in public liberality, the Society, though it will not probably become extinct, must continue to make efforts, and seek expedients for a bare existence, while it ought to be making eminent citizens of Africa, able and ready to enlighten and renovate its miserable communities; and to be accomplishing on a large scale, which alone can be economical and efficient, the great and important design for which it was organized. The Institution will be supported by the labor of the pupils, as far as is consistent with its main design; but this, we trust, and we hope it will not be forgotten, may be aided by the purchase of tools and materials, necessarily and greatly augment its first expenditures. We, therefore, respectfully and earnest-

ly entreat benevolent individuals and editors, who are sufficiently enlightened to discern the great importance of the Institution, to afford it their support now, while it is by far the most needed, and will be the most effectual."

FREE COLOURED PERSONS IN NORTH CAROLINA.—A law, passed by the Legislature of North Carolina at their last session, which relates to free colored persons, and is to go into operation in May inst. subjects vessels bringing one or more of this description of persons to forty days quarantine; and in case of infringement of the law, the captain is liable to a heavy fine.—Southern paper.

From the Liberator.

SONNET TO

Friend of mankind! for thee I fondly cherish
Th' exuberance of a brother's glowing love:
And never in my memory shall perish
Thy name or worth—so time shall truly prove!
Thy spirit is more gentle than a dove,
Yet hath an angel's energy and scope;
Its flight is towering as the heaven above.
And with the outstretch'd earth doth bravely cope.
Thou standest on an eminence, so high,
All nations congregate around its base;
There, with a kindling soul and piercing eye,
The wrongs and sufferings of thy kind dost trace:
Thy country is the world—thou know'st no other—
And every man, in every clime, thy brother!
G—n.

William Roby, a mulatto, was committed to Boston jail, on Wednesday, for having stabbed a young woman of color, named Maria Leonard, in the back, and beat and stamped upon her so that her life is despaired of. Jealousy was the cause of this horrid act—which proves that Roby is a human being, in despite of his skin, for brutes are never jealous, and do not abuse the "softer sex."—*Ib.*

We justify no war. The victories of Liberty should be bloodless, and effected solely by spiritual weapons. If we deemed it pleasing in the sight of God to kill tyrants, we would immediately put ourselves at the head of a black army at the south, and scatter devastation and death on every side; but we are reminded that vengeance belongs to God—and that it is our duty to return good for evil, and to pray for those who despitefully use and persecute us.—We therefore do not think it "would be expedient to call public meetings, in order to raise subscriptions for the use of the Poles." Let our charities be extended to our southern slaves—let us achieve their liberation.—*Ib.*

LIBERIA SUGAR.—We have been presented with a specimen of Sugar made at the Colony of Liberia in Africa, a consignment of several sacks of which recently arrived in this city by way of New-Orleans. It surpasses, in whiteness, the best White Havana, and is not inferior in the richness of its flavor. It is kept for sale at the store of O. Fairchild & Co., merchants of this city.

This is a most interesting fact in the history of colonization. We have no doubt, should the Liberians turn their attention to the manufac-

ture of sugar, that they would find a ready market for all they could produce, *as hundreds and thousands would prefer sugar made by the hands of freemen, even at a higher price, to that which had been mingled with the tears of the slave.*

Cincinnati Journal.

It has recently been decided by the Court of Appeals of S. Carolina, that a free person of color is not a competent witness, even in a suit between persons of his own cast; nor can book entries, made by a colored clerk, be supported by proof of his hand writing!!

EFFECTS OF SLAVERY IN VIRGINIA.—In 1790 this State contained one fifth of the political power of the Union, was twice as large as New-York, and one-third larger than Pennsylvania. The opposite of this is her present situation. She must now rank below Ohio, a State that was not in existence when she was in the zenith of her prosperity.

PROSPECTUS

OF THE
GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.
VOL. XII.

The object and character of this work are well known. It has been published nearly ten years, and circulates in all the States of this Union, in Canada, the West Indies, Europe, and Africa. It is *exclusively* devoted to the subject of the *Abolition of Slavery*, on the American Continent and Islands.

Within a few years, the proprietor has travelled much, and had to depend somewhat upon the assistance of others to conduct the work.—He pledges himself, however, that the publication *shall not cease*, but with the cessation of his natural life, provided, the public patronage, or the labor of his own hands, will furnish the means of issuing *a single sheet per annum*.—He further pledges himself, that the great fundamental principles, hitherto advocated in this work, shall be steadily maintained. The course to be pursued, hereafter, will not materially vary from that which he marked out in the beginning. The corrupt sources of the horrible evil of slavery shall be traced; this fatal gangrene upon the body politic shall be probed; and the healing balsam will be applied when the putrid mass is removed. Every possible investigation will be made as to the state of the slave-system, and what is doing relative to its perpetuation or abolition, particularly, in the various parts of the United States and the West Indies. Every exertion will also be made to show what *can be done*, with propriety and safety, towards eradicating this enormous and increasing evil from the American soil.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

The work will, henceforth, be issued monthly. It will be neatly printed, on fine paper, and folded in the octavo form, each number making sixteen large pages.

The price of subscription will be One Dollar per annum, always to be paid in advance.

Subscribers who do not particularly specify the time they wish to receive the work, or notify the Editor of a desire to discontinue it before the expiration of each current year, will be considered as engaged for the next succeeding one, and their bills will be forwarded accordingly.

Agents will be entitled to six copies for every

five dollars remitted to the Editor, in current money of the United States.

All letters and communications, intended for this office, must be addressed (free of expense) to BENJAMIN LUNDY, Washington, D. C. May, 1831.

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GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED BY B. LUNDY—PUBLISHED IN WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE—\$1.00 PER ANN.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration of Independence, U. S.*

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AN EDITOR'S PREDICAMENT.

We often hear from persons professing to abhor slavery, that those who are exerting themselves to effect its abolition, "do not work it right."—It is highly probable that there has not been a plan devised by ingenuity, or acted upon by benevolence, the object of which was to restore their natural rights to all men, and secure them in the possession, which has not been met with, "you will never abolish slavery by such means." To the sanguine, and ardent, the sentiment is revolting—the effect is chilling. To the experienced, and reflecting, it is another evidence, that nothing short of unflinching perseverance, can accomplish the righteous work—and such can say "come brethren" to every one who evinces an *honest desire* to aid in advancing it. Aware that the varieties of human thought and feeling, can neither be forced, or reasoned, into uniformity, they perceive how this variety may be made as *useful* in the moral, as diversity of forms, are *beautiful* in the material world.

We are not discouraged, therefore, when some reproach us with timidity, and an undue regard for the feelings of the oppressor—nor when others censure us, for the harshness of our denunciations against him: While diversity of temperament prevails amongst human beings these things must be—editors *know* that they *are*. Scarcely a week passes away which does not bring to our ears, both praise and blame—this is all—occasionally they are both meted out to us, for the same course. This being our predicament, and not knowing to whom to apply for better direction, than that which we ourselves, after some experience, and much investigation, honestly, and firmly believe to be right, we find most peace in pursuing undeviatingly that course which is marked out to us from the existing state of things.

We wish it to be distinctly understood, that our reprehensions apply not to any—to whatever extent they may be slave-holders—who are making arrangements, in accordance with their own conscientious views, for the extinction of a system which they *feel* is wrong: neither do our commendations embrace any, however they may be associated, but such as exert their minds, in devising the best means to

aid the cause of emancipation, and who fail not to attempt the execution. It is only those who *profess* an abhorrence of slavery, yet *do nothing*—and those who admit the "*abstract question*" unequivocally, yet *hold on to the slave* tenaciously, whose foot our shoe will fit. We can therefore say to all the friends of the righteous cause—slaveholders or non-slaveholders, (for we well know that there are, with both, those who long for universal enfranchisement,) let each, in the way he believes best adapted to secure the end, contribute to promote the great and good work: and though the roads you take may, in the beginning, diverge at considerable angles, and may be all, more or less circuitous, the travellers in them, being guided by the same compass, with the same attractions—will arrive at the same point at last. With *universal equal rights* for the polar star, and *justice* the unerring needle, ultimately the Vessel of Freedom must land in a safe port, where the tempests of tyranny shall serve but to purify the atmosphere, and prevent the unhealthy calms of morbid apathy. Anchored in such moorings—there she must continue to ride in safety for ever.

ANTI-COLONIZATION.

We have received a pamphlet, containing an Address to the public, issued by a Committee representing a large proportion of the colored people of New-York, in answer to an *Address* from the African Colonization Society. Our readers have had the promise of a specimen of their argument upon this subject; and the following extracts, from the address in question, will give a tolerably good idea of the ground they take in opposing the doctrines and measures of that institution.

We like to see a discussion of this important subject. If the African Colonization System is founded upon a proper basis; if it is calculated essentially to aid the cause of Emancipation, this will furnish occasions to produce every variety of argument in proof of it.

An article from the pen of a colored man in favor of Colonization, recently appeared in the *American Spectator*. We have been requested to insert it; and shall probably give it a place in our next number.

"In protesting against the sentiments and declarations to our prejudice with which the above noticed "address" and "resolutions" abound, we are well aware of the power and influence we have attempted to resist. The gentlemen named as officers of the "Colonization Society" are men of high standing, their dictum is law in morals with our community; but we, who feel the effect of their proscription, indulge the hope of an impartial hearing.

"We believe many of those gentlemen are our friends, and we hope they all mean well; we care not how many Colonization Societies they form to send slaves from the south to a place where they may enjoy freedom; and if they can "drain the ocean with a bucket," may send "with their own consent," the increasing free colored population: but we solemnly protest against that Christian philanthropy which in acknowledging our wrongs commits a greater by vilifying us. The conscientious man would not kill the animal, but cried "mad dog," and the rabble despatched him. These gentlemen acknowledge the anomaly of that political ethics which makes a distinction between man and man, when its foundation is "that all men are born equal," and possess in common "unalienable rights," and to justify the withholding of these "rights" would proclaim to foreigners that we are "a distinct and inferior race," without religion or morals, and implying that our condition cannot be improved here because there exists an unconquerable prejudice in the whites towards us. We absolutely deny these positions, and we call upon the learned author of the "address" for the indications of distinction between us and other men. There are different colors among all species of animated creation. A difference of color is not a difference of species.—Our structure and organization are the same, and not distinct from other men; and in what respects are we inferior? Our political condition we admit renders us less respectable, but does it prove us an inferior part of the human family? Inferior indeed we are as to the means which we possess of becoming wealthy and learned men, and it would argue well for the cause of justice, humanity, and true religion, if the reverend gentlemen whose names are found at the bottom of President Duer's address, instead of showing their benevolence by laboring to move us some 4000 miles off, were to engage actively in the furtherance of plans for the improvement of our moral and political condition in the country of our birth. It is too late now to brand with inferiority any one of the races of mankind. We ask for proof. Time was when it was thought impossible to civilize the red man. Yet our own country presents a practical refutation of the vain assertion in the Cherokees, among whom intelligence and refinement are seen in somewhat fairer proportions than are exhibited by some of their white neighbors. In the language of a writer of expanded views and truly noble sentiments, "the blacks must be regarded as the real authors of most of the arts and sciences which give the whites at present the advantages over them. While Greece and Rome were yet barbarous, we find the light of learning and improvement emanating from this, by supposition, degraded and accursed continent of Africa, out of the midst of this very woolly-haired, flat-nosed, thick lipped, coal black race, which some persons are tempted to station at a pretty low intermediate point between men and monkeys."* It is needless to dwell on this

topic, and we say with the same writer, the blacks had a long and glorious day: and after what they have been and done, it argues not so much a mistaken theory, as sheer ignorance of the most notorious historical facts, to pretend that they are naturally inferior to the whites.

"There does exist in the United States a prejudice against us, but is it unconquerable? Is it not in the power of these gentlemen to subdue it? If their object is to benefit us, why not better our condition here? What keeps us down but the want of wealth? Why do we not accumulate wealth? Simply because we are not encouraged. If we wish to give our boys a classical education, they are refused admission into your colleges. If we consume our means in giving them a mercantile education, you will not employ them as clerks; if they are taught navigation, you will not employ them as captains. If we make them mechanics, you will not encourage them, nor will white mechanics work in the same shop with them. And with all these disabilities, like a mill-stone about our necks, because we cannot point out our State men, and Lawyers, we are called an inferior race."

"Finally, we hope that those who have eloquently pleaded the cause of the Indian, will at least endeavor to preserve consistence in their conduct. They put no faith in Georgia although she declares that the Indians, shall be removed but "with their own consent." Can they blame us if we attach the same credit to the declaration, that they mean to color us, "only with our consent?"

* Alexander H. Everitt, Esq. vide his work entitled America, or a General Survey, &c. &c. pp. 212. 205.

COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

In the African Repository for February, may be found the proceedings of the Colonization Society in January last. There is no inconsiderable display of eloquence and feeling in the deliberations. Our space does not permit us to go into detail; we will not, however, resist the desire to extract a resolution offered by Hon. Mr. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey.

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting the slave trade is not to be suppressed, without more united and vigorous exertions on part of the several governments of christendom; and that both Humanity and Religion, impel all conscientious and enlightened statesmen to consider and adopt more effectual measures, putting down forever this abominable traffic."

We can most heartily respond to the sentiment of this resolution; and we remain, as we have ever been, of opinion, that the all means may "work together for good," the most effectual, for "putting down the trade abroad, is TO PUT IT DOWN AT HOME."

The preacher who says, "do as I say—and I do," may be praised for his wit; but he shews in his practice, that he believes his precepts, gives proof of wisdom—he makes eclytes. The permission of the domestic interdiction of the foreign slave trade, is

Erat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

served by friends and foes—and the failure in the latter, as in the case of the moral teacher, may be more dependant on a want of consistency, than many are aware.

DANISH AND BRITISH COLONIES.

The circumstance of the Danish Government having decreed that the free colored inhabitants of St. Croix shall henceforth be placed upon a par with the whites is noticed, approvingly, in many of the papers in the United States. It is certainly a subject of gratification to philanthropists. But why is the fact not more generally made known, that the British Government has adopted similar measures in its unchartered colonies? The *Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter*, for November, 1830, now lying before us, states that, by sundry orders in Council the free blacks of Trinidad, St. Lucia, and the Cape of Good Hope, have been admitted to all the rights and privileges of white citizens, and it is believed, that similar regulations have been made in Demerara, Barbice, Mauritius, and the other colonies, subject to the immediate government of the Crown. A lesson, this, for our "republican" statesmen!

BRITISH WEST-INDIA POPULATION.

The following table shows the relative proportion of the Whites, Slaves, and Free Blacks in the British West India, which will be read with interest:

Chartered Col.	Whites.	Slaves.	Free Blacks.
Antigua,	5,500	4,650	300
Bahamas,	1,000	9,500	2,800
Barbadoes,	15,000	334,000	40,000
Bermuda Isles,	800	5,400	600
Christopher's,	1,800	19,500	2,300
Cuba,	800	9,000	1,800
Dominica,	2,000	39,000	1,500
St. Vincent's,	500	6,000	700
St. Lucia,	800	11,500	3,500
St. Kitts,	15,000	81,000	5,000
St. Vincent's,	1,300	23,500	2,600
Tobago,	800	21,500	3,700
Trinidad,	350	12,700	1,200
<i>Unchartered Colonies.</i>			
St. Lucia,	1,100	13,500	1,000
Trinidad,	13,500	23,000	16,000
Dominica,	300	2,450	2,800
Demerara,	3,000	70,000	6,000
Barbice,	600	21,000	1,000
Good Hope,	43,000	35,000	29,000
Mauritius,	8,000	76,000	15,100
Total.	193,150	812,700	143,707

POPULATION OF BRAZIL.

The reader is referred to Walsh's "Notes on Brazil," for an exceedingly interesting statement of the population, &c. of that country. From this it appears that the number, (divided into different castes,) in 1819, stood as follows:

Whites	843,000
Free natives of mixed blood	426,000
Free Blacks	159,000
	<hr/>
Black Slaves	1,728,000
Slaves of mixed blood	202,000
	<hr/>
	1,930,000
Indians	259,100
	<hr/>
	3,617,400

We add the following remarks upon this subject from the "Eclectic Review," as appended to Dr. Walsh's statement:

"The importation of slaves, which has been increasing in a proportion frightful beyond comparison, under the new order of things, must also have swelled the aggregate population, unless we suppose that the waste of human life has been proportionally dreadful. During the last ten years, according to the returns furnished by Dr. Walsh, upwards of 300,000 slaves entered the port of Rio alone; the imports having latterly risen from 15,000 to between 40 and 50,000 a-year. The number imported into Bahia, is not given. In 1824, we know that it amounted to 3137, of whom 962 were re-exported to Rio de Janeiro and Rio Grande; and the number imported into Bahia during the first half of 1825, exhibited a similar proportion.—Supposing this to be the average number for the ten years, and making the necessary deduction for re-exportation to Rio, we shall have to add from 20 to 25,000 slaves to the above estimate. If, then, the previous slave population of Brazil has not decreased in the same proportion, their total numbers must now considerably exceed two millions; say 2,200,000.

OUR OWN VIEWS.

Having given in our last, extracts from the proceedings of the Free Produce Societies, we feel induced to throw some thoughts, which have suggested themselves, before our readers.

Why do any say that abstinence from the products of slave-labor can effect nothing?—Surely, they do not reflect; for in the first place, is it not something to the individual, to know that he has washed his hands of the guilt of oppression? That which is done intelligently and conscientiously makes a better man; and as men become consistently better, their influence is extended—others observe the advantages they have from a rigid compliance with the requisitions of duty, and it is impossible but that they should desire those advantages for themselves—this desire very naturally will lead them, as it led those, to whose condition they aspire—for the peace here spoken of, is only to be had on the common terms—namely: to ascertain intrinsic right and conform to it.—All truths are facts, or directly deduced from them. The sentiment just expressed, that the example of the virtuous, though silent and often unperceived, is nevertheless operative, is a well attested fact. To whose mind it was first suggested, that the consumer of the products of slave-

labor was necessary to oppression, is not known: it is known, however, that but few years have elapsed since it claimed the attention of some isolated individuals, who, however highly they ranked in other respects, had the lustre of their greatness obscured in the vision of their admirers, by this speck of innovation—this mist of enthusiastic, it may be fanatic eccentricity.—Now, hundreds bear the same testimony, and thousands have it under serious consideration. If twenty years ago, the example of a conscientious man convinced his neighbor in a year—the two, each his man in the next, and so on, in a geometric series whose annual ratio of progression, is two (and this it is believed existing associations will establish, up to this time) how long would it take to convince every one whose pecuniary interests are not opposed?

Let it not be inferred that there is any implied indifference to other modes of arresting the enormous evil of slavery; the distinct object of this article is to *defend abstinence* in those who practise it, and to *recommend* the propriety of it to the consideration of others.

MORE OF THE FLORIDA PAMPHLET.

In our last we commenced a hasty review of this tract. Considering the imperfections of that hurried attempt, together with the want of space in our little work, we should be glad if the pamphlet itself, could fall into the hands of every reader of the the "Genius." We will make some further extracts.

After treating briefly of the causes, and the progress of the Haytian Revolution, the author says:

"The fall, and final extinction of its colonial power, and its subsequent re-establishment under a free and independent government of negroes in our vicinity, furnishes, in a variety of incidents which took place during its whole course, abundant examples of situation, occurrences, and facts, from which we may establish consequences that would apply to almost every possible situation in which we could imagine slaves of a similar class to our own to be placed."

He then proceeds to state, that during the conflict between the contending parties,

"The slaves were armed by their masters, and protected themselves and families while they made abundant crops of coffee. In short, when we come to consider the massacres and bloodshed necessarily attending such a horrid revolution, where a vast number of slaves were forced into a state of licentious anarchy, and led on by partizans blinded by revolutionary fury, who gave no quarter on either side, it is astonishing that the slaves now liberated, should have so soon returned to a peaceable and quiet state of domestic order, and again, admitted whites to reside peaceably among them, and enjoy all the pre-eminence that condition could give."

See his inference:

"From all these facts it follows, that under a just and prudent system of management, negroes are a safe, permanent, productive and growing property, and easily governed; that they are not naturally desirous of change, but are sober, discreet, honest and obliging; are less troublesome, and possess a much better moral character than the ordinary class of corrupted whites of similar condition. For the truth of this observation, I appeal to every slave holder in the south, who has had an opportunity of witnessing the conduct of white laborers who come annually to seek work from the north, whether the common plantation negroes do not conduct themselves much better and are of a more respectable moral character."

He then adds:

"Their strong attachment to their homes, their women and children, and to domestic life are likewise great securities for their good behaviour; which, with a fair and equitable allowance of clothes and provisions, kind treatment when sick, and fair words when well, will, in most cases, insure good behaviour, obedience and attachment. Under these circumstances they will, without grumbling, and with very little corporeal punishment, perform a great deal of valuable labor in a year, and with profit and satisfaction to the owner, who if prudent, will soon find himself in easy circumstances, and feel happy in experiencing the attachment, confidence, and good will of a grateful and happy people. Our laws to regulate slaves are entirely founded on terror. It would be worth while to try the experiment of a small mixture of reward with the punishment—such as allowing them the free use of Sunday, as a market day and bible, which I have observed had a good effect in all foreign countries, also in Louisiana. The laws of the southern states are exclusively constructed for the protection of whites, and a tyrannical tyranny over the persons and properties of every colored person, whose oath can in no case be admitted as evidence against a white man. Policy and self-preservation require to render the co-operative system beneficial, slaves must be kept under wholesome and salutary restraint, which must always create some degree of resistance more or less to Patriarchal authority; to counterbalance which, the interest of co-operation of the free colored people, is absolutely necessary, when the white population is scanty."

"The Policy generally pursued by our slave holding state governments with regard to free colored people, and that pursued by foreign colonial and other slave holding governments is directly opposite. In the latter, the free colored people have found it their interest universally and decidedly to place themselves on the scale of the whites, or in opposition to the slaves. A slave who saves my life by rescuing it from assassins at the risk of his own; or who saves the lives and properties of a whole community by informing against conspirators, still remain a slave! and what a dreadful source of general resentment must originate from a source of injustice! No wonder (with our laws) at the universal antipathy and detestation against slavery, thus identified with tyrannical and the most oppressive cruelty."

In page 12 he asks—and as we think, with well reasoned conviction of human nature

just, and generous sense of human rights: "Is there any thing worthy of acceptance, that can be offered to a slave, but FREEDOM?"

If readers can admit, for a while that *power* and *right* are not synonyms, they will find something worthy their attention, in what follows—it states some very important facts; shows the writer to be a close observer—an accurate, and cogent reasoner—and his tacit predictions, may one day, be verified, altho they do not appear to emanate from any thing supernatural.

"A very common argument against free colored people's testimony being admitted as evidence in all cases is, that their moral character is not generally so respectable. The force of all testimony must be measured by its respectability; therefore of unequal value. But that the moral character of free colored people generally, is inferior to that of the same condition of whites, I think cannot be proved. On the contrary, all unprejudiced people who have had an opportunity of knowing, and have paid attention to the subject, will say that the very opposite is the case. Even if it were not so, what a reflection on our policy and justice, to outlaw them for complexion, which they cannot help, and deprive them of the means of acquiring moral improvement, by driving them to seek shelter among the slaves! Few, I think will deny that *color* and *condition*, if properly considered, are two very separate qualities. But the fact is, that in almost every instance, our legislators, for want of due consideration, have mistaken the shadow for the substance, and confounded together two very different things, thereby substantiating, by law, a dangerous and inconvenient antipathy, which can have no better foundation than prejudice. It is much to be regretted that those who enact laws to regulate slaves, and free people of color, are often obliged to consult popularity, rather than policy, and their own good sense."

"Some of our state laws, in defiance of our national treaties, condemn to indiscriminate imprisonment in the common jail, every class of free colored persons, who may arrive within their limits, without reference to sex, cause, or condition; and to be sold as slaves where they have not the means of paying the penalties annexed to the crime of arriving within the jurisdiction of the law. What must be the final consequence of such infatuation? an infatuation avowing itself in open and avowed hostility against twelve millions of people, now composing the colored population of this quarter of the world. Hayti, alone, in the full career of wealth, freedom, and juvenile independence, with equal, if not superior, advantages of climate, soil and situation, to any equal portion of territory in the world, and evidently destined by nature, at no very distant period, if not to command, at least to share the commerce of the surrounding ocean; and, without being over-peopled, comfortably to accommodate twelve millions of inhabitants.

"A war of color would, in our situation, of all wars be the most dangerous; therefore the most advisable, because we naturally and unavoidably (under our present policy) contain within us the materials of our own dissolution; and nine-tenths of all our present white friends

would at least laugh at our absurd indiscretion."

The author wishes inducements held out to the slaves, to become serviceable to their owners—and encourages the owners to reward them for it. He also thinks it hard that law should prevent an owner from liberating a deserving slave; he, moreover proposes, that free colored people be put on an equal footing with whites. After all this, he says:

"It appears that, to raise the value of southern plantation property, to its just scale of purchase value, according to the rate of interest yielded by its neat average return of crops, to bear an equal proportion with the value and returns of real property in the north, which is the principal object of this treatise, it may be considered necessary—

1st. To put all fear of danger, either to person or property, from insurrection of the slaves, at rest.

2d. To destroy all doubt of the permanent durability of such property, in case of war or invasion.

3d. To extinguish that general, foreign or northern prejudice, against holding slave property, which commonly arises from their mistaken view of our policy and laws, to regulate slaves and free colored people."

To his first proposition, we would say, it must be effected by arrangements, having for their object, the *gradual*, but **ENTIRE** emancipation, of every slave. His views, if carried into operation, have, whether he perceives it or not, a certain tendency to that end; and hence, we think, his second and third, are superfluous, in remote prospective calculation. But if they must needs be—in relation to the second, it is our decided opinion, it must be effected by *reducing slaves to still more brutish ignorance*: nothing else, can ensure a permanent property in human beings. The end proposed to be attained in the third, can be done by simply *destroying in the human mind, all distinction between VIRTUE and VICE*: by banishing all correct reasoning, and feeling, from the head and heart.

AFRICAN EDUCATION SOCIETY.

We have just finished an attentive perusal of the address presented to this society by its board of managers. Emanating from such a source, and holding out the views it contains, it cannot be considered in any other light, than that of an important document; and, from the position we occupy, one, that might well be expected to elicit our remarks. We cannot yield our unqualified approbation, though we discern no principle, in it, which we disown. It appears to be a specimen of those frequent cases in which justice and philanthropy are impeded in their operations by a temporizing policy, which prevents honest minds from distinguishing how far their motives are influenced by legal opinion, and popular custom.

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

The Society have it in contemplation to instruct the colored race, by uniting industry and science:—a plan much spoken of in these days—and one, we will hazard the opinion, which is approved by every reflecting lover of his species, who has examined it. They say:

“It is the design of the Society, not, in the manner of a day school, to take charge of the youth entrusted to them, for a few hours daily, and then dismiss them, to dissipate among idle and vicious companions, the slight impressions made upon them, and thus to blast, every night and morning, the germs of sober and industrious habits; but to train them up entirely, as far as practicable, from early childhood; to make constant and untiring inroads on their wrong habits and propensities; to subject them to a steady, mild, and salutary discipline; to exercise towards them a kind and parental care, guarding against the approach of every lascivious and hurtful influence; to give them an intimate practical acquaintance with agriculture, or some one of the mechanic arts, most likely to be useful in Africa;* to instruct them thoroughly in all the branches of a common school education; to endow them with industrious, active, and manly habits; and to inspire them with virtuous, generous, and honorable sentiments: in fine, to form their whole character, and render it, as far as possible, such as will qualify them to become pioneers in the renovation of Africa.”

The next two paragraphs we do not like quite so well—they shew a little of that spirit of compromise, the necessity of which should always be matter of regret in a country like ours, where the people have but to unite in willing that it shall be so, to secure all the rights and immunities of every individual in the land. May it not be questioned whether this temporising or compromising manner (we hope we shall not be understood to use those words in an offensive or censorious sense) has often been efficient in promoting works of righteousness? Could not the great and the good, of the north and the south, agree to merge every consideration in the simple one of justice? Is there not virtue sufficient in the community to bear the truth? Must men be humored, and have their prejudices respected, while they are being lured into correct practice, without perceiving whither they are going? If such necessity exists (and we can no more than say, we had hoped it did not) let us endeavor to obviate it by honest dealing, when and where no interest, real or imagined, is supposed to be endangered, and no passion likely to be excited.

*What pity, but it would suit as well to substitute “in Africa,” with the words *to them*.

†And again: instead of “become pioneers in the renovation of Africa,” to say—become useful citizens, wherever their lot may be cast. With the proposed alterations, we could not devise a paragraph better suited to what we conceive to be the wants of this people.

We well know of “the prevailing sentiment, that it is not safe to furnish slaves with instruction;” and we assuredly believe, that if proper instructions were given, to a proper extent, this alone would remove every vestige of the curse of slavery from the earth: This is the same as that on some future millennial day, no man would claim the undignified epithet—MASTER. But this would be effected without any violence, or any loss. — What may be even more dreaded by some,—any loss. The development of the faculties and cultivation of good feeling in the case of the deposed, oppressed children of Africa would, though almost imperceptibly, yet certainly, banish slavery from the land.

To the inestimable reward of his own approving conscience, we add the willing measure of our thanks to the slaveholder who has allowed the gratuitous use of a farm, for the establishment of an educational establishment. Would to heaven, that more would, according to their ability, “do likewise.”

The board of managers state the fact, that liberty has been given to more slaves, in proportion to the white population in the south than in the north. They offer as a reason why the work of emancipation has not progressed, the intuitive discovery that “Freedom, in itself alone, without some redeeming concomitant, is not a practical blessing” to a people grossly ignorant, and, of course, lacking incentives to industry, economy, and morality; and hence they argue that it was proper to “arrest the progress of emancipation.”

We agree with them under existing circumstances—and as they seem to have united with a full purpose of heart, to change those circumstances, we bid the intelligent friends of human rights God speed, in their rational, just, benevolent enterprise.

After giving their reasons why it was proper to arrest the desire to emancipate, they add—“Still, without doubt, the same desire, one so manifest, yet exists, and even with augmented power: and there is every reason to believe that when present impediments shall be removed, and the manumission of the slave will improve his condition, it will arise to far more than its former activity. The call then is emphatic to release this heaven-born desire from its prison house, and let it again proceed with its work of beneficence—a work which every other instrument may be attempted in vain. It is certain that to improve the condition of liberated slaves, it is necessary to cultivate their moral and intellectual character. The last hope then, of the colored race, is embraced in the design of this Society.

“Improvement in the progress from barbarism, is so gradual from year to year, and from age to age, that its advance, at any one moment like the motion of the sun, is imperceptible.”

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

yet by comparison in its different stages, we discern the immense disparity between the glimmering dawn and the bright and glorious meridian. The yeomanry of this country stand up in all the consciousness of superiority, and feel as if the high distinction with which they are favored, were an attribute of their nature, or the direct gift of the Deity: forgetful that their own ancestors, but a few ages ago, were in a state of barbarism that would have hardly honored an African origin; and that the race has emerged from such a condition only by the slow process of moral and intellectual improvement. Hence the immense power of education is underrated entirely: and the colored race, just brought from a savage country, and placed in sight of advantages which they cannot enjoy, are regarded, to a great extent, as incapable of a similar advancement. This prejudice, founded in the first instance on grounds almost wholly gratuitous, and contrary to general principles, must soon give way entirely to facts, which are already apparent, and which are now in a rapid course of further development."

The last paragraph evinces a knowledge of the progress, and means of intellectual development, affording ample proof that the managers are no ordinary observers, or commonplace reasoners; and the whole is seasoned with a nobility of sentiment which needs but to be diffused through the ramifications of society, to make our country *really* and *truly*, what it is *morally*, a Republic, whose advantages be dealt out by even-handed justice;—whose citizens know no dependance, but that which binds man to man by participation of a common nature, and reciprocity of equal benefits.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

PREJUDICE YIELDING TO FACTS.

R. LUNDY:
Having long believed that we do great injustice to the colored population, by overlooking the talents, and virtues to be found among them, and believing too, from much observation, that this tends to discouragement, I hope you will permit me to inform your readers (to many of whom, I know it will be gratifying) that I attended a meeting of their Free Produce Association held in Philadelphia, last month. Though the meeting was very large, and its proceedings, as great order was observed. The officers were respectable, and the members attentive. I had reason to believe they had reflected on the object of their association, and that as they attained considerable independence, their operations were the result of conviction. They did not manifest a desire for much speaking—but when necessary, a clear, dispassionate, unembarrassed, exhibition of their views, enabled them to transact their business intelligently, and to appear harmoniously.
If a people so circumstanced, can do these things, what might we not expect were we willing to share with them, those advantages, which we highly prize for ourselves, and only withhold from them, through prejudice?—Namely, a common participation in all benefits—and an intercourse, regulated solely on the principle of relative merit.

G.

Our correspondent "G" is right. Facts are what we can rely upon. One of the conductors

of this paper, can speak from experience, and actual experiment. For nearly twenty years, he filled the station of teacher. Five of those years he assisted in teaching a Sunday school, and two winters, a night school—both exclusively for colored persons, and into which both sexes, and all ages, were admitted. He well remembers the closing minute of proceedings made by the little education society, each of whose members, was, in turn, a teacher. It was, that "five months of close observation, has induced the conclusion, that there is no peculiar inaptitude, or incapacity, in the descendants of Africa." There was not a dissenting voice.

The same inequalities which the writer of this article, has met with in white students, have been observed to prevail among this people.

Reference could be made to cases of extraordinary proficiency; but truth cannot be established by producing *remarkable individual facts*, to prove *general propositions*; nor is such a course needed here—cases of intelligence among these long neglected ones, are multiplying; eyes are opening to see them; and to cap the climax of this good promise, tongues are loosening, to make the acknowledgment.

The following, from the "Norristown Herald," may have emanated from a mind under the operation of poetical influence; but those who can see in it nothing but poetry, are ignorant of thousands of facts, with which they ought to make themselves acquainted; nor are they less ignorant of the intellectual structure, and of that which gives impetus to human affections.

THE SLAVE.

A FRAGMENT.

"Heaven bless thee, and shower down all its blessings on thee and thine!" said the slave.

I had presented him with his liberty. His joy was too great for utterance,—and nature being over-powered, he sunk senseless on the ground.

He recovered. Gratitude glistened in his eye, while fortitude endeavored to restrain the tender passion. He bowed his head, and thanked me.

He had a wife in Africa. Often did he speak of her—and as often would the uplifted eye seem to call heaven to witness the purity of his love.

I gave him money. Take it, said I, it will carry thee to thy native home.

Fixed in astonishment, he gazed upon me. He endeavored to speak, but could not.

It was enough. I was amply paid, and felt a more exquisite sensation than if the Indies had been added to my estate.

The cry of fire echoed through the house—my daughter was in imminent danger. The slave, whom I had freed, impelled by gratitude, rushed through the flames—rescued her from danger—brought her safe to my arms—and disappeared. MONTGOMERY MINSTREL.

April—1831.

A FAVORABLE OMEN.

It affords us no small pleasure, truly, to observe the justice and liberality of some half dozen Northern Editors, who notice the appearance of the "African Sentinel, and Journal of Liberty." From what we have seen of this publication, we think their commendations evince discernment; and they go to confirm our opinion of the editor's merit.

We augur, that ere very long, there will be more JOHN G. STEWARTS—and a more general willingness to appreciate them. Let but the views held out by the African Education Society, which are noticed in this number, be carried into *extensive, practical* operation, and the wonder that descendants of Africa should possess genius and talents will cease. It was once a question "can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" It has since been a question, whether the New Continent could produce genius and talent to compare with the old? These, and scores of others, have long since had affirmative answers; and whether a dark skin is an impediment in the acquisition of respectable proficiency in knowledge, or attainment of high degrees of virtue, is now in successful experiment. A little time may be necessary to remove the scepticism of the prejudiced—be it so—nothing should be required of the candid, but that conviction, which results from their own knowledge of facts.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Can it obtain credence? True it is, that in the United States Telegraph, besides rewards offered for the apprehension of human beings charged with no crime but the desire to inhale the pure air of freedom, and procure such comforts as their own industry will supply;—besides these, there are five notices from the keeper of the prison, for the Marshall, of persons placed in his safe keeping, for the (supposed) enormity of having desired to enjoy the benefits of their own exertions, and to have come here, from some other place, with such intention! One of the five is so obstinate as to refuse telling who is his owner. May be the poor fellow is so unfortunate as never to have had such a *thing*; he may always have been "his own, or God Almighty's negro"—but respectable persons, it is said, have offered to testify that another is free by law—and two others

have proven that they are legally freemen.—We do not perceive any difference in principle—as the law is here, a colored person is arrested on the affirmative supposition that he is a slave—different from all other cases in law, he has virtually to prove a *negative*—by proving that he is a freeman (which he is obliged to do, maugre all want of facilities) he disproves the charge alleged against him. One word more: having failed to do this,—or succeeded in doing it, no matter which,—he is positively put up at sale to defray the expenses that are made to accrue from this kind of investigation; and without the interposition of some friends of humanity, his doom is interminable slavery. Thus, a colored man, from a state where all are free; not knowing that it is otherwise elsewhere, leaves his home in pursuit of pleasure or business; comes to, or would pass through, Washington, the Metropolis of the only true Republic on earth—the civil officer under the auspices of law, seizes him, and throws him into prison; he is advertised, in order to discover whether he has an owner, rather to conform to the letter of the law;—in the mean time, he can, in his close confinement, devise and execute some plan by which he can establish his claim to liberty—or if no owner appears in a given time—in either case the law considers him free. If now, he has not the money to pay prison fees, and other expenses which have been incurred, he will be permitted to go if not, he will be sold on account of those expenses, and may be bought by a man who is in profession a dealer in human stock; he sends him to some southern market,—and thus, who, with a prospect of returning in a few days, left his circle of friends,—perhaps a wife and family,—is by them never heard of more. This is a plain, unvarnished matter of fact—statement, of what may be done here, with the sanction of law;—it may be, it is a true picture of one, or more, of the cases just adduced. I will only state facts: if others want contradictions they must make them.

"OUR JAIL."

"There were recently committed to our jail, as slaves, two colored persons who had proven their freedom, but have, for the last three weeks, been unjustly detained in prison on account of their inability to pay the fees of the jailor. That a fellow creature should be committed to a loathsome prison on a pretence of slavery is deeply regretted by a large majority of the citizens of this District; but we owe this state of things to the *States*, by whose representatives the laws under which we live are made, and over whom we have no control. The remedy is therefore in their hands. As these individuals have been *detained* in defiance of law, we say to their oppressor,

THEM GO FREE, or we will speak out in a subsequent number."—*American Spectator*.

We hope that one part of the above will claim particular attention, and we cannot then doubt, but that it will excite *efficient* sympathy;—namely, that to whatever extent the feelings of the citizens in this District may be outraged by the operation of existing laws, they have no means of remedy within their power. Every thing that can be effected for their relief, must be done by Congress, composed of members living more or less remote from the trying scene—whose eyes not met by sights, and whose ears not assailed by sounds, familiar to us, may, and must, take less interest in our concerns, than they would were they identified with us. Could the citizens of this District, adequately represent their situation, there is no question but their fellow citizens throughout the Union, by instructing their members of Congress, *directly*, and *in-directly* through their respective legislatures, would do that for us, which we CANNOT DO FOR OURSELVES.

PENNSYLVANIA SENTIMENTS.

The Lancaster Examiner contains an address, read to a meeting convened for petitioning Congress, relative to slavery in this District, from which we shall make some extracts. It commences with—

"Sectarian opinion and party feeling have always been adverse to co-operation between men who, in the absence of them, would have strengthened each other's hands in causes promotive of the honor and the happiness of human kind. Such a case is the one before us; slavery in the United States."

The writer shews how, from a small beginning, among the Friends or Quakers, it became extended throughout the whole association, until the liberation of their slaves, was an indispensable condition, for continuance in, or reception into, membership. So it is yet. He then says—

"Two errors have grown out of this fact: first, because the society of Friends have incorporated their protest into their constitution of church government, it has been inferred, that all the communion were *convinced of the evil and active in its extinction*; and secondly, because no other religious association had done the same thing, no *individuals* among them were *equally interested* in the abolition of this unjust and cruel practice. These errors have had a mischievous tendency in several respects;—first, lukewarm Quakers, by virtue of this article in their constitutions, have ranked themselves among the opponents of slavery; and in consequence of their connection with those whose hearts and heads were engaged in the good cause, identified themselves with it, without having ever put hand to it, or exercised their thoughts and feelings about it—this has been unreasoned, sectarian admission—often perhaps, but unwilling submission. Had they reflected,

as they ought to have done, that they were less meritorious than others, who were not under similar restraints, and yet did nothing to encourage slavery—many of them would have been found among the *doers* of good; but contenting themselves with the knowledge, that neither they nor their society had part or lot in the matter, they concluded with great truth, but with equal indifference, that if other societies would do as they had done, the evil would be at an end. Such persons have been a dead weight, retarding the progress of the righteous cause, more than spirited opposition could have done. Truth will always be found, and generally embraced, where all its advocates and opponents are alive—it is the *sleepers*, the *dreamers*, who would rather say, they see it, than be at the trouble to search after it,—who throw obscurity and deadness, around it. But, secondly, the peculiarities of the society, and those of others (for others have their peculiarities) who were hearty friends in the cause, were thought to be incompatible: hence those who could have sympathised, and co-operated, were kept asunder. And, thirdly, those without the pale of the society, who were in character like the supine within it, were ready enough to pronounce it a quaker affair, and no concern of theirs. This is an error, which stands in abundant need of correction. What has been said, may do it in part; as it shows that only a *portion* of the society of Friends are more than nominal, abolitionists."

After assuming, that it was the natural, inherent, love of liberty, which inspired the sages and heroes of the American Revolution, he adds:

"Say not then, that the advocacy of human rights is a quaker concern, or that others have left those rights for this people to protect. It is true, the discrepancy between the *words* of the declaration, and the *practice* of some who signed it, is singularly striking. It is true, too, that to *fight for political liberty* in the *battle field*, and *withhold personal liberty* in the *corn field*, is one of those anomalies, which are no where to be found but in our own species: nor is it to be accounted for, on any other principle than that of ignorance; for surely no man, were he to reflect, could think *personal* slavery a less evil than *political*—nor could any virtuous, consistent man, practise that on another, which he would resist, if attempted on himself. But, for want of due reflection, it is done."

He shews the inefficiency of profession, without practice; of the influence of example in the case of men in high station; and names some of the "departed great," with a delicacy which evinces great respect for their memory: while at the same time he concedes, that their practice in this matter, was a palpable dereliction of principle. He thus apologizes for them:

"These are all incongruities in the human character, which nothing can regulate but the acquisition of just knowledge and the cultivation of right feelings. These men were all in principle opposed to slavery: they erred in part, in detail. They permitted *expediency* (a word which would never have been wanted, if *honesty* had prevailed in the world) to supersede *justice*; and in palliation of the unrighteous substitution, they pleaded *necessity*. None of these men were Quakers and they were opposed to slavery; though it must remain matter of regret

with those who respect their memories, that they suffered an imagined interest, or the influence of a popular usage, to allure them into a mode of reasoning, which they rejected on all other subjects;—to beguile them into a practice in diametric opposition with their fundamental principles.”

In the address, it is again argued, that Quakers have not been the burthen bearers; for that, Franklin, Rush, Peters, and other names, well known in the scientific, moral, and religious world, have been prominent in asserting universal rights, for near half a century. It is stated, that, even in the south, “teachers of religion, generally, go as far in the reprobation of slavery, as comports with their popularity.”*

The essayist again adverts to the obstacles interposed by sectarianism and party politics, and in anticipation of the good effects which would result from a mutual understanding on this great question, he says—

“Now if these understood each other, they would soon perceive that there is nothing in the way of their hearty co-operation—that their opinions, and their feelings, on this great republican question, are in perfect accord and harmony. They would find that they have the same sense of justice, the same hatred of oppression, and the same sympathy for the oppressed. They would agree, too, in the means to effect the end—namely, to contend for the rights of man on the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence, without any *curtailment* or *compromise*; and to pronounce without *fear* or *favor*, that a departure from this broad ground—under whatever specious name it may cloak itself—is *odious tyranny in disguise*. A union of energy is greatly needed, to supply all that variety of character necessary to bring the subject appropriately before the thousands, who are thorough republicans in principle, and not deficient in correct feeling, but who have not had this matter before them—many indeed, who have scarcely heard of it. Were these awakened (and awakened they would be by such co-operation, and the holy flame of liberty kindled in every breast, its light, would render this moral turpitude visible to every eye; and its heat, consume the last vestiges of tyranny in our beloved country.”

A CORRESPONDENCE.

MR. LUNDY:—I see your paper occasionally, and though resident in a slave holding district, I am entirely favorable to what I conceive to be the only reasonable, attainable object you can have in view;—which is, to *prevent*, rather than *abolish* slavery: If you contemplate more than this, you cannot expect support from those who entertain similar views with myself. For the purpose of throwing before you some suggestions, I will assume that this is all you aim at;—taking this assumption for granted, I believe you are not understood, by slaveholders in general.

*This is very moderate, indeed. If more could not be said on the part of those alluded to, (which, however, we are assured, can, in many cases,) we should have thought it would spare their feelings to omit this.—EDIT.

You know that our right to hold our slaves is a question which we will not permit you to dispute—we will not discuss it with you;—we esteem them our property, and, excepting those cases where our compassionate or benevolent feelings prevent, do with them as with our other property, make the most of them we can: Hence, as a matter of pecuniary interest merely, we should prefer an investiture of our capital in any thing which might be more productive. If, therefore, we could dispose of them on such terms, and under such arrangements as would better our situation, we should most certainly prefer it: for be assured, that, even with habit in our favor, there is that in an owner's condition, which is far from enviable.

Northern people tell us, that the same capital stock, could be so disposed as to yield a greater abundance of necessaries, conveniences, and even luxuries, than results to us from the present disposition. It may be so; and I incline to their opinion from my own observations on the state of society, there and here. But, whatever may be its advantages, we cannot now realize them. We of the south, like men every where, are creatures of habit. Practical industry is not a part of our habits. Northern people tell us we are sufferers on this account: be it so—still it is our habit. We are not merely unwilling, but unable, to minister to our own wants, with our own hands;—manual labor we cannot perform. What can then be done for us, the adults of the present generation, including both masters and slaves? (for if you consider us destitute of solicitude on their account, you do us injustice.) I answer, nothing. Their want of intelligence renders them as dependent on us for superintendence, as we are on them for physical exertion. It may be indeed, that improvements might be made in the relation between us, but we cannot be separated: hence we are opposed to the abolition of slavery.* Had it never been amongst us,—with our present experience, we should reject it, if offered to us.

This being so, whatever degree of interest we may feel in posterity, and to whatever extent we hold ourselves bound to make arrangements for its benefit—proportionately shall we approve of your labors, so far as they are directed only to devise preventives of its perpetuation.—Though we are not, as I have already said, willing, or able, to labor ourselves—and our slaves are utterly incapable of providing for their own wants, and entirely unfit to be left to their own direction;—it does not follow that the circumstances around us might not be so changed that neither of these would be the case on some future day, not very far distant. When those who occupy our place, after we of this generation are gone, shall discover that moderate labor promotes health and cheerfulness, and that there is no degradation in it, they will also have observed that there are no bonds which can connect human beings together, and secure them safety and quiet, in the absence of virtue. This will suggest to them, not only the utility, but the necessity, of elevating the intellectual and moral character of the colored race. What

*You will understand me to mean the virtuous, reflecting part of southern community.—We have among us, as there are every where, men who pursue what they conceive to be their interest, regardless of other consequences—and enthusiasts who would absorb every thing in their hobby philanthropy.

ever disposition may be made of them in that day, they will be prepared for it.

And though, as I have also said, we are not disposed to forego our rights of property in this people, seeing we raised them at our own cost, or bought them with our own money—yet we are, I trust, not sufficiently inconsistent to claim as ours, that which does not exist: You would, therefore, probably find more to unite with you, and certainly, a much smaller number to oppose you, if your object embraced nothing further than the assignment of some suitable period, after which no slave should be born; or, rather, if, according to my assumption, not the abolition, but the prevention of slavery, be your aim, I cannot but think your cause would be promoted by having it distinctly understood.

Having thus premised, I leave you to make your own decision.

The writer of the foregoing letter has expressed no wish respecting the disposition to be made of it;—and, as it will afford us an opportunity of exhibiting our views, by way of comment, in a condensed and explicit manner, we have taken the liberty of inserting it, suppressing only that part which would lead to a knowledge of the writer. We think he will excuse us.

In the first place, then, though we will not intrude any discussion upon him, at this time, respecting the rights of property in human beings, feeling, in ourselves, extreme repugnance to such discussions—yet we must be permitted to deny, in toto, the existence of any such rights. We know that the laws of our country give a power to one human being to exercise unlimited control over another. We must, without a change of sentiment, which it is impossible to anticipate, continue to assert, that this is an entire dereliction from Moral and Republican Principle; though, as we have repeatedly said, we are far from considering all who avail themselves of it equally reprehensible. We know not how to be more explicit, than by saying that our censures are applicable to the *advertisers of slavery*, rather than the *slaveholder*.

Now, though our correspondent has not informed us whether he is of the latter class, we think it is a plain inference, that he belongs not to the former: there is, therefore, less at issue between us than might at first be supposed;—and although he candidly confesses, that, as a pecuniary affair, they would turn their slaves to the most profitable account, yet we would not rely much on the benevolent, compassionate feeling he hints at, not merely in his case, but in a great majority of those who hold slaves.—We are in the habit of attributing to virtuous slaveholders, the praiseworthy qualities of other men; indeed their situation is calculated to stimulate to interesting feeling, in an especial

manner—observation proves that it does do so. We would query, however, whether it is not always at the expense of an impaired sense of rigid justice?

We are acquainted with the facts by which the northern people would explain their advantages over those of the south: and they are admitted by us, as of full force;—we also know of the mutual dependence between the two conditions in the south. We do not blame either of the classes with it. But we feel an anxiety, amounting to various degrees of impatience, that the better sort of those who have the power, do not act in concert, for the contrivance and adoption of measures to relieve both classes from suffering which must ever be endured, while two such conditions exist together; and for the procurement of enjoyments which can never be attained in society, only in proportion as it approximates to that equality of advantages for which men are evidently fitted, and must have been intended.

Should this number meet the eye of our correspondent, (which we design it shall,) he will perceive, in the extracts from the A. E. Society, and the accompanying remarks, that we have great expectations from the elevation of character that must result from right instructions—it is, indeed, every thing, in our estimation. It need not, therefore, surprise our correspondent, or readers, that we think, if one generation of human beings, including all grades and colors, were to be rightly educated, taught just knowledge, and habituated to good feeling—that generation would rid itself of slavery, without opposition, and almost without an exertion—it would naturally cease, as do all effects, with the operation of their causes.

In conclusion, we ask nothing more, we desire nothing more, than, in our correspondent's own words, "the assignment of a suitable period, after which no slave shall be born." On the day that this good determination shall be formed by our fellow citizens, we may cease from our humble, though laborious exertions."

Readers will have their own opinions, and feelings when they read the following from the "*Eclectic Observer*."

The Compiler of yesterday, contains the following advertisement:

"A negro girl for sale, 16 years old.—Enquire of 'H' at this office."

We are always disposed to condemn the practice of advertising slaves in any case; but we must certainly censure, in the severest manner, the principle that could induce an editor, for the consideration of one dollar only, to make himself the tool of some one willing to indulge in the abominable traffic of souls, and yet ashamed of the disgrace. Did the editors of the Compiler ever think of this?

Ladies' Repository.

Philanthropic and Literary.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

FEMALE EXERTIONS.

The argument that slavery, as a political concern, should belong solely to men, in discussion, and the measures to be taken for its suppression, futile as it is, may, perhaps, be sufficient, when combined with the suggestions of selfishness and indolence, to lull again into apathy the minds of some, over whom conviction had so far done its proper work, as to arouse them into reflection and inquiry. Those who desire to be convinced will readily seize on any argument which accords with their wishes, and which they may use in defence of a course of conduct that appears to others, as well as to their own consciousness of doubtful rectitude. This, however, is not capable of being made a reasonable objection. The completion of the glorious act of abolition must, indeed, be a political or legislative measure; and that portion of the good work, woman will very freely resign into the hands of her brethren. She seeks only to be exempted from partaking in the guilt of slavery, to awaken in others the same feelings that agitate her own heart, and to diffuse, throughout the community, a knowledge and a detestation of the miserable system which has been so long fostered in the bosom of their country. If one of the southern planters was in possession of a slave whom he had long cruelly punished with heavy fetters, till flesh and skin had grown around them, so as to render them extremely difficult to loosen, and his wife, or mother, or daughter, or sister, unable longer to endure the sight of so much misery, should, by the importunity of entreaty, prevail upon him to release the wretched being, would she be acting an unfeminine part, because the assistance of a smith might be required to unfasten the long worn badges of oppression? Yet the business of a smith is entirely masculine! and the fear of acting improperly would be just as well grounded in this instance as it is with regard to the system of slavery. The two cases are exactly similar, except that the one relates only to individuals, and the other to millions of our fellow creatures, oppressors and oppressed.

We do not consider that an interference in state affairs is calculated to render woman either better or happier; therefore we should be the last to urge her to adopt such a course of conduct. But neither would we behold her, weakly renouncing undoubted privileges and duty from the mere terror of a name, or wrest-

ing the applications of that name, to excuse her own indolence. We consider it far more unbecoming to her character to behold the sufferings of her fellow creatures, with an unmoved brow, and without an effort to alleviate them, than to press forward, as far into the political portion of the subject as she possibly can, in advocating the cause of emancipation. She cannot, at least in this question, go far beyond the barrier which the customs of society have placed as a limit to her interference. But she can fall far short of her duty to her Creator and her fellow creatures, by neglecting to preserve uncontaminated the moral atmosphere by which she is surrounded, or not endeavoring to restore it to purity, when it has become corrupted by the breath of man's evil passions. Was she endowed with her keen sensitiveness to human wretchedness, only that it might prey upon her heart, without leading her to minister to the sorrows with which she sympathizes? It would be improper for her to mingle in the turmoil of public life, it would be also unnatural for her to see her sister plunged into a gulch of darkness and misery, and not spring forward to her succour—to hear with unmelting heart the cries of suffering infancy, and to listen with a steadfast cheek and lip, to the screams and prayers of her tortured fellow creature, writhing beneath a system of inhuman tyranny, because these things are sanctioned by the unrighteous statutes of her country. Such conduct, this would, indeed, be unwomanly, and though many of our countrywomen have been, for time misled, by misrepresentation, habit or prejudice, into a toleration of the enormities of slavery, or a carelessness respecting it, we believe the time will come when they will join, as with one voice, in protesting against it, and in pleading for the emancipation of its victims.

DISGRACEFUL.

After having declared that active exertion in the cause of Abolition does not involve woman in any course of conduct unsuited to the delicacy of her character, we will briefly mention some prevailing usages, which, though they seem to have been partly mentioned by those to whom the abovementioned objection appears in its most alarming colors, appear to us more disgraceful to the character of the sex. A woman is in danger of stepping beyond her proper sphere, when she rushes forward to sustain the head of her sister, and to moisten her lips with the cool waters of consolation and sympathy, how much more does she abandon the proper attributes of her nature when she becomes a cruel and mercenary tyrant, assuming the claim of ownership over her brethren and sisters, and the right to task, to scourge, and

will them, at her pleasure—when she tears the infant from the arms of its mother, (perhaps even while her own babes are standing by her side,) and gives it into the hands of a stranger, for a recompense of gold? How infinitely more unwomanly does it appear for a female to insert her name in the public prints, as an intended buyer or seller of human beings, than to attach her signature to the constitution of a society which has for its sole object the promotion of their happiness and welfare, and desire to escape from a participation in the guilt of their bondage! Is it less suited to the Roman's retreating gentleness and delicacy of character, to exert herself to remove the pollution of crime from the bosom of her family, and of her country than to be driven out by the scourge to incessant toil in the open fields, not to provide a sustenance, in her widowhood, for her helpless family, but to minister to the grasping luxury of a heartless tyrant, who claims her bones and sinews as a portion of his lawful wealth. It matters not to us how widely the two classes may be separated from each other—we care not for the factitious distinctions of society—those who oppress, those who suffer, and those who neglect to relieve their sufferings, are alike our country-women, and whatever may be the rank in society of the two former classes, the latter must necessarily participate in the shame of the one, and the guilt of oppressing the other.

SELF EXAMINATION.

We have frequently expressed the opinion that the indifference manifested by so many of our sex towards the advancement of the cause of abolition, is less the result of an unfeeling temper, than the want of a proper examination into the subject of slavery, and of their own duty and ability to aid in its extinction. The early acquired knowledge of its existence has rendered the idea so familiar to their minds, that it is associated with none of the images of horror and indignation by which it would otherwise be accompanied. They have become infected with the carelessness of those around them, and if the voice of natural compassion, roused by some flagrant instance of oppression should waken their slumbering consciences to the suspicion that they are not altogether guiltless of their brother's bonds, the indifference and apathy of their friends, scarcely less fatal in its effects than open opposition, soon withers the transient sympathy, and they sink back into their idle repose, satisfied, because others are so, that the slave should wear away his life in mental darkness and physical wretchedness—his immortal nature crushed and de-

graded by the weight of his intolerable bondage, and himself converted into a mere chattel, an article of pecuniary traffic. They know that their own sex is exempt from neither the tyranny nor the servitude. The name of woman which, among christian men (for what is there like our religion to refine and elevate human sympathies?) should be a talismanic shield of protection from contempt and injury, is powerless as an unmeaning sound to rescue the female slave from the depth of her degradation and misery, or to save her heart from one pang of hopeless bereavement. They know that the strong appeal of maternal agony, shrieked forth amid burning tears, is vain to restore to her loving arms, the young boy whom ruffian violence has sundered from them forever. They know that those who grew up, beside one hearthstone, into blooming youth, are scattered recklessly abroad, to forget all the holy ties of love and relationship, while the mother who watched with fond yearnings over their early years, sinks to her solitary grave without one eye to drop a tear of filial affection upon her dying forehead—all this they know, and yet are satisfied, day after day, to revel on in their own dreams of happiness, without bestowing, at best, more than a momentary thought of compassion on those whose fate is so widely different from their own. Would it—could it be thus, if they would search narrowly into their hearts, and listen earnestly for the still promptings of conscience, with the resolution to abide steadily by its dictates? If they would reflect, that those who suffer such foul wrong, are their brethren and sisters, not only by the link of one common nature, but children of the same land, united by the bonds of national fraternity, both with their oppressors, and they who are partners with him in the benefit of his injustice?

Oh if they would, even if it were only for a few moments, sit seriously down to meditate on these things, with the book of the Christian Laws spread open before them, or their hearts turned inward to seek for the guidance of Divine light, surely they would feel that the slave was indeed their brother, and that it was sweet, for his heavenly father's sake, to love even him, and to strive to rescue him from the depth of his debasement.

ASSOCIATIONS.

How often are we mortified in contrasting the active and zealous philanthropy of the ladies of Great Britain, with the supineness of our own white countrywomen. The one enters upon their task of benevolence, with a lofty and enthusiastic devotion to its interests, that kindles in the hearts of all around them, a por-

tion of their own spirit, while the others come forward slowly and unwillingly upon the scene of labor, and suffer their attentions to be drawn aside by any chimera that attracts their fancy. Now let us entreat them to consider the advantages that may result from associations among themselves, to promote the cause of emancipation, and of the duty that renders it incumbent upon them to do so. That their exertions can effect much, has been fully proved, and loiterers as they are, we believe the time will come when a generous emotion of sympathy, will warm almost every bosom, and almost every hand be pledged to active exertion in this good work. Now we will not insult them, by affecting to believe that they do not now generally *wish* for the extinction of slavery, but why will they so long delay to put those wishes into action? Their brethren call upon them for their assistance in purifying their native land from the dark stain of ignominy and guilt, that defaces her; their sisters are daily perishing amid the unmitigated horrors of their lot, with the darkness of their dying hours, relieved by no hope of better days for the young beings who inherit their lot of chains and bitterness—soul after soul, emancipated by death from its double fetters, springs up to give in the tale of its earthly wrongs before the throne of the Most High;—and yet, with infatuated tardiness they still idle away the passing moments unimproved, regardless that those sufferings, and those wrongs are fostered and perpetuated by their inhumanity. Let them not tell us of the other evils that claim their attention and benevolence—of the poverty and the ignorance and the wretchedness, which they behold every where around them;—there is no evil existing in our land that can be compared with the system of slavery—it combines every grade of misery and darkness, and they are called upon by every thing that is dear, and holy to them as women and christians, to unite their efforts and their influence in eradicating it from our land. Unity and co-operation will give strength to their hands, firmness to their purposes, and render their labors more interesting to themselves, as well as more useful to the cause of abolition. There must certainly be a very great fault existent in the education of females, when they prefer assembling themselves together for the gratification of display and vanity, or the uneasy excitement of fashion and gait, rather than for the noble purpose of alleviating the condition of helpless wretchedness. Will not the patriotic women of New England come forward and engage in this work of mercy? Will not Mrs. Ligourney, the friend of the Greek and the Indian—and Mrs. Child, the spirited monitor of her

sex, be prevailed upon to lend their influence, and the talents which God has given them, to the advancement of this cause? They cannot find a more noble and important theme, or a field where their labors will be more richly rewarded to them, by consciousness of well doing.—Will they not lift up their voices to arouse their country-women, to the appalling conviction that a million of their number are sunk down by barbarous oppression into a state of the lowest degradation, ignorance, and wretchedness? Will not “Nora” and “Estella” endeavor to touch the heart by the harrowing tale of real suffering, rather than the plaintive notes of pensive tenderness? Our sisters of Baltimore too—have they sunk back into the sleep of lethargy, from which they were once half-awakened? Do they of North Carolina, again slumber? and have Ohio and Indiana, forgotten the high spirit that was kindling in their bosoms? We call upon them all to awaken!—to look at the spectacle that is before them! We point them to their insulted sex—to their sisters, sold at public auction; driven out with the horse-whip to the labors of the field; scourged—fettered—and almost denied even the privilege of worshipping their *Creator*! and this, we repeat is *slavery*! this is the slavery of the United States! this is the slavery for which they are all their measure accountable at the *Bar of Heaven*.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

TWILIGHT THOUGHTS.

The sun hath set in glory—and a fold
Of burnished purple lies upon the sky,
Like the rich thought of some just parted joy
Yet thrilling vividly around the heart.
The year's first sunset;—'tis most beautiful!
Would it might be an augury of good
To the fair land it shines on. But, alas!
What may we hope of blessing for the head
Of unrepenting guilt;—or, for the hand
—Red with the stain of murder, full of wrong
And foul oppression—shamelessly stretched out
To scatter to the winds the solemn oaths
Of broken treaty bands. The red man looks
Across his fathers lands, and thinks how once
They fed the white browed stranger, when he
came
With his weak hand to their low forest hut.
And they could well have crushed him. Now
he seeks
From the poor wasted remnant of their sons
To rend their last few acres,—Sacred spots
Where the dead lie unseparated!—and drive
The newly blest ones from their scarce found
Of home and social love to be again
Sad houseless wanderous!

Years go circling by
With all their rolling suns and changing scenes
In regular progression, and the slave
Still bends his aching forehead to the toil
That brings him no reward. Another year—
And still the christian loads his brother's neck
With the vile weight of fetters—tasks his arms
And goads his sinews to their daily toil.
With the keen lash, or, in the market place,
Bids him be numbered with the brute and sell

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

Another year! and shall that too go by
 And find his wrongs uncared for? Shall he still
 Groan 'neath his lot till life at last goes out,
 And win no sympathy? Oh ye who love
 Your maker's image, even in the Slave,
 Shake from your hearts all thoughts of selfishness,
 And with tears, prayers, and every energy,
 Stretched to its firmest purpose, in his cause,
 Cease not to plead, to struggle, to persuade,
 Till ye have won him back his longlost rights,
 Or your own hearts are slumbering in death.

AGNES.

The Olio.

It is not worth while to be mincing and nice, or ambiguous in our expression. We never do justice to a human being until we acknowledge his equal rights, and mean that the acknowledgment means what it says. To repeat that "of one flesh, God made all the nations of the earth," is easily done, and the assertion is intrinsically true—but it does not ensure practical results. If God be no respecter of persons—if he encourages the approaches to his altar of the son of Africa, upon equal terms with his white children, and they refuse a full, and equal participation in the facilities for thus approaching, we scarcely need wonder that they excuse themselves for taking rights which they profess to esteem, comparatively, of little value.

But there is no end of the contradictions, absurdities, and cruelties involved in, and emanating from, the prejudice of color—it is, of all prejudices, the most unreasoned. We heard a respectable colored man advance this sentiment to the audience of hundreds; he said the slightest consideration would establish in any mind, by intuition, that there could not possibly be merit or demerit in the different shade—as no one had any agency in producing, or even choosing, his own—he hence arrived at the unavoidable conclusion, that those who permitted this prejudice to influence their actions, had a controversy—not with man—but with—God Almighty.—G. U. E.

From the Liberator

THE BLACK AT CHURCH.

And is thy throne accessible to me—
 Me, of the Ethiop skin? may I draw near
 Thy sacred shrine, and humbly bend the knee
 While thy white worshippers are kneeling
 here?

May I approach celestial purity,
 And not offend thee with my sable face?
 In thy company of saints, so fair to see,
 Behold! already, shrink from the disgrace!

And in thine earthly courts I'll gladly bow
 Behind my fellow-worms, and be denied
 Communion with them, will my Lord allow
 That I may come and touch his bleeding side.

To that blest fount have I an equal claim
 To bathe, with all who wear the stain of sin?
 Is salvation by another name
 Than thine? or, must the Ethiop change his
 skin?

Thou art our Maker—and I fain would know
 If thou hast different seats prepared above,
 In which the master and the servant go
 To sing the praise of thine eternal love.

Where will my buyer urge the price of gold
 Which here, for this uncoined clay, he gave,

That he my portion may allot, and hold
 In bondage still the trembling, helpless slave?
 Or will that dearer ransom, paid for all,
 A Saviour's blood, impress me with the seal
 Of everlasting freedom from my thrall—
 And wash me white—and this crush'd spirit
 heal?

Then, will I meekly bear these lingering pains,
 And suffer scorn, and be by man oppress'd,
 If at the grave I may put off my chains,
 And thou wilt take me where the weary rest.
Newburyport. H. F. G.

From the Liberator

THE CHILD'S EVENING HYMN.

Father, while the day-light dies,
 Hear our grateful voices rise:
 For the blessings that we share,
 For thy kindness and thy care,
 For the joy that fills our breast,
 For the love that makes us blest.
 We thank thee, Father.

For an earthly father's arm,
 Shielding us from wrong and harm;
 For a mother's watchful cares,
 Mingled with her many prayers:
 For the happy kindred band,
 Midst whose peaceful links we stand,
 We bless thee, Father.

Yet, while 'neath the evening skies,
 Thus we bid our thanks arise,
 Father! still we think of those,
 Who are bow'd with many woes;
 Whom no earthly parents' arm
 Can protect from wrong and harm:
 The poor slaves, Father.

Al! while we are richly blest,
 They are wretched and distress'd!
 Outcasts in their native land,
 Crush'd beneath oppression's hand,
 Scarcely knowing even thee,
 Mighty Lord of earth and sea!
 Oh, save them, Father!

Touch the flinty hearts, that long
 Have remorseless done them wrong;
 Ope the eyes, that long have been
 Blind to every guilty scene;
 That the slave—a slave no more—
 Grateful thanks to thee may pour,
 And bless thee, Father!
 E. M. C.

When two human beings meet together, of what consequence is the color of their skins to their mutual pleasure and satisfaction in conversation? If their minds be congenial, can the pleasure of conversing with each other be either increased or diminished by the fact that one is black and the other white or yellow? The conversation of TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE, was that of a gentleman and a philosopher, although his skin was as black as jet: And where was the white man, in the days of TOUSSAINT, of liberal and unbiassed mind, who could not listen with delight to his conversation? He moved in no circle that did not reap instruction from his lips. He possessed genius, science, and eloquence; and there are thousands of his color who would display as much of these as he did, if not depressed by the galling yoke of slavery, the misfortune of ignorance, or the equally malign force of pride and prejudice on the part of the whites.—*African Sentinel.*

No bye-paths lead further from the right road, than some of those which, at the beginning, appear to lie almost parallel with it.—*Dillwyn.*

A PREMIUM FOR RICE.

The sum of TWENTY DOLLARS will be given as a premium, over and above the market price, for *Five Casks of Fresh Rice*, of a good quality, raised by *Free Labor*, and delivered in Philadelphia, to CHARLES PEIRCE, before the 1st of September next. (1831.)

The gentleman, above named, is well known as a very respectable Grocer, in Philadelphia, who has for several years past, made it a particular business to keep articles in his line that are exclusively the production of *free labour*.

The premium, together with the market price, will be promptly paid, on the delivery of the Rice, accompanied by proper reference and vouchers from some respectable person who is known in Philadelphia.

PROSPECTUS

OF THE
GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.
VOL. XII.

The object and character of this work are well known. It has been published nearly ten years, and circulates in all the States of this Union, in Canada, the West Indies, Europe, and Africa. It is *exclusively* devoted to the subject of the *Abolition of Slavery*, on the American Continent and Islands.

Within a few years, the proprietor has travelled much, and had to depend somewhat upon the assistance of others to conduct the work.—He pledges himself, however, that the publication *shall not cease*, but with the cessation of his natural life, provided, the public patronage, or the labor of his own hands, will furnish the means of issuing *a single sheet per annum*.—He further pledges himself, that the great fundamental principles, hitherto advocated in this work, shall be steadily maintained. The course to be pursued, hereafter, will not materially vary from that which he marked out in the beginning. The corrupt sources of the horrible evil of slavery shall be traced; this fatal gangrene upon the body politic shall be probed; and the healing balsam will be applied when the putrid mass is removed. Every possible investigation will be made as to the state of the slave-system, and what is doing relative to its perpetuation or abolition, particularly, in the various parts of the United States and the West Indies. Every exertion will also be made to show what *can be done*, with propriety and safety, towards eradicating this enormous and increasing evil from the American soil.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

The work will, henceforth, be issued monthly. It will be neatly printed, on fine paper, and folded in the octavo form, each number making sixteen large pages.

The price of subscription will be One Dollar per annum, always to be paid in advance.

Subscribers who do not particularly specify the time they wish to receive the work, or notify the Editor of a desire to discontinue it before the expiration of each current year, will be considered as engaged for the next succeeding one, and their bills will be forwarded accordingly.

Agents will be entitled to six copies for every five dollars remitted to the Editor, in current

money of the United States.

All letters and communications, intended for this office, must be addressed (free of expense) to BENJAMIN LUNDY, Washington, D.C. May, 1831.

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GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED BY H. LUNDY—PUBLISHED IN WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE—\$1.00 PER ANN.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights: that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence, U. S.*

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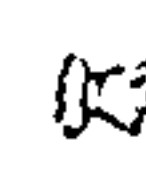
ANOTHER CHANGE!

The patrons of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* will recollect it was announced, at the commencement of the present volume, that a gentleman had engaged to assist in conducting it, for the space of a few months, while the editor expected to be from home. After a brief trial, he concluded that he could not reconcile himself to the state of things at Washington, and has since retired from the editorial management of the work.

Several fruitless efforts having been heretofore made to procure the requisite assistance, as aforesaid, the editor now takes upon himself, again, the whole responsibility of the publication. The Ladies' department, however, will still be principally under the direction of the amiable and powerful female writer, whose charming literary effusions and cogent arguments have hitherto given it so much interest, among readers of every class and denomination. It has long been the ardent desire of the editor to devote a portion of his time to other matters, connected with the great and important subject of African Emancipation:—but he regrets—*exceedingly regrets*—to find, that *no man* can occupy the editorial desk of *such an establishment*, for any considerable length of time, in the Southern portion of our country. Is this a *libel upon their courage, or their philanthropy?* Let them **PROVE** it! **ONE** there is however who will labor unceasingly in the sacred cause, *alone or otherwise*, with what effect he may, though persecution, with fiery eye, will stalk on the one hand, and apathy, with a frownsowl, sit frowning on the other.—*Fidus*
Audax.

PATRONAGE OF THIS WORK, &c.

It is cheering to perceive that, in many parts of the Union, an increasing disposition is manifested to aid in circulating this work, among the friends of our cause.—About *two hundred and* new subscriptions have been received in little more than two months. Yet it is, on the other hand, extremely discouraging to reflect, that a large number of former subscribers who continue to receive the paper, fail to pay up the respective sums due from them.—It would seem that they have no idea that a paper requires wherewithal to purchase "food

and raiment," nor to pay for materials and labor in the prosecution of his business! The amount due this establishment is now large, and much wanted; but it is mortifying in the extreme to be under the necessity of thus publicly advertizing to the subject. To those who will reflect, for a moment, surely the hint should be sufficient.  Current Bank paper, in any part of the Union, may be forwarded, by mail, at the risk of the editor—the postage being paid.

"THE FOURTH OF JULY."

The Fifty-fifth Anniversary!—and here we are, as deeply sunken in hypocrisy and crime as ever!! What will the neighboring nations—what will posterity think of us? What, indeed, *shall we think of ourselves*, when we reflect, for a moment?

Fifty-five times, we have vaingloriously paraded before the world, with our ostentatious display of liberal and virtuous professions—taunting foreign nations for their despotic regulations, while we were, ourselves, far more despotic than many of them—indulging in bacchanalian carousals, and chanting pæns to "LIBERTY," while we hold, with *iron gripe*, a large portion of our fellow men in the most outrageous, unredeemable BONDAGE ever known on earth!!!

But we will not dwell upon this scandalous, criminal topic. In the language of the great modern Irish patriot, Daniel O'Connell, we say of the *American*, who unblushingly advocates the horrible system of African slavery—nay, even him who boasts of our freedom and equality, *without raising his voice against this abominable practice*: "Before God and Man, we arraign him as a hypocrite." With the light of the present age—with the knowledge (perfectly within his reach) of the means by which this monstrous system of oppression may be annihilated, without danger or inconvenience—if he tolerates, or even neglects to use his influence to eradicate it,—in the view of Heaven and Earth, "*he is without excuse.*" He will be without excuse, in the estimation of the wise and the virtuous, now and forever. Are we "severe"? Nothing else than *severity* and *plain dealing* will rouse our countrymen from the stupor of lifeless apathy into which the great

mass of them have fallen.

We conclude, with copying the following solemn poetic strain from the "Liberator."—

Let it be deeply pondered by every American. It was written by the enlightened editor of that work, for this particular occasion.

"HAUL down your country's banner—let its folds

Be gathered in, nor float upon the breeze!
Our eagle must not soar aloft to day,
But close his powerful wings, and stoop his crest!

Ye "red artillery," your thunders stop!
Quench out the thousand fires which wildly blaze

Up to the kindling sky, from field to hill!
It is not meet that the sweet trumpet's voice
Should rouse our sluggish blood and nerve our hearts,

Forbear, ye vaunting, fine-spun, orators—
Ye mincing fools, all fustian, noise, and rant—
To wound our ears with sickening rhapsodies!
Be hushed the general shout—let sadness brood
Over the land, and joy disperse its smiles!

For Liberty lies prostrate in the dust,
With hair dishevelled, and with zone unbound;
Her cheeks are colorless, save when a blush
Of deepest shame doth o'er them fitful steal;
And the deep brilliance of her large fair eyes
Is now extinguished in a flood of grief;
For here, in this her sanctuary and home,
Hath Slavery boldly raised his iron throne;
And men, like household goods or servile beasts,
Are bought and sold, kidnapped and pirated;
Branded with red hot irons, scourged with whips;

Laden with chains that pinch their tender flesh;
Driven in droves e'en by the capitol;
Imported from afar, then secretly
Thrown into narrow cells and prisons drear,
Till bones and sinews in the market rise.—
And government looks tamely on the while,
Nor sheds a tear of generous sympathy,
Nor moves a finger to relieve th' oppressed!

* * * * *

Then haul our striped and starry banner down—
Our cannon freight not—stop the noisy breath
Of heartless Patriotism—be our praise unsung,
To-day we'll not discourse of British wrong,
Of valorous feats in arms by freemen bold,
Nor spit on kings, nor tauntingly call names;
But we will fall upon our bended knees,
And weep in bitterness of heart, and pray
Our God to save us from his threatening wrath;
We will no longer multiply our boasts
Of liberty, till all are truly free."

CONVENTION OF COLORED PEOPLE.

A second Convention, consisting of delegates from sundry societies of colored people, located in several different states, was lately held in Philadelphia. Their object appears to have been the adoption of general measures for the improvement of their condition. Among the propositions submitted and discussed, the encouragement of Canadian emigration, and the establishment of a College at New Haven, Connecticut, are considered important. Arthur Tappan, of New York, liberally offered them *one thousand dollars*, in aid of the latter under-

taking; and it is stated that other white persons will contribute further towards raising the necessary sum. Twenty thousand dollars, it is supposed, will be sufficient.

This Convention is intended to be *annual* and its influence upon the destinies of the colored inhabitants of the United States will, doubtless, be of an interesting character. The proceedings of its late session, it is expected, will soon appear in pamphlet form.

KIDNAPPING IN THE "DISTRICT."

We have a tale or two more to tell upon this infernal subject. Would that some of the victims were *white*! We should, then, witness the public denunciation, like the resistless Tornado, sweeping before it the slave-prisons and their keepers—the prowling monsters and their heartless retinue—until the land were purged of the abominable pollution. ☞ More deeds of darkness will soon be brought to light.

A flagrant outrage is related in the *Norfolk Herald*. A free woman and her two children were recently kidnapped by a couple of slave-sellers, named M'Kenzie and Currie. They have proceeded southward, with the victims of their rapacity. Particulars in our next.

PETITIONS TO CONGRESS.

It is with pleasure that we perceive a growing disposition, among the people of the United States, to press upon Congress the importance of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia. Meetings have been held, and petitions prepared, in various places. In the State of New Jersey, particularly, many are now actively engaged in promoting this very laudable object. Let our friends, elsewhere, pursue the same course, and our ultimate success cannot for a moment, be doubted.

CANADA COLORED SETTLEMENT.

It is believed that about two thousand colored persons, from the United States, have settled in Canada, since the date of the *Ohio Petition*—more than have gone to Africa in the last ten years!

The northern colored people are more friendly to this plan of removal than any yet proposed. Their sentiments, generally, are fairly expressed in the address of the Convention, published by J. W. Allen, (*not the same as Bishop Allen, as erroneously reported.*) copied into this work, for April, last.

"THE LIBERATOR."

Our friends, Garrison & Knapp, are becoming more and more industrious. They have issued an engraving, with their paper for

23d instant, representing the various sections of a Brazilian slave ship; and they have also given us a description of *marks and brands*, which *adorn* the bodies of slaves in that country. Could they not give us similar samples of "*our own slave trade*" &c. now and then?—We dare say they have witnessed, occasionally, some *picturesque scenes*, connected therewith.

William L. Garrison has also published, in pamphlet form, an address which he recently delivered before several meetings of colored people. It is strong and well worded, and replete with useful advice and information.—Some extracts from it are designed for the next number of this work.

AMERICAN NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A project is on foot for the organization of a society, for the abolition of African slavery, upon an enlarged and extensive plan. Men of wealth and influence are about to engage therein. *Success to it!*

THE LATE BISHOP ALLEN.

We have before adverted to the death of this worthy African Minister of the Gospel. The following Elegy, written for the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, by one of the most sincere friends of the African race, is a well-merited tribute to the memory of the virtuous dead. The demise of this excellent man has created a void in the society of respectable colored people, within the United States, that will be sensibly felt and deeply deplored. Who, alas! shall have caught the "mantle" of his glorious influence, since the departing spirit winged its way to the regions of bliss and immortality?

ELEGY ON THE DEATH OF RICHARD ALLEN, BISHOP OF THE AFRICAN METHODIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

A far stretched train of mourners! Who is it that goeth to the darkness of the tomb, Wept o'er by such a multitude? Strong men bow down their heads in sorrow, or lift up their brows to the clear light with a sad air of solemn thoughtfulness; and woman's eye dimmed with gathering tears, as with slow step she follows the departed. Surely he who slumbereth on that bier, hath been beloved; surely a good man goeth to the tomb! Alas! it is! the breast that lieth there unstirred, beneath the foldings of its shroud, glow'd with the promptings of a noble heart, and in its sable mantle wrapt erewhile, spirit beautiful and glorious, [Heaven. With love towards men, and strivings after Well may they weep for him; for he hath been their friend, their guide, their pastor, and hath spent his manhood in long strivings for their weal. All are his counsels thrilling round their hearts;

The echo of his gentle accents yet [thoughts Seems lingering on their ears; and gath'ring Come crowding freshly to their memories, Of all the many times that he hath stood Beside their bed of sickness, and within Their houses, when affliction's hand was lain Heavily on them, or beside the grave When dust to dust was render'd, and the forms Of those they loved laid down beneath the mould As his was now to be—and his deep voice, And earnest prayers, came like gentle dew Upon their troubled spirits, hushing them Into resigned calmness; he hath bound Some of them with the holy marriage vow, And o'er their sinless babes hath shook the dew Of baptism; and on the sabbath day, He hath stood up and taught them of the things 'Belonging to their peace,' and pour'd for them The rich, full accents of his fervent prayer. Oh, keep his counsels living in your hearts, Ye, over whom his yearning love gush'd out, Like a deep springing fountain! Call to mind The lessons that he taught you, how he strove To elevate your minds, and make you fair In intellectual lustre, and the light Of moral loveliness; and still press on With tireless step, along the mounting path He pointed out to you, that you may win, Like him, a glorious guerdon for your toil, And when the weary day of life is o'er, A sabbath rest eternally. E.

PRODUCTIONS OF SLAVE LABOR!!!

The readers of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* will recollect that the sixth number of the eleventh volume was accompanied by an engraving, representing a **BROKEN FINGER**, which was found in a cup of coffee, on a certain morning, in the city of Baltimore.

By a late number of the *Liberator*, we are informed that a gentleman in Bristol, Connecticut, recently purchased a hogshead of molasses, in which he found **THE BODY OF A COLORED MAN!!!**

The same paper also states that a **HUMAN HEAD** was taken from a hogshead of Molasses, on one of the wharves in the city of Boston, a few years since!

AFFAIRS IN HAYTI.

Very few of the French residents have yet left the island. The commotion is subsiding.

"OUTRAGE." [Which side?]

It appears, from a statement in a late New Jersey paper, that a party of colored people, supposed to be slaves, from Virginia, were about landing near Cape May; but it being discovered that a boat was in pursuit of them, a party was formed on shore, and went to assist in their apprehension. One of this party, in order to intimidate the blacks, fired a gun; which was returned by a volley from the latter, killing one man, and piercing the hat of another with a ball. Finding the slaves were strongly armed, the pursuers abandoned the chase, and let them go on. There were 11 or 12 in number, and

they bent their course towards New York.

This was a melancholy occurrence: but what *right* had the party from shore to make reprisals on the colored people, without legal authority, or without even a knowledge of their character? And, further, what can we expect from them but violence, when their oppressors shut out the light of knowledge from their minds, teaching them nothing, save the doctrines of blood-bought liberty, through the medium of their 4th of July celebrations, and numberless *military* harangues?

PRIZE ESSAY.

The following is the essay to which was awarded the premium of Fifty Dollars, offered some months since, by the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery.—The merit of originating it is due to Ebenezer Dole, of Hallowell, Maine; whose natural benevolence, added to his full conviction of the great moral evil of slavery, induced him to place in the hands of the Treasurer of that Institution the sum aforesaid, to be paid to the writer of the best essay on the following subject: "The duty of Ministers and Churches, of all denominations, to avoid the stain of Slavery, and to make the holding of slaves a barrier to Communion and Church membership." A committee of three members was appointed by the Society, to examine the essays produced; and after deciding upon their merits, the following, written by Evan Lewis, of Philadelphia, was pronounced the best, and, accordingly, entitled to the premium. The Society also ordered its publication in pamphlet form. The author has long been extensively known as an enlightened and zealous advocate of Universal Emancipation; has done much in his day towards promoting the good cause; and his production will be read with unusual interest.

The rule which the editor of this work had adopted, to exclude long articles from its columns, has been deviated from in the present case. Part of this essay was intended for the last number, but was omitted in the absence of the editor. Its intrinsic value will, however, well repay for the want of variety, occasioned by its insertion.

AN ADDRESS TO CHRISTIANS, OF ALL DENOMINATIONS, ON THE INCONSISTENCY OF ADMITTING SLAVE-HOLDERS TO COMMUNION AND CHURCH MEMBERSHIP.

"He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death."—Exodus xxi. 16.

"I know that the Lord will maintain the cause of the afflicted, and the right of the poor."—Psalms cx. 12.

THE state of slavery in the United States is so totally at variance with the genius of our free institutions, and so repugnant to the spirit and design of the christian religion, that no-

thing but habit and a long familiarity with the corrupt system, could reconcile republicans to its existence. Its toleration, in this country, presents so broad a contrast between profession and practice, that wise and good men behold the example with grief and astonishment.

When about to enter on the examination of the question of slavery, for the purpose of exhibiting its inconsistency with the precepts of the christian religion, the following questions are naturally suggested:—What is the condition implied by the word *slavery*, in this connexion? What is the nature and character of that system which we are about to examine?

"*Negro Slavery*. What term was ever more familiar to the public ear, and yet what term is so little understood? It has been the theme of many eloquent public speeches, of many parliamentary debates, and of much controversy, at different periods, in pamphlets and periodical prints. Yet, were a mind new to the subject to inquire, what is specifically and practically that state of man, about which so much has been said and written; what is that slavery which exists in the United States and the West Indies, I know not in which of the many able arguments before the public, an adequate answer would be found."*

There is, perhaps, no word in the English language which has been used more indefinitely, or applied more variously, than that of slavery. It has been applied to civil disabilities, and to mental degradation. The republican considers all those who are subjects of despotic governments, in a state of slavery. The Christian moralist applies the same appellation to the controlling influence of the passions, to the subjects of pernicious habits and sinful propensities, while the historian adopts the same term to designate the kind of servitude that existed among the nations of antiquity, which differed as widely from the slavery to which our attention is now directed, as the civil condition of the people of the United States does from that of the subjects of the Russian empire.

To define it accurately, or to give an adequate idea of the precise condition implied by the word in the present essay, will not be so easy as might be supposed. Yet some attempt to portray, in its genuine colours, and distinctive features, the state of negro slavery in this country, seems necessary to a right estimate of its merits of the question to be discussed.

"Negro slavery, as existing in the United States and British West Indies, appears to be a creature *sui generis*, unknown to the ancients, and, though drawn from the least cultivated quarter of the globe, unknown even there, except in a passing state."† It is a system that finds no counterpart in the annals of the most barbarous nations on earth. In many of its features it is more arbitrary, more oppressive, more cruel and degrading, than the servitude found among the ancients. Slavery in the United States and the West Indies, is the same in its general features and character; and the observations that apply to the one, will be, in most cases, equally applicable to the other.

"The leading idea in the negro system of jurisprudence, (in the West Indies,) is that which was first in the minds of those most interested in its formation; namely, that negroes were *property*. They were not regarded as rational sentient beings, capable of rights; but as ob-

*Stephen. †African Observer.

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

tels, the civil character of which was absorbed in the dominion of the owner."*

"Slavery was introduced and established in the colonies in a manner very different from that which is commonly supposed. It was not there originally derived from, nor is it yet expressly sanctioned or defined by, any positive law;—it stands, for the most part, on the authority of custom alone.

"This custom, though it sprang from the imaginations of the most illiterate, as well as the most worthless of mankind, had two qualities of the sublime: it was terrible and it was simple.—Its single, but comprehensive idea, was, *that the slave is the absolute property of the master;* from which the Buccaneers, though no expert logicians, had clearly deduced the consequence, that they might treat their negroes, in all respects, as they pleased; for *'a man'* they naturally argued, *'may do what he will with his own.'*"†

The same idea prevails in regard to the negro slave of the United States. He is treated in all respects as chattles, the *property* of the master—subject to seizure and sale for the payment of his debts—liable to be separated from all that he holds dear in life, and sold to a stranger, and transported to a distant region, without his consent. Husbands and wives may be torn asunder; parents and children may be separated, at the will and caprice of the owner. The strongest ties of nature, and the most endearing associations of home and of kindred may be severed; and for these abuses of power the slave has no legal redress. He is doomed to hopeless and interminable servitude, and transmits this humiliating condition to his posterity for ever.

The servile condition among the ancients was essentially different in its character from the state of negro slavery. The two conditions have scarcely any thing common, *but the name.* The Helots of Sparta could not be sold beyond the bounds of their little state. "They were the farmers of the soil at fixed rates which the proprietor could not raise without dishonour.—Hence they had the power of acquiring wealth."‡ They were the servants of the state, rather than of individuals. "At Athens, where the lenient treatment of slaves was proverbial, the door of freedom was widely open; and those who were unlucky enough to meet a cruel master, might fly to the temple of Theseus, from whence they were not taken without an investigation of their complaints. If the ill treatment was found to be real, they were either enfranchised or transferred to merciful hands."§ The slaves of the island of Crete exchanged situations with their masters, once a year, at the feast of Mercury; and cruelty and injustice were prohibited by law. The Egyptian slave might flee to the temple of Hercules, and find safety from the cruelty and persecution of his master. Among the Romans, the authority of the master over the servant was regulated by the same laws as that of the father over his son, with this difference in favour of the servant, that if he were once manumitted, he ever afterwards remained free; while the father might sell his son a second and third time into slavery.

The servile class among the ancients were often superior in intellectual attainments to their masters. They were not restrained, by law or usage, from the acquisition of knowledge; neither were they excluded from the privilege

of giving testimony, even against their masters. When cruelly treated, they had a right to prefer their grievances to the civil authorities, and the magistrates were bound to hear and redress their wrongs.

But the negro slave of the United States is deprived of all these advantages. He has no rights of his own; they are all merged in the dominion of his master. He is not a competent witness against a white person; has no tribunal to which he can legally resort for justice; no asylum to which he may flee from cruelty and persecution, and find safety. He is, in most cases, no better than an outlaw in the midst of a civilized and christian community; deprived by legislative enactments of the advantages of intellectual culture; debased and brutalised by a system the most odious and revolting to humanity that the world ever beheld; and stigmatised as unworthy of the common rights of man, because of the degradation which this system must necessarily produce. These, then, are some of the features which distinguish the servile condition, known among heathen nations, from the absolute and hopeless slavery of the African race, in this christian country—this land of liberty and equal rights—this asylum for the oppressed of all nations. It is against a system of wrongs the most wanton—of oppression the most galling and degrading to human nature, that the christian minister and christian societies are called upon to bear their testimony to the world. What theme can be more suited to the functions of a christian minister, than such a combination of wrongs and injuries, of cruelty and injustice? What moral pestilence more deserving the interposing influence of christian ministers to check its ravages? Let them, like the mitred Israelite, place themselves between the living and the dead, and stay the plague.

It has been said, in palliation of negro slavery, that the law of Moses recognised and sanctioned the practice of holding slaves. Such an argument would be more consistent in the mouth of a Jew than a Christian. Are we to turn from the precepts and authority of our Lord and Master, to the rituals of the Mosaic law which he came to fulfil and to abolish?—Shall we leave the dispensation of the gospel, and go back for authority to that dispensation which was permitted only till the time of reformation?

But granting, for the sake of argument, the civil provisions of the law of Moses to be obligatory upon us, the advocates of negro slavery would gain nothing by the admission. For we have already shown that the latter has no parallel in ancient history. If the comparatively mild system of servitude which existed among the Hebrews and the neighboring nations, was sanctioned by the Jewish lawgiver, does it follow that the more cruel and debasing bondage in which the negro race are held in the United States, would also have been tolerated? The many humane provisions contained in the law in favor of the bond-servant, prove the contrary—provisions which, if admitted into our code, would be found incompatible with the present system. That of Deuteronomy, xxiii. 15 and 16, would alone be sufficient to put an end to slavery in this country, and proves the mildness of servitude among the Hebrews. "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee; he shall dwell with thee, even among you in that place

*Reeves on the Colonial Slave Laws.

†Stephen. ‡African Observer. §Stephen.

which he shall choose in one of thy gates where it liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him." Again: The penalty for man-stealing, by the 21st chapter of Exodus, verse 16th, is death.—"And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." The crime is ranked in immediate connexion with the capital offence of *smiting or cursing* father or mother, and the same punishment is awarded to each. The 26th and 27th verses of the same chapter ordains that "if a man smite the eye of his servant, or his handmaid, so that it perish; or if he smite out his servant's tooth, he shall go free for the eye, or the tooth's sake." Besides, an effectual limit is put to that species of servitude practised among the Hebrews, in the 25th chapter of Leviticus, verse 54, which provides that the servant shall go out free in the year of *Jubilee*, "with he, and his children with him." This provision is general; and applies to ALL servants, without distinction of nation, country or religion. But the Hebrew servant was to be free at the end of six years, the utmost limit of servitude, which the law provides. "And if thy brother, a Hebrew man or a Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee, and serve thee six years; then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee. And when thou sendest him out free from thee, thou shalt not let him go away empty. Thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy flour, and out of thy wine press," &c. (See Deut. xv. 12 to 14.)

If the Mosaic law is to be resorted to in justification of slavery, let us take the whole of it as it was given by the inspired lawgiver; and let not the hapless servant be deprived of its lenient provisions in his favor. If we are to be Jews and not Christians, let us at least be consistent Jews, and conform literally to all the instructions of our lawgiver.

Do we look for any palliation, much less authority, for the practice of slavery in the precepts of the gospel? We shall search in vain.—The religion of Jesus Christ teaches us to do good for evil—to forgive even our enemies—to do in all cases to others as we would wish that they should do unto us—to love the Lord our God with all our heart, and our neighbor as ourselves.

The gospel dispensation was announced to the Jews in the fulfilment of the declaration of the prophet Isaiah. "The spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach glad tidings unto the meek: he hath sent me to bind up the broken hearted; to proclaim liberty to the captives; and the opening of the prison to them that are bound."—Isaiah lxi. 1.—Luke iv. 18. And the spirit and precepts of the Christian religion are in harmony and accordance with this first public testimony of our Lord. If we fulfil the injunction of our religion, to do to others as we would wish them to do unto us—if we love our neighbor as ourselves, can we consign him and his posterity to hopeless and interminable slavery? Nay, are we not walking in the footsteps of the Scribes and Pharisees, who bound heavy burdens upon men's shoulders, and would not move them with one of their fingers? And if we thus actively and knowingly violate the precepts of the gospel, and the commands of Jesus Christ, can we be Christians? Can we with any color of justice call ourselves the disciples of Him who came to preach deliverance to the captive,

and the opening of the prison doors to them that were bound.

But the case of Onesimus has been "alleged to give an implied sanction to negro slavery," because Onesimus was a slave, and he was sent back to his master, a christian convert, without any injunction to alter his condition. To this it has been replied, that christianity, in this, as in many other cases, has provided, without express precepts, a sure and inoffensive corrective of all oppressive institutions, by the gradual influence of its liberal & benignant maxims; which did in point of fact, dissolve the bonds of slavery in most parts of the christian world.—Hence, it is assumed on the one hand, and admitted on the other, that the state of Onesimus was substantially the same with that of negro slavery; an assumption without any evidence, and grossly contrary to the fact. And until it is shown by something stronger than the coincidence of a vague general appellation, that the case of Onesimus and that of negro slavery are in moral considerations the same, it is false reasoning to infer the lawfulness of the one, from the supposed toleration of the other."

If, then, the negro slavery of the United States and the West Indies has no parallel in the practice of the nations of antiquity—if the servitude which existed among the ancients, was gradually abolished in Europe by the operation of the mild but effectual influence of christianity—and if the modern system of negro slavery finds no support in the scriptures, either of the Old or New Testament, and is directly at variance with the spirit and design of the gospel of Christ, how can christian societies and christian ministers absolve themselves from the duty imposed upon them by their profession or calling, of endeavouring, by every means in their power, to lessen the evils of slavery, and finally to effect its total abolition?—That such a duty is obligatory upon them, scarcely admits of a doubt. For what are the legitimate objects of christian societies? The most obvious and important designs of such associations appear to be, to promote the cause of truth and righteousness in the world—to extend the Redeemer's kingdom among men—to turn people from darkness to light, and from the power of satan unto God. Can truth be promoted by the toleration of slavery? Can *righteousness* exist in connexion with *wrongs*, injustice and oppression? Can the Redeemer's kingdom be extended in the hearts of those who bind heavy burdens upon their fellow men, which neither we nor our fathers were willing to bear? Can those men be turned from darkness to light who will not permit the slave to be taught to read the volume of inspiration, while the lash of the task-master is still sounding in their ears? Can they be rescued from the power of satan, who permit the dearest ties in nature to be broken by members of religious societies? Are men's hearts turned unto the God of love, who made of one blood all the families of the earth, when those who assume the name of Christians turn a deaf ear to the cries of the oppressed, and regard not with feelings of compassion the agonizing tears of the mother, when torn from the offspring of her love? Can these things be tolerated by the professors of that religion which breathes peace on earth and good will to all men—which, in its nature and design, is gentle and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits?

The enormity and magnitude of the evils of slavery in the United States—its demoralizing

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

tendency upon the community, where it prevails to any considerable extent—and the tremendous and appalling consequences to this favoured nation which must result from its continuance, would furnish ample materials to fill a volume. The limits of this essay will not permit me discuss these points at large. But when we reflect that there are now little short of two millions of this degraded cast within our borders, and that their number is rapidly increasing; in some of the States in a ratio much higher than that of the white inhabitants,—that there are born in the United States, annually, about fifty thousand human beings in the condition of slaves for life;—the subject demands the solemn consideration of every christian philanthropist, to mitigate its horrors, and to devise the most effectual means for its extinction.

What means would be better adapted to the end—what course more consistent with the doctrines and precepts, the spirit and tendency of the christian religion, than for religious societies and christian ministers to join heart and hand for the accomplishment of this important object? The powerful and extensive influence which religious associations exercise over the minds of the people, would give efficiency and force to their exertions in the righteous cause. Every man who reflects coolly on the subject would feel that his testimony against slavery was just and founded in the eternal principles of rectitude and truth, which the ever varying circumstances of this world cannot alter. Hence the voice of conscience, on the one hand, would second the labours of religious instructions on the other, and the iniquity of slavery would be seen and felt by all classes of professors. More good would thus be effected by associating religion with abolition, (and what association can be conceived more natural,) than can be accomplished by benevolent individuals alone, or by abolition societies, or associations of statesmen and politicians. These are limited and partial in their operation. They are confined in their influence to small portions of the community, and cannot so generally, and effectually influence public opinion, as the united efforts of religious Societies. For religion comes home to the feelings, and to the domestic circle of almost every man of influence in our country. It is the business of every man's life to prepare for that state of retribution which awaits us when done with time. And all are more or less subject to the influence of those important duties, and high responsibilities which religion presents for their consideration. Let then the clergy from the pulpit bear a faithful and fearless testimony against the practice of holding their fellow creatures in bondage—let them describe in the solemn and impressive language of inspiration, the unlawfulness of the gain of oppression—the sinfulness of grinding the face of the poor, and causing the objects of redeeming love to languish in interminable bondage. Let religious Societies exclude from membership all who will not emancipate their slaves—let them make it a *sine qua non*, in their admission to communion and church fellowship. Let them interpose the powerful agency of religion to the further progress of this moral pestilence—let them plant their standard upon this ocean of bitter waters, and say, hitherto shalt thou come, but no further, and here shall thy polluted waves be stayed—let them preserve their own camp pure from the leprosy of slavery, and

show to the world an example of christian philanthropy, which will be felt and approved by the pious, the benevolent, and the wise, in every section of our country—let them do all these things, and the curse of slavery will ere long be removed from our borders.

It is not necessary to define the manner of excluding slave holders from the advantages of membership in religious Societies. Each Society has its own code of discipline, or form of church government. If the principle should be adopted that the holding of slaves should be a barrier to communion or church fellowship; the mode of acting would be regulated by the same rules as in other cases of admission or exclusion from membership. The example of the Society of Friends proves the importance of the measure to the cause in general, and its salutary effects upon the community. It is about seventy years since the Society in this country made it a part of their discipline that none of their members should hold slaves.

Among the first advocates of the measure in Pennsylvania, were Benjamin Lay and Ralph Sandiford. These men may be considered the pioneers in the great and glorious work of emancipation. They bore a fearless testimony against the slavery of the African race, at a time when public opinion was opposed to abolition; and we have reason to believe that they were instrumental in opening the eyes of many to the iniquity of slavery.—After them followed Benezet and Woolman in the same cause—men whose universal philanthropy, and christian benevolence, shone conspicuous in every important action of their lives. For many years the testimonies of such men as Lay and Sandiford were received by some of their brethren as the ebullitions of fanaticism, or the vagaries of a heated imagination. But the voice of truth and philanthropy was heard by many with calmness and impartiality. A consciousness of the unlawfulness of holding mankind in bondage was extended among the members—other advocates of the cause of emancipation were raised up, and justice at length triumphed in the utter extinction of slavery in the Society. Benj. Lay lived to see the accomplishment of the desire of his heart—the adoption of a rule of discipline of the yearly meeting of Pennsylvania for disowning all those who would not free their slaves. When informed of this conclusion, by a friend who called to see him for the purpose of giving him the information, “The venerable and constant friend and advocate of that oppressed race of men attentively listened to the heart-cheering intelligence, and after a few moments reflection on what he had heard, he rose from his chair, and in an attitude of devotional reverence, poured forth this pious ejaculation: ‘*Thanksgiving and praise be rendered unto the Lord God.*’—After a short pause he added—‘*I can now die in peace.*’”* He lived but a few weeks after this event.

From that period to the present time, the Society of Friends have been proverbial for their opposition to slavery. They have revived the subject from year to year in their annual assemblies. The younger members have been trained under the influence of a settled aversion to the system. The testimony against slavery has become identified with their religion, influencing their habits, and giving a direction to their actions. The consequence is, that the whole

Life of Benjamin Lay, by Roberts Vaux.

weight of their influence, as a religious association, has been exerted to loose the fetters of the captive. To this influence, in a great measure, Pennsylvania owes the honor of having been the first State in the Union to pass a law for the abolition of slavery. The first act of legislation, expressly designed for the extinction of slavery, was passed by the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, March 1, 1780. The example has been followed successively by Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-Hampshire, New-York, and New-Jersey. In five other States, slavery is prohibited by the Constitution.

A cursory view of the effects produced by the decided stand taken by the Society of Friends, against the iniquitous practice of holding mankind in bondage, will be sufficient to show the vast and incalculable influence which would be brought into action, were the more numerous bodies of christians in our country to unite their efforts in the same cause. The Methodists have done much in this good work. Though they have not fully incorporated abolition with their religion—though they have not, in all cases, made the holding of slaves a barrier to communion and church fellowship; yet their preachers have not ceased to proclaim the important truth, that all men ought of right to be free. They have often boldly and conscientiously discharged their duty as christian ministers, by portraying in glowing colors the sinfulness of slavery. They have opened their mouths for the dumb, and plead the cause of the poor and the oppressed. They have broken the jaws of the wicked, and plucked the spoil out of his teeth. Wherever the influence of this society has extended, the cause of the degraded African has found able and efficient advocates. Through their means many thousands have been restored to their rights; and a direction given to public opinion in many places, unfavorable to slavery. It is devoutly to be wished, that they would advance yet one step further, and cleanse their camp from the unclean thing that still remains—that they would make no compromise with slavery, but wash their hands of the pollution.

Great credit is also due to the Presbyterians in the Western States. Some of them have laboured with a noble and disinterested perseverance in the cause of emancipation. Their resolution appears to be formed, never to cease their efforts until their society is purged from the stain of slavery. If this consumation should be achieved, which we ardently hope, and confidently believe will eventually crown the labors of those christian philanthropists who have engaged in the work, the cause of abolition will acquire a moral force and preponderance in the community which will be felt in every section of the country.

The Baptists, too, in some parts of the Western States, have taken up the question of slavery as a religious duty. I regret that my information is so limited in regard to the labors of these two last named Societies. It appears that they design to accomplish the total exclusion of slave-holders from communion and church membership in their respective societies. How far they have progressed in their endeavors to cleanse their camp from so foul a pollution, I am unable at present to say. But every friend to humanity can join in cordial approbation of their efforts in the righteous cause, and in the hope that they may persevere

until they see, as did the pious Lay, their labors crowned with success—see of the travail of their souls, and be satisfied.

Every individual in the community should be encouraged to the performance of his duty to the cause of emancipation, however small may be his means of usefulness: for by individual faithfulness, great results have often been produced; and apparently insignificant causes have sometimes effected important reformations. Thomas Clarkson was engaged to devote his life to the cause of abolition, by being called upon to write a prize essay on the subject of slavery. When he first turned his attention to the question to be discussed, he knew not where to begin. He was totally ignorant of the subject upon which he was about to write. He was destitute of the means of acquiring the knowledge necessary to enable him to discuss the question of slavery. He knew not to whom to apply for information, or where to procure the necessary authorities.—In this hopeless condition he saw in a window, as he passed along the streets of London, Anthony Benezet's account of Guinea. He bought the book, and found it to contain a clue to all the authorities he required. He engaged in the contest for the prize, and obtained it; and from this small beginning became the principal instrument for the accomplishment of the abolition of the British Slave-trade. Again: The labors of those who conscientiously engaged in the cause of abolition as a religious duty, gave a tone to public opinion in the northern and middle states, which resulted in the enactment of laws for the total extinction of slavery in those states. To the same cause may be attributed the ordinance of 1787, by which slavery has been forever excluded from the States and Territories North and West of the river Ohio. Their rapid and unexampled advance in wealth and population, fully establishes the wisdom of the measure.

These, and similar examples show the importance of individual faithfulness in the performance of every duty. It is by such means that all great and important reformations of abuses have been effected: for society can only act efficiently by means of individuals. Let each man labor in his own particular sphere, and the influence of his example will extend to those with whom he is connected in civil or religious society. And thus organized associations may be brought to act efficiently in a collective capacity.

Let then every Christian minister, and every religious association, and each individual member of a religious society, endeavor to eradicate the stain of slavery from our land, by the effectual operation of the lenient principles of Christianity. Let the voice of justice and humanity be heard from every pulpit, and resound from the walls of every church—let the fiat of universal emancipation be issued from every Conference, Synod, and General Assembly, throughout the country—let the pious associations of the present age, for distributing the Scriptures, and communicating a knowledge of the christian religion to distant regions—proclaim freedom to the captive, and the work will ere long be accomplished. Slavery will soon cease to be a curse upon our country, and a disgrace to our nation. Then will the blessing of him that was ready to perish, come upon us, and the soul of the emancipated slave will be made to sing for joy.

Ladies' Repository.

Philanthropic and Literary.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

AMERICAN MISERY.

“Favored as we are from infancy with instruction of every kind, used as we are to view the mind in its proper state, and accustomed as we are to feel the happy effects of female influence, our thoughts would fain turn away from the melancholy subject of female degradation, of female wretchedness. But, will our feelings of pity and compassion—will those feelings which alone render the female character lovely, allow us to turn away—to dismiss the subject altogether without making an effort to rescue, to save?”

“Shall we sit down in indolence and ease, indulge in all the luxuries with which we are surrounded, and leave beings like these, flesh and blood, intellect, and feeling like ourselves, and of *our own sex*, to perish, to sink into eternal misery? No! by all the tender feelings of which the female mind is susceptible, by all the privileges and blessings resulting from the cultivation and expansion of the human mind, our duty to God, and our fellow creatures, and by the blood and groans of Him who died on Calvary, let us make a united effort, let us call on all, old and young, in the circle of acquaintance to join with us in attempting to meliorate the situation, to instruct, to enlighten, and to save.”—*Mrs. Judson's appeal for human Missionaries.*

The above forcible and eloquent appeal cannot apply more strongly to the situation of those whom it was intended, than it does to a large number of the females of our own country. Whatever may be the claims of the daughters of Hamah, or any other heathen land, on the inhabitants of a christian and civilized nation, they cannot equal those of hundreds of thousands of females in our own country. The bondage of the women of the East is not disgraceful, for it is customary, and is laid upon them by those they love; their mental darkness is not deepened by the contrast of surrounding light,—their hard fate by the sight of the delicacy and luxury of those amidst whom they dwell—a delicacy and luxury supported, too, by their bitter unrewarded toil—their own miserable degradation! They may not be torn shrieking from the arms of their husbands, or behold their children wrenched one by one from their clinging arms forever; they are not exhibited and sold at public auction, nor advertised for sale in the public papers, nor driven in herds about the country, manacled like felons, nor are they liable to be thrust into prison without even so much as the accusation of an offence. But the contrary of all this embitters the lot of those on whose behalf we entreat our readers to address the above extract to their own bosoms. They have been reared beneath the broad shadow of

the eagle wing of freedom, but instead of a protection, they have found it a blighting and a curse;—they have breathed the glad breezes of a Land of Liberty, but to them they have been noxious as the destroying Simoom;—the splendid effulgence of refinement and knowledge is gleaming brilliantly around them, but alas! not one ray is suffered to break through the atmosphere of their own thick and palpable darkness. On every side of them are the temples of a Just and Omniscient God, but their oppressors, more savage and ruthless than even the barbarous nations of antiquity, permit them not to find a refuge, even “between the horns of the altar.” Finally, susceptible as their minds are said to be of the truths of the christian religion, the outward means of receiving such knowledge is almost entirely withheld from them; or conveyed to them through the impure channel of those whose hands are defiled with injustice.

Who then is there on the broad face of the universe, that has such strong claims on the sympathy of American females, as the American female slave? Nor is it her misery only that appeals with its deep, unspoken voice to their compassion. Her wrongs rise up terribly in judgment against them, and demand redress from *THEIR justice!* Be the situation of eastern females unhappy as it may, those whom we address have borne no part in rendering it such. Would to Heaven we could say as much for them with respect to their own countrywomen! But we cannot. They have joined themselves with the oppressor, and it is by their supineness—nay, by their *assistance*, that such mountains of wretchedness, and darkness, are heaped upon the head of the slave. It is to minister to their pride, to supply their luxuries, to provide for their comforts, that their sister has been brought so low—that the floods of distress have been made to overwhelm her soul. Shall we then appeal only to the soft and gentle charities of their nature—to their feelings of tenderness and compassion? No! we call upon them to redress the wrongs of those whom they have deeply injured. We call upon them at their own peril to withdraw their hands from the perpetration of iniquity. We point to the pleasant valleys of the south, watered by the agonizing tears of woman, clouded by her disgrace, and too often sprinkled with her blood; and we tell them that all this is measureably their work.—We tell them that the food upon their tables, and the garments upon their forms, are tainted by the guilt of oppression; and we entreat them, as they value their own innocency, to hasten the cleansing of their hands from so great an evil.

TEACHERS.

It is stated by Clarkson, in his History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, that Anthony Benezet, beside his other invaluable labours in that cause, greatly promoted its advancement by impressing the minds of his scholars with correct ideas of the enormity of Slavery, and thereby giving many defenders to the oppressed race who have so long been doomed to endure its bitterness. Thus much of what Anthony Benezet performed it is in the power of many of our own sex to accomplish. Of the vast effects which maternal influence is capable of producing we have elsewhere spoken;—and the power which is vested in the hands of those to whose care is committed the education of youth is scarcely less important. Their business is particularly with the mind, over which, unless they fall short in their duty, they can scarcely fail of acquiring considerable ascendancy; and right principles carefully inculcated by them will probably never be wholly eradicated from the minds of many of their pupils, while in those of some of them they may spring up & “bring forth fruit fifty fold.” Let us entreat those who fill the station, to which we allude—those whose hearts are not seared to the sufferings of the tens of thousands of their own sex, who are drinking all the degradation and bitterness of the cup of slavery—those to whom the brightness and excellence of the female character is dear, and its dishonor painful—let us entreat them to commune seriously with themselves upon this subject, and to reflect whether they may be permitted to withhold their hand from doing this good to their afflicted sisters, without bringing condemnation on themselves for their neglect.

TRIFLES.

A carelessness with regard to things of apparently little moment, is one of the most fruitful causes of human error and unhappiness.—All would be willing to be perfect if such a state could be secured by one grand effort, without the perpetual and wearisome struggle for mastery with the perverseness of the inclinations or the will. The years of life that are wasted in detached moments, occasion but little sorrow for their loss, although they may perhaps make up half the term of existence.—The evil that is counteracted, and the good that is performed, during the course of an individual life, seldom bears any proportion to that which might have been accomplished, by a sedulous improvement of all the opportunities which have presented themselves. It is certainly a high privilege to be permitted to be

greatly useful, but it is *equally meritorious*, to advance the interests of humanity by less distinguished service. A patient and careful attention to trivial things is always helpful in the promotion of a design, and is sometimes the only means by which the desired object is attainable. If a proper use were made of the power which every one possesses to aid in some degree the noble designs of philanthropy and benevolence, how soon might the stony heart of avarice and pride be softened, and those who have been made to bow the forehead to the dust be raised from their place of shame and degradation! How soon might women, were they but willing slightly to exert themselves to serve a cause for whose prosperity their wishes (at least in the free States) are almost universally given, by their united efforts bring to a triumphant conclusion, the important work of emancipation.

THE SEASON.

It is now the season of rural wandering. The city loses almost half its accustomed occupants, and the enchantments of nature are visited and enjoyed by thousands, who behold them with more exquisite delight from the rarity of the pleasure, while to those whose dwelling place is among them they present a constant succession of charming variety. The pervading spirit of nature is one of universal love; it is one that should open the heart to the influence of all the sweet and kindly affections, and touch our sympathies more sensibly with tenderness towards our fellow creatures. The voice of birds, the perfume of the many flowers, the deep shadow of the wood, amidst whose cool recesses rambles the rocky streamlet, filling the air with the perpetual babble of its tiny waterfalls, the deep glow of the sunset, and the felt quietness of the summer evening, with its soft showering radiance of moonlight, and the low plaintive cry of the whip-poor-will, melting away at intervals upon the scented air,—all these are well fitted to awaken and foster the better feelings of our nature, and to teach the heart to forget the narrow measures of its wretched selfishness. Ah! then, while our friends are surrounded with outward loveliness, let not their enslaved sisters appeal in vain to their kindly sympathies. For her the earth can have no brightness, the voice of song no melody, the flowers no fragrance; for the wretchedness of her fate is like a cloud and a blight upon her bosom. The sparkling and overflowing cup of natural and mental beauty, is to her a sealed fountain, or it is drugged and poisoned with the bitterness of her many sorrows. And will not those to whom it presents a draught of de-

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

blessedness, endeavor to win for her the capability of sharing in their happiness? Let them think of her, and speak of her in their pleasant rambles. When they are gazing with admiration at the wide landscape, or sitting beneath the shadow of the vine-garlanded rock, with the ripple of the brook flashing in sunshine at their feet, and the glancing images of insect life flitting around them among the green leaves, whether they are wrapt in solitary contemplation, or mingling their voices in converse with those they love, then let the images of those poor suffering ones glide before them, and while the story of their wretchedness is in their heart, or on their lips, let their compassion be deepened, their resolutions strengthened, and their principles brought more thoroughly to view with abhorrence a wilful participation in the cruelty of their oppressors.

ELIZABETH GREENFIELD.

We were under a mistake, the month before last, in stating that this good widow lady had sent her slaves from Louisiana to Hayti. She has recently returned home safely, and we have been politely furnished with the following interesting particulars by herself. She gave the facts—the language is our own. She had resided a long time in Mississippi, and had several plantations stocked with slaves, in that State and Louisiana. Some years since she removed and settled in Philadelphia. She had previously sold all her slaves, with the exception of those on one plantation, near Natchez. After residing some length of time in Philadelphia, and being quite advanced in life,) she made her will; and, in this instrument, provided for the emancipation of the remainder of her slaves, and their settlement in the State of Ohio.— Lands were to be purchased for them, and all the necessary articles furnished, to set them up in business for themselves. When it was announced, however, that a few of the people of Ohio had attempted to revive an old obnoxious law, which from its cruel and oppressive provisions had been suffered to lie as a dead letter on the shelves of jurists for a long time—and when it was stated in the newspapers of the day, that the colored people would all be compelled to leave that State, this philanthropic lady felt at a loss to know what she had best do with her slaves. She consulted some of her friends, and they advised her to send them to Africa. The slaves were unwilling to go; and not knowing what else could be done for them, to secure their freedom—she adopted the noble resolution of immediately setting out on a journey of about 4000 miles, at the age of more than

eighty years! for the express purpose of persuading these poor creatures (eighteen or twenty in number) to leave the region of despotism, and accept the glorious boon of freedom!! She succeeded in her efforts—she struck the fetters of bondage from their limbs—she prevailed with them to journey out of Egypt—and although we may regret that there was a seeming necessity for changing her original plan, and thereby hazarding a voyage to the African coast, and a settlement in the sickly regions of perpetual equatorial heat, while they might have been conveniently and advantageously provided for nearer home,—still it is extremely gratifying to witness the patriotic philanthropy and noble resolution thus displayed by an *American Lady*, in the case before us. She assures us that she thought she could not die in peace, unless her poor slaves were first released from bondage. She was offered ten thousand dollars for them, but *spurned* the proposition.

O that all other slaveholders may possess a kindred feeling! Misers, ignoramuses, and the bloated sons of dissipation and depravity will sneer and scoff,—but every virtuous man and woman will associate with the name of ELIZABETH GREENFIELD a noble public spirit—a pure philanthropy—a genuine piety—that seldom manifest themselves in the conduct of a human being. No doubt the ardent prayer of her soul will now be granted. When the period arrives that ushers into her presence the messenger of fate, she will have no conscience guiltiness to upbraid her in reference to the withholding of justice from these, her fellow creatures. She will pass in quietness and peace “from works to rewards:” and her bright example shall illumine the path of posterity, for ages to come.

We have been kindly furnished by the Secretary of the Ladies' Society for encouraging the use of the productions of free labor, in Philadelphia, with a late statement of their Committee. Some difficulty and delay having occurred in procuring a lot of free cotton that had been contracted for, the business of manufacturing &c. has, for a time, been partially suspended. It is pleasing to learn that the stock of goods on hand have fast diminished; and that the sales have enabled the committee promptly to meet their engagements of a pecuniary character. The language of the committee is, upon the whole, encouraging, though it embraces little that is very important. A hope is entertained that a further supply of free cotton will, ere long, be received. It is feared that a quantity, deposited at Fayetteville, previous to the late fire, has been destroyed.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

LAMENT.

Wo for our country's guilt!
The glory has departed from her brow,
And shame and infamy are round her now;
The blood her hand hath spilt,
Cries out against her from the smoking plain,
Yet waria and reeking with the crimson stain,

The shame of broken faith,
Of solemn treaties turn'd to mockery,
And the strong pledge of friendship made a lie,
And unregarded breath—
This blot is resting on her tainted name,
A mildew to the brightness of her fame.

Wo for her forest sons!
Whom she hath cast into their brother's hand,
To be thrust forth sad wanderers o'er the land,
They and their little ones,
Their mothers and their wives, amidst the wild,
To bear the thought how fair their lost home
smiled.

They leaned in their deep trust,
Upon her solemn vows, and found too late,
In their crushed hopes, and their most bitter fate,
Her oaths were as the dust:
Her seeming friendship but a mask to hide,
Her ingrate perfidy, her guilty pride.

Wo for the dark brow'd slave!
Bow'd to the dust 'neath her relentless hand,
And stamped with foul oppression's hateful brand,
He passes to the grave,
Before the Judgment Seat of Heaven to bear,
The tale of all his wrongs and his despair.

Alas! alas, for her!
How can she bear the searching eye of God
Bent in its justice on her crimson sod—
She a vile murderer!
How dare she lift her hand to heaven to pray,
'Till she hath cast her cherish'd sins away!

Yet how with-pealing shout, [bells,
And caunons roar, and trump and deep-voiced
Of her own glory to the world she tells!
Ah! better would it suit
Her cheek, instead of the proud flush it wears,
To be washed pale with penitential tears!

GERTRUDE.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

MUSINGS.

It is pleasant to pass the twilight hour in an undisturbed reverie; to give wings to our awakened thoughts, and mingle with the beings of other years—"of the days of the times of old." We seem in a few moments to have lived through the lapse of other centuries. We may wander back to the first day spring of the world, and gaze upon it in its yet unpeopled loveliness.— We may go back to the early time of all nations, we visit all lands, and the forgotten traces of their history come back to our remembrance.— We seem to tread the stage of life with those whom hundreds of seasons have beheld mouldering in the dust, and to be dwelling in the midst of events of which there remains now only a name and a shadow. We set our foot upon the soil of Europe—we tread the shores of wave-girdled England, and behold her mighty metropolis diminished to its pristine rudeness;—we hover in the dim light amidst the ruins of her ancient towers, around whose dismantled turrets seems still to linger the ban-

ished spirit of the feudal days, and the solitary spirit of heroic chivalry. Then rise the merry vineyards of France before our view, and the hills of Spain, as when the victorious and polished Moors reigned there as conquerers. But better still does it delight us, to wander beneath the delicious skies of Italy. It is so thoroughly the land of the imagination! it is, in its very realities, so like the creation of a dream.— Our thoughts of it are all stained with the rich hues of the romantic medium through which they pass, like its own sunset light when streams through the painted windows of its ancient chapels. Italy seems perfectly a creature of the past—a dream—a shadow of memory;— we can scarcely realize the thought of her present existence, or at least of her being still an inhabited country. We wander in fancy among her splendored palaces and her exquisite scenes, but they are populous only with the shades of the departed. We glide with the stealthy tread of a ghost through the dim aisles of her monasteries, or thread the rocky mazes of her castled forests, and we find every scene tinged with the light of poetry and romance, or wear the deeper interest of remembered history.— Then we penetrate the mountain's fastnesses of Switzerland—we listen for the music of the "Ranz des Vaches," and watch the last hues of the sunset fade from the height of the pinnacled glaciers. Returning at length to the land of our own home, we go back to the scene of her early days. Her romance consists in antiquities—it is in her freshness—her vast peopled solitudes—her now busy population and the quietness, that but a little while since lay like a deep spell upon her many rivers. What recollections has she to offer us? We go back through the darkness of years, and behold the first daring vessel from another clime, to lay moored beside her shores, seeming to the minds of the untutored natives like a being sent from Heaven. Alas! how soon were the two races of men contending in bitter enmity. How soon was the glad surprise of the one, and the simple reverence of the other, converted by injustice and revengeful feelings, into a relenting hatred! Then comes up the remembrance of another scene. The first Slave is on our shores, and our countrymen, crowding around her, yet shrinking and blushing at their unaccustomed infamy, are about, for the first time, to defile their hands and disgrace their country, by the inhuman traffic in man flesh. Ah! how soon such scenes became too familiar to excite any other feeling than the eagerness of grasping avarice! Auctions for human flesh were multiplied among the islands, and the echo of the driver's keen thought went up to heaven mingled with the groans of the tortured victims. And these are the recollections which our country has to offer for hours of reverie! Injustice, bloodshed, oppression! Well may we turn our thoughts away from her past years, when her early glory was so soon darkened by the foul blot that rests upon her with its deep stain of iniquity.

BERTH

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

SLAVE PRODUCE.

Eat! they are dates for a lady's lip,
Rich as the sweets that the wild bees sip;
Mingled viands that nature hath poured,
From the plenteous stores of her flowing brook.

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

earing no trace of man's cruelty—save
the red life-drops of his human slave.

ist thee, lady! and turn aside,
With a loathing heart from the feast of pride;
Or mixed with the pleasant sweets it bears,
The hidden curse of scalding tears,
Wring out from woman's bloodshot eye,
By the depth of her deadly agony.

ook! they are robes from a foreign loom,
Delicate, light, as the rose leaf's bloom;
Stainless and pure in their snowy tint,
As the drift unmarked by a footstep's print.
Surely such garment should fitting be
For woman's softness and purity.

et fling them off from thy shrinking limb,
For sighs have rendered their brightness dim;
And many a mother's shriek and groan,
And many a daughter's burning moan,
And many a sob of wild despair,
From woman's heart, is lingering there.

BERTHA.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

A young lady, of fine taste and talents, said
with a sigh, a few days since: "O that I could
do something for the poor negroes!" It was
suggested that she might appeal to the good
feelings of readers, through the inspiration of the
poet. Shortly after, she presented the follow-
ing, which I venture to send for insertion in
the Genius.

G.

Washington, June, 1831.

O how unlike youth's fev'rish dreams,
The hope that animates us now;
Unless by Ignis Fatuus gleams,
To thee, O Truth! we calmly bow,
And wait till thy inspiring word,
In gentle whispers, shall be heard.

It is the wrongs of Afric's sons
We feel,—and would our aid extend
Unto the injured suffering ones,
Who loudly call us to befriend,
When their deep groans ascend on high
In piercing heart-wrung agony.

Too long, too long in Freedom's land
Oppression holds her iron sway,—
O rescue from the tyrant's hand,
His feeble, unresisting prey,
Until the voice of Liberty
Proclaims that all her sons are free.

MARCIA.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

FREE PRODUCE STORES.

It is gratifying to the friends of the unfortu-
rate African to perceive the lively interest
manifested of late, among the Ladies in some
parts of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and other
contiguous States, relative to the giving a pre-
ference to the productions of Free Labor, from
tropical countries. We have heard of the es-
tablishment of mercantile stores, in various
places, for the purpose of vending such articles,
to the Females. In Philadelphia and Wilmington
such establishments have been for some length
of time in operation; and it is to be hoped that
they are likely to be successful.

But though I have been a regular reader of
the Genius of Universal Emancipation, I have
not seen it stated that a Store of this kind has
been opened in the village of Kennett-Square,
Chester County, Pennsylvania.

About a year since, a young Lady, of the
name of Amy Pennock, commenced business
in this line, and now keeps on hand an assort-
ment of Groceries, Cotton manufactures, &c.
&c. at the place above mentioned. The writer
of this has seen and examined some of her
goods, and cheerfully recommends them to
those who may have it convenient to call at
her store. Such as prefer goods of this de-
scription, may, no doubt, satisfy themselves
both as to price and quality. Every such
praiseworthy effort surely merits encourage-
ment.

Chester County, July, 1831.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE FLOWER.

I have a withered blossom that I keep
For memory. Thou gav'st it me, dear friend!
And 'neath its wither'd leaves there lies a spell
To waken thought with.—How the past comes
back,—

The visionary past! with its dim crowd
Of dreamy images, all bright'ning up
Into the seeming vividness of life,
As on my hand these scentless petals lie,
And busy thought flings back the misty veil
That hangs o'er old remembrances. That flower
—Dost thou remember it?—and on what spot
The scion grew that reared it? We have been
together there in happiness, and oft
Have bent together o'er the scented bells,
Yet dew-besprinkled, which the lavish morn
Had scatter'd prodigal; or when at eve
The climbing moon gleam'd through the pear-
tree's boughs, [gemmed
And flung her glory o'er the flowers that
The vine-hung gate-way, giving their white
leaves

A dazzling brilliancy—then have we sat
In the old pleasant porch, and spoke our words
Of laughing happiness, and caught the breath
Of that rich fragrance, as the dewy air
Came wafted to our temples.

Now 'tis eve,

And on the pearly sky her lustrous star
Gleams in its brilliancy, like a bright thought
In a rich page of poesy—but thou—
Two years ago, and thou wert by my side
In many a joyous ramble, far and free,
Through the green mazes of the rocky wood,
And o'er the streamlet by its pass of stones,
Or by the beautiful and shadowed creek,
Or up the long steep hill, our fav'rite walk
At eventide, with other tones than ours
Mixed in our laughing converse—two years
since!

—And now our paths are separate, and no more
Our lives may be so similar, and wear the stamp
Of the same incidents! And shall not we,
Who know the pain of parting, feel for those
Who are so often severed from all ties [turn
To which the heart clings fondliest? Shall we
A careless ear to the long moan of woe,
Wring out from woman's bosom, when her
heart,

With all the delicate fibres of its love, [foot
Lies torn and bleeding 'neath the trampling
Of rude inhuman tyranny? Oh, friend!
If there is wanting yet one clasping link
To rivet our long friendship, be it this—
An union of sympathy for those
Who are bowed down beneath the heavy weight
Of man's injustice, and the wish to raise
Our dark-browed sister from her low estate,

That she may writhe no more 'neath cruel scorn,
And most foul inhumanity. Shall she
Be sold and purchased at the public mart,
Amidst the jeers of brutal insolence,
Endure the smiting lash, and waste away
Her bitter life in wearing drudgery
And soul-debasing ignorance, and we
Forget her many sorrows, and that all
The transient joys that gleam around her heart,
Quenched in a moment by a tyrant's will,
May leave it lifeless as this withered flower,
With all its pleasant perfume passed away,
And its light gone forever!

GERTRUDE.

The Ohio.

NOTICES—COMMUNICATIONS—SELECTIONS.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

The last number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* was put to press earlier in the month than was expected by the editor, who was from home at the time. Several articles were prepared, that on this account were deferred, as they did not reach the office in season. Some of these are inserted in the present number.

A variety of communications have been received, within a few weeks, some of which will appear in subsequent numbers. "A. Z." of St. Clairsville, Ohio, is particularly welcome.

An article from the pen of a colored man, favorable to African Colonization, (originally published in the *American Spectator*.) should have appeared this month, but it has been mislaid.

ANOTHER NEW PAPER.

Proposals have been issued by Junius C. Morel and John P. Thompson, (colored men,) for publishing a weekly paper, in Philadelphia, to be entitled the "AMERICAN." The price of subscription will be two dollars per annum.—Their prospectus will be further noticed hereafter.

ERRATA.

The author of the article, headed "Washington City Prison," in the May number of this work, has directed our attention to several important typographical errors. Next month it will be partially republished, with the necessary corrections.

For the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

A few days since, that valuable document called the "Declaration of Independence" accidentally fell into my hands, and in casting my eye over it, I was forcibly struck with the inconsistency that is manifest between the precepts therein inculcated and the practice exemplified in our Southern States.

"We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

If the sentiment conveyed in this expression is correct, which I presume few will deny, all men, without distinction of color, are "created equal." But some persons would probably say that the blacks are not human beings, and consequently would not be embraced within the meaning of the term "men." What, I would

wish to know, constitutes the difference between man and other animals? Is it not his reasoning powers and his faculty of speech? And are not these common to both blacks and whites? Are not the mental faculties of the former capable of cultivation and improvement in the same manner as the whites? Surely it cannot be disputed. Then they are of the same species as ourselves. But suppose they are not human beings; to which class shall we attach them? If to the brute creation, what shall we call those that are denominated mulattoes? Do they partake more of the rational or the brute creation? By following this train of reasoning for a moment, we shall see that the premises could not be sustained, and we shall therefore be compelled to admit that the blacks are rational beings and possessed of the same natures as ourselves. Inasmuch then as they are men and we acknowledge the Declaration of Independence to be correct, they are equal with ourselves, and "are endowed by their Creator with certain *inalienable rights*, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." What can the supporters of the horrid system of slavery say to this? If the Creator has endowed us with the right of *life*, he has equally endowed us with the right of *liberty*, and a man is justifiable in depriving us of the one more than of the other. If a slave holder take the life of his slave, he is amenable to the law of his country for the offence. And why not make him equally responsible for depriving a fellow creature of that which is far dearer than life or the possession of this world's goods? Could a white man endure the thoughts of being held in perpetual bondage? Would he not consider it in the highest degree cruel, unjust and tyrannical, without referring to the circumstance of his being torn from his home, from the beloved partner of his bosom, and from all those endearing ties which could render his situation any way tolerable? And why not reverse the picture and quere whether our colored brethren do not possess the same feelings of sensibility, and the same desires of freedom and independence. But some will say that having never tasted of the sweets of liberty, they know not the value of it. This is an assertion without proof, and contrary to all the evidence we have upon the subject; for frequently have I heard those that have been treated by their masters with an unusual share of kindness, say, they could not be happy with all the privileges they enjoy, as long as they were retained in bondage. But even were this the case it would not justify the principle of slavery, neither would it evade the unconstitutionality of the measure for it is certainly in violation of the letter and spirit of the Constitution, and contrary to the views entertained by its illustrious author at the time he penned it. For I am credibly informed that when Jefferson wrote the words "all men are born free and equal," he had particular reference to this disgraceful system of slavery.

More when leisure permits.

CLARKSON.

For the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

MR. EDITOR:—I live to see another Anniversary of American Independence, a day peculiarly dear to the white inhabitants of the States, and one by no means uninteresting to your colored and neglected countrymen. On this great festival of civil and religious

erty, while ten millions of freemen are celebrating in "festive songs of joy" the magnanimous achievements of the "departed great"—while they are eulogising them and their surviving revolutionary compatriots in impassioned strains of overpowering eloquence, for having jeopardized their lives and shed their blood to obtain and preserve inviolate the liberties of this country—while they are proclaiming in tones of thunder, from centre to circumference of this wide-spread Union, the "self-evident truths," that *all men* are created *equal*, and endowed by their Creator with certain *inalienable* rights, &c.—while the gifted tongues of your land are electrifying the whole nation with this soul-thrilling declaration,—I, feeling the injustice done me by the laws of my country, retire from the exulting multitude,—nay, from your temples of worship, pensive and solitary, to contemplate the past and the present as connected with our history in the land of our nativity.

And first I would observe, without indulging in prolixity of detail, that there is nothing either in the past or present corroborative of the anti-christian and anti-republican, though colonization doctrine, that we can *never* enjoy in this country the rights of freemen. This abominable doctrine emanated from the malevolent—it has been cherished and propagated by the vulgar and the prejudiced—doubted by the advocates of African colonization,—(which is abundantly evinced by their recently *unusual* efforts to remove us—) and is believed to be, by some of the first men in the nation, as unfounded in truth as the principles which support it are hostile to the general welfare of the nation. The Declaration of Independence, whose all-potent energies burst asunder the cords of British power, and is now shaking the kingdoms of tyranny, and breaking the iron arm of oppression, and revolutionizing the despotic governments of the world,—this inimitable production, whose light and power extend to the oppressed of every clime, will never permit in this land of bibles and temples, of independence and glory, the *perpetuation* of our degradation. This imperishable document, whose attributes are truth, justice, and benevolence, has declared to the world that *liberty*, in the full sense of the word, is the birth-right of "*all men*;" (consequently, of every colored man in the Union;) that we are not only "*born free*," but have, by virtue of our existence, "*certain rights*," which are emphatically termed "*inalienable*."

Now, as these are admitted to be "*self-evident truths*," it may be asked, in the name of justice and consistency, who can wrest from us these our natural rights, without flying in the face of this sacred instrument—without a dereliction of its principles, and a contempt of its authority? The Declaration of Independence is our advocate, and we hope it will yet be ascertained, whether or not the Constitution of the U. States secures to us those rights which the Declaration so freely accords. We shall then, perhaps, have a little more light upon the absurd doctrine of our everlasting degradation in America. Meantime we would say that the history of our past improvement in every particular amply refutes the erroneous supposition, the unfounded prediction. Contrast, *esir*, our present condition with what it was a few years ago: then we were extremely poor and ignorant: we were enslaved heathens, having few friends, and still

fewer advocates to plead our cause. But now behold the change.—Through the good will of those who were above the prejudices of the times (and such we shall always have) and our own virtuous conduct, industry and economy, many of us have acquired considerable wealth, and this too under the most unfavorable and discouraging circumstances. We have first, through the sweat of our brow, enriched those who claimed us as their property. We have, through our unremunerated labor, contributed largely to the education of their sons and their daughters—to the erection of your colleges and your temples—we have given ministers to the church and legislators to the state. And after all this, we have, in many instances, purchased ourselves, our wives, our little ones, our kindred, together with decrepid slaves whom we are always supporting. This many of us have done, and in addition, we are always acquiring something like a competency, notwithstanding so much has been said of our improvident habits, our idleness and poverty. We said we were, a few few years ago, ignorant heathens. But who that has witnessed the elevation of our morals, the refinement of our manners, and the general improvement of our minds, for the last few years, can call us heathens now? With regard to our ignorance, we see, feel, and deplore it; but the time was when we were scarcely sensible of it. The time was, when, for a colored man to read the Testament, was considered a prodigious performance; but he is now expounding it—nay, a few of them are reading it in the original, and who marvels now? Sir, considering the barriers which pride and prejudice have reared in opposition to our intellectual elevation—considering our very limited opportunities and facilities to acquaint ourselves with literature, we think our proficiency in the arts and sciences is not a little astonishing, at least, it is not a subject of ridicule.

Your limits remind me of my duty; I therefore draw to a close, though I have but partially penned my thoughts. I conclude by expressing the hope, that a peaceable and upright conduct, an obedience to the laws of the land, an unalterable attachment to our only true home, an admiration of the republican principles of our government, combined with the growing sense of our wrongs, the benevolent operations of the day, the solemn injunctions of religion, and the irresistible influence of your free institutions, will yet obtain for us, in the United States of America, our indefeasible inheritance. And *why*, I emphatically ask, should we not enjoy those rights which all must confess have been wrested from us without the shadow of a crime? What evil could possibly accrue from the adoption, by the white people of this nation, of a liberal, just, and humane policy towards three hundred thousand of the home-born citizens of the United States?

A COLORED BALTIMOREAN.

Baltimore, July 4th, 1831.

☞ Two thousand negroes were landed at different ports in Cuba, from the first of February to the middle of March, notwithstanding the many vessels that are cruising to suppress the slave trade.

A slave at or near Old Harbor, Jamaica, has been convicted of the *crime of preaching*, and sentenced to six months imprisonment, and to be flogged.

A PREMIUM FOR RICE.

The sum of TWENTY DOLLARS will be given as a premium, over and above the market price, for *Five Casks of Fresh Rice*, of a good quality, raised by *Free Labor*, and delivered in Philadelphia, to CHARLES PEIRCE, before the 1st of January next. (1832.)

The gentleman, above named, is well known as a very respectable Grocer, in Philadelphia, who has for several years past, made it a particular business to keep articles in his line that are exclusively the production of *free labor*.

The premium, together with the market price, will be promptly paid, on the delivery of the Rice, accompanied by proper reference and vouchers from some respectable person who is known in Philadelphia.

PROSPECTUS

OF THE

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

Vol. XII.

The object and character of this work are well known. It has been published nearly ten years, and circulates in all the States of this Union, in Canada, the West Indies, Europe and Africa. It is *exclusively* devoted to the subject of the *Abolition of Slavery*, on the American Continent and Islands.

Within a few years, the proprietor has travelled much, and had to depend somewhat upon the assistance of others to conduct the work.— He pledges himself, however, that the publication *shall not cease*, but with the cessation of his natural life, provided, the public patronage, or the labor of his own hands, will furnish the means of issuing *a single sheet per annum*.— He further pledges himself, that the great fundamental principles, hitherto advocated in this work, shall be steadily maintained. The course to be pursued, hereafter, will not materially vary from that which he marked out in the beginning. The corrupt sources of the horrible evil of slavery shall be traced; this fatal gangrene upon the body politic shall be probed; and the healing balsam will be applied when the putrid mass is removed. Every possible investigation will be made as to the state of the slave-system, and what is doing relative to its perpetuation or abolition, particularly in the various parts of the United States and the West Indies. Every exertion will also be made to show what *can be done*, with propriety and safety, towards eradicating this enormous and increasing evil from the American soil.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

The work will, henceforth, be issued monthly. It will be neatly printed, on fine paper, and folded in the octavo form, each number making sixteen large pages.

The price of subscription will be One Dollar per annum, always to be paid in advance.

Subscribers who do not particularly specify the time they wish to receive the work, or notify the Editor of a desire to discontinue it before the expiration of each current year: will be considered as engaged for the next succeeding one, and their bills will be forwarded accordingly.

Agents will be entitled to six copies for every five dollars remitted to the Editor, in current money of the United States.

All letters and communications, intended for this office, must be addressed (free of expense) to BENJAMIN LUNDY, Washington, D. C.

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The postage of the Genius of Universal Emancipation is now the same as that of weekly newspapers. One cent and a half, for each paper, is the highest that can be legally charged within the United States. If the distance be less than one hundred miles, but one cent can be demanded. Post-masters will please attend to this notice. The Post-Office at Washington forwards it under this regulation.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED BY D. LUNDY—PUBLISHED IN WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE—\$1.00 PER ANN.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration of Independence, U. S.*

No. 4. VOL. II. THIRD SERIES.] **AUGUST, 1831.** [WHOLE NUMBER 268. VOL. XII.]

The editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* expects to be from home for some length of time. Yet every article, that appears in the paper, will be prepared by himself, or pass under his inspection, previous to insertion. Letters, &c. must be directed to him, at Washington, D. C. as usual. All business connected with the office will be duly attended to, in his absence.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—PETITIONS TO CONGRESS.

Are our friends, every where, alive and awake to the importance of petitioning Congress, at the ensuing session, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia? Surely they will not lose sight of this interesting object, in the careless apathy of careless unconcern, or the turbulent of party strife! Do they consider that it is not too soon to begin their labours? Let them bear in mind that the season passes swiftly on; and that in a few months the session of Congress will commence. It is, in fact, high time to put the petitions in circulation, for signatures; and it is gratifying to learn that in some places this has been done.

In the city of Washington, a committee of twelve has been appointed, by the Anti-slavery Society, to attend to the business. This committee consists of the following persons: John Calmers, Esq. Mathew Hines, Ulyses Ward, J. Drake, George Crandle, Benjamin Lundy, William Greer, Philip Williams, Samuel Crook, Richard Evans, D. A. Gardner, and James Williams. One hundred copies of the petition or memorial, for the District, have been placed in the hands of each member of the committee, for distribution; and persons generally, who are friendly to the cause, are requested to apply for papers, and use their efforts to procure signatures. In the first ward of the city, upwards of three hundred names were signed in a few days. Among them were those of the mayor and one of the judges of the court, as well as many other persons of high standing, numbers of whom were actually *slave holders*.

Copies of this petition have been forwarded to every state and territory of the Union, in order that those who take an interest in the matter may see the manner in which it is phrased. It is expected that the petitions, in different places, will generally be worded in accordance with the wishes of those who are expected to sign them: it would be well if some degree of uniformity

should be preserved, that the members of the national legislature may not form an excuse for neglecting them, on account of their diversity of character.

SLAVE TRADE IN THE DISTRICT.

If ever a nation, under Heaven, was disgraced, by an act of its own, (by a deed of omission or commission,) that nation is the United States, and that act is *the toleration of slavery and slave-trading in the District of Columbia*. Much has been said upon the subject, within a few years, and—*nothing done!* A great majority of the inhabitants of the district are, unquestionably, in heart and soul, opposed to slavery. Yet they are *compelled* to witness the abominations of the abominable system, without the power to adopt a single measure to put an end to them. Not having a voice in the government of the territory in which they reside—unrepresented in the legislative body that enacts their laws—completely *disfranchised*, to all intents and purposes, they can only look on with indignation, and witness the *misrule* of the legitimate functionaries of authority with pain and vexation. An immense majority of the people of the United States, who hold in their hands the *sovereign power*, are also decidedly opposed to the criminal practice alluded to. Let them, then, instruct their representatives in Congress (who are the sole legislators for the "District,") to wipe from the national escutcheon this foul blot, and thus relieve its citizens from the shame and the undeserved reproach to which they are constantly subjected, by the existence of slavery and the slave traffic among them.

Not only are the cities of this district scandalized by the appearance of thousands of ignorant, degraded bondmen, and of sundry *Slave Factories*, similar to the soul-trafficking establishments on the African coast, completely furnished with all the horrible paraphernalia adapted to the hellish "business" of buying, *stealing*, and selling men, women, and children, free and bond;—not only are the feelings of the virtuous portion of the community outraged by the wicked doings of ferocious barbarians, who are regularly employed in the work aforesaid—driving through the streets their plundered human animals, manacled, and chained, and beaten, and lashed, like dumb beasts taken to the shambles for the harness or slaughter;—but the very *officers of government*, appoint-

ed to act as conservators of the public peace, and the guardians of freedom and justice, are frequently compelled to aid in carrying on this horrible work, by the present laws and regulations!!—and, further, the prisons erected there, solely for the purpose of facilitating the detection of crimes, and the punishment of their authors, are almost constantly used as ACTUAL WARE-HOUSES FOR THE STORAGE OF HUMAN FLESH AND BLOOD!! Why, alas! shall such a state of things exist? Why do not the reflecting, the moral, and the virtuous of the land rouse from their slumbers, and pour into the national halls of legislation the loudest, deepest tones of unqualified command? Why do they not load the tables, *fill the seats*, STOW EVERY APARTMENT OF THE CAPITOL! with petitions, memorials, and resolutions for the extinction of the evil? In short, why do they not adopt a *sine qua non* at the polls, and give every candidate for public favour clearly to understand that his success depends on his *pledge* to exert himself in putting an end to the hydra of slavery in the territory of the nation, particularly in the District of Columbia?

It is, indeed, to be hoped that the time may not be far distant when the subject here alluded to will engage the attention of our friends, generally, and that this "Augean stable" may be cleansed, and the human tigers that have long been harboured therein expelled beyond its remotest enclosure.

We conclude, for the present, with the following extract from an article, which appeared originally in this work a few months since. It is from the pen of a highly esteemed correspondent, to whom we are indebted for many valuable communications. The opportunity is embraced to correct a few typographical errors, which escaped our notice in the first impression. The article was headed, "*Washington City Prison*," and particularly adverts to the frequent incarceration therein of free kidnapped, and other innocent, coloured persons.

Receptacle of guilt!—hath guilt, alone,
Stain'd with its falling tears thy foot-worn floor,
When the harsh echo of the closing door
Hath died upon the ear, and slinging prone
His form upon the earth, thy chilling gloom
Seem'd to the wretch the sentence of his doom—
Say bear'st thou witness to no heart-wrung groan,
Bursting from sinless Losoms, whom the hand
Of tyrant power hath sever'd from the band
Of the earth's holiest and dearest things,
And thrust amidst thy darkness? Speak! declare
If only the rude felon's curse and prayer,
Mix'd with wild wail and wilder laughter rings
Within those dreary walls?—or if there be
No spirit fainting there with agony,
That not from their own crimes, but foul oppression
springs!

Ala! am I answered?—in that startling cry,
Bursting from some wild breast with anguish riven,
And rising up to register in heaven
Its blighting tale of outrage—the reply
Was heard distinctly terrible. It sprung
From a sad household group, who wildly clung

Together, in their frantic agony,
Till they were torn by savage hands apart,
Fond arms, from twining arms, and heart from heart,
Never to meet again! What had they done—
Thou tool of avarice and tyranny!
That they should thus be given o'er to thee,
And thy guilt haunted cells—were sire and son,
Mother and babe, all partners in one crime
As dreadful as the fate that through all time
Clings to them with a grasp they may not shun!

No! let the tale be spoken, though it burn
The cheek with shame to breathe it—let it go
Forth on the winds, that the wide globe may know
Our villainess, and the rudest savage turn
And point with taunting finger to the spot
Whereon thou standest; that all men may blot
Our name with its deserved taint, and spurn
Our vaunting laws of justice with the heel
Of low contumely; that every peal
Of triumph, may be answer'd with a shout
Of biting mockery, and our starry flag,
Our glorious banner! may, dishonor'd, drag
Its proud folds in the dust, or only flout
The gales of heaven, to be a broader mark
For scorn to spit at—oh, thou depot dark!
Where souls and human limbs are meted out,

In fiendish traffic—no! those weeping ones
Have done no evil—but their brother's hand
Hath rudely burst the sacred household band,
And given, with heart more flinty than thy stones,
His victims to thy keeping, and thy chains,
Till he hath SOLD THEM! they within whose veins
Blood like his own is coursing, and whose moans
Are torn from hearts as deathless as his own!
And there thou stand'st!—where Freedom's altar stone
Is darkened by thy shadows—and the cry
That thunders so fearfully upon the air,
With its wild tale of anguish and despair,
Blends with the peans that are swelling high
To do her homage! I have sometimes felt,
As I could hate my country, for her guilt—
Until in bitter tears the mood went by.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The extracts of letters, to the editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, inserted below will be interesting to the readers of the work, as they shew, in some degree, the feelings and movements of philanthropists, in various parts of the Union. Many such extracts might have heretofore been inserted, but they were deferred for want of room. Others may hereafter be given occasionally.

A gentleman in North Carolina, with whom we have had no acquaintance, writes, under date "June 3d, 1831," as follows:—We are glad to perceive the *honest anxiety* manifested in his remarks. We say to him, in the sincere language of kindest feeling: Brother be of good cheer. Other reformatations have been promoted, and more will be. Nothing is wanting but a close adherence to truth and justice, and a little active labour, to ensure success, even upon the very principle of SELF INTEREST, as well as that of PUBLIC SAFETY.

"With all my heart, I sincerely deplore slavery existing in the southern states; and I ardently wish some plan could be fallen upon, rather that it was already adopted, to abolish it without bringing with it evils of greater magnitude. The laws, however, which are adopted in a manufactory of gun powder, are, and necessarily must be, entirely different from those adopted in a manufactory of cut nails. And it is with us;—we cannot do as we would. Our laws must be adapted to our condition.

Yet I am free to confess that we do not

and it will assuredly burst forth with tremendous fury, if JUSTICE be not admitted to a participation in the councils of those in authority. Here we see them drawing the cord of oppression still tighter, as they become apprehensive of danger! O the blindness of erring mortals! Where shall this infatuation end?

“*Fearful Discovery.*—We were favoured by yesterday’s mail with a letter from New Orleans, of May 1st. (says the Jacksonville Observer,) in which we find that an important discovery had been made a few days previous, in that city. The following is an extract:—“Four days ago, as some planters were digging under ground, they found a square room containing 11,000 stand of arms, and 15,000 cartridges; each of the cartridges containing a bullet.” The negroes, it is said, intended to rise as soon as the sickly season began, and obtain possession of the city massacring the planters and white population. The same letter states that the mayor had prohibited the opening of Sunday Schools for the instruction of blacks, under a penalty of FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS for the first offence, and for the second, DEATH!!!”

THE MEXICANS, IN 1830.

A very interesting article under the above title, appeared in a Philadelphia publication, a few months since. It purports to be a translation from the manuscript of a traveller; and from the apparent candour exhibited in the language of the article itself, together with the corroborating testimony derived from other sources, we have no doubt of its authenticity and general correctness.

The very interesting attitude which the Mexican nation has latterly assumed among the civilized and independent nations of the earth, and the important bearing which so powerful a government of coloured people must in future have upon the destinies of this slave holding republic, are well calculated to awaken the reflections of every christian philanthropist. Admitting that the states of this Union may be permitted to uphold this iniquitous system of slavery for fifty years to come,—the situation of things must then be awful in the extreme! No intelligent man, in his sober senses, can doubt that the whole of the West Indian archipelago will be completely rid of that system within much less time, and the governments thereof administered principally by the now despised and maltreated coloured race. The population of those islands may, at the period mentioned, be estimated, perhaps, at fifteen millions—that of the Mexicans, at thirty millions—while the coloured inhabitants of the United States, without adverting to the numerous Indian tribes within our borders, will probably enumerate eight or ten millions more. All these will (if the present system of unmitigated slavery continues) be actuated by every natural feeling of enmity towards us;—and what may we then expect from

their increasing intelligence, their hostility, and their power?

But we shall not enter at large upon the discussion of this topic now. Our object, in alluding to it at present, is merely to hint the importance of acquainting ourselves more fully with the condition and resources of the Mexican republic, and the character of its citizens.

The writer commences his article with a review of the Mexican population. He says:

“The United States of Mexico formed their constitution in 1824, upon the plan of our Federal Union. The deviations are but trifling.—19 States and 4 Territories, these last all in the north and on our frontiers, compose the confederation. A President is elected for four years, and cannot be re-elected. A Senate of two members from each State, and a Deputy for each 80,000 population, form the Congress.

Every man at eighteen years of age becomes a voter; no other qualification is required. There is no distinction of property, taxation, or color. Indians and Mestizos, negroes and mulattoes, are equally free citizens and voters. Although negroes are but few, there is a negro General in the army. This is considered a great improvement over our federal constitution, which acknowledges all men as free and equal, yet allows of negro slavery and Indian oppression.

The population of the Mexican States is nearly eight millions. It has increased ever since 1794, when it was only 5,200,000 and even during the civil war of the revolution and independence, since in 1806 it was only 5,500,000 although it is calculated that 300,000 have perished in these wars and troubles. It is annually increasing, since in 1825 it was only 6,850,000. This population is divided as follows:

1. The most numerous are the unmixed Indians, which are about four millions.
2. The Mestizos or offspring of Spaniards, and Indians, about two millions.
3. The Creoles, are about 1,200,000.
4. The Zambos, or offspring of Indians and Negroes, about 600,000 including the Mulattoes of white and black blood and many of mixt origin.
5. The Negroes, about 100,000.
6. Guachupins, or Spaniards born in Spain, now reduced to 10,000, were 80,000 before the revolution and late expulsion.
7. The Esteros, or strangers of various nations, English, French, Italian, German, Americans, &c. about 15,000.

Their relative population evinces that the Indians and Mestizos form the bulk of the nation, and now having equal rights are surely to rule it at a future time. The Guachupins were once the rulers; the Creoles have succeeded them, and been compelled to admit the Indians (whom they nick-name *unrational!* calling themselves *rational!*) to equal rights, in order to carry on the struggle of the revolution, which could not have been achieved without their help; but they foresee that power cannot last long in their hands, and wisely try to amalgamate the casts. None but the most deluded try to stem the current of irresistible number, power, and future sway.

These Indians, so much calumniated, are by far better than the Spaniards and Creoles in many respects. They are mild, gentle, industrious, good, honest and kind: they love each other, respect their parents, never steal, cheat, deceive,

nor lie. This applies to the bulk of them, who are all commonly cultivators, or to nine out of ten. Those who live in the cities, or near them, are more or less tainted by the vices of the Creoles, and exceed them in their thirst for pulque and aguardiente. While far from the towns they are quite sober: intoxication, however has not the same effect on them as on the northern tribes. Pulque, or the beer of Maguey, is not stronger than spruce beer, and merely renders them heavy and stupid; and the aguardiente is a bad kind of Spanish brandy; it makes them rather sullen, seldom noisy, and never outrageous. It is not in the vicinity of towns that they must be judged; it is only in their villages and fields that they are seen to advantage, in their genuine simplicity and worth.

Their physical character is somewhat different from the northern tribes. They are commonly of a ruddy complexion, rather small, the highest men seldom exceed five and a half feet; many have aquiline noses and large eyes. There is, however, much diversity, according to the tribes. In Zacatecas and the mountains they are as white as the Creoles, and the women are beautiful, whiter than the Creole ladies, and even with rosy cheeks.

The Indians make excellent soldiers, both infantry and cavalry. Before the revolution the Spaniards did not allow them the use of fire arms; now they are armed and trained as militia.—They feel their strength and yet do not abuse it. The Creoles at least are the leaders in nearly all the strifes and civil commotions. By the military laws now in operation, owing to the war with Spain not being ended yet, all citizens, the Indians of course included, must serve for three years in the army, from eighteen to twenty-one. Each state has an army, from which a rate is sent to the Federal army, now confined to 25,000 men. After these three years active service, they are enrolled in the militia and allowed to return home; but liable to be called upon again at any emergency. Thus a formidable army and militia is formed, mostly native Indians, who may be called upon to perform important actions in future, and perhaps to revenge the wrongs of the Indian race over the posterity of all their oppressors to the north and south.

Thus the descendants of the ancient Mexican and other tribes subdued by the Spaniards, and either enslaved or made abject vassals, are become freemen. Every village has an Indian Alcalde or Chief, now elected every two years. In the villages where hereditary Chiefs or Cazics were retained, they are commonly re-elected every time, being so much respected by their people."

Our author next adverts to the religious performances of the inhabitants, &c. A great portion of them embrace the Catholic faith; but among those of the purest Indian blood, many of the rites of the ancient religion are still adhered to,—and, indeed, the influence of the Church is losing its hold on them, and liberal opinions are fast gaining ground. Protestant Christianity will, no doubt, soon find a footing there.

Speaking of the African descendants, the author remarks:

"Slavery has been happily abolished without difficulty; the negroes and mulatto slaves either

left their masters in the war or were freed by them. In all the sugar plantations this was found very advantageous to the owners. One hundred free negroes, although receiving double wages than the Indians, are found to produce as much sugar as two hundred do in Cuba, without the owners supporting their wives and children; or to produce from 500 to 700 dollars each in sugar, at a mere salary of 150 or 200 dollars.—These negroes are, however, overpaid, and are in consequence become drunkards, vicious and unruly. Indians, if properly taught, would perform the same labour at half price. The Indians dislike the negroes, and yet intermarry with them without much difficulty. Their offspring, called Zambos, are very hardy and clever; they appear to be best calculated to bear the pestiferous climate of the Lowlands, and not liable to the black vomit that there attacks the whites, the Indians, and even the negroes.

The Mestizos (or half-breeds, as called elsewhere,) unite the good qualities of their respective parents. They are handsome, active, industrious and gentle, while the females are often handsomer than the Creoles."

The whites in the Mexican republic, are divided into three classes—the *Esteros*, strangers; the *Guachupins*, natives of Spain; and the *Creoles*, descendants of Spaniards, born in Mexico. The first are generally favorites with the Indians provided they conform to their customs. They find no difficulty in intermarrying with Creoles if they embrace the Catholic religion. The North Americans were once the most favoured "but the English ascendancy, and late occurrences,* have changed the scale." The second is considered by the great mass of the people inimical to the new order of things, and viewed in the light of the *Tories* of the United States. Many of them have been expelled the country as the loyalists were subsequent to the revolution in these States. The third class, or Creoles, have been in power since the expulsion of the Spaniards, as above mentioned. But in order to give the reader a correct idea of their relative standing in community, we again quote our Author

"They occupy all the offices, sharing however many with the Indians, who are gradually becoming the majority in Congress and the State Legislatures. The two classes are merging or blending under the revived national name of Mexican; but the wealth and knowledge of the Creoles perhaps balance for a long while the numbers and votes of the Indians. The Mestizos, although siding with the Indians, form a mutual link and some influence between the two above classes."

The article, under review, is quite too long to dispose of in one number of this work. In our next we shall introduce his views of Mexican politics. His statement relative to the resources of the nation, are also very interesting, and will be duly noticed.

* Among these "late occurrences" were Poinsett's interference with their local concerns, and Benton's project for the acquisition of Texas.—Ed. G. U. E.

vate dwelling—so rude—the putting on Irons! created the greatest alarm and threw Mrs Barber into tears! Dr Barber had no suspicion that she was a slave or a runaway. We would ask the high minded citizens of Richmond, who regard with the independent spirit of the Ancient Dominion, their house as their castle, what they would say to any body, from north or south, on invading thus rudely their domicile?—Suppose from Georgia or Louisiana, any Slave Hunter, without notice, were to burst into their apartments! We know what would be their language to Clergyman or King. They would not sit down satisfied with a mere paragraph in the papers.

“PRODUCTIONS OF SLAVE LABOR!”

In the last number of the Genius of Universal Emancipation, we adverted to the circumstance of the *broken finger* having been found among the sugar in a cup of coffee; and likewise copied the statements respecting the discovery of a *HUMAN BODY* in one cask of molasses, and a *human head* in another. It is probable that many of our readers were sadly worried to *digest* these items of information. But notwithstanding they may consider the subject *loathsome*, we must ask their attention to another case of a similar character.

We have been very credibly informed that a man in the interior of Pennsylvania purchased a cask of molasses a few years since, from which the *HAND* of a human being was taken, having been broken off at the wrist. A considerable portion of the molasses had been used, previous to the discovery; but the *remainder* was (very naturally!) disposed of as “damaged merchandise.”

It is very common for people, who wish to lead an easy and unconcerned life, to object to the narration of facts like these: but it is by such means that they are to be made acquainted with the nature and extent of the *horrible* evil of slavery, which they directly contribute to support. The finger and the hand were undoubtedly broken off by having been caught in the mills for grinding cane.

“AFRICAN SENTINEL.”

The fourth number of this interesting periodical has made its appearance. It is still issued monthly, and will doubtless, become a work of great utility to the coloured people. It is now conducted with a tact and ability, to which a vast number of the newspaper editors of the day may vainly aspire to. *Success attend it.*

We copy the following editorial paragraph from it, to shew the interest manifested in that quarter relative to the object of our Associations for the use of the productions of free labor.

“We know of no object claiming public attention more deservedly, than the above, and as we much recommend it to the notice of all our northern brethren, and particularly to those, who re-

volt at the idea of perpetuating the curse of slavery, to be entailed upon the children of men from generation to generation, unless we use every exertion on our part to retard the use of such products as are raised by the hands of slaves. However the proceedings and resolutions adopted by a society of Females in Philadelphia, are well worthy the notice of our northern females, of all complexions; and we would suggest the propriety of establishing, and that speedily, one or more of the above societies in this place; and while we recommend their adoption, hesitate not to say, so laudable an undertaking must meet the approbation and support of every free citizen among us, and, thereby strike the axe to the root of foreign and domestic slavery.

KIDNAPPING IN NEW JERSEY BY THE AGENT OF A MARYLAND SENATOR!!

From the following statement, it appears that a *child* entitled to its freedom, has been taken from the state of New Jersey, in company with its father and mother, who were seized as slaves belonging to citizens of Maryland. One of these persons has, for some time, officiated as a Senator. The paragraph is copied from the Philadelphia “Daily Chronicle.” *What do we here behold! TWO SLAVES AND A FREE PERSON INCARCERATED, FIRST IN A TAVERN, THEN IN THE CITY PRISON OF PHILADELPHIA, TO BE TRANSPORTED TO THE SOUTH!!!* Spirits of Franklin and Findley! are such the results of your legislation? Did you recommend your prisons to be employed for such purposes? No, indeed—and were you present, at this moment, how would your honest indignation be roused, and your thundering eloquence be heard, in unmeasured denunciation of those scandalous deeds!

“HORRORS OF SLAVERY. A few nights past, a cottage near Haddonfield, New Jersey, was broken open, and a man with his wife and child carried off. They were subsequently examined before John R. Sickler, one of the judges of the inferior court of common pleas, who granted a passport for their removal: the man as the slave of Ezekiel F. Chamberlain and the woman as the slave of Wilmer. The man, being born in New Jersey, is free by law. They were afterwards imprisoned in the keeper’s tavern, in Federal street, near the market, and from thence removed to the debtors’ department of Arch street prison as the slaves of Charles Knight. A writ of habeas corpus was taken out, but before it was served, they were carried off.”

EQUALITY IN THE BRITISH ISLANDS.

A colored man, of the name of Brown, was recently nominated by the Governor, and elected a magistrate of the city of Kingston, Jamaica.

COLORIED SLAVE HOLDERS.

The following statement, from a London paper, presents the subject of slavery in a different light from that in which many have beheld it. But we have numerous colored slave hold-

ers in the United States. In every point of character they *materially resemble the whites*. They are, *surely*, of the same "species!" They are rather more inclined to justice, however, it would seem.

"On the 15th ultimo in the debate on West India Negro Slavery, in the British House of Commons, Dr. Lushington stated that the free people of colour in the island of Jamaica, possessed seventy thousand slaves, and had authorized him to consent to a measure for the emancipation of those slaves, if it should be considered necessary."

KENTUCKY.

We have not learned that the *Emancipation Society*, in Kentucky, has yet gone into operation. But the "Western Luminary," of June 22d, informs us that Robert P. Allen, of Shelby county, and G. H. Briscoe, of Mercer county, had authorized their names to be added to the forty-eight recorded in this work some time since. The number required to organize the society is, therefore, made up; and we may soon expect to hear something further of their philanthropic proceedings.

In the mean time, the friends of emancipation and colonization, are circulating memorials to the Legislature of the State, for the signature of the citizens. We have before us a copy of one of these memorials, which will be further noticed, at a future period.

ENCOURAGING VS. DISCOURAGING PROSPECTS.

In an editorial article, reviewing the prosperous state of this Union, upon the late Anniversary of American Independence, the editor of the "Greensborough Patriot," published in Guilford county, North Carolina, has this paragraph, in allusion to the system of slavery:—

"But in our rapid march to that maturity for which we seem to have been destined, we have obstinately and blindly cultivated the seeds of our ultimate and inevitable prostration. The sunshine of peace and of plenty has long beamed its brightest rays upon our happy country; but a dark cloud is collecting in our horizon, which portends a direful storm! We leave the reader to pause and reflect."

Ah! truly, friend Swaim, it is a "dark cloud," indeed. But it hovers *so near the earth*, that it may be dispelled, or borne back, by the peaceful breezes of pious, moral, and political exertion. There are, now, many wholesome counter currents in the corrupted atmosphere. Let us remove a few more of the towering obstructions in their various channels—obstructions that are purely *artificial*, and may be as easily destroyed as created—then shall we soon perceive a change

in the direction of the "storm"—the frightful roarings of the tempest will cease—the forests and the bowers will remain unscathed—the fields will exhibit the wavings of the "golden grain," as before—and, finally, the sun of peace and tranquility will re-appear, illuminating with its wonted brightness, and cheering with its smiles. Let us, then, live in hope, and faithfully labour in the holy cause. Our reward will be sure, and our happiness eternal.

AFFAIRS OF HAYTI.

No rebellion among the people yet—no famine—no war with France! Every thing is tranquil, except the natural elements; and they breathe as calmly there as elsewhere! It would seem that no "power of darkness" can be conjured up, from the deep caverns of their coral world, either to blast the inhabitants of that *unearthly* region with his pestilence, or to shatter its strong foundations and overturn their rock-bound Isle! Even the Haytien NEWS MANUFACTURERS, of Jamaica, evidently despair of compassing their destruction, and have invented no "new" article, for the purpose, of late.

At the date of our last accounts, the President was in the southern part of the Island, remote from the seat of government, visiting his fellow citizens, and receiving their friendly congratulations.

WISHES NOTHING—PERSEVERANCE EVERY THING.

Steady perseverance is of more value than transient heroism. Many a fortress has yielded to a siege, that was impregnable to the power of assault.

The advocates of African emancipation, to be successful, must constantly bear this in mind. There are thousands who *wish*, aye, WISH them prosperity in their undertaking, and even profess a willingness to assist in its consummation; but yet they shrink from every species of labor, and every thing like *active* exertion. They wage no moral war—they fly at the approach of the enemy! What are their *wishes* worth? What will their *professions* accomplish? Advocates of this description, are of little more value than the insects that float in the ambient atmosphere. They are mere sun-shine ephemera, whose gilded wings droop at the first pelt of a rain-drop, from the van of the storm!

PROJECTED INSURRECTION.

We have before alluded to the subject of the following paragraph. Though we have no confirmation of it, the fact is not improbable. Vengeance is accumulating in the land of despotism.

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cœlum.

what we might do, to abolish slavery; that justice and humanity are less forcible in their operations upon us than interest. I am sorry—heartily grieved—that it is so. But such is the nature of mankind. I don't believe that any people ever abolished slavery because it was humane, and just, and right; but, only, because at the time of the abolition, it better suited their interest. Sad picture, this, of mankind!—Sad, but as I think, true. It has its exceptions as to individuals; but whoever reasoned, or ever came to any just conclusion by reasoning from the exceptions?"

The following is from a friend, in the lower part of Virginia, dated "5th mo. 15th, 1831."

"I have been riding through the state much since I wrote thee. But I find the hearts of people generally steeled to the feelings of humanity, their interests drowning every other motive to action or enquiry. I have not failed, however, at a single house, to call up the subject of African oppression, and to elicit the best feelings of the people to the justice of the cause. In all cases I deny the right of any one to claim property in a fellow creature—in the lowest no sooner than in the highest. For all the conditions are merely incident, as are all colours. That as all men are by nature equals, no set of men can lawfully commission a despot. Nor can they fasten slavery, the machinery of despotism, upon any individual. But, on the contrary, as natural equals, we cannot accumulate upon any one *uniquel privileges* by their own free acts, except it be for an especial purpose, and but for a limited time."

Another gentlemen, residing in the District of Columbia, who has had many opportunities for extensive information upon the subject of slavery, was lately in company with the editor, when a mutual interchange of sentiments took place, in a brief conversation. Soon after his return home we received the following, which is inserted with pleasure, as being the sentiments of thousands in the South. As new arguments are advanced, and *extensively promulgated* throughout these regions, conviction will operate on many minds; the good work of reformation will progress; and, finally, our hopes and anxious desires will be fully realized.

DEAR SIR:

I rejoice that accident led me to your office. I have not given all the numbers of your estimable paper, which you had the goodness to put into my hands, a perusal—but am already abundantly satisfied; and request you to add my name to those of your subscribers.

I have been sometime rejoiced at beholding, in the south, the *dawning* of the glorious day of universal emancipation, which, as sure as God is just, will in his appointed time (*if his servants do their duty*) illumine all the regions of the earth.

I think sir, that I see, in less than a century and a half, the African race in our country left in full possession of a portion of our southern states, though not a drop of blood be shed—though not a blow be struck, or a hostile arm be raised. The slave holding region is defined and circumscribed—and it is already so thickly populated with slaves, that their labour is becoming

unprofitable in some parts: they increase in a greater ratio than the whites, who are not thus circumscribed. The great mass of these (the labouring class) will find emigration the more necessary, as those become more numerous—and this will go on in arithmetical progression, in favour of the blacks, until the few remaining slave holders will find themselves, before they are aware of it, in as critical and helpless a situation as the captain of a ship who is already barred under hatches by a crew of mutineers.

These things, and more, are not unperceived by the southern people, and there is but one device which they imagine will defeat the cause of liberty—and that is, *by dissolving the union, and setting up for themselves—purchase or take Texas, and scatter their slaves throughout those vast western and southern regions.* There is no doubt in my mind but that *this is the true ground* of all the southern excitement about state rights, the tariff, &c. &c. It will not indeed do to be openly avowed by them; but mark, it will one day openly appear.

Finding however, as they will, that all those schemes are futile and unavailing, I hope they will see the necessity of joining heart and hand with the Colonization society, uniting with the other states, by one mighty act of the nation give freedom and a home to all the oppressed children of Africa within our borders."

SLAVITES IN THE PULPIT.

We know that it is a common thing, in some parts of our country, for *what are called* "Ministers of the Gospel," to *hold slaves.* And many such, who would consider themselves grossly insulted, were their "piety" even questioned, can *wield the lash* with dexterity, among the victims of their tyranny, to hasten their "sluggish" *obedience*—feed and clothe them scantily for their incessant toil—imprecate upon them eternal torments for trivial aggravations—and yet, with formal mockery, as divinely commissioned intercessors, invoke high Heaven for the salvation of their souls! Some of these presumptuous, self styled vicegerents of God, are, indeed, known to possess a full share of that malevolent ferocity which constitutes the heartless oppressor. "I would shoot down a man that should dare thus to deprive me of my property," once said an aged clergyman to the writer of this, when adverting to the circumstance of a slave having been "enticed" from his "legal" owner:—"yes, I would shoot him down!" he repeated, indignantly, while his grey locks formed a striking contrast to the bloody mindedness exhibited in his wrinkled cheeks and brow, and the bending body and outstretched arm called to mind the *place*, and the *occasion*, which had often witnessed their peculiar gestures.

It is not to be supposed that slave-holders, who fill the station here alluded to, are, generally, of this description. Were it so, the land had, ere now, witnessed the fate of "Sodom and Gomorrah!" But that we have many such among us, is absolutely true. Corruption has found its way

into their "holy office;" and they must be stripped of their *borrowed robes*—the veil must be raised that hides their hypocrisy and wickedness from the public view.

The object of these remarks is to introduce the following circumstance to the notice of our readers. The statement is copied from the "Village Record," published at Westchester, Pa. The editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* has procured the names of both, the clergyman claiming the slave, and his clerical "brother" who accompanied him, as witness and *assistant slave taker!* They are here recorded, in order that their truly pious brethren of the west, who are so nobly labouring in the good cause of emancipation, may know *who it is* that have thus dishonoured their church, and brought the clerical office to shame. The claimant of the slave was the Rev. ——— TURNER; the witness and assistant, the Rev. ——— WHITE. Both, we learn, reside in Richmond, Va.

The particulars of the transaction, as published in the "Village Record," were briefly these:

"A painful scene was exhibited in our village on Saturday. A woman, remarkably likely, about 22 years old, who had been here for some time and behaved very well, was arrested as a slave. The proof was sufficient and she was taken off, the semblance of sorrow and despair. Universal sympathy seems to be felt for her fate. Her master, a Presbyterian clergyman, from Richmond, Va. it was said, felt some apprehensions lest there should be an attempt to rescue her. Much as public feeling was excited, we do not apprehend there was the remotest danger. It is the law of the land, and obedience to the law is here regarded the first duty of a good citizen. Some talk of buying her freedom prevailed, but it is said that the owner asked 500 or 600 dollars, which, of course, might be received as a refusal to sell. While the Richmond Clergyman exercises his right to reclaim his slave, we shall exercise ours as the conductor of a free press by saying—that we hope he may be merciful, and pray that he may obtain mercy from HIM whose law, if we read it aright, prescribes: 'Do as ye would have others do unto you.'"

The editor of the "Southern Religious Telegraph," true to his principles, as an apologist for slavery, made a labored effort, soon after the appearance of this paragraph, to ward off the odium that attached to the conduct of the clergyman. He had much to say about the "kind treatment" extended to this "deluded" slave—descanted largely on the impropriety of her leaving so good a master—spoke of the *injustice* of others, in harboring her—took it for granted that she had been persuaded to elope, &c.—leaving every thing out of sight, like a sheer pettifogger, that would militate against his argument, —and was as plausible, perhaps, throughout, as the soul-pirate Hawkins, when summoned before the throne of queen Elizabeth, to account for his unchristian and horrible proceedings! Yet, unwilling to let

this special pleading go forth without some apparently redeeming qualification, he accompanied it with the following admissions.

"The censure deserved by this kind of intermeddling with the domestic relations of people in the southern states, ought not, we are aware, to be applied to northern people indiscriminately. There has been too much indiscriminate censure cast upon them on this score.—From a personal knowledge of the views of many in several of the northern states, we have reason to believe that a large proportion of their enlightened citizens are as decidedly opposed to dishonorable acts of this kind as their southern neighbors. Nor would we say—while exposing the mischiefs which may result from enticing servants to run away—that slavery is a subject in which NORTHERN people have no concern. As a national evil it concerns every citizen of our country. Those of the northern states have long felt its influences in various ways. They must therefore, feel interested in its removal. Indeed, as long as slavery shall exist any where on earth, it will concern freemen, no matter how far removed from it, to use proper means to remove it—Christian philanthropy, as taught by Jesus Christ, teaches us to regard every man, of whatever nation or color, as a neighbor, and as such to do him good as we have opportunity.—In this view slavery concerns every body. And it is not the earnest wishes of our northern neighbors to improve the condition of the colored people, which are to be censured—it is the injudicious, misguided efforts made by a few; efforts which are of no benefit to them, and are equally injurious in their results to the servants and the owners."

We have neither room nor inclination to wade through the sophistry of the Telegraph, in endeavouring to whitewash the character of the slave-holding clergyman. It is of a piece with the logic of slaveites, every where; and all the persons concerned, who applaud the transaction are to be viewed as enemies de facto to true christianity—enemies to the cause of justice and genuine republicanism. No circumstance, whatever can justify a "minister of the gospel" in voluntarily participating in the crime of involuntary slavery.

We conclude with the following paragraph from the Village Record, which will further show by what kind of spirit these clerical slaveites were actuated. Christians! are these the "fruits" of your blessed religion?—No! NO!

"Painful as it may be, though not necessary here, it may be proper to our entire justification with the citizens of Virginia, to state what regard the highly improper conduct of the Clergyman and his assistant. Without notice without the least suggestion, without legal warrant, they burst into the house of Dr. [name], one of our most respectable citizens, and seized on the girl who was his hired servant, although she made no resistance and begged not to be ill treated, immediately put her in Irons (tho' they were taken off soon after.) sudden an invasion of the sacredness of a

This essay is of moderate length, and will probably appear in our next.

A very interesting letter from a gentleman, at present in Washington, was received a short time since, principally treating on the subject of African Colonization. Owing to the absence of the editor, and not having his papers with him, it has remained unnoticed. It will shortly be attended to.

While the editor is from home, he hopes that his correspondents will excuse every unavoidable inattention.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE SLAVE'S FAREWELL.

List! on the ev'ning gale.
Is wafted a plaintive strain;
List! it is woman's wail,
O'er hopes that in dust are lain.
Feelings, to nature true,
Have prompted the tear to start;
List! 'tis a mothers Adieu,
And wrung from a broken Heart!
"Father! from thee is borne
The theme of thy hopes and fears;
Mother! from thee is torn
The prop of thy hoary years.
"Farewell, to your mutual care,
Farewell, to a Husband's smile,
Babes! I must leave you here,
To suffer and toil awhile!
"Sisters! the dream is o'er,
I'm dragged from my native plains;
Brothers! we meet no more,
'Till Death hath snapt these chains!"
"But these chains ere long will break,
And Death will ransom the Slave,
Hope whispers, I soon shall wake.
In freedom, beyond the Grave."

Washington, Aug. 8th. 1831. H.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

SELF-INTEREST.

Oh, Self-interest! how potent, how pervading is thy influence! how numerous thy votaries! By the mighty spell of thy enchantment the proud keel is made to plough the rugged ocean wave, and the secret recesses of nature's bosom are made to yield their golden treasures. Man, too, in the scale of being a little lower than the angels—upon whose brow is stamped the image of his Almighty Maker—is made to sacrifice his dearest and most sacred rights at thy unholy shrine. Tell it not in Africa, publish it not on the banks of the Ganges, that they who profess to be guided by a contrary, and a purer principle, are among the foremost and most abject of thy votaries!—that thy most servile slaves are those who call themselves followers of the Prince of Peace. Under thy baneful influence, the sable daughter of Africa may seek her banian solitudes; to mourn in silence for a wretched brother, stolen from her-side,—or the frantic father may rave in wild despair for the infant darling of his aged year, sold to slavery in a foreign clime,
"Where fiends torment, and Christians thirst for gold."
Under thy destroying influence, the Red Man of the forest may traverse, in sullen gloom, the western wilds, in search of some lone spot that he can call his home—but he may search in vain. Or the aged warrior may beg in vain to be permitted to breathe his last sigh in that dear land where his less persecuted ancestors are reposing.

A. Z.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

POLAND.

"Let struggling Poland now be free!"
Is rung aloud, from sea to sea,
While every patriot in the land
Is lending her his heart or hand,
Let us begin this side the wave—
First rid our country of the slave—
Then with hearts pure, and unstain'd hands,
We'll go, and join the feeble bands,
That Freedom seek in other lands. A. Z.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

DOINGS AT WASHINGTON.

"Is THIS KIDNAPPING?—In hopes of stumbling on a reward, B arrests an Ethiopian, and commits him to prison on suspicion of his being a slave. No evidence is offered of his being such, but circumstances prevent his proving his freedom. No one claims him, and he must now be sold for his jail fees. C purchases him at the jailors sale for one dollar, and sells him for four hundred dollars, and the unfortunate finds himself transfered from the Washington to the Alexandria jail, for safe keeping, till an opportunity is offered of sending him to the southern market. This case happened a few days since in this city. What should society award to a wretch who could buy a fellow-creature for one dollar, and sell him into hopeless bondage for four hundred? Noble speculation!! We wish our distant readers to bear in mind that these things are done under the sanction of laws passed by their representatives. They should therefore look to it. "Hail, Columbia!"
—American Spectator.

We know not, more than our neighbour of the Spectator, what "society should award to the wretch who would buy a fellow creature," as above stated;—but it is very certain that while laws exist, which will protect this kind of speculation, there will be those found who will avail themselves of the protection. Indeed it seems like holding out temptation to those whose virtue is scarcely a match for their avarice—it would almost savour of cruelty. What! bait the hook, and punish for biting!! If there is not enough practical republicanism and christianity, or some redeeming principle, in the minds of the mass of our fellow citizens to make them feel indignant at such proceedings—cause them to show by a unanimous disapproving voice, that that they will not longer be identified with such cruelty and injustice—alas for slandered, libelled Liberty, in the United States! Let her henceforth take up her residence in monarchical Europe, where man cannot bind the chains of personal slavery on his fellow man. G.

From the New Jersey State Gazette of 16th ult:

SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

At a meeting of the citizens of Burlington, held at the city hall, on the 28th of June, to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning Congress for the gradual abolition of slavery within the District of Columbia, George Allen was called to the chair, and Samuel R. Gummere appointed secretary.

After the object of the meeting had been stated, in an address from the Chair, and a few observations from other individuals enforcing the necessity of the measure, the following resolutions were adopted unanimously!

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to prepare a draught of a memorial, embracing the object we have in view; and that Dr. N. W. Cole, Thomas Collins, and Samuel R. Gummere, be that committee.

Resolved, That a committee of six be appointed to obtain signatures to the memorial, within the township of Burlington.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to correspond with similar committees within the county of Burlington, or with individuals, there or elsewhere, as they may think proper, in order to promote our object.

The committee appointed in accordance with the second resolution, were Caleb Gaskill, Thomas Aikman, Thomas Collins, Robert Thomas, Thomas Dutton, and George P. Mitchell.

The committee appointed under the third resolution, were Samuel Emlen, Thomas Collins, and Samuel R. Gummere.

The committee appointed to prepare a draught of a memorial, after a short absence, reported one which was approved by the meeting, and delivered to the committee appointed to obtain signatures.

Believing it desirable to call public attention to the object in view, the meeting unanimously resolved, that the proceedings should be signed by the chairman and secretary, and published in the Mount Holly and Trenton papers.

GEORGE ALLEN, *Chairman*.

Samuel R. Gummere, *Sec'y*.

POSTSCRIPT.

INSURRECTION OF SLAVES IN VIRGINIA!

After the principal part of the matter for this number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* was put in type, and nearly ready for the press, we received the following direful news from the lower part of Virginia. Here is the commencement of one act of this awful tragedy. Many whites have been destroyed, and it is feared that many more will meet a similar fate. Then the scenery will be shifted, and the blacks will be slaughtered in their turn. Alas! who can contemplate these things, without exclaiming: Cursed be he that first introduced, and he that strives to perpetuate, the oppressive system among us, from whose foul source such horrid evils flow! We have room for no further remarks at present.

The annexed letter, from the editor of the "*Norfolk Herald*," has been received at Baltimore, and published in the daily papers of that city.

"NORFOLK, 24th August, 1831.

I have a horrible, a heart-rending tale to relate, and lest even its worst feature might be distorted by rumour and exaggeration, I have thought proper to give you all the worst information, that has yet reached us through the best sources of intelligence which the nature of the case will admit.

A gentlemen arrived here yesterday express from Suffolk, with intelligence from the upper part of Southampton county, stating that a band of insurgent slaves (some of them believed to be runawa from the neighbouring swamps) had

turned out on Sunday night last, and murdered several whole families, amounting to 40 or 50 individuals. Some of the families were named, and among them was that of Mrs. Catharine Whitehead, sister of our worthy townsman, Dr. N. C. Whitehead—who, with her son and five daughters, fell a sacrifice to the savage ferocity of these demons in human shape.

The insurrection was represented as one of a most alarming character, though it is believed to have originated only in a design to plunder, and not with a view to a more important object—as Mrs. Whitehead being a wealthy lady, was supposed to have a large sum of money in her house. Unfortunately a large number of the effective male population was absent at Camp Meeting in Gates county, some miles off, a circumstance which gave a temporary security to the brigands in the perpetration of their butcheries; and the panic which they struck at the moment prevented the assembling of a force sufficient to check their career.

As soon as the intelligence was received, our authorities met and decided on making an immediate application to Col. House, commanding at Fortress Monroe, who at 6 o'clock this morning embarked on board the steamboat *Hampton*, with three companies and a piece of artillery for Suffolk. These troops were reinforced in the Roads by detachments from the U. S. ships *Warren* and *Natchez*, the whole amounting to nearly 800 men.

To-day another express arrived from Suffolk, confirming the disastrous news of the preceding one, and adding still more to the number of the slain. The insurgents are believed to have from 100 to 150 mounted men, and about the same number on foot. They are armed with fowling pieces, clubs, &c. and they had a rencontre with a small number of the militia, who killed six and took eight of them prisoners. They are said to be on their way to South Quay, probably making their way for the Dismal Swamp, in which they will be able to remain for a short time in security. For my part, I have no fears of their doing much further mischief. There is very little disaffection in the slaves generally, and they cannot muster a force sufficient to effect any object of importance. The few who have thus rushed headlong into the arena, will be shot down like crows, or captured and made examples of. The militia are collecting in all the neighbouring counties, and the utmost vigilance prevails. I subjoin a list of the victims of their savage vengeance.

Mrs. Waters and family, 14; Mrs. Whitehead, 7; Mrs. Vaughan, 5; Jacob Williams, 5; Mr. Travis, 5; William Reese, 4; Mr. Williams, 3; Mr. Baines, 2; Mrs. Turner, 3; Unknown, 10. Total, 58. Besides these, a private letter adds the families of Mr. Barrow and Mr. Henry Bryant—numbers not mentioned.

Muskets, pistols, swords and ammunition have been forwarded to Suffolk to-day, by Com. Warrington, at the request of our civil authorities, and a number of our citizens have accoutred and formed themselves as troops of cavalry, and set off to assist their fellow-citizens in Southampton. I trust the next news will be that all is quiet again. In haste yours."

Extract of another letter to the same gentleman, dated at Norfolk, 5 o'clock, P. M. "It is

* Southampton is bounded by the counties of Isle of Wight on the Northampton, in North Carolina, on the South.

stake, never comes with its long echo to mar the pleasures of her banquet; nor the heavy fall of the red lash, beneath whose every stroke the hot blood spouts up, from the torn flesh of perhaps an unoffending female; or the shriek and sob of agony when the heated iron does its office, and the indelible brand of servitude is stamped upon the quivering flesh. But she lays none of these things to her heart. She turns revoltingly from the recital, and strives to forget the knowledge of their existence, instead of endeavouring to rouse all over whom she may have any influence, to aid in the extinction of the system, in which such horrors originate. Yet she may well listen with a shuddering heart, when such narratives are sometimes forced upon the unwilling ear; for these and all the long list of human sufferings, consequent upon slavery, are perpetuated by the use of its productions.

The following interesting poetic article was recently communicated to the editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, by an highly esteemed female friend in Philadelphia. It was written, many years since, by Elisha Thornton, minister of the gospel, of high standing, in the Society of Friends, at New Bedford Massachusetts. It is a touching appeal to the heart of philanthropy. We bespeak for it an attentive perusal from our readers.

ON THE SLAVE TRADE.

Almighty Father, thine the righteous cause,
Nor does the muse presume the task (too great
For mortal man) without a deep felt need
Of holy aid; may thou inspire the theme.—
Long groan'd the seed beneath the heavy task,
Where Nilus' flood o'erflows her fertile banks.
Where Pharaoh proud, with adamant heart,
Exulted long, exulted in the wo
Of Jacob's seed, till tenfold vengeance sent
To plead their cause, to set the captive free.
O! Afric's children, they in bondage too,
Long griev'd, without a corresponding sigh,
To soothe their languid hearts; save in a few,
Who echo'd back their agonizing moan.
Some feeling heart and view the tragic scene,
Some view the massacre on Afric's shore,
A scene of blood, shed by uninjured men,
By men who worship at the shrine of gain:
By men who bow in mammon's temple, where
They sacrifice, where they their birth-right's sell
For pottage poor, their hands imbue in blood.
Most horrible the havoc made of men;
Detested more, by how much they profess
The sacred name, the name of him who bled
For sinful man! not causing men to bleed.
What but the charms of gold, alluring wealth?
What but a loss to every sense of good?
What but some Demon from the lowest pit,
Could stimulate the noble mind of man,
To deeds so black, under the gospel day!
To kidnap little children as they pass,
While the sultry hours by them are spent,
In pretty prattle, by some golden brook,
In some cooling bower—lo, snatch'd away

By tiger hearted men—no more to see,
Nor ever more embrace parental arms!
Nor parents them enjoy; but pine away
Their days, with thoughts of wo they're destin'd
to.

Among thy many crimes, oh! Christendom,
Not one more complicated, one more black
Than this—Men too are taught to fight.
See Afric's sons, from thirst of gain (confer'd)
With reeking blades, nor pity taught to show,
Nor wont to yield, fall welt'ring in their blood!
See captur'd wretches, marched now along
Toward the ship; nor dare they turn an eye
To bid farewell their country or their friends;
But hastened are on board the sailing bark,
Where close confin'd, beneath the deck they're
bound,

Midst noxious stench—where many pine and
die!

Parents compell'd, must quit their golden coast,
Rent from their babes—husband and wife must
part

And bid adieu—heart broken sighs ascend!
How wish'd for now, the stroke of death im-
plor'd—

That king of terrors to the human breast,
Is now most sought—no remedy but this.

To free from bonds, free from the galling yoke—
See black despair—the swollen breast ascends
On deck, and resolute to end his woe,
Plunges himself into the watery main!

Nor does he dread at all the grim jaw'd shark;
But meets of choice the monster's deadly fangs.
The few poor drooping souls who reach the
Isles,

Are like the beasts of burden, scourged on,
In hunger, thirst and toil, 'till Death release!
Why Neptune ever taught to plow the deep!
Why e'er Columbia's ships were wafed o'er!
Or why this western world at all explor'd,
To prove the seat of woe—untimely grave—
Of many millions of that sable race!

Alas! alas! for Britain, France, and Spain,
Alas! for you, our states, why long combin'd
To tyrannize—vain the attempt to joy—
Tott'ring our peace—a baseless fabric stands,
While thus exulting in unrighteous gain.—
In vain our states shall hail the youthful morn
Of peaceful Independence, in our land,
'Till Afric's sons to liberty's restored.

Oh may the late catastrophe suffice,
When like the mountain cataract, wild waste
O'erspread, and ravag'd through a flourishing
land.

That woful day—in which we left to dash
With Britain's sons, as earthen pitchers brake.
Thou Spirit benign! why stay'd thy furbish'd
sword?

Why not provok'd to send us famine too?
With pestilence, thy terror striking rod
To scourge the world, for crimes of deepest dye.
But gracious thou! our eyes unclos'd to see
Grim tyranny, that monster from beneath,
Who sits proud regent of the lowest abyss.
May Britain fraught with Clarksons multiply'd,
And may our states with Woolmans meek
abound,

With Benezets, conspire to plead their cause.—
May ruling powers, too, unite with these
And set the captive free—the peace shall flow.
God bless our states, unite them in a band.

We are pleased with your youthful philanthropy.—
Here is an "unfledged Muse."—But tho' its
pinion is green in age, its eye is aloft, roaming

the ethereal expanse. Anon its flight will be more daring, and its soaring high.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

JUVENILE ADVICE.

Rise, freemen, rise! the call goes forth;
List to the high command—
Obedience to the word of God,
Throughout this mighty land.
Rise, free the slave! oh! burst his chains;
His fetters cast ye down;
Let virtue be your country's pride,
Her diadem and crown,—
That the blest day may soon arrive,
When equal all shall be,
And freedom's banner waving high
Proclaim that *all are free.* HARRIET.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE GRAVE STONES.

"*Oh the Grave! the Grave!*"

In passing along the New York canal, during last summer, my attention was attracted by the sight of one or two white tombstones, which stood at a short distance from the water, on the side of an uneven hill, with no enclosure about them, and not even a tree or shrub nigh, to relieve their aspect of bleak loneliness. The grave is always an eloquent teacher; whether it lie amid the close walls of a crowded city, or among the silent fields and flower fringed water courses, or deep in the bosom of the wilderness, alike distant from the dwelling places of living men and the company of the quiet people of the churchyard; whether it be marked by a pompous mausoleum, or only a slight swelling of the green turf; whether it be wrapped over the cold remains of what was once the home of the earth's most gifted spirit, or fold in its dark embraces the ashes of some nameless mendicant, still there comes from its silent recesses a tone of mystery and awe, that wakens a responsive thrill in the cords of almost every human bosom.

There is one who will remember to have stood with me beside a quiet place of graves, when the beautiful moonbeams slept on the white monuments, hushing insensibly the meriment of our hearts, with their pure and exceeding brightness, and fitting us to listen heedfully to the solemn, but not their painful lesson of the page of death. That scene, spoke only of the tranquillity and peacefulness of the sepulchre: though surrounded by the homes of men, and all the earthliness of erring humanity, within there was the hush of an undisturbed calmness, and the soft moonlight fell upon it like a blessing of peace on the soul of the departing righteous, separating it from all the turmoil and vanity of earthly passions. But those lonely and unguarded graves left exposed to be trodden over by the rude foot of the beasts of the field, with the hot sun basking upon them in noontide sultriness, and tall weeds flourishing luxuriantly around them, seemed to shadow out the dreary and unsupported condition of that soul, from which the tares of evil had not been uprooted, and which is summoned, unprepared, to enter into the presence of its Eternal Judge. It is well sometimes to think upon the grave. To gather to our hearts solemn images of the last hour, and to enquire of lethargic conscience, what errors of neglect or thoughtlessness she will then bring forward to our recollection, to add to the terrors and darkness that are gathering over our souls. Oh let her not send the awful charge

of inhumanity to our bosoms! let not her fearful voice of upbraiding tingle in our ears with reproaches for cruelty and hardheartedness! Let not the forms of the thousands of our own sex who are pining away their lives in misery and ignominy, flit around us at that hour, like tormenting spirits, accusing us of withholding our hands from their succour, and instead of raising them, when we might have done so, from the pit into which they were fallen, of taking part with their oppressors in plunging them still deeper amidst its darkness.

ELIZA.

From the Anti-Masonic Register.

THE QUESTION.

What is the prospect of the Emancipationists? Do they look through the long vista of retrospection on the days, the years of fatigue and toil, and ceaseless anxiety, and find that the effects of their excitations amount only to a cypher? Do they anticipate the future, and see a succession of toil and privation, in reserve to compensate their efforts? Do they behold on every side brothers, and sisters, writhing in excessive agony, now extending their trembling hands, or raising their swollen and tearful eyes, imploring compassion and assistance? Must they behold these and feel that they can only pity? Doth the rushing of the north wind, and the gentle fanning of the western zephyr, alike bear on their wings the moans and heart-rending sighs of the unhappy sufferers? In the midst of scenes which daily present mementoes of their wrongs, must they feel that they can do nothing to lessen the weight of their woes? No, no; prospects brighter far, are theirs. When they review the past, though little, very little has been done, they see that the foundation of a mighty fabric has been laid, that the glorious work has commenced, has progressed too far to be easily retarded. They behold the night shades of prejudice retiring; the day has dawned! the orient sky is streaked with light that precedes the rising of freedom's sun in purest brightness. The field of labour is extensive. It enlarges at almost every view. The crime of slavery is of greatest magnitude, and must first be removed; but not with the accession of the people of color to the rights of freemen, are the exertions of the friends of justice to cease. No, they must labour long, and hard, and faithfully—undergo another series of privations, face new dangers, and encounter enemies more formidable than a host of southern planters. Every obstacle that presents serves but to incite them to greater diligence. They feel the calm satisfaction attendant upon a faithful discharge of duties to be an ample compensation for the hardships they have endured in the fulfilment thereof.—They look to him to whom they owe those duties; and if he but smile upon the undertaking, vain and impotent will be every effort of human wisdom to overthrow it.

ELIZA.

Philadelphia, 7th mo. 17, 1831.

The Ohio.

NOTICES—COMMUNICATIONS—SELECTIONS.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have received one of the rejected essays submitted to the inspection of the committee of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, by which the premium of fifty dollars was recently awarded to Evan Lewis for that inserted in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* for the last month.

Ladies' Repository.

Philanthropic and Literary.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

CRUELTY.

"I would not number in my list of friends,
(Though graced with polished manners and fine sense,
Yet wanting sensibility) the man
Who heedlessly sets foot upon a worm."

How often is this sentence repeated and its sentiment admired, nay, perhaps acted upon, by those who, while they would not willingly destroy the meanest insect, yet unscrupulously support a system, and become associates in the oppression by which millions of human beings are trodden down by the feet of their brethren into the very dust of humiliation, and their hearts crushed and mangled with unpitiful inhumanity! If to those who love their Creator, every living thing is dear for his sake,—if it be sinneedlessly to torture the meanest reptile, or sport with the pangs of even the venomous serpent—how much the more should christian hearts be filled with tenderness towards those whose souls are immortal as their own—how much the more, shrink from any participation in the guilt of deliberately heaping hot coals of agony upon a *brother's* heart.

Compassion and mercy are peculiarly the attributes of woman's nature, and in all the wide range of excellencies with which her character may be adorned, there are none which can atone for the absence of these qualities. Every woman therefore should be interested in preserving these virtues unsullied in the bosom of her sex, and zealous to remove any cause by which they are liable to be uprooted and dishonoured. That it is in the nature of slavery to produce these effects, cannot be doubted by any one who will give the most cursory attention to the subject. The frequent or continual presence of scenes of human suffering and degradation, must tend to deaden the finer feelings, and render callous to the voice of pity, those hearts that would once have shared every pang endured by the unhappy sufferers. There is abundant evidence to prove that it is so. Our memory is crowded with corroborative facts. It is evinced by the revolting, but not unfrequent exhibition of female names, attached to slave advertisements, in the southern newspapers; by the circumstance of woman's so often claiming her fellow creatures as property—buying or selling them, tasking them for her service, ordering the infliction of the lash, and sometimes herself superintending their punishment. Nay, the very existence of slavery in our country, in itself establishes the truth of our reasoning for what is there but their long familiar knowledge of that circumstance to account for the strange want of sympathy which so many

of our country women exhibit for the wrongs and misery of such numbers of their fellow creatures. Had slavery never existed in the United States, and a proposition was made at this day, to introduce the system as it now stands—to plunge two millions of human beings into a state of vile servitude,—make woman's hitherto sacred form an article of merchandize in the open market place, and mark the infant in the smiling innocence of his cradle years, for a destiny of ignominy, chains and wretchedness,—would not every female heart throb with indignation, every cheek be wet with tears, every lip quiver with the earnestness of its entreaties that so dark a stain of shame and guilt might be averted from our country. There would be an universal manifestation of opposing sentiment from our sex, and every means would be employed by them for the prevention of such an evil. Yet what difference in guilt is there, between the adoption and retention of practices of cruelty? what is wrong in its commencement must certainly remain so during its continuation, and slavery does and ever must render its supporters liable to the imputation of inhumanity.

COLOURED FEMALE FREE PRODUCE SOCIETY.

We begin to grow proud of our countrywomen. For a long time we could not think only with deep mortification of their unworthy negligence of the piteous call of their suffering fellow creatures. In England societies were forming in almost every corner and section of the country. Here only one existed, to cheer with its usefulness and activity the broad waste of inertness that surrounded it. But the prospect is now growing brighter. There are luminous spots rising over the gloomy horizon. The thought of our country's Dixon and Greenfield rises like a beacon of hope amidst its darkness, and the many manifestations of an increasing interest in the fate of those who have been so long suffered hopelessly to perish beneath the curse of slavery, seem to offer a consolatory promise that a happier day is yet in store for them.

It is especially pleasing to us that so many of our coloured sisters have united in entering the field of Emancipation. If we have hitherto said but little respecting their Association, it was not because we have beheld its formation and progress with indifference; for the remembrance of it seldom crosses our thought without bringing with it a feeling of exultation. Their promptness and numbers are a reproach to the inactive carelessness of so many of their white sisters: and we sincerely hope they will persevere undiscouraged in the noble course they have commenced. To hear of their activity and usefulness will always be a high pleasure to us, and we wish that

their excellent example may not be lost either upon their sisters of a fairer hue, or those of their own colour in other places. We rejoice also on their own accounts at the step they have taken; it is one that is calculated to raise them both in their own respect, and that of others, and in itself to contribute to the elevation of their characters. We learn that some of our friends of the Free Cotton Association have at different times met with them, and that a number of their members have attended the meetings of that society. These manifestations of reciprocal good feeling afford us much pleasure, and both societies have our warmest wishes for their prosperity and advancement in usefulness.

PERSEVERANCE.

It has been remarked by Dr. Johnson that "all the performances of human art, at which we look with praise or wonder, are instances of the resistless force of perseverance: it is by this that the quarry becomes a pyramid, and that distant countries are united by canals. If a man was to compare the effect of a single stroke of the pickaxe, or of one impression with a spade, with the general design and last result, he would be overwhelmed with the sense of their disproportion: yet those petty operations, incessantly continued, in time surmount the greatest difficulties; and mountains are levelled, and oceans bounded, by the slender force of human beings."

The correctness of this observation is abundantly made manifest by the knowledge or experience of every one. Nor are the effects of a succession of almost imperceptible efforts, assiduously directed to one object, more remarkably apparent in manual industry, than mental labours or moral reformation. To those who are withholding their hands from doing good to the cause of Emancipation from an apprehension of their own weakness, we may offer the above paragraph presenting strong grounds for encouragement, and as strikingly pointing out the duty of casting their help and their influence into its treasury, though their offering should seem, in their own estimation, even less than the "two mites which make a farthing." We would also put our readers upon reflecting, whether they do indeed restrain those offerings only from a sense of their unworthiness, or whether the plea is not often made use of as an excuse for indolence or selfishness. Could the work of Emancipation be at once completed, by the practice of such exertions and acts of self denial in one individual as we wish to see general among our sex, there are few females who would not with rapture perform a task to which was annexed such a glorious triumph, and such a rich reward. Yet though the

world no doubt would bestow its meed of praise on such an individual and high eulogy be poured out lavishly from ten thousand lips, we doubt whether the sacrifice would be as acceptable in the sight of Heaven, and would betoken far less disinterested love for the human family, than the same acts performed unobtrusively, and with scarce a hope of their benefitting a single individual. Great things are not expected from our sex. It is unity of purpose that we want; repeated, untiring exertions, no more visible in their single effects than one stroke of the spade or the pickaxe, and yet capable in their completion of opening a channel by which the death-breathing waters of oppression may escape from our land, and the mountains of injustice, which now rise like unsightly excrescences on her else beautiful proportions, "be removed and cast into the sea" of non-entity and oblivion.

NEUTRALITY.

There is no 'neutral ground' lying between the opponents and the upholders of slavery, which may serve as a retreat for the indolence or the indifference of the uninterested observer. The very circumstance of remaining inactive leagues those who are so, to the cause of the oppressor, and weakens the hands of the supporters of emancipation. Slavery can be annihilated peaceably only by the potency of the public voice, and when that commands its downfall, it can endure no longer.

Surely then it is the duty of those who are friendly to the cause of abolition, to give effect to their wishes, as may enable justice to know her own adherents; and can they be other wise than culpable, who, continuing to lend their support to slavery by the use of its productions, deprive its opponents not only of the benefit of their numerical strength, but of the effect of their example upon others? We have seldom—though we recollect at present never—conversed with any person upon the subject, who did not acknowledge that if abstinence from slave productions were steadily persevered in by a sufficient number of persons, it would secure the accomplishment of its object. And how strange is it, that with such sentiments, so few are willing to adopt the plan they approve. Those who act consistently in other points, in this seem totally forgetful of their professions; and even the sympathies of woman scarcely vibrate beneath the touch of compassion for the sufferings of the slave. She looks upon the delicate drapery of her form, and not a thought of the unhappy being by whose extorted toil its material was furnished, disturbs her self-complacency. The despairing death-cry of the victim, perishing at the

now 5 o'clock,—Thompson's stage has just arrived—the above statement is confirmed, and in addition states, that 300 negroes, well mounted and armed, and headed by one or two white men, is the amount of the insurgent force."

"The Richmond Whig" rather intimates that the danger is trifling;—but the following extract of a letter, from that place, shows that serious apprehensions exist for the safety of the white inhabitants near the scene of trouble. We will hope that the account is exaggerated.

"Richmond, Aug. 23.

An express reached the Governor this morning, informing him that an insurrection had broken out in Southampton, and that, by the last accounts, there were seventy whites massacred, and the militia retreating. Another express to Petersburg says that the blacks were continuing their destruction; that three hundred militia were retreating in a body, before six or eight hundred blacks. A shower of rain coming up as the militia were making an attack, wet the powder so much that they were compelled to retreat, being armed only with shot guns. The negroes are armed with muskets, scythes, axes, &c. &c. Our volunteers are marching to the scene of action. A troop of cavalry left at four o'clock, P. M. The artillery, with four field pieces, start in the steamboat Norfolk, at six o'clock, to land at Smithfield. Southampton county lies 80 miles south of us, below Petersburg."

THE FIRST MAN STEALER.

John de Castilla has the infamy of standing first on the list of those whose villanies have disgraced the annals of commerce.—Having made a voyage to the Canaries in 1447, he was dissatisfied with the cargo he procured; and by way of indemnification ungratefully seized twenty of the natives of Gomera, who had assisted him, and brought them as slaves to Portugal.—Prince Henry however, resented this outrage; and after giving the captives some valuable presents of clothes, restored them to freedom and their native country.—*Salem Observer.*

The above can be true only of the modern African Slave-trade. The Romans had slaves from Africa; and kidnapping and the slave trade have doubtless always and in all countries accompanied slavery.

There is a law in Exodus (21: 16) against kidnapping,—a sufficient proof that the crime was known in the days of Moses. A character in one of the comedies of Terence is a young lady of highly respectable parentage, who was kidnapped and sold when a child. The crime evidently was not unfrequent in Greece and Rome. Slavery, and doubtless many of its attendant evils, existed even in England down to a comparatively late period. We have before us a copy of an act of manumission, granted to two slaves, in the year 1514—only about a century before the settlement of this country—by Henry VIII. It begins with stating that "originally God created all men free, but afterwards the laws and customs of nations subjected some under the yoke of servitude;" and then goes on to manumit Henry Knight, tailor, and John Earle, husbandman, "so as the said two persons, with their heirs," should thenceforth "be deemed free and of free condition"—*Journal of Humanity.*

HORRIBLE SENTENCE.

It is stated that a slave was to have been hung on the 19th inst. at Edgefield, S. C. for having ACCIDENTALLY set fire to a Cotton Factory!! A writer in a paper published in Augusta, Georgia, observes: "It seems it was not his intention to commit so extensive an injury to the proprietors. He thought he had extinguished all the fire which he ACCIDENTALLY DROPT."

Was ever DESPOTISM carried to such an extreme before? A man HUNG for an accident!!! We challenge the Records of every nation, civilized or "barbarous," of ancient or modern times, to produce a judicial sentence, more horribly unjust or purely tyrannical.—And is this tolerated in a State which boasts of its attachment to the principles of republican freedom, and even threatens resistance to the general government, for an imaginary trespass upon its constitutional rights? Blinded despotic maniacs! If you have enemies in this republic, among those who sincerely pity your self-debasement and moral degradation, they would hail an overt act on your part, with joy; and justice would soon be meted to you for your criminal deeds.

But are there not, among the people of that region, those who possess courage and philanthropy enough to raise their voice against this monstrous outrage upon legal forms and the acknowledged rights of every thing human? Are there not "fifty righteous" to be found in Sodom? There are indeed many virtuous individuals in that section of the country. Let them make themselves known, and endeavour to arrest the downward march to political and moral perdition, whither the folly or the wickedness of their rulers is hastening them.

THE BLACK ASTRONOMER.—In the year 1739, and for several years afterward, Benjamin Banneker, a black man of Maryland, furnished the public with an Almanac, which was extensively circulated through the Southern States. He was a self-taught astronomer, and his calculations were so thorough and exact, as to excite the approbation and patronage of such men as Pitt, Fox, Wilberforce, and other eminent men, by whom the work was produced in the British House of Commons, as an argument in favour of the mental cultivation of the blacks, with their liberation from their unholy thralldom.

THE ABBE GREGOIRE.—This distinguished individual, who obtained so much celebrity by the philanthropic spirit which pervaded his writings; died at Paris, on the 5th May, last. Long will the enslaved African mourn the loss he has thus sustained.

From Badger's Weekly Messenger.

ODE FOR THE FOURTH OF JULY.

Hark! hark! from the mountains, a merry song,
Loud, louder, it swells as it pours along,
It rouses the brave, and it fires the free,
And they join in a glorious JUBILEE!

To-day, they remember a nation's birth!
Defiance,—a strife,—and a teeming earth!—
And the work was done!—and the Eagle rose
In triumph o'er liberty's fallen foes.

Bright legions appear, and their hearts are one,
To honour the deeds that their sires have done:
And the veteran proudly uncovers his scars,
To greet his old banner of stripes and stars.

An anthem of joy, and a martial strain,
Bursts loud on the air,—“O, ne'er again
Shall a tyrant's voice, or a tyrant's hand,
Be heard, or felt in our happy land.

Yet hold!—there's a sound from a lonely glen,
A sound like the clanking of fetter'd men!
Commingled with sighs, that a thought impart,
Of a wounded pride, and a breaking heart!”

And are there yet hearts, on this festal day,
That will not be happy, that cannot be gay?
Who know not the joys that enrapture the free,
That share not the prize of their chivalry!

Ah yes! there are those who are not unbound,
Who may not respond to the joyous sound,
That bids to the national revelry,
There's FREEDOM, poor NEGRO, but not for thee!

So he hides him away, in his lonely glen,
For he may not be seen among whiter men!
There he lifts his chains and he drops a tear,
And he heaves a sigh, that—his God will hear!

Oh! hearts that can feel another's woe!
Oh! hands that can say to the captive, “Go!”
Oh! voice, that exults in its liberty,
Say, now, to the African, “THOU ART FREE!”

COL. JOHNSON OF KENTUCKY.

We have heard different versions of the following story. We simply record the fact, with the single remark, that tens of thousands of southern gentlemen would be *perfectly consistent* in acting as Colonel Johnson is here said to have done; and that it is a very suitable theme for the *reflection* of all.—G. U. E.

“A Kentucky paper says that Colonel R. M. Johnson has a family of colored children—that at the late 4th of July celebration, where he was to deliver an address, he went in his carriage with one of his daughters—a well educated girl, and introduced her into the room where ladies were dancing—that the ladies immediately withdrew—and the committee told Col. Johnson the daughter must retire. The Colonel remonstrated, and said she was as accomplished as any lady there. They replied it was not a question even to be discussed—she must retire; and she was put in the carriage, &c.”

From the Christian Advocate and Journal.
Bolivar, July 4, 1831.

A more heart-rending act of villainy has rarely been committed than the following: On Monday, the 30th of May last, three children, viz. Elizabeth, ten years of age, Martha eight, and a small boy, name forgotten, all bright mulattoes, were violently taken from the arms of their mother, Elizabeth Price, a free woman of colour, living in Fayette county, Tennessee.—Strong suspicions rest upon two men, gone from thence to the state of Missouri; and it is ardently hoped that the citizens of that state will interest themselves in the apprehension of the robbers, and the restoration of the children. A handsome subscription has been raised in the neighbourhood, to reward any person who may restore them. Editors of papers, and especially such as are in and contiguous to the state of Missouri, are requested to give the above an insertion.

Any person possessing information on the subject, will please direct their communication to Joseph B. Littlejohn, Sommerville, Fayette county, Tenn.

J. D. SMYTH.

From the Village Record.

STRANGE.

An extraordinary fact has come to our knowledge. It is this: That negro dealers, or negro hunters, come to reside in different parts of the county; and that when it suits their interests, they are kidnappers, managing the matter thus:—One of these dealers sees a likely fellow, no matter whether free or not, if he be friendless. He obtains an exact description of his person, the particular marks by which he may be identified. This description he makes to an accomplice below, who thereupon gets some one to personate the master—they come up and arrest the colored victim—their proofs are clear, swearing is no obstacle, and the marks so well known are freely given, and proof conclusive. We are not able to say that such villainy has been successful, though we doubt it not; but we do know that such a scheme has been laid—of which we shall speak more hereafter. This hint may lead to vigilance, and check the infamous traffic. It is time the public feeling, so long torpid, was aroused to the matter.

PREMIUM FOR RICE.

The sum of TWENTY DOLLARS will be given as a premium, over and above the market price, for *Five Casks of Fresh Rice*, of a good quality, raised by *Free Labour*, and delivered in Philadelphia, to CHARLES PEIRCE, before the 1st of June next. (1832.)

The gentleman, above named, is well known as a very respectable Grocer, in Philadelphia, who has for several years past, made it a particular business to keep articles in his line that are exclusively the production of *free labour*.

The premium, together with the market price, will be promptly paid, on the delivery of the Rice, accompanied by proper reference and vouchers from some respectable person who is known in Philadelphia.

THE GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION. Vol. XII.

The object and character of this work are well known. It has been published ten years, and circulates in all the States of this Union, in Canada, the West Indies, Europe, and Africa. It is *exclusively* devoted to the subject of the *Abolition of Slavery*, on the American Continent and Islands.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

The work will, henceforth, be issued monthly. It will be neatly printed, on fine paper, and folded in the octavo form, each number making sixteen large pages.

The price of subscription will be One Dollar per annum, *always to be paid in advance*.

Subscribers who do not particularly specify the time they wish to receive the work, or notify the Editor of a desire to discontinue it, before the expiration of each current year, will be considered as engaged for the next succeeding one, and their bills will be forwarded accordingly.

Agents will be entitled to six copies for every five dollars remitted to the Editor, in current money of the United States.

All letters and communications, intended for this office, must be addressed (free of expense) to BENJAMIN LUNDY, Washington, D. C.

A few copies of the Eleventh volume, complete, for sale.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED BY B. LUNDY—PUBLISHED IN WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE—\$1.00 PER ANN.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration of Independence, U. S.*

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INSURRECTION IN VIRGINIA.

The awful catastrophe, which recently occurred in Southampton County, Virginia, and was noticed in the last number of this work, is calculated to rouse the dormant feelings of the whole community in the United States. That such things were to be expected, in case the system of slavery should continue to exist in this "land of liberty," has often been fearlessly stated.—But no persons upon earth more sincerely deprecate every thing of the kind, than the true friends of African Emancipation, among the citizens of this Republic. We regret every attempt to use force, in violation of law, not only because of the ill feeling it creates, or the individual distress it may occasion, but also on account of the insurmountable obstacles it invariably throws in the way of our future progress. Nothing can be more fatal to our hopes—nothing better calculated to retard our philanthropic operations, than such silly, phrenzied, anti-christian proceedings, on the part of the colored people.—And it is gratifying to perceive, that not a single free person, or one of intelligence, among them, has yet been certainly implicated in the horrid proceedings under consideration. We have stated, over and over, that the work of emancipation must be conducted, in this country, entirely on moral, pacific principles. In this way it can be effected,—and in no other. Though the oppressed may, for a moment, revel in the murderous scenes of vengeful rapine, carrying destruction and desolation before them, it must soon recoil upon themselves, and the merciless fury of maddened power will be satiated in the blood of their race. It is the duty of every intelligent person of color to use his exertions, upon all suitable occasions, to impress these truths upon the minds of the ignorant and the unreflecting.

Taking another view of the subject, the following remarks are elicited.—

Never, perhaps, since the establishment of the system of Slavery upon the American Continent, has the public mind been more

terribly agitated, than by the insurrectionary movements, above mentioned. It would seem that, with all the disparity in scientific power and general intelligence—the difference being wholly in their favor—the white inhabitants of that section of country have experienced the most dreadful alarm. True; the scene of butchery was awful!—The hearts of the relentless desperadoes had been rendered callous by the brutalizing and demonizing influence of ignorance and oppression.—They set no bounds to their bloody rage.—Stung to fiendish madness, they slew all before them!—Expecting no mercy, they were merciless—hoping for no quarter, they gave none.—Hoary age, vigorous manhood, and helpless infancy, were alike the objects of vengeance.—Men, women, and children were involved in one indiscriminate massacre!!! It is, therefore, not to be wondered at, that some alarm should have existed; but that so many extravagant exaggerations and even totally unfounded rumors should have been circulated, as the newspaper press has since teemed with, is almost unaccountable.

From the most authentic statements, it appears that the number of insurgents, actually engaged in the horrid work, did not exceed forty or fifty. The number of whites who were killed, it is believed, was nearly correctly stated in our last month's paper. The ringleader of the insurrection was a slave; and it would seem that the whole were instigated, solely, by vengeance against their oppressors. No white person had any hand in it, as at first reported. *

To give the reader a correct idea of the tragical occurrence, the following extracts are copied from the "Richmond Whig," the editor of which accompanied a troop of horse

*It was, at first, stated that two white men were the instigators of the insurrection, and that one was killed. This, however, was not confirmed.

A late letter from some part of Virginia, to a gentleman in Washington, also states that the editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* was in that section of the country, and, no doubt, at the bottom of the whole conspiracy!! This NEWS, however, does not appear to have obtained general credit! Indeed, he was at that time, in a much more quiet place. And, further, he has never, yet, been duly convicted of meditating evil against any one.

to the place where the insurrection broke out, immediately on receiving the information. The detail is, indeed, "heart-rending!"

"The origin of the conspiracy, its prime agents, its extent, and ulterior direction, is a matter of conjecture. The universal opinion in that part of the country, is that Nat, a slave, a preacher,* and a pretended prophet, was the first contriver, the actual leader, and the most remorseless of the executioners. According to the evidence of a negro boy whom they carried along to hold their horses, Nat commenced the scene of murder at the first house, (Travis') with his own hand. Having called upon two others to make good their valiant boastings so often repeated, of what they would do, and these shrinking from the requisition, Nat proceeded to despatch one of the family with his own hand. Animated by the example and exhortations of their leader, having a taste of blood, and convinced that they had now gone too far to recede, his followers dismissed their qualms and became as ferocious as their leader wished them. To follow the bloody dogs from the capture of Travis' house, before day, to their dispersion at Parker's cornfield early in the afternoon, where they had traversed near twenty miles, murdered 63 whites, and approached within three or four miles of the village of Jerusalem, the immediate object of their movement—to describe the scenes at each house, the circumstances of the murders, the hair-breadth escapes of the few who were lucky enough to escape—would prove as interesting as heart-rending."

"Mrs. Vaughan's was among the first houses attacked. A venerable negro woman described the scene which they had witnessed with great emphasis. It was near noon, and her mistress had been making some preparation in the porch for dinner, when, happening to look towards the road, she descried a dust, and wondered what it could mean. In a second, three negroes, mounted and armed, rushed into view, and making an exclamation indicative of her horror and agony, Mrs. Vaughan ran into the house. The negroes dismounted and ran around the house, pointing their guns at the doors and windows. Mrs. Vaughan appeared at a window, and begged for her life, inviting them to take every thing she had. The prayer was answered by one of them firing at her, which was instantly followed by another, and a fatal shot. In the mean time, Miss Vaughan, who was up stairs, and unapprised of the terrible event, until she heard the noise of the attack, rushed down, and begging for life, was shot as she ran a few steps from the door. A son of Mrs. Vaughan, about 15, was at the still house, when, hearing a gun, and conjecturing, it is supposed, that his brother had come from Jerusalem, approached the house, and was shot as he got over the fence. It is difficult for the imagination to conceive a situation so truly and horribly awful, as that in which these unfortunate ladies were placed. Alone, unprotected, and unconscious of danger, to find themselves, without a moment's notice for escape or defence, in the power of a band of ruffians, from whom instant death was the least they could expect! In a most lively and picturesque manner, did the old negress describe the horrors of the scene; the blacks riding up with imprecations, the looks of her mistress, white as a sheet, her prayers for her life, and the action of the scoundrels environing the house,

* A letter from Southampton states (says the Richmond Compiler,) that Nat Turner "is very improperly represented to be a Baptist preacher. I wish you to see the editors of your papers on this subject, and say to them, that that account, from the best information I can obtain, is an entire mistake. He never was a member of the Baptist or any other church; he assumed that character of his own accord, and has been for several years, one of those fanatical scoundrels, that pretended to be divinely inspired; of bad character, and never countenanced, except by a few of his deluded black associates. To give this explanation, is but an act of justice, to which I am sure they will fully accord."

and pointing their guns at the doors and windows, ready to fire as occasion offered."

"The scene at Vaughan's may suffice to give an idea of what was done at the other houses. A bloodier and more accursed tragedy was never acted, even by the agency of the tomahawk and scalping knife.

"It is with pain we speak of another feature of the Southampton Rebellion; for we have been most unwilling to have our sympathies for the sufferers, diminished or affected by their misconduct. We all deprecate the slaughter of many blacks without trial, and under circumstances of great barbarity.* How many have been put to death, (generally by decapitation or shooting) reports vary; probably, however, some five-and-twenty, and from that to forty; possibly yet a larger number. To the great honor of General Eppes, he used every precaution in his power, and we hope and believe with success, to put a stop to the disgraceful procedure. We met with an individual of intelligence, who stated that he himself had killed between 10 and 15. He justified himself on the ground of the barbarities committed on the whites; and that he thought himself right in certain cases from his having narrowly escaped losing his own life in an attempt to save a negro woman whom he thought innocent, but who was shot by the multitude in despite of his exertions. We (the Richmond Troop) witnessed with surprise, the sanguinary temper of the population, who evinced a strong disposition to inflict immediate death upon every prisoner."

"Let the fact not be doubted by those whom it most concerns, that another such insurrection will be the signal for the extermination of the black population in the quarter of the state where it occurs.†

"The numbers engaged in the insurrection are variously reported. They probably did not exceed forty or fifty, and were fluctuating from desertion and new recruits. About fifty of them are in Southampton jail, some of them upon suspicion only."

"At the date of Capt. Harrison's departure from Jerusalem, Gen. Nat had not been taken."

"If there was any ulterior purpose, he probably alone knows it. For our own part, we still believe there was none; and if he be the intelligent man reported, we are incapable of perceiving the arguments by which he persuaded his own mind of the feasibility of his attempt, or how it could possibly end but in certain destruction. We therefore incline to the belief that he acted upon no higher principle than the impulse of revenge against the whites, as the enslavers of himself and his race; and that being a fanatic, he possibly persuaded himself that Heaven would interfere; and that he may have convinced himself, as he certainly did his deluded followers to some extent, that the appearance of the sun some weeks ago, prognosticated something favorable to their cause."

"We understand that the confessions of all the prisoners, go to show that the insurrection broke out too soon, as is supposed, in consequence of the first day of July being a Sunday, and not as the negroes in Southampto believed, the Saturday before. The report is, that the rising was fixed for the 4th Sunday in August, and that supposing Sunday, the 31st July, to be the first Sunday in August, they were betrayed into the error of considering the third Sunday as the fourth."

Since the above appeared in the "Whig" we have had many rumors of rebellious conspiracies in other parts of Virginia; and sundry convictions and imprisonments have taken place in Prince George, Sussex, and Nansemond counties. It is believed, how-

* Many have been executed without legal trial, who were not positively known to have been engaged in the conspiracy. One, after being cruelly mal-treated, was stuck like a hog!!!

† A horrible idea, truly!—the realization would be equal in barbarity to any thing the world has ever witnessed!

ever, that the insurrection is now fairly quelled. The public mind, in the south, is not in a condition to moralize upon this subject now. Much comment would, therefore, be supererogatory at present. Evils of this description have long been foretold, by those who had studied human nature, and who had acquainted themselves with the system of slavery in this country. But the oppressor chose to shut his ear to the voice of warning.—He closed his eyes to the approaching danger. Trusting to an arm of flesh—to physical, instead of moral power—without consulting the oracle of justice, the advocates and supporters of that system blindly pursue their guilty course. Fancying themselves secure, they cavalierly and angrily reject all advice and caution, even until they are taken by surprise. How much better would it be for them to adopt some feasible plan to rid themselves of the evil, and the dangers attending it, than thus obstinately to persist in upholding a system fraught with the elements of hostility and servile commotion! May they henceforth reflect upon the subject more seriously, and act more in accordance with the dictates of true wisdom and sound policy.

We have laid off an article for insertion at a future period, relative to the discovery of an extensive and dangerous conspiracy among the Virginia slaves, some years since. These things should be pondered well, by every citizen of the South.

The following is the number of the white and black population contained in five counties, including Southampton and those adjacent, in Virginia and North Carolina, as ascertained by the late census:

	Whites.	Blacks.
Southampton contained	6,127	8,048
Greenville,	2,056	4,802
Sussex,	4,155	7,729
Surry,	2,642	3,952
Isle of Wight,	4,904	5,735
	19,884	50,261

TROUBLES IN NORTH CAROLINA!

It appears, from late letters and newspaper statements, that the Virginia plot was more extensive than at first supposed. The alarm has reached several counties in North Carolina. Two slaves have been convicted and executed, and many more are in prison. As to Virginia, the most ridiculous exag-

gerations have accompanied the recital of facts. One account stated that the town of Wilmington was taken and burnt! The following information, contained in a letter from Fayetteville, of Sept. 14, appears, from a comparison of other statements, to wear the garb of authenticity. It embodies nearly all that can as yet be relied on.

“On Sunday the 4th inst. the first information of the contemplated rising of the Blacks, was sent from South Washington. The disclosure was made by a free mulatto man to Mr. Usher of Washington, who sent the information to Mr. Kelly of Duplin. It appears, from the mulatto’s testimony, that Dave, a slave belonging to Mr. Morrissey of Sampson, applied to him to join the conspirators, stated that the negroes in Sampson, Duplin, and New-Hanover, were regularly organized and prepared to rise on the 4th October.

Dave was taken up, and on this testimony convicted.—After his conviction, he made a confession of the above to his master, and in addition gave the names of the four principal ringleaders in Sampson and Duplin, and several in Wilmington, named several families that they intended to murder. Their object was to march by two routes to Wilmington, spreading destruction and murder on their way. At Wilmington they expected to be reinforced by 2,000, to supply themselves with arms and ammunition and then return. Three of the ringleaders in Duplin have been taken, and Dave and Jim executed. There are 23 negroes in jail in Duplin county, all of them no doubt concerned in the conspiracy.—Several have been whipped and some released. In Sampson 25 are in jail, all concerned directly or indirectly in the plot.

The excitement among the people in Sampson is very great, and increasing; they are taking effectual measures to arrest all suspected persons. A very intelligent Negro Preacher, named David, was put on his trial to-day and clearly convicted by the testimony of another negro. The people were so much enraged, that they scarcely could be prevented from shooting him on his passage from the Court House to the jail. All the confession made induce the belief that the conspirators were well organized, and their plans well understood in Duplin, Sampson, Wayne, New Hanover, and Lenoir.”

The excitement against the colored preachers is very great. Many believe that the plans of the insurrection were laid and partially matured in their various meetings, under the cloak of religion. This, like every other species of information connected with the whole affair, has, no doubt, been wonderfully distorted and magnified, by the flip-pant tongue of rumor and the tocsin voice of alarm. The *Newbern Spectator*, of the 16th inst. speaking upon this subject, has the following remarks. We are glad to see a little mercy mingled with the sweeping proscription here recommended.

“Perhaps it would not be bad policy were the people of the South to treat the negro preachers as did Edward of England the Welsh Bards. On occasions like the present, however, when the public mind is excited, and alarm become epidemic, it would be well to remember the history of Titus Oates and his times; and while we keep upon the alert, not lend too ready a belief to the existence of Plots.”

PREVENTION OF SLAVE INSURRECTIONS.

No. I.

While the public attention is directed towards the subject of *Slave Insurrections*, it may be reasonable to offer some remarks on the best methods of *preventing* their frequent occurrence. The old proverb says: "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure;" and it may be said, with equal truth, that to eradicate an obnoxious plant, we should *strike at the root*. So with moral or political evils—"destroy the *cause*, and the effect must cease."

Experience has fully shown that African Slavery may be abolished, with *perfect safety*, and even *consistently with the interests of all concerned*, whenever it is fairly attempted. This would take from the slave every motive for rebellion. Restore his rights, and his enmity is destroyed—enlighten his mind, and he becomes a good citizen.

But, in order to convince, we must have recourse to facts, capable of demonstrating the truth of what we advance. With this view we shall at present quote the celebrated *Thomas Clarkson*, to whose researches and publications, relative to the subject before us, the world is indebted for a fund of exceedingly valuable information.

Speaking of an experiment, made in the Island of Barbadoes, by the Honorable Joshua Steele, he states as follows:

It appears that Mr. Steele lived in London. He was Vice-President of the London Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, and a person of talent and erudition. He was the proprietor of three estates in Barbadoes. His agent there used to send him accounts annually of his concerns; but these were latterly so ruinous, not only in a pecuniary point of view, but as they related to what Mr. Steele called the *destruction* of his Negroes, that he resolved, though then at the advanced age of eighty, to go there, and to look into his affairs himself. Accordingly he embarked, and arrived there early in the year 1780.

After a residence of some length of time in the island, and becoming acquainted with the system of mismanagement there, Mr. Steele resolved to change the mode of working his slaves; and, in the year 1783, he put a part of his plan in operation. Clarkson proceeds:—

"I took," says he, "the whips and all power of arbitrary punishment from all the overseers and their white servants, which occasioned my chief overseer to resign, and I soon dismissed all his deputies, who could not bear the loss of their whips; but at the same time, that a proper subordination and obedience to lawful orders and duty should be preserved, I created a magistracy out of the Negroes themselves, and appointed a court or jury of

the elder Negroes or head-men for trial and punishment of all casual offences, (and these courts were a way to be held in my presence, or in that of my new superintendant,) which court very soon grew respectable. Seven of these men being of the rank of drivers in their different departments, were also constituted rulers, or magistrates over all the gangs, and were charged to see at all times that nothing should go wrong in the plantations, but that on all necessary occasions they should assemble and consult together how any such wrong should be immediately rectified; and I made it known to all the gangs, that the authority of these rulers should supply the absence or vacancy of an overseer in all cases; they making daily or occasional reports of all occurrences to the proprietor or his delegate for his approbation or his orders."

It appears that Mr. Steele was satisfied with this his first step, and he took no other for some time. At length, in about another year, he ventured upon a second. He "tried whether he could not obtain the labour of his Negroes by *voluntary* means instead of the old method by *violence*." On a certain day he offered a pecuniary reward for holing canes, which is the most laborious operation in West-India husbandry. "He offered two-pence halfpenny (currency,) or about three halfpenny (sterling,) per day, with the usual allowance to holders of a draught with molasses, to any twenty-five of his Negroes, both men and women, who would undertake to holer for canes an acre per day, at about 96½ holes for each Negro to the acre. The whole gang were ready to undertake it; but only fifty of the volunteers were accepted, and many among them were those who on much lighter occasions had usually pleaded *infirmary and inability*: but the ground had been moist, they holed twelve acres within six days with great ease, having had an hour, more or less every evening to spare; and the like experiment was repeated with the like success.* More ex-

* In corroboration of the practicability of such a plan of operations, we here insert the following, which was communicated to the editor, very recently by a highly valued friend, in Philadelphia.

For the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

Self interest is the ruling principle which prompts men (white or black) to action. There may be some honorable exceptions to this rule, but they are "like the king's visits, few and far between." The following anecdote, related to me by the gentleman himself, may be relied on as authentic, and is respectfully offered to the consideration of slaveholders, and others, residing in the southern states.

W. T. although not conscientiously opposed to slavery was a very respectable, wealthy, and industrious citizen of Philadelphia. For a long time he was an efficient director of one of our city banks, and a man whose veracity was unquestioned. He was by trade a plasterer, and was employed to plaster the Capitol, at Washington city. He took with him seven journeymen, from Philadelphia; and on arrival at Washington he hired eleven slaves, as labourers, to attend upon them. These slaves were hired from their masters, at \$2 per week; but soon found they did not do as much work as half a number of freemen would have done; and the consequence was, his journeymen were frequently idle for want of materials. At the end of the first week, about sun-set, he took all his labourers with him to a remote cellar, where nobody could see or hear what passed between them. The blacks stared at each other, as they went along, not knowing what was to be done. When he arrived at a suitable place, he stopped, and said: "Now my boys, I intend, on Saturday night, to give every one of you a dollar for your own use:—and I will still continue to pay your masters the wages which I agreed to pay them. See that you do not tell any body. I will not let your masters know any thing about it.—But mind, the first man I find idle, I will discharge;—and I will continue to discharge every one who does not do a full days work. Do you all understand it? Yes, massa, yes massa, was the general reply. Upon the

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

tenants with such premiums on weeding and deep hoeing were made by task-work per acre, and all succeeded in like manner, their premiums being all punctually paid them in proportion to their performance. But afterwards some of the same people being put *without premium* to weed on a loose cultivated soil in the common manner, *eighteen* Negroes did not do as much in a given time, as *six* had performed of the like sort of work a few days before, with the premium of two-pence halfpenny." The next year Mr. Steele made similar experiments. Success attended him again; and from this time task-work, or the *voluntary* system, became the general practice of the estate.

In the year 1785, it appears that he adopted the system of *working by the picce*. But in 1789, he carried into effect another part of his plan, which went the length of altering the very condition of the slaves, and of this alteration our author now speaks.

Mr. Steele took the hint for the particular mode of improving the condition of his slaves, which I am going to describe, from the practice of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors in the days of Villainage, which, he says, was "the most wise and excellent mode of civilizing savage slaves." There were in those days three classes of viliens. The first or lowest, consisted of viliens in gross, who were alienable at pleasure. The second of viliens regardant, who were *adscripti glebæ*, or attached as freehold property to the soil. And the third or last, of copyhold bondmen, who had tenements of land, for which they were bound to pay in services. The viliens first mentioned, or those of the lowest class, had all these gradations to pass through from the first into the second, and from the second into the third, before they could become free men. This was the model, from which Mr. Steele resolved to borrow, when he formed his plan for changing the condition of his slaves. He did not, however, adopt it throughout, but he chose out of it what he thought would be most suitable to his purpose, and left the rest. We may see what the plan was, from the following account.

In the year 1789 he erected his plantations into manors. It appears that the Governor of Barbadoes had the power by charter, with the consent of the majority of the council, of dividing the island into manors, lordships, and precincts, and of making freeholders; and though this had not yet been done, Mr. Steele hoped, as a member of council, to have influence sufficient to get his own practice legalized in time. Presuming upon this, he registered in the manor-book all his adult male slaves as *copyholders*. He then gave them separate tenements of lands, which they were to occupy, and upon which they were to

conditions they parted; and the next Monday morning, at sun-rise, when the employer got within about 50 yards of the building, he saw his labourers all on the spot, who immediately enquired: "Massa T. what shall I do?—Massa T. what shall I do?"—and, being a prompt man, he soon set them all at work. But, before breakfast time, he heard his journeymen calling out, "Halloo there! you will break down that scaffold; quit putting so much stuff on it." The gentleman soon found that he would have to discharge one half of his labourers, or else double the number of his journeymen! and they *continued*, while thus employed, to be as good a set of labourers as he ever had.

Here was a practical lesson for slaveholders. Let any of those who now have to drive their slaves, or employ others to drive for them, burn their whips and try to impel them to labour from *interest*. Convince them that *they shall surely receive the benefit of their exertions*; and that this will not depend upon the price of the master, but will certainly be meted to them in proportion to their industry, and they will perform twice the quantity of work that they otherwise do.

raise whatever they might think most advantageous. These tenements consisted of half an acre of plantable and productive land to each adult, a quantity supposed to be sufficient with industry to furnish him and his family with provision and clothing. The tenements were made descendible to the heirs of the occupiers or copyholders, that is, to their children *on the plantations*; for no part of the succession was to go out of the plantations to the issue of any foreign wife, and in case of no such heirs, they were to fall to the lord to be re-granted according to his discretion. It was also inscribed that any one of the copyholders, who would not perform his services to the manor (the refractory and others,) was to forfeit his tenement and his privileged rank, and to go back to the state of viliem in gross, and to be subject to corporal punishment as before. "Thus," says Mr. Steele, "we run no risk whatever in making the experiment, by giving such copyhold-tenements to all our well-deserving Negroes, and to all in general, when they appear to be worthy of that favour."

This very interesting subject will be continued, at greater length, in our next number; when it is hoped we shall have less occasion to speak of actual "slave insurrections,"—and, of course, more room to treat of their "prevention."

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE WEST INDIES.

At the late session of the British Parliament, upwards of five thousand petitions were presented for the abolition of slavery in the Colonies. The friends of the measure are rapidly increasing in numbers and influence. They are very active, and sanguine of speedy success. On the other hand, the effeminate, impotent tyrants of the colonies are becoming alarmed for the very precarious tenure upon which their usurped authority at present rests. Meetings have been held among them, resolutions have been adopted, and remonstrances against emancipation have been presented to the parent government;—even "threats of disunion," or separation of the colonies from the empire, (a la mode the nullifiers of South Carolina!) have been held out, to induce the advocates of freedom to desist from the prosecution of their holy work. Vain attempt!—Almost as well might "Satan" have undertaken to frighten or dissuade the "Angel of God" from the accomplishment of his authorized purpose, previous to his expulsion from heaven! The work *will go on*; and the corrupt monsters, who have fattened and rioted upon the sweat, the tears, and blood of the slave, must soon calculate to "reform" themselves, or—*they will be "reformed."* As to the threat of resistance to the measures of the government, per force,—it is the frothy ebullition of madness and despair. The first overt act would

be a death warrant for every one engaged in committing it—and power, tenfold more than is necessary, is at hand to execute it.

The colonists, foreseeing that the term of their absolute and oppressive sway is short, are talking loudly about “compensation”^{*} for the loss of their slaves, in case a law shall be enacted for the purpose. This, we think, will not be granted.—It should not be—else every slave holder, on the African coast, from whom his human plunder has been wrested, should be *compensated* therefor. He purchased them, (at least a portion of them,) “legally,” according to the laws or regulations of *that country*; and this title, though good for nothing, is as good as that by which any slave in the American hemisphere is held—nay, it is the only *foundation*, on which rests *every claim* of the kind. If, therefore, governments have exercised the “right” to deprive the slaveholders, at sea, of their human “property,” without compensating them therefor, (and it has been done in thousands of instances,) we may calculate that they will do it every where else, as soon as *it shall be generally understood that justice is one and the same thing, without regard to time or place*. But the abolition of slavery would be a positive BENEFIT to the planters. The experiments already made, *prove it*. Very modest, then, to talk of “*compensation!*”

* This idea of *compensating* slaveholders, for slaves emancipated by law, notwithstanding the preposterous absurdity attached to it, is prevalent among many, of whom more correct notions might have been expected. The editor of this work lately had a brief conversation upon the subject, with an esteemed acquaintance, in New Jersey, who is a member of the society of “Friends.” He advocated this inadmissible doctrine, while he well knew that both the people and legislature of his own state, and the religious society of which he is a member, as well as other communities, both civil and ecclesiastical, have long since completely exploded it, and acted upon the directly opposite principle. It is astonishing that any man of intelligence should reason thus; (and this gentleman is both rationally and philosophically intelligent;) and it is still more wonderful that one, who was “born and educated” a Quaker, should fall into such gross political or moral heresies! We shall, probably, next hear of a proposition to pay the thief, for the horse he has been detected in stealing—the highwayman, for the traveler’s purse wrested from his hand—the ocean freebooter, for the casks, and bales of goods he had pirated and was compelled to relinquish;—or, at least, it may be argued, that those who *had purchased* the products of such robberies, should be “*compensated*” on their seizure!! The absurdity in the one case, would be fully equivalent to that of the other; for no legal enactment, under heaven, can, in justice, possibly reduce a human being to the condition of “property.” “*Liberty*” is the “inalienable right” of every man and woman “created” by God. No innocent human being was ever deprived of it, unconditionally, but upon the principles of *robbery and usurpation*.

One word, as to the *danger* of general emancipation, before we conclude.—

It has been sufficiently ascertained, in the West Indies, South America, and Mexico—to say nothing of the northern and middle states of this Union—that the total abolition of slavery may be effected, in a reasonable time, with perfect safety;—and that there is, indeed, *no safety* in the pursuit of any other course. Many philanthropists and statesmen, both in Europe and this country, are becoming sensible of this fact;—and, in the course of a brief season of reflection, they will resolve to—*act accordingly*.

“INCENDIARY PUBLICATIONS.”

It is painful to witness the recklessness with which the most absurd and false assertions are promulgated, (even through political periodicals of the first standing,) with the view of bringing the cause of emancipation and its advocates into disrepute. An extract of a letter from Washington City, to the postmaster in Tarborough, N. C. has been published in various papers, containing the following statement:—

“An incendiary paper, ‘The Liberator,’ is circulated openly among the free blacks of this city; and if you will search, it is very probable you will find among the slaves of your county. It is published in Boston or Philadelphia by a white man, with the avowed purpose of inciting rebellion in the South, and I am informed is to be carried through your country by secret agents, who are to come among you under the pretext of peddling, &c. Keep a sharp look out for these villains, and if you catch them by all that is sacred, you ought to barbecue them. Diffuse this information amongst whom it may concern.”

A more *abominable falsehood* was never uttered, than that which we have placed in italics in the foregoing paragraph—neither is there believed to be the least truth in the assertion respecting the mode of circulation of the work.

That the mendacious tribe of editorial calumniators, whose very element is prejudice and whose food is scandal and vituperation, should give currency to such barefaced slanders, is not at all to be wondered at: but that editors, claiming to be respectable, like those of the “National Intelligencer,” should not only tarnish their columns with such a paragraph as the one above quoted, but also credit the falsehood, and accompany it with a long tirade against the publication referred to, is truly surprising! Surely, they have never read the “Liberator,”—or they would not have sanctioned so gross a misrepresentation.

Fit Justitia Ruat Cælum.

tion of its character. Had they acquainted themselves therewith, instead of taking upon trust the vindictive assertions of some unprincipled slaveite, (very probably a slave-trader,) they might have saved themselves the trouble of making a ridiculous appeal to the Mayor of Boston, and the people of New-England, to suppress it!

Briefly commenting on the paragraph, above quoted, the editor of the *Liberator* states as follows:—

"We have circulated no papers extra in any part of our country. We have not a single white or black subscriber south of the Potomac. We have no travelling agent or agents. It is not the real or avowed object of the *Liberator* to stir up insurrections, but the contrary."

It has always been the misfortune of those who strive to produce honest reformations in the corrupted state of society, to be ridiculed, misrepresented, reviled, and abused. It is natural to expect this, in such cases, from the ignorant, the vicious, and the depraved.—But that men, professing to be more than ordinarily intelligent, and withal just and philanthropic, should lend themselves to the work of persecuting them, even without taking the pains to acquaint themselves fully with their motives or actions, is calculated to inculcate the idea that virtuous noble-mindedness and true christian patriotism is at a low ebb among us.

Since writing the foregoing, we have seen the "National Intelligencer," containing a paragraph from a paper called the "Genius of Liberty," printed at Leesburg, Virginia, in which the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* is also classed among what the slaveites malignantly denominate "incendiary publications." We have, at present, merely room to make our acknowledgements to these gentlemen, for their kind notice,—promising them further attention in due season. The courteous editors of the "Intelligencer," particularly, will please accept our thanks for their very intelligent and mannerly remarks.

THE MEXICANS—(continued.)

Our author, speaking of the political state of the Republic, gives us the following definition of parties, which have existed since the commencement of the Revolution. He says:—

They were at first Patriots and Guachupins, next Republicans and Imperialists, latterly Federalists and Centralists, under the nicknames of Scots and Yorkers; but now, in 1830, two great parties are springing up, much more likely to divide the whole popu-

lation, while formerly Creoles and Spaniards were the main partizans. These two new (or rather very old) parties are the Country party and the Creole party, each subdivided into some factions.

The Country party, calling themselves patriots and old Mexicans, are the most numerous, including nearly the whole Indian and mixt population. They are nicknamed *Gentes iracionales*, or irrational folks, by the Creoles, whom they call in return, *Sons of the Guachupins*.—This party although comprising the bulk of actual ignorance, reckons many enlightened men. They hate and detest the Spaniards, calling them invaders, despoilers, tyrants. They deny having been conquered by Cortez; they say their ancestors the Mexicans, were overthrown by their foes the Tlascallans and their allies, among which were a handful of Spaniards, who spread terror by fire-arms, and after the destruction of the city of Mexico, disarmed all the Indians, slew their nobles, their priests, and their warriors; destroyed their temples, saints, books of all kinds; took to themselves all the wealth, land, and noble women; reducing the people to abject ignorance, cruel vassalage, and impugned upon them new saints or idols. But now these tyrant Guachupins are expelled, the Creoles being Mexicans like themselves, sons of the noble ladies stolen by the invaders, form only one nation; and the Indians being restored to freedom, the use of arms and equal rights, they ought to be allowed freedom of worship, a greater participation in offices and emoluments, a general education; and they demand the correction of many abuses, above all the reform of the church, army and finances.

Such reasonable requests may be delayed by the Creoles in power, but the Country party will sooner or later prevail and rule the country.—The factions among this party are merely differences of opinion on some points of policy, which the Creoles endeavour to split into new parties so as to weaken the whole. Thus some think that peace ought never to be made with the Guachupins or Spain, no money paid for the acknowledgment of independence, or no Guachupins allowed to settle again in the country after the peace. This feeling is pretty general; their opponents call them *Antiguachupins*. Another section wishes to confiscate the whole church property to pay the debts of the state, and abolish all the exactions of the priests, paying them a moderate stipend. This sentiment has many partizans in the army, and even among the Creoles. The priests call them infidels.

The second party or the Creoles, often calling themselves the rational or wise folks, rule the country, by means of the generals and bishops, nobles and land owners, priests and monks, judges and lawyers, monopolists and office holders, who are mostly Creoles. But in the army, legislatures, and professions, the patriots are already the majority; nay, also among landholders; but the Indians have only small farms and gardens, while the Creoles often own princely estates of 50,000 or 100,000 acres. They affect to despise and hold in contempt the Indians; accuse them of ignorance, stupidity, and many vices; but they know that these vices are such as enable them to mislead and govern the Indians, acquire their aid and support whenever specious patriotic pretexts are offered. Many liberal Creoles are uniting themselves to the country party, and others will follow when they find that they must yield. This party rules the country at present, since the overthrow of Guerrero who was the idol of the country party, because he was a Mestizo, but he had no abilities; he may be compared to Paez of Venezuela. He was easily removed, but not even exiled, so little was he feared. His party however is strong, and preparing to resist the usurpation of Bustamente, who, although a man of talents, is too aristocratic, and will be overthrown. The fear of a new civil war alone restrains the patriotic party.

The views which the Mexicans entertain, relative to the policy of our government, should be understood by every citizen there-

of. The reader is, therefore, requested to give the following, particularly, a close perusal.

Towards the North-Americans the actual administration bears no good will, but rather distrust and dislike. They complain, 1st—That Poinsett meddled with the politics of the country, and that the conspirators against Pedraza actually met in his house. 2d—That he insulted the Mexican nation by offering to buy Texas, a federal territory, *unalienable to the Constitution*, of 160 millions of acres, for ten millions of dollars, or six cents per acre, while the wild lands of Texas are now sold at forty cents per acre by the Mexican government. 3d—That, when he found his offer objectionable, he further insulted the nation by offering a loan of ten millions, as a pawnbroker would, upon the pawning of Texas until repaid, which insidious proposal was meant to fill the country of Texas with Americans and slaves, and to hold it afterwards at any event, the United States never meaning to restore it. This was deemed even by the patriot party, who were great friends of the Americans and Poinsett, an insult similar to an offer of the Mexican territory of Louisiana or Arkansas, if made to the Congress of the United States—4th—That the Americans are secretly encroaching towards Texas and the frontiers, in the usual manner they employ to dispossess Indians, by allowing outlaws, squatters and hunters, to intrude and settle unlawfully. 5th—That citizens of the United States encourage the excursions of the Comanches and other predatory tribes against New Mexico and Texas, furnishing them with arms, buying their spoil stolen mules, and even *Mexican freemen*, who are bought as slaves, and mulattos and Indians held as such even now in Louisiana. 6th—That American emissaries have suggested several times, in Texas to rebel and declare Texas independent of Mexico, or even ask an union with the United States, who will allow the ban of slavery. 7th—That the United States, by invading gradually all the Indian lands, and removing the Indians on the borders of Mexico, commit a great injustice, and lay a foundation for future troubles and quarrels with Mexico. 8th—And that by their perfidy against Indians in the south and west, and breaking solemn treaties with them, the United States evince they will not deem sacred any treaty with the Mexican nation, the majority of which is an Indian population, quite similar to the persecuted Cherokees, Creeks and Choctaws. 9th—Lastly, that the Spanish invaders under General Barradas, in 1829, were chiefly carried over from Cuba to Tampico in North American vessels; and some disabled ones allowed to refit in New-Orleans, the Spanish troops well received, recruited, and actually sailed from New-Orleans to invade Mexico.

These subjects of complaint have been artfully fomented by the English agents and party: a cry was raised for war against the United States, a loan of two millions was offered to carry it on, invade Louisiana, declare all the negroes free, expel all the American settlers from Texas, &c. Even the patriotic party and friends of North America were staggered. Nothing is more calculated to allineate them than the bad treatment of the Indians in the United States.—These two nations, which ought to be natural allies, were thus on the verge of becoming foes. However, the prudence of the administration and the unsettled state of internal affairs prevented actual hostilities.—The American government has hushed up the barefaced affair of Texas, recalled Poinsett, and evinced symptoms of conciliation. But the influence of these feelings upon the public mind has been so great, that the Americans, who were the most favored nation, have ceased to be such; their merchants, captains, travellers, settlers, &c. have been often insulted or no longer favored. The English merchants have availed themselves greatly of this to increase their customers. Formerly, the North Americans were welcome any where; now, their situation is precarious in Texas, and even in the city of Mexico. An American, Mr. Maclure, of Philadelphia, who was highly respect-

ed, wealthy and learned, gave a free gift of 7000 dollars, at the Spanish invasion of Barradas, to clothe a whole regiment of cavalry; this generous act has since been ascribed to mere ostentation. He had offered to educate 200 select Indian youths, at a small expense, in a college on the Wabash. The cautious Mexicans sent an agent to examine the place and prospect, who has made and printed a Spanish and English report, stating that it was another deception, the college being a mere school under the direction of a vicious and ignorant female, and the United States totally unfit to educate the Indians, whom they despise and oppress.

In any future contest with North America, the Mexicans think they will be quite a match for their northern neighbors. It happens that the nearest states to Mexico have a large slave population, which it will be very easy to rouse by an offer of complete freedom. Also the borders of the two countries are filled with Indian tribes, driven by the United States, and very unwisely concentrated in a vulnerable point, which would join the Mexican soldiers, who are nearly all Indians. The Mexican population will soon equal that of the freemen of North America. They are becoming warlike, and the table land population has no dread of a colder climate. This does not imply that the Mexicans ever mean to make conquests; but they will retaliate if attacked or deeply injured, and have the means to assail with advantage. Against this the Americans have only their number, greedy thirst for lands, slavery and oppression of Indians. England will never allow Texas to be conquered, and will become the ally of Mexico in a war for such an unworthy motive. It may also be doubtful whether the northern states will go into a war to extend the evil of slavery, and to make three or four new slave states in Texas. Therefore, North America has nothing to gain in a war with Mexico, but much to lose, and wisdom will suggest prudence in the mutual intercourse of the two nations.

Meantime the Mexican government are taking measures to secure Texas. Five regiments have been sent to form military colonies, and at the peace with Spain, all the disbanded soldiers are to receive grants of land there, on condition of actual settlement. The Mexicans begin also to know the value of unsettled lands. No great grant has been made there since the old one of Austin. All late applications and offers have been rejected, even those of Baring and Owen, both Englishmen, who offered to bring English settlers as a bulwark against the Americans. But small grants, or rather sales, to actual settlers of any nation, are made at the rate of 40 dollars for 100 acres, with six years credit, and no man is allowed to purchase above 50,000 acres. All negroes and Indians flying the slavery and oppression of the southern United States, are received and protected. All slaves become free by entering Texas, (as they do in Canada,) when they can reach it. The Indians receive land to settle upon. They are considered as the best bulwark against the American neighbors, and a check upon the settlers of North American origin. The Chocktaws, Creeks and Cherokees, now driven to despair by the policy of the southern states, refused the privilege of freemen and compelled to sell their lands, would find there an assylum, and be received with open arms. They might be made citizens at once by a special law, or become such in five years, receive grants of land either gratis or at a low price, and be deemed the best settlers to form a barrier of persecuted foes against northern encroachments.

We have not room for the whole of this very interesting article, this month. In our next we shall notice the vast resources of the Mexican Republic, and lay before the reader some important hints respecting the successful employment of FREE LABOR, in the cultivation of sugar, cotton, &c., &c. The competition, arising in that quarter, will ere long shew the slaveholders of *this country* where in their true interest lies, even if nothing else will.

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

Ladies' Repository.

Philanthropic and Literary.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

OUR FRIENDS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

We extract from a small pamphlet, published by the "Dublin Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society," the following "Hints to District Treasurers." They will serve to acquaint our sisters, on this side the water, somewhat further with the active exertions of the Ladies in Great Britain. Why, alas! cannot a similar spirit be roused among us? Why shall American Ladies exhibit less of patriotism, philanthropy, or piety, than those living under a monarchical government, in Europe? The reason!—Let us have the reason!

HINTS TO DISTRICT TREASURERS.

1st.—That these Rules and Resolutions be circulated, in order to explain the objects of the Society, and that the 3d, 5th, 6th, 7th, 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th Resolutions* be particularly pointed out for the consideration of friends.

2d.—That, if possible, a monthly meeting be held by those Ladies who are willing to attend (perhaps alternately at each other's houses, when the Anti-Slavery Reporter may be read, and other works perused, which will convey information, and excite interest for the oppressed African race.

3d.—That the books, portfolios, albums, work-bags, cheap cotton-bags, &c., filled with the Society's evidence, may be disposed of, as far as possible, to introduce information and excite interest, wherever persons on the subject of Slavery have not yet found their way, or have obtained little or no attention to their extent: and that the smaller tracts, adapted to the capacities of children and the poor, be lent to those who can be induced to read them; and that "reasons for substituting East India sugar for West," be circulated among the higher classes.

4th.—It is apparent that subscriptions and donations are requisite, to promote the designs of the Society, and that in proportion to the enlargement of its funds will its usefulness extend: it is hoped, therefore, that each District Treasurer will exert herself in obtaining them.

5th.—They would likewise suggest the propriety of circulating the Anti-slavery Reporter, by presenting every subscriber with the successive numbers, which, it is believed, may be easily obtained, by applying to the nearest Anti-slavery Association in the neighbourhood.

The following articles can be procured by application to the Secretaries, (at Dr. Charles Orpen's, Great George's-street.)

- Clarkson's Arguments,
- Jamaica Gazette,
- No British Slavery,
- What does your Sugar cost?
- Pity the Negro,
- Reasons for substituting East for West India Sugar,
- Sketching Excursion,
- Remarks on the Decrease of the Slave Population in the West Indies,
- Quotations on Half Sheets of Paper,
- Do on Quarter Sheets,
- Cards of Explanation, &c.
- The Albums, Work-bags, and Portfolios, containing selections of the papers named above.

* These Resolutions are too long for us to insert in the Genius of Universal Emancipation. They might, in fact, be termed "Articles of Association," as they point out, distinctly, the object and plan of proceedings, adopted by the Society. This is a monthly periodical work, of great merit, published by the Anti-Slavery Society in London.

	s.	d.	
Silk Work Bags,	7	0	each.
Do. with clasps,	8	6	
East India Cotton Bags,	2	6	
Albums,	12s. 6d.	& 10	6
Portfolios,	6s. 0d.	& 5	0
Portfolios with Engravings,	7	6	
Portfolios,	1s. 6d., 2s.,	2	6
Sermon, (a Negro, Legend, "Am I not a Man and a Brother," or "Am I not a Woman and a Sister,")	1	0	
Sermon, "Believe the oppressed,"	9	0	doz.
Evening at Home,	0	4	½ each
Yambo, by Mrs. H. More,	0	6	doz.
Short Review of the Slave Trade and Slavery,	2	6	each.
Memiors of a West India Planter, by the Rev. J. Brand,	5	0	
The System, by Charlotte Elizabeth, Cropper's Man,	5	0	
Harvey's Sketches of Hayti,	0	3	
Engravings—the Scenes taken from the Rev. Mr. Bicknell's "West Indies as they are."	12	6	

The Society adopted the following Resolution:

"That the District Treasurers who reside at a distance from Dublin be permitted to obtain for dispersion, Anti-slavery works and other articles, to diffuse information, to the amount of half the donations and subscriptions they obtain in their own neighbourhood."

East India Sugar has been imported by SAMUEL BEWLEY, Esq. William st. and ALEXANDER ORR, Esq. Commercial Buildings, Merchants, and by several others; and the following (among other Grocers in Dublin) are supplied with it:

- CALVERT, 38 Thomas-street;
- HANNA, 12 Henry-street;
- KENNEDY, Grafton-street;
- ROGERS, Baggot-street;
- BEELE, Augier-street;
- RYAN, Inn-quay, &c. &c.
- KINAHAN, & Co. Carlisle Buildings;
- SANDFORD, Great Britain-street;
- WELSH, Dame-street.

N. B. The Names of other Merchants and Grocers, who import or sell East India Sugar, will, when known, be added to this List.

THE WORK BEGUN BY ENGLAND.

By the last arrivals from Liverpool, we have the gratifying intelligence that the British Government has commenced the important work of abolishing slavery in the colonies under its immediate control. The following paragraph, from a Liverpool paper, will be as well understood, alone, as though it were accompanied by a volume of commentary.

"We have great pleasure in being able to inform our readers that the British Government have determined on the emancipation of the slaves, belonging to the crown, in various conquered colonies. Directions have been already forwarded to the government of B. rice; and in a few months we may cheerfully anticipate that our government, at least, will be purged from the foul stain of slavery."

Thus, it will appear that the labors of our sisters in England are producing the desired effect. Their active exertions, in collecting and disseminating information, has opened the eyes of the nation, and loosened the tongues of her patriots and statesmen.

NATIONAL REGISTRY.

Among the many valuable papers, which have been kindly forwarded to us by the worthy Secretary of the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society of Birmingham, England, the following plan of a "Registry," for those who are willing to give a preference to the productions of free labor, we think de-

serving of particular notice. Without further preface, we submit the article to the view of our readers.

NATIONAL REGISTRY, FOR ENCOURAGING ABSTINENCE FROM SUGAR, THE PRODUCE OF SLAVE LABOR.

Notwithstanding the invincible apathy with which too many have regarded the degradation and sufferings of our enslaved fellow subjects in the British Colonies, it is quite evident that in many parts of the Country a powerful sympathy has been awakened in their behalf. Their strong claims on our compassion, British Ladies, as might have been anticipated, have been the first to feel, and they have also been most prompt to act, consistently with their clear and just convictions. Several of our largest Towns have been divided by them into Districts, and efforts have been made by Visitors, appointed for the purpose, to call the attention of all classes to the fact, "that the consumers of West-India Sugar are in reality the upholders of Slavery."

The success which has attended these visits, where perseveringly made, has been such as to justify the firm conviction, that combined and extended exertions are only necessary to make the voice of humanity heeded by the slave proprietors; who, though deaf to all remonstrance, will not be found equally inaccessible to considerations of personal interest.

To encourage those who have been already active in this work of righteousness, by the confidence which must arise from their being witnesses to the increasing number of friends to the cause; to afford both a stimulus and an opportunity to zealous endeavours, as well as to give to the general measure a strong, permanency, and a defined object, an Office will be opened at No. 10, Gracechurch street London, as "A National Registry for encouraging abstinence from Sugar, the produce of Slave Labour."

Separate accounts or lists will be kept in the registry of the number,

1st—"Of those who purpose abstinence till slavery shall cease in all the British colonies."

2dly—"Of those who will abstain until the recommendations of Parliament in 1828, are carried into full effect."

3dly—"Of those who, with the members of many Ladies' Associations, will at least engage to abstain from slave-grown sugar till the time shall come, when the lash shall no longer be permitted to fall on the persons of helpless female slaves; when our fellow-creatures shall no longer be advertised like beasts for sale, and sold like beasts in a West-India slave market; and when every negro mother, living under the British dominion, shall press a free born infant to her bosom."

The registry (which will be a record of numbers only, and not of names) will be opened on the 20th of December; and on the first of February 1830, and at the commencement of every other month, the numbers registered will be published in such newspapers and periodical publications, as may be thought best adapted to the extensive circulation of the report.

An agent will attend at the registry to receive all communications from town or country; and no letters or parcels will be received at the office unless the postage for the same has been previously paid.

It is recommended that in collecting names, individual signatures should not be requested, it being quite sufficient for the prevention of mistake, that no persons allow their names to be taken a second time.

The collector's list should state for which of the three objects, before mentioned, each individual gives his or her name; and in the letter to the Registry office, the total numbers of each class collected should be given *without the names*.

To provide for any occasion which may require an authentication of numbers, it has been recommended that collectors' lists should be preserved.

The smallest number of names will be cheerfully received; and previously to the opening of the registry in December, communications, post-paid,

addressed to A. B. at Mr. John Crisp's, No. 10 Tabbot Court, Gracechurch street, London, will meet with immediate attention.

A plan for establishing depots for West-India sugar, and other articles the produce of free labor, may be had at the Registry Office, or of Mr. John Crisp, dealer in tea and East-India sugar only.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation:

It has been thought that so much has been said and written on the subject of slavery, that but little more is required; that it is not necessary any longer to declaim against the system, but enforce the precepts so long and earnestly held forth by silent but powerful example.

Very good, with regard to the efficacy of example; but I am not yet convinced that it is a time for tongues to be silent, and pens unsullied with that jetty liquid which enables us to communicate our thoughts to those at a distance. It is not a time to be inactive. We can achieve nothing through indolence. An extensive field of exertion is before us—we are called upon to enter, inviting and entreating others to follow—to come also, and take hold of the plough—to join us in declaring, that our efforts shall not cease nor our ardour abate, until the great work is accomplished—until every descendant of Africa shall be franchised—until every American citizen shall enjoy the privileges and immunities which are his undeniable right—until that liberty we boast of shall be possessed, in its purity, by everyone who inhale the air or treads the soil of Columbia.

We may with propriety apply the language of that illustrious and enlightened statesman and patriot, that eloquent orator, that friend of humanity William Pitt. We "cannot repress" our sentiments—we "feel" ourselves "impelled to speak—we are called upon as men, as christians, to protest against such horrible barbarity," as is practiced in these United States. We call upon the bishops to interpose the unsullied sanctity of their law—the judges to interpose the purity of their ermine, to redeem "us from this pollution." We "call upon the spirit and humanity of our country to vindicate the national character." We "invoke the genius of the constitution." We solemnly call upon every order of men in the "Union," to stamp upon this infamous system "the indelible stigma of the public horror." More particularly, we "call upon the venerable prelates of our religion to do away the iniquity, let them perform a lustration to purify the country from this deep and deadly sin."

AMELIA.

Philadelphia, 9th mo. 6th, 1831.

EXTRACT.

A celebrated statesman and poet has pronounced, that "Woman's noblest station is retreat,"—and the sentiment has acquired the authority of an established aphorism. Her duties, for the most part, are double of a quiet, unobtrusive nature; she is happily excluded from the great theatre of public business, from the turmoils of ambition, the strife of debate, and the cares of legislation; she may, nevertheless, exert a powerful influence over public opinion and practice without violating that retiring delicacy which constitutes one of her loveliest ornaments. The peculiar texture of her mind, her strong feelings and quick sensibilities, especially qualify her, not only to sympathize with suffering, but also to plead for the oppressed; and there is no calculating the extent of the importance of the moral reformations which might be effected, through the combined exertions of her gentle influence and sweet

resolution. No cruel institutions or ferocious practices could long withstand her avowed and persevering censure. Even slavery, that broadest scandal to her country's laws—that foulest reproach to her country's religion—that most pregnant cause of superabounding crime and misery, which dooms hundreds of thousands to the lowest extremes of human degradation, of moral and physical wretchedness—could not long survive her zealous and steady opposition.

From the Liberator.

LITTLE SADO'S STORY.

Robert Sutcliff, in his book of Travels in America, relates the incident which has suggested the following lines. Little Sado was an African boy, who was rescued from an unlawful slave ship by a United States frigate, and provided for by the Pennsylvania Abolition Society with a home in a respectable family near Philadelphia.

“Although treated with the greatest tenderness,” says Sutcliff, “yet he was often seen weeping at the recollection of his near connexions. He said that himself and sister were on a visit at a relation's, and that, after the family had retired to rest, they were suddenly alarmed, in the dead of night, by a company of man-stealers breaking into their habitation. They were all carried off towards the sea, where they arrived at the end of three days, and were confined until the vessel had sailed.”

“Not long after this negro boy had been brought into S. P.'s family, he was taken ill of a bad fever; and, for a time, there appeared but little hopes of his recovery, although the best medical help was obtained, and every kindness and attention shown to him.”

“There being now scarcely any prospect of his recovery, his mistress was desirous of administering some religious consolation, and observed to him, as he had always been a very good boy, she had no doubt that if he died at this time, his spirit would be admitted into a state of eternal rest and peace. On hearing this, he quickly replied: “I know that if I die, I shall be happy; for as soon as anybody is dead, my spirit will fly away to my father and mother, and sisters and brothers in Africa.” The boy recovered. His good conduct had gained him the favor and respect of the whole family, and there is no doubt that the care bestowed upon his education will in due time afford him a brighter prospect of a future state, than that of returning to Africa.”

Why weep'st thou, gentle boy? Is not thy lot
Amidst a home of tenderness, and friends
Who have been ever kind to thee? Thy heart
Should be too young for the world's bitterness,
And the deep grief, that, even amidst thy smiles,
Seems scarce to be forgotten. Thou art good,
A very innocent and gentle boy,
And I would have thee happy. Is there aught
Thou lackest with us, Sado? Did I not
In thy sore sickness, with a mother's care,
Watch by the couch, and nurse thee? Day by day
Hast I not taught thee patiently? and more
Than earthly learning, showed thee of the way
To win eternal happiness? A better hope
Than that which only looked to Afric's shore,
To find thy future heaven!—

Yes, thou hast done all this,
And much more, lady! Thou hast been to me
A true and tireless friend, and may there be
Laid up for thee a full reward of bliss,
In that bright heaven of which I've heard thee tell,
Where God and all his holy angels dwell.

Yet how can I but weep,
Where'er I think upon the mother's eye,

That smil'd to meet my glance in days gone by,
And watched in tenderness above my sleep,
Now grown all dim with hopeless grief for me,
Who never more may home or parent see.

'Twas a bright sunny morn,
When with glad heart I sprang across the hills,
With my young sister, and beside the rills,
Whose shining waves 'midst clustering flowers
Were borne;
While at the cabin-door my mother stood,
And watched our foot-steps to the distant wood.

She never saw us more—
For in the dead of night, while deep we slept
Within our uncle's home, the man-thieves crept,
With stealthy step, like tigers, to our door;
And, bursting in, they dragged us far away,
A helpless, frightened, unresisting prey.

Ah, lady! now thine eyes
Are wet with tears;—then wonder not I weep,
With whose waking thoughts, or dreams of sleep,
The memories of such scenes as this arise;
And worse than these, the constant thought of pain,
That I shall never see my home again.

Three days they drove us on,
A weary, wretched, and despairing band,
Until with swollen limbs we reached the strand,
Where 'neath the setting sun the sea-waves
Shone;
Then gasping in the slave-ship's hold we lay,
And wished each groin might bear our lives away.

Ah! thou canst never know
Of all our sufferings in that lathsome den,
And from the cruel and hard-hearted men,
Who mocked at all our anguish and our wo;
Until at length thy country's ship came by,
And saved us from our depth of misery.

Yet still, though not a slave,
I am a stranger in a stranger's land,
Far severed from my own dear kindred band,
By many a wide-stretched plain and rolling wave;
And, although even with thee my lot is cast,
I cannot lose the memory of the past.

Then wonder not I weep:
For never can my lost home be forgot,
Nor all the loved ones who have made that spot
The Heaven to which e'en yet amid my sleep,
My hopes are sometimes turned—though thou hast
taught
My waking hours a holier, better thought. v.

“WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS,” &c.—How does this sentiment of the Declaration of our Independence appear when compared with facts like the following?—On the 18th of last month, as we learn by New-Orleans papers, a man named R. Bartlett was sentenced to two years imprisonment, with a fine of two hundred dollars, for harboring a runaway slave; John Harney to thirty days imprisonment for beating a young boy; and a colored woman called Victoire Arnaud, to sixty days imprisonment for insulting a white man!—*Auburn Free Press.*

From the Salem Observer.

EXTRACT.

‘But what plaintive note of anguish
Our exulting mirth restrains,
While a race of sufferers languish,
Doom'd to slavery's galling chains?
'Tis the hapless Afric, here,
Sighing o'er his wrongs severe!

O let kind commiseration
Plead for wronged humanity;
And with gen'rous emulation,
Let the suffering captive free!
Ye who Freedom's blessing know,
Still the sacred boon bestow!”

The Ohio.

NOTICES—COMMUNICATIONS—SELECTIONS.

Our limits are so narrow, that we are under the necessity of postponing a great number of articles, that we are anxious to lay before our readers. Many such are now on file;—and how long they must remain there, depends on the course of events, connected with the system of slavery. The melancholy and direful occurrences, of recent date, in Virginia, &c. require due notice; and it will be seen that a large portion of our pages are occupied with details thereof. We hope our correspondents will make due allowance for the peculiar state of things, alluded to, and excuse the frequent postponement of their valuable favors.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

EVENING WALK.

'Twas moonlight—every leaf was silent,
And not a zephyr whispered through the grove.
In friendly mood, we wander'd forth, to where
A spreading oak rears its majestic form
To Heaven. There, on a grassy hillock,
We reclin'd, and talk'd of friendship's power,
Its charms, and what we owe to it—ah! how
It sweetens life—how drear, and desolate
Would be this torrene world; how dull, how sad,
How wretched mankind, without this cement
Of the soul. We also talked of those who range
This vale of woe—to them, indeed a vale
Of woe—who ne'er know friendship's magic pow'r,
Or having known, and tasted once its sweets,
Forc'd by their brethren to resign them all.
Torn from their home—home of their youthful days—
Where, in the true enjoyment of social,
Friendly intercourse, luxurious ease,
And health, and peace, they liv'd in perfect bliss;
Nor thought, nor dreamed of misery or woe,
Nor manacles, nor chains, nor dungeon's glooms.
We talked of those, who for foul, desperate,
And dreadful crime, are doom'd to live and die,
Incarcerated in dark, gloomy cells,
Where guilt and misery together dwell;
And where no friend of youth—no father dear,
Or mother, with affectionate regard,
Can come, to cheer the drooping, guilt-stain'd soul,
And ease it of its heavy load of woe.
We talked of these, and more, till Night's pale queen,
Had slow retired behind the Western hills,
And left us in the solitary gloom. A. Z.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

"CASH IN MARKET.

We wish to purchase one hundred and fifty likely young Negroes, of both sexes, from 12 to 25 years of age, field hands, also Mechanics of every description. Persons wishing to dispose of slaves, would do well to give us a call, as we are determined to give higher prices for slaves than any purchasers who is now or may be hereafter in this market. Any communications in writing will be promptly attended to. We can at all times be found at our residence."

Not from a desire to spare the feelings, or to exempt from public reprehension, the persons who issue the above notice, are the names, residence, &c. withheld;—but simply because we should consider ourselves accessory to the nefarious traffic.

In the first place, we cannot conceive it possible to disturb the feelings of such persons. They who can make a business of trading in their fellow-creatures—who have learned to look with indifference on the distress which it inevitably produces, must be lost to all feeling—must be callous as the breccia of the Potomac;—nor do we believe

it useful to remonstrate with them, for in such, it is manifest that the moral sense must be extinct;—but we would address a word or two to the community which tolerates them—who could indignantly spurn them from good society, and who, were they to reflect as they ought, would exert themselves unceasingly for the procurement of laws which would make that a perpetual penitentiary offence, by which men, (beings however with human exterior) now make fortunes. Laws to protect rights, ought to be made when a disposition to invade them becomes apparent; but more especially, where laws exist which coerce rights, should they be repealed. In either case, the thoughts and feelings, of those whose right it is to dictate in the matter, must be aroused and exercised. If such scenes as are exhibited in a slave mart—such doings as are concomitant with the accursed traffic, not merely in bones and sinews, but in minds and affections. (for be it remembered, that wherever the slave goes, his thoughts and affections go—and that to whatever severity his body may be exposed, his feelings must inevitably sympathize,) cannot awaken the professedly religious and moral part of community to active exertion, we must despair of ever seeing a better state of things. Society has always had within its bosom, those, who have no "fear of God before their eyes," and no moral restraining principle within themselves—for such, laws are made. Would it not indicate a low state of moral feeling in that community, where horses might be stolen or robbed, and sold with the knowledge of the community, at the same time it was known that no law existed to prevent it? G.

From Poulson's American Daily Advertiser.
ANOMALY IN NATURE.

The undersigned, agent of a convention of delegates, representing the free colored people of the United States, held in this city, June last, conceives it *his duty*, and holds it as *his privilege*, in the name of said convention, and in his capacity as agent, to contradict the misrepresentations, and deny the principles, propagated through the several papers, by an EXTRAORDINARY public meeting, held at the City Hall, in the city of New Haven, on Saturday, 10th inst.

By what motives the Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council, and Freemen of New Haven, could have been influenced, or by what means excited to such extraordinary measures, we cannot conceive! We are not accustomed to being opposed by such dignitaries; heretofore the rabble, and they only, have thrown themselves in the way of our lawful and praiseworthy undertakings, nor can we account for this great combat, with a man of straw, and that too of their own creating, by these men learned in law, and high in authority. Such a formidable array, since the days of antiquity, has not been seen, nor did we believe would be, until the

end of time, against a cause so feeble and so unassuming.

The facts are simply these; the above named convention appointed a committee of their own body, to take into consideration the situation of the free colored people of this country, and to report such measures as in their wisdom they deemed most prudent and advisable, for the amelioration of their condition, carefully guarding against any interference whatever with the slaves. The committee reported as among the most efficient means, the establishment of a manual labor college; in which habits of industry might be inculcated, and a mechanical or agricultural profession obtained, while pursuing classical studies.

These were the simple, *unvarnished* views of the convention, in reference to the college; and how our *infatuated* fellow citizens of New Haven, can couple them with "immediate emancipation, insurrection or interference with the internal concerns and laws of the south," we are at a loss to conceive.

We utterly deny having connected any such ideas with the establishment of our college. Whatever independent views individuals of the convention or friends of the college may entertain, we do not pretend to say, nor do we intend to account for. Our object is to ask the patronage of all the wise and good, in behalf of the contemplated institution—an institution whose object and plan, we think, need only be known, to secure the good wishes and prayers of this enlightened community. We hope the opposition of our opponents and slanderers, whose hearts, we trust, are right, while their *heads are very wrong*, will deter none of our friends and fellow citizens, in this place or elsewhere, from lending us their liberal patronage. We shall wait in person on the citizens of this place, during a few weeks to come, to receive their expression of good wishes and friendship to our brethren of color, and the institution in which they are engaged.

Confident that the authorities of New Haven have no rights nor powers by which they can prevent the location of the college in that place, yet as friends to peace and good order, being authorized, we have altered our subscription book, so as to read New Haven or elsewhere, for if the principles and doings of the meeting of the 10th inst. be a true sample of that city, which, by the way, we cannot believe, we rejoice in being delivered from such a community.

In conclusion, we think the dignitaries of this SEAT OF SCIENCE, have descended below themselves. It is beneath the gentleman, the patriot, or the christian, to endeavor to crush a feeble institution in its infant state, and an institution too, got up for the best of purposes. Let the citizens of New Haven inform themselves on the subject of our college, and atone for the injury they have done us, by liberally patronizing the institution.

SAMUEL E. CORNISH,
Agent of the Convention.

N. B. The Agent of the Convention, who is now soliciting subscriptions in this city, feeling his cause injured by the gratuitous insertion of the proceedings of the New Haven Meeting, respectfully claims of those editors who inserted the former, a place for this in reply.

S. E. C.

From the N. Y. Daily Sentinel.

NEGRO SLAVERY.

Under this caption, and in reference to the Southampton massacre, we find in the Washington Telegraph the following paragraphs:

"We have read, with no less surprise than regret, in the New York Sentinel, the bold and unqualified justification, in terms, of the late massacre, upon the ground that the slaves are entitled to their freedom. This declaration accompanies a statement of an individual, who asserts that he was whipped by a mob in Petersburg, Virginia, for having taken the part of the slaves. Fanatics should remember that, by the publication of such opinions, they excite jealousies, which create false fears, and tend to produce an indiscriminate slaughter.

The imbecile who could, in cold blood, write and publish such a paragraph as that to which we refer, is as dangerous to society, and deserves to be treated as incendiary or an outlaw."

Before commenting at all upon the above remarks of Mr. Green, the editor of the Telegraph we will copy the paragraph for which he says we "deserve to be treated as an incendiary or an outlaw," assuring him that we copy it, as we penned it, in as "cold blood" as a man *ought* to possess while speaking of the wrongs and defending the rights of his fellow men, and that we would sooner suffer our right arm to be cut off than to assent to any of the falsehoods which the paragraph contains.

There are more the occurrence of such scenes as the Southampton massacre, than the writing of such a paragraph, and no one is more desirous of preventing the recurrence of such scenes; but we believe that the only effectual method of preventing their recurrence is to speak the *truth* in relation to what has taken place, even though we are certain that it may prove unpalatable. Of what use is it to call the Southampton negroes guilty? Of putting to death the women, and children. For what object? I had not. Now there is no evidence that such was the object. On the contrary, almost all the accounts concur in stating that they expected to participate themselves, and they no doubt thought that their only hope of doing so was to put to death, indiscriminately, the whole race of those who held them in bondage. If such were their impressions, were they not justifiable in doing so? Undoubtedly they were, if freedom is the birthright of man, as the declaration of independence tells us.* If their ideas respecting their chance of success were absurd, and their plans chimerical, it is attributable to their ignorance. But who kept them in ignorance? Those who have suffered so dearly by its effects. Would the blacks have attempted their

*Such is the reasoning of persons who are not wholly opposed to war. *We disapprove of war altogether.* Of course, this doctrine is inadmissible with us. The reader is referred to the first article, in the present number, for our sentiments upon this subject. The above is copied to shew what are the views of some others in the United States, with regard to it. It is proper that the citizens of every state shall fairly understand the opinions of each other in this respect: and to be so understood, their opinions must be published. There is no use in *deceiving* one another.

Ed. G. U. Emson.

foolish project, if they had possessed even the mere rudiments of a common education? Never. They were in a state of brutal ignorance, and however absurd or cruel were their proceedings, if their object was to obtain their freedom, those who kept them in slavery and ignorance alone are answerable for their conduct. They were deluded, but their cause was just."

And now for Mr. Green. "Fanatics," says he, "should remember that, by the publication of such opinions, they excite jealousies, which create false fears, and tend to produce indiscriminate slaughter." This being the first time, to our knowledge, that the term "fanatic" has been applied to us, we almost involuntarily laid hold of our new edition of Webster, to see if we had not heretofore misunderstood the term. Here is Webster's definition of "fanatic": "A person affected by excessive enthusiasm, particularly on religious subjects; one who indulges wild and extravagant notions of religion." Now, as the sentiments of the extract upon which Mr. Green comments have no connexion with religious subjects, the first part of Webster's definition only was applied to us, viz. "A person affected by excessive enthusiasm."

Instead of considering ourselves as justly chargeable with "excessive enthusiasm" in favor of the slaves, we conscientiously declare that we believe we have been negligent in relation to their cause, and our only excuse is, that the class to which we belong, and whose rights we endeavor to advocate, are threatened with evils only inferior to those of slavery, which evils it has been our principal object and endeavor to eradicate. We might, however, have done more for the cause of emancipation than we have done, and we are now convinced that our interest demands that we should do more, for EQUAL RIGHTS can never be enjoyed, even by those who are free, in a nation which contains slaveites enough to hold in bondage two millions of human beings, many of whom are *the progeny of their enslavers!*—in a nation, in the capital of which one paper* is supported which recommends the suppression, by the public authorities, of a press advocating the cause of the slaves, and another† which calls it a crime for enslaved men to endeavor to emancipate themselves, and justifies the claim of one class of human beings to *property* in another class. In a nation where these things are justified, without any effort, commensurate with its magnitude, being made to eradicate the evil which induces their justification, there can be no security for any rights but numerical and physical force. It is, therefore, the duty of every freeman—every friend of equal rights—to endeavor to avert from his country the evils which threaten her, by lending his aid to the adoption of measures for eradicating—totally eradicating the evil of *slavery*. This must be done by degrees, as well for the safety of the slaves as the

slaveholders, but it must be done as rapidly as is consistent with the safety of both. Instead of the number of slaves increasing, they must decrease, and instead of passing laws to keep them in ignorance, they must be enlightened. Until these results are produced, we shall hereafter be much more open to the charge of excessive enthusiasm than we have been hitherto, notwithstanding the reproaches of a man who wrote a pamphlet to prove that slavery is consistent with the scriptures.

‡ Duff Green, editor of the United States Telegraph, printed at the Capital of the United States.

POSTSCRIPT.

ALARM IN DELAWARE!

The following may, or *may not*, be true.—It is the wish of the advocates of slavery, in this state, to raise a strong prejudice against the colored people, and their friends, with the view of preventing the abolition of the oppressive system, by the Convention, which will shortly assemble to re-model the Constitution. Such attempts at insurrection, however, when actually made, should convince every honest man of the absolute necessity of ridding the country of the horrible *fountain of evil*, as soon as possible.—Reader! Hast thou ever heard of a Negro insurrection *where they enjoyed their civil rights?* —No indeed!—NEVER!!

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 24.—We learn from a gentleman, a resident of Dover, Delaware, who is now in this city, that a few days since a conspiracy was discovered to have been formed among the blacks in the county of Sussex, with the object of revolting and rising against the whites. The *day of election* was fixed upon as that on which the attempt should be made. Fortunately, the plot was discovered, and twenty-four of the prominent participators in it were arrested, and are now in the prison of Sussex county. Apprehensions were also entertained for the quiet of Kent county, in the vicinity of Dover. Patrols walk the streets nightly, to prevent surprise, and many of the inhabitants continue in a state of much excitement and alarm."

One word more.—Why was the *time of rising* fixed on the *Election day*? Is it not, indeed, a "plot" of the slaveites? As the "Richmond Enquirer" says, *Nous verrons*.

RHODE ISLAND MOB.

A mob, consisting of several hundred persons, in Providence, R. I. lately tore down the houses of a number of colored people. The excuse was, that their occupants were disorderly—the true cause, that they were

* The National Intelligencer.

† The National Journal.

BLACK. The military was called out, and several persons were killed, before the mob dispersed.

DISGRACEFUL MALTREATMENT.

A gentleman, of the name of Robinson, was lately most cruelly whipped, and driven out of Petersburg, Virginia, merely for saying that the blacks ought to have their freedom!! The editors of the "Southern Religious Telegraph" are, evidently, well pleased therewith, because he is what they choose to term an *Infidel!!!* This subject will be further noticed.

FRANKLIN & ARMFIELD'S SLAVES—again.

The "Banana Argus" states that a Col. Morse, of New-Orleans, had arrived at Nassau, N. P. to claim the slaves wrecked on Abaco, from the Brig Comet. The white inhabitants wish to give them up,—but the Governor *peremptorily refuses*.

MEXICAN EMIGRATION.

A free colored man, a native of Florida, has published an address to the same class of people in the United States, generally, recommending their emigration to Mexico. The suggestion is an important one. We shall have something to say about it anon.

THE AMERICAN CONVENTION.

We have been requested to insert the following Notice, thus early, in order that the advocates of emancipation may be seasonably advised of the change which has been made, relative to the time of meeting.

The 22d biennial stated meeting of the "American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery," &c. will be held at Washington City, on the second Monday of January, next, at 10 o'clock, A. M.—

All the Abolition, Manumission, Anti-Slavery, and Free Produce Societies, in the United States, are entitled to a representation, and are invited to participate.

On behalf of the Convention,
ROBERT P. ANDERSON, } Sec'ys.
CHARLES S. COPE, }

Washington, September 29d, 1831.

N.B. Printers of newspapers, favorable to the cause of freedom, are respectfully requested to give the above a few insertions.

Extract from the Constitution of the Convention.

"ART. 2d. The Convention shall be composed of such representatives, as the respective Societies associated to protect the rights of free persons of color, or to promote the Abolition of Slavery within the U. States, may think proper to appoint, provided that

the number from any one Society shall not exceed ten."

By the latest accounts, before this paper went to Press, all was quiet in Virginia and North Carolina. "Gen. Nat" (as the principal instigator of the late rebellion is called,) is said to have been taken. Six colored persons have been executed in N. Carolina, charged with having been engaged in projecting an insurrection in that state.

EXPEDITION TO AFRICA.

The brig *Crier* sailed from Norfolk for Liberia on the 2d of August, with ample supplies and 46 emigrants. Of these thirty-nine were slaves manumitted by the following individual:—Mrs. Elizabeth Greenfield, near Natchez, Mississippi, 18; Mr. Williams, of Elizabeth City, N. C., 8; Gen. Jacocks, of Perquimans county, N. C., 7; by Thomas Davis, Esq., Montgomery county, Md. 4; by L. W. Green, Esq. Ky. 1; by H. Robinson, Esq. Hampton, Va. 1. The remainder, excepting the Rev. Mr. Cosar and his wife, of Philadelphia, and a re-captured African from Georgia, had been under the care of the Society of Friends in North Carolina. Of these liberated slaves, two only were above forty years of age, and thirty-one of them were under thirty-five years, and twenty-two were under twenty. The reports, (as we believe unfounded) industriously circulated by those unfriendly to the Society, in regard to the mortality of the Colony, and the great efforts made to prejudice the free people of color against it, have doubtless operated to diminish the number of this expedition. These causes, we have reason to think, will be but temporary in their influence; and even now, we have information of a large number ready to embark for Africa, from the Western States. Two or three benevolent individuals in Virginia are waiting only for further favorable accounts from the colony, before liberating their servants, with a view to their settlement in Liberia. We are informed, that within a few days past a number of free people of color in the same State have expressed their purpose of removing to the African Colony.—*Af. Repository*.

From the [Albany] African Sentinel.

The Rev. Nathaniel Paul, agent of the Wilberforce settlement in Canada, and formerly Pastor of the African Baptist Church in this city, arrived here on Wednesday, the 10th inst. bringing with him letters of instruction and other credentials, authorising him to visit Great Britain, to solicit such aid as may be conducive to the prosperity and future welfare of that infant settlement. Mr. Paul's papers were signed by His Excellency the Lieut. Governor. The information received from the above gentleman was truly gratifying, and it is to be hoped that the friends to that and every other good cause, will assist him in his philanthropic exertions, so requisite to the immediate prosecution of his mission abroad. The state of affairs in the settlement may be seen from the communication in this number, from the above place. Editors friendly to the above-mentioned settlement, will please give the communication an insertion in their papers.

WILBERFORCE SETTLEMENT, U. C.

Mr. Editor—It will no doubt be gratifying to our friends who, in different parts of the state of New-York and elsewhere, have taken an interest in our welfare, and have aided us in effecting this infant settlement, to hear from us, to know how we are getting along: we therefore beg the favor of communicating to them, through the medium of your very useful paper, a short account of our affairs: Through the blessing of God, we have all enjoyed our usual degree of health. We have erected for our accommodation comfortable log buildings, and have a portion

of our land in a state of cultivation; our crops at present continue to smile upon the labor of our hands; we shall raise the present year nearly enough to supply the present number of settlers. The people are industrious, and well pleased with their present location; and it is believed that none of them could be hired to go back to the states. Two religious societies have been organized, one of the Baptist, under the pastoral care of Elder Nathaniel Paul, and the other of the Methodist, under the care of Eld. Enos Adams; and we are happy to add, that the utmost degree of harmony exists between the two churches. A sabbath-school, under the superintendance of Mr. Austin Steward, late of Rochester, is in successful operation; and a day-school for the instruction of children, is taught by a daughter of Eld. Benjamin Paul, late of the city of New-York: and in addition to which a temperance society has been formed, consisting of about thirty in number; and the voice of the people is decidedly against ardent spirits ever being introduced as an article of merchandize among us. There are, however, a number of families who have emigrated from the states, whose pecuniary circumstances will not admit of their coming at present to join us, but are compelled to take lands in the neighboring settlements upon shares, and hundreds more in the states are longing to join us, but on account of their limited means are not able to carry their designs into effect. We feel grateful for past favors, but will not the eye of the Philanthropist be turned toward their condition, and his hand opened to supply their wants, that they may thereby be enabled to join their brethren, to help forward one of the most noble enterprizes that was ever started, to elevate the too long degraded African this side the Atlantic?

The annual election of the board of Managers, whose duty it is to appoint agents, and to take the oversight of the general concerns of the settlement, took place July 11th, when the following persons were duly elected:—Austin Steward, Benjamin Paul, Enos Adams, William Bell, Philip Harris, Abraham Dangerfield, Simon Wyatt. The newly elected board, considering the limited means of the colored people, generally, and the absolute necessity of pecuniary aid, in order to carry so desirable an object into effect, and to secure its permanent character, have re-appointed Mr. Israel Lewis their agent to obtain collections in the states, and the Rev. Nathaniel Paul, late of Albany, whose standing as a minister of the Gospel, and whose devotedness to the cause of his colored brethren, is too well known to need any recommendation from us, to embark for England for the same purpose. He will probably sail as soon as the necessary means shall be obtained to defray the expenses of his voyage—and should a kind Providence smile upon the exertions of our agents, we have no doubt but in the course of a few years, that this settlement will present to the public such a state of things, as will cheer the heart of every well-wisher of the African race, and put to silence the clamor of their violent enemies.

By order and in behalf of the Board,
AUSTIN STEWARD, *Chairman.*
Benjamin Paul, *Secretary.*

COLONIZATION.—African colonization has never been attempted in Africa, with an European population, except on a limited scale. By much the largest colony is that founded by the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope, which was transferred to the English by the events of the last war. In 1827, it was estimated to contain a population of 120,000, being nearly double the amount in 1798. About 47,000 were Europeans, 28,000 Hottentots, and 35,000 slaves. Cape Town, which in 1824 comprised a population of 18,668, has probably increased to upwards of 20,000, and is now quite an English city, having newspapers, and a South-African Journal, devoted to literature and science; and many very intelligent inhabitants. Ten or twelve years ago, several thousand souls were sent out from England to occupy the district of Albany, in the eastern part of the colony. The settlement has not been prosperous, and the expecta-

tions of a thriving agricultural station have for the present been disappointed.—*Family Library.*

A FACT.—It is the custom of many slave owners in the state of Missouri, to let their slaves as servants to transient residents in the State. About ten years since, an army officer of high rank, then stationed at Belle Fontaine, hired a negro woman of Mrs. St——, of St. Louis. The woman not proving a good servant, was soon discharged, and the officer immediately after missed certain silver spoons and other articles of value. Circumstances concurred to fix the guilt on the woman, and the officer wrote a letter containing a statement of the facts to her mistress. The next morning the slave appeared at the gentleman's quarters, destitute of all clothing but a thin petticoat. She was followed by a male slave, who held in one hand a tremendous raw hide whip, and in the other a billet. The officer opened it and read as follows:

'Mrs. St——'s compliments to Col. ———. She sends him the thief and a cowskin, and desires him to make use of the latter, so as not to leave a mark of her skin. But she requests that he will spare her breasts, as she is giving suck to a very young child.'

'Tell your mistress,' said the Colonel to the black man, 'that she is a brute.' Then turning to the delinquent, he added, 'Go, woman, and sin no more.'

A London paper states, that the people of Hayti have sent ten thousand pounds of coffee to France for the benefit of the widows and orphans of the French patriots who fell in the memorable days of July.

PREMIUM FOR RICE.

The sum of TWENTY DOLLARS will be given as a premium, over and above the market price, for *Five Casks of Fresh Rice*, of good quality, raised by *Free Labor*, and delivered in Philadelphia, to CHARLES PEIRCE, before the 1st of June next (1832.)

The gentleman, above named, is well known as a very respectable Grocer in Philadelphia, who has for several years past, made it a particular business to keep articles in his line that are exclusively the production of *free labor*.

The premium, together with the market price, will be promptly paid, on the delivery of the Rice, accompanied by proper reference and vouchers from some respectable person who is known in Philadelphia.

THE GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION. Vol. XII.

The object and character of this work are well known. It has been published ten years, and circulates in all the States of this Union, in Canada, the West Indies, Europe, and Africa. It is exclusively devoted to the subject of the *Abolition of Slavery* on the American Continent and Islands.

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The work will, henceforth, be issued monthly. It will be neatly printed, on fine paper, and folded in the octavo form, each number making sixteen large pages.

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"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration of Independence, U. S.*

No. 6. VOL. II. THIRD SERIES.]

OCTOBER, 1831.

[WHOLE NUMBER 270. VOL. XII.]

THE SOUTHERN INSURRECTION.

We still continue to hear occasional rumors of plots, and premeditated insurrections, in the South. Some confessions have been drawn from slaves, suspected of having been concerned in the Southampton conspiracy, at different times and in various places. We fain would hope that none of these "confessions" have been extorted by the fear of the whip; but when we hear of the infliction of that instrument previous thereto, (which has frequently been the case,) we are constrained to express our doubts of the correctness of much of the information thus obtained. But at a time when the public mind has become so highly excited, by acts of outrageous barbarity, it is in vain to expect that reason and justice will strictly maintain their empire, or that the guilty and the innocent will always be properly distinguished. Such excitements resemble the furious tornado, in its movements and counter-movements. Raging and whirling, and scattering or destroying, every thing falls prey to its indiscriminate ravages—the noblest works of nature and the proudest of art, the beautiful things of the earth with the best institutions for the promotion of human happiness—all, all are swept before it, as with the besom of the fiend of destruction! How necessary, then, is it to avoid every species of violent commotion, in our endeavours to produce a wholesome reformation in society. Have not the best reformations invariably been effected by peaceful means? Do the fierce tempests of passion, aided by physical violence, or the so-called appeals of reasonable argument and moral persuasion, tend most to humanize the savage part of man?

IMPUDENT AND TEMPORIZING EDITORS.— TYRANNICAL DOCTRINES.

While we are decidedly opposed to the use of physical violence, in any shape, with a view of effecting the political and moral reformation which we have long (though feebly) advocated, we are not disposed to listen, passively, to the senseless tirade of every doltish or malignant scoundrel, whom chance has elevated to public notice, or the accompaniments of wealth and celebrity of principle have endowed with importance and transient consequence. Looking abroad through the diversified walks of mankind,

especially that portion of the human race which is governed by the regulations of civilized society, we are sometimes led to wonder at the capriciousness of Fate, in placing arrogant dunces at the top of fortune's wheel, and men possessed of modesty and wisdom beneath it! In no case, perhaps, will these observations more forcibly apply than to certain aristocratic upstarts, in this country, who have placed themselves in editorial stations, and assumed the control of the newspaper press. In numerous instances stupidity, ignorance, the most temporising policy, and at the same time the haughtiest censorious dispositions, are manifest.

But we shall not waste much time in prefacing the few remarks we intend making, at present, upon the subjects expressed in the heading to this article. We are not convinced that the gentry, to whom we now particularly allude, are either politically, morally, or intellectually, as consequential as they fancy themselves to be! It were useless to while away our moments in fowling for jack-daws, when more important game is in view.

In our last number we briefly adverted to the circumstance that this work had been classed among what the advocates of slavery denominate "*incendiary publications*," by a Virginia paper; and that the editor of that print, as well as those of the "*National Intelligencer*," had, by their remarks, entitled themselves to a little further notice. The following article appeared in the last mentioned paper, of the 28th ultimo.

The *Genius of Liberty*, published at Leesburg, in Virginia, in reference to some remarks of ours upon the character of certain publications in Boston, and their deleterious influence on the tranquillity of the South, thus directs our attention to a like publication, which, it is stated, issues periodically from the press in this city:—

"In approving of these remarks, we would, not discourteously, remind the Editors of the *Intelligencer*, that the grievance of which they complain is tolerated, to a considerable extent, in the publication of the '*Genius of Universal Emancipation*,' printed and published in the city of Washington, and immediately under the eye of the city authorities. Let those editors read its columns, and they can be at no loss to decide upon its character."

We can hardly expect to gain credit from our brother editor at Leesburg, when we assure him that we were not aware of the existence of such a Journal in this city as that which he speaks of. We dare say, the same is the case

with the people of Boston, in reference to the "Liberator," which is doubtless best known hitherto. We do remember having seen one or more numbers of such a publication some twelve months ago; but it was of a comparatively innocent complexion, and, such as it was, we supposed had been long discontinued. We cannot believe, from some slight knowledge of the editor, whose acquaintance we made about the same time, that he would employ what abilities he possesses in stimulating one portion of the community to massacre the other, as has been deliberately done under the influence of an enthusiasm, which may be honest, but certainly is mischievous, in the other case referred to.

This is not the first time that publishers of newspapers, in Virginia, and the contiguous States, have hurled their angry denunciations against the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.—But we do not recollect that the editor of the "Genius of Liberty," with whom we have long been acquainted, ever before uttered a syllable of disapprobation relative to it, when under the immediate charge of its present proprietor.—Whether he now thinks it necessary to censure us, merely to please his slavite customers, or whether his nerves have recently suffered so much from the *consequences of slavery* as to render his vision obtuse, and derange his powers of ratiocination, we shall not venture an opinion. We had expected better things of him. But he has made his election, and while we grant that he possesses a perfect right to assail us with his qualified or unqualified abuse, he may be assured that our buoyant bark has weathered too many furious storms, to be capsized by a gentle "white squall," even in the torrid clime of Despotism. In case he chooses to identify himself with the advocates of slavery, let him *speak out, as loud as he dare*. If he advances any thing worthy of notice, he shall be attended to.

As to the *affected* ignorance, imbecile sneers, and silly criticism, of the "National Intelligencer," we should not consider them worthy a moment's notice, unconnected with the remarks of the Leesburg editor. Who are they, that thus arrogantly toss their heads and utter their pointless sarcasms, with little sense, and less of dignity? A pair of court parasites, more noted for political servility and fawning selfishness, than either strength of intellect or extent of general knowledge:—the one an English cockney, with little to recommend him but his inflated vanity, and the other a sprig of the negro aristocracy of North Carolina,—both of whom are "all things unto all men" as far as their *interests* and "abilities" go! With the most flexible political principles, and the patronage of government for a series of years, they have assumed a standing and importance, among politicians and newsmongers, that nature never al-

lotted them. Professing patriotism and practicing philanthropy, just far enough to catch the *popular breeze*, they attracted the favorable notice of some, while dullness marked their public career, and selfishness and aristocratic pride was conspicuous in their actions. The paucity of correct ideas exhibited by them, relative to the subject of emancipation, (their opportunities for acquiring information considered,) is indeed surprising. The most stupid dolt that ever catered for a periodical, might well be ashamed of such acknowledgements, on the score of ignorance, as they have frequently made. We read them a lesson upon this topic, a few years since, that *they have not yet forgotten*. Hence their ill-mannered slang, above quoted. To do them justice, they know much more of the "Genius of Universal Emancipation" than they pretend, or wish;—and they may possibly, one day, be still better acquainted with it. The fact is, they desire to curry favor with the advocates of emancipation, in order to secure their patronage; and, *though opposed to their principles*, they DARE NOT argue the question openly and fairly. Therefore, a plan of temporising, a real or feigned admission of ignorance, with a little meretricious drollery of contemporary opponents, suited to occupy the ground they choose to occupy. Despicable as this course of proceeding is, little more can be expected from men of rather slender capacities, whom fortuitous circumstances have placed a degree above themselves.

It appears that the *livery-bearer* of the Alexandria "Phoenix Gazette" is also disposed to follow in the wake of the Leesburg journalist, above mentioned. He speaks of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, (as well as the "Liberator,") as having "obtained an infamous notoriety." If the man could rightfully claim a more dignified title than that of a mere *harnessed peon*—if he possessed a spark of independence—he might deserve somewhat further attention. Malignant as his charge is, however, he finds an endorser in the conductor of the "National Journal," who copies it without comment.—"Brute?"

We designed, before concluding this article, briefly to comment on some of the *tyrannical doctrines*, promulgated through the medium of the Press, at the present time;—but our limits will not permit,—and the subject is deferred to a future number. The proposition of the New York "Courier and Enquirer," to increase the *standing army, and station troops in the slave States* to PREVENT insurrections, with the response

sundry other journals, will then be duly noticed. A few of the reverend clergy will, also, be respectfully attended to.

CAPPING THE CLIMAX!

The Attorney General of North Carolina lately submitted a bill of indictment to the Grand Jury, at Raleigh, against Garrison & Knapp, of Boston, Massachusetts! for publishing and circulating the "Liberator." The Jury returned it a "true bill;" and what course will next be pursued, remains to be seen. Perhaps they will be demanded—alive or dead! by the Governor of North Carolina.

In several other places it has been made penal for a colored person, bond or free! to take said paper from the post-office! (Is this a "land of liberty?") The only effect that such measures can have, will be to give the "Liberator" a more extensive circulation. "Fanatical" as Garrison is said to be, our slavites are aiding him, essentially, in forming an acquaintance with the public.

FROM FRANCE.—"GLORIOUS NEWS!"

Liverpool papers, to the 17th September, have been received at New-York. The following is really "good news, if true."—

The subject of the slave trade has been opened in the French Chambers. It appears that the emancipation of the negroes, by a system of preparation and gradual relaxation of the assumed right of their holders, is seriously contemplated.—*English Paper.*

Who is at the bottom of this movement in the French Legislature? The citizen of two nations—the hero of two continents—the favorite of two worlds—the immortal LAFAYETTE! And not only is he laboring in the holy cause there:—he has recently sent over a number of Swiss and German settlers, to cultivate (exclusively by *free labor*) his lands in Florida. This experiment will, no doubt, be of the highest importance to the United States.

BLINDNESS OF TYRANNY!

It is strange that the people of Virginia &c. do not see that it is the *slaves*, instead of the free people of color, that are so troublesome to them! Why do they not open their eyes to the *true* state of things? The following remarks, from the "Genius of Temperance," are to the point.—

SINGULAR MOVEMENT.—There seems to be a general movement in Virginia on the subject of the colored population. A memorial to the State Legislature has been got up. The removal of the *free* blacks seems to be the principal object. In connexion with this, it is urged that the emancipation of slaves by individuals should be absolutely prohibited except on condition of their being sent out of the country. A stranger would suppose from this, that the *free* blacks

had been troublesome, and the *slaves* quiet, so that, unlike all other men, the blacks preferred slavery to freedom, and must *either* be kept in bondage, or sent out of the country, to keep them from butchering the whites. And yet the reverse of this has been the fact, if we have read the Southern papers correctly. We have heard of no single instance of a *free* colored man joining with the insurgents.

GARRISON'S VINDICATORS.

Our good friend Morris, of the "Philadelphia Album," is mistaken, in stating that we have undertaken to vindicate the editorial course of Wm. L. Garrison. He stands in no need of our assistance,—but is *tolerably able* to defend himself. We have said that, instead of urging *violent* means for the abolition of slavery, as charged by the "National Intelligencer," and other slavite journals, he advocates *moral, pacific* measures, exclusively. We wish the *truth* to be known, relative to the conduct of all engaged in our cause. Then each one may be responsible for his own acts.

The following is from the Albany "African Sentinel," of a recent date. Let the discussion take place. Truth is elicited by such means.

A CHALLENGE.

Why do Colonizationists generally shrink from a fair contest on the merits of their system? For the best of all possible reasons—their cause is a *weak one*; and they seem to *know* it. It is the intention of the writer of this article to discuss the subject with some fair and able (not to say *reasonable*) advocate of Colonization-ism. He is willing to hold the discussion in any *paper* whatever, or in any *manner* whatever—and he hereby *challenges* any opposer of African emancipation or advocate of the Colonization Society who *dares* defend his principles in the fair field of argument, to discuss the subject. He doubts much the boasted courage of Colonizationists and is now willing to *test* it.

He will thank his opponent whoever he may be, to signify his consent by addressing "John G. Stewart, Editor of the African Sentinel, Albany," post paid, who will, in concert with the author of this communication, arrange the terms for discussion.

GARDNER JONES.

New York, Sept. 19th, 1831.

It is said the leader of the Southampton insurrection, "Gen. Nat," alias Nat Turner, has recently been taken, in the neighborhood of his tragic exploits. If this be true, the Virginians will feel less apprehension of similar scenes, for a time. But had they not best take speedy measures for the abolition of *that system*, which gives birth to such bandits as "Gabriels" and "Nat Turners?"

We are again compelled to omit the insertion of many articles, prepared for this number—among others the outrage committed upon the person of H. D. Robinson, at Petersburg, Virginia, and a notice of the proceedings of the colored people's Convention at Philadelphia.

For No. II, on the "Prevention of Slave Insurrections," see pages 94 and 95.

THE MEXICANS—(continued.)

We continue our extracts from the interesting paper before us. Adverting to the great resources of the Mexican nation, the writer proceeds:—

After having given in the two preceding numbers an idea of the Mexican population and politics, these sketches of the Mexican nation will be concluded by a rapid survey of the immense Mexican means of prosperity and greatness.—Such a topic might be very properly included under the heads of finances, agriculture, commerce, mines, manufactures, army, church and state.

But before noticing these branches of national wealth, it may be needful to recur again briefly to the important fact, that the whole population is free, and yearly increasing, notwithstanding all the checks from civil war and struggles, domestic quarrels and local difficulties. There is no slavery to weaken the social system, and nearly all Indians are cultivators, except a few straggling small tribes in the north. The various ancient nations of different speech have all blended under the proud name of Mexicans, and possess unanimity of national feeling. Thus the Mexicans start into the rank of independent nations with a double population, at least, than the United States in 1783, and with thrice as many freemen. These freemen have increased one million between 1825 and 1830, or one in seven within five years; this rate would double the whole population in thirty-five years—in much less when peace and security shall return. A striking fact to prove this may be found in the State of Michoacan, the cradle of the revolution, and that has most suffered, having increased from 365,000 in 1822, to 450,000 in 1827, or 85,000 in five years, at the rate of nearly 25 per cent., which would double the population in 20 years. Thus it is not unreasonable to suppose that, in 1850, the Mexicans may be fifteen or sixteen millions, and in 1870 perhaps thirty millions, which the North Americans can scarcely exceed then, even with their slaves.

The finances are really in a wretched state, but the same was the case in North America between 1774 and 1789. It may even be asserted that there is hardly any system of finances, and yet the country offers the most ample means to build one, if able hands could manage them, and a Hamilton be found. The Ministers of Finances have all been unskillful or greedy.—The late one, Zavala, chosen by Guerrero, and of the patriotic party, is accused of having embezzled vast sums either for himself or his party, and has been exiled for it. During the revolution every thing was disorganized; the mines and mint almost suspended; collections became difficult; the capitation tax of the Indians, which produced about \$1,400,000, was very properly abolished, and every thing was thrown in a confusion from which it has not yet fully recovered.

Before the revolution, the revenue of Mexico was about twenty millions of dollars, of which half was sent to Spain, and half spent in the internal administration. In 1828, the federal income was only about fourteen millions, all spent in the country, and yet the army, interest of loans, and every thing else, was in arrears. The State taxes and revenue were independent of this. This federal revenue arises from customs

and the mint, monopolies of tobacco, salt, pulque and gunpowder; lotteries and privileges, the post office, stamps and tolls, &c. These are the ordinary means: the extraordinary ones are loans, contributions, donations, confiscations of the property of exiled Spaniards who have taken arms again, and lastly repartitions, or the contingent of each state to make up deficiencies, which is seldom paid in time. The State taxes are light, chiefly raised by local monopolies and excises or tolls, in the towns.

Passing over some of his remarks, respecting the monopolies, financial difficulties, &c., which are to be considered incident to a revolutionary state of things, and merely temporary, we quote the following important views and statements they will command particular attention.

No country has more need of one or more banks than Mexico, where so many metallic transactions take place; but the idea of a bank is yet unpopular, because the parties distrust each other, and fear the abuse made of them in the United States. The people are afraid of paper money, of which they have happily been preserved, notwithstanding the attempt of Iturbide; and thus they are so far better off than the United States in 1783.

Many other financial resources could be stated or found; but the sale of public lands is beginning to draw peculiar attention. The Mexicans have one thousand millions of acres of good land (besides as many of barren land) to sell to colonists, which, at the assumed rate of forty cents per acre, may produce, in future, four hundred millions of dollars. Thus they will sell land cheaper than the United States, and at a longer credit of six years. This land is suitable for sugar, cotton, and all useful staples may be cultivated by freemen; and any poor man, white, or black, can buy it without a cent in his pocket, and raise enough on it before the price is due to pay the small cost, and be wealthy boot!

This leads to a survey of Mexican agriculture. No country is more favored by nature. Low lands and table-lands, from Texas to Yucatan, can produce every production of the globe. Sugar, coffee, and cocoa, as well as cotton, wheat and wool, besides the peculiar staples of vanilla, jalap, cochineal, &c. A farmer or settler has only to choose and consult his convenience and abilities, and if industrious, instead of lazy, he is sure of wealth and comfort. In the settled parts Indian laborers are easily procurable; twenty-five cents a day are the average wages of their free labor; but there the land is all in the hands of the aristocracy, some of whom own estates as large as a county in the United States. If they could be induced to parcel them on long leases or ground rents, they would become richer still, and as many wealthy Patrons, like the Rensselaers of Albany, in New York; while the land would be filled with farms and gardens, as it is in Oaxaca, the ancient estate of Cortez, at other places, where Indians are land holders upon a moderate quit rent. These estates are variously appropriated; some are mere cultivated farms of vast extent, while others are immense sugar plantations.

Sugar, coffee and cotton can be raised cheaper than in the United States or the West Indies, and by free labor; but owing to the civil troubles, not enough are now raised for the home

consumption, and some are still imported from Cuba, Jamaica and Louisiana. The bad system of fallows is universal; three-fourths of the large estates are thus kept, and one-fourth planted by turns in the annual staples. Plantations of coffee trees, olive trees, grape vines, and other permanent cultures, are but few as yet; oil and wine are, however, made. Cocoa, maguey, vanilla and cochineal are also perennial staples, well cultivated by the Indians in some districts. The other agricultural produces are indigo, pimento, cacao, aloes, maize, wheat, pulse, &c., besides the great animal staples of cattle, mules, horses, sheep, wool, hides, wax, honey, &c. Rice, silk, and a few other productions, are little known, but might be very easily introduced. Irrigation is well practised, even by Indians, but manures are unknown.

Maize, or Indian corn, is the chief food of the Indians, (with chocolate and fruits,) and eaten in the shape of tortillas or flat cakes. A Mexican laborer or soldier can live upon the daily value of two cents! The produce of maize is wonderful; an acre has been known to yield two hundred bushels; and some stems are twenty feet high, with five to six large ears. Wheat only grows well on the table land, but there commonly yields twenty-five for one, while in Europe only ten or twelve on an average, and in the island of Kentucky only twenty-two for one. In the irrigated lands of Mexico it has even yielded forty to eighty for one!

To produce one million of pounds of sugar, only 150 laborers are required, 100 men and 50 boys; while 300 are required in Cuba and Louisiana. The production of Mexican coffee is still easier; 20 men can attend to 200,000 trees, which produce an average of 500,000 weight.—Free labor will sooner or later supersede the need of colonial slave labor, and slavery may cease by becoming useless and unprofitable.

Although the Mexicans will chiefly become a great agricultural nation, commerce will follow usual in the train. Between two great oceans, they will turn their attention after the peace to enter intercourse with Europe, North America, China and the East Indies. At present the whole trade is in the hands of strangers, chiefly English and North Americans. Of the vessels that entered Vera Cruz in 1826, only 626, were Mexican, and all coasting vessels; 400 American, 95 English, 50 French. The English trade has since greatly increased. Several ports have been opened on the east and west shores, yet it is sad that the imports and exports have fallen in amount since the revolution. This may be ascribed to the cheaper value of the imports, and less bullion exported.

Mexican mines are indeed much fallen off, and no longer the same source of wealth as formerly, although three great impediments were removed at the revolution: 1—The duty on silver and gold was reduced to 3 per cent., it was 10 per cent. before. 2—Quicksilver for amalgamation has been made duty free. 3—Several local mints have been established; formerly all the coin was to be coined in Mexico alone. Before the revolution foreign capital and machinery were introduced, but could not compensate for the Spanish capital withdrawn, (140 millions,) and the local difficulties of insecurity, prejudices, inexperience, want of fuel, &c.

In 1823 was established the first English mining company. They are now 10: English, 7; American, 2; German, 1. They have

spent twelve millions of dollars, or more, in draining old or exhausted mines, instead of seeking for new ones; introducing useless and expensive machinery, importing miners from England, who are of less use than the Indians; and the result has been that all these companies (except perhaps the German, which was more judiciously conducted) have failed in their expectations of great wealth, sunk a vast capital, (some mines are not yet drained, after five years labor,) produced but little silver, and become discouraged. But the mineral wealth of Mexico is not exhausted. Three thousand millions of silver have been drawn from them in three hundred years, or an average of ten millions of dollars per annum; as much remains, if not more, but it must be sought for, and the practical simple mode of the Indians resorted to again. In the single smaller mint of the patriots, in Zacatecas, they have coined fifty-four millions of dollars between 1810 and 1827, in the midst of a cruel civil war, averaging three millions per annum. It is expected that in 1835, if peace then prevails, 24 millions of bullion may be produced in all metals, as before the revolution.

It has lately been ascertained that the great mineral wealth extends far to the N. W. beyond the supposed limits of lat. 24, and much beyond Sonora; and there the ores are richer, yielding six per cent. of silver, while in the south they hardly give two per cent. Mining has been considered as a lottery, but in Mexico it is rather a manufacture of bullion. A great deal depends on a good location. In old mines the working is always half of the amount or more. The baneful system of the *Mita*, or compulsory labor of the Indians, at the mines of Peru, was never introduced. The usual mode latterly was to work on shares, the owner allowing half the silver to the Indian miners: this they liked well, because it gave them a chance of great profit. The mining companies will be compelled to return to this plan.

Sugar making is also a complicated manufacture, in which the Indians are likely to supersede negroes. Brown sugar can be produced by them at the low rate of one cent and a quarter per pound. In Cuba the lowest rate is two cents, and in Louisiana three and a half cents per pound. There a negro slave only raises 4000 lb. of sugar: in the fertile soil of Mexico an Indian can actually produce 8000 lb. yearly.

The manufactures in which the Indians excel are jewelry, pottery, sculpture, carving, and all the ornamental arts; they are also good painters, musicians, masons, &c. They make beautiful and wonderful vases, similar to the admired Etruscan vases of antiquity; toys of all kinds, wax figures, feather mantles, and mosaics, masks, ornaments, saddles, cotton cloth, ornamented cloaks of great value, &c. They are susceptible of being taught any other art, being skilful and industrious in all their pursuits. All kinds of European manufactures were discouraged or forbidden by the Spaniards, and the late struggles have not allowed yet of turning their attention that way. The English and foreigners have also supplied all their wants at so cheap a rate, compared with former prices, that they have not felt the need of a change.

But a change must happen when trade, commerce, good roads, and manufactures will be attended to. Every thing is to be created in that way. Planters and manufacturers will realize in Mexico greater wealth than the miners! The

Creoles disdain all kind of handicraft; they apply themselves merely to agriculture, trade and professions; foreign mechanics have therefore ample scope. Even tailors, shoemakers, carpenters and smiths, can realize two to four dollars per day, while Indians are content with 25 cents. Clothing of all kind is very dear. Hats, coats, shoes, shirts, &c. are the best articles to import; the next are iron, hardware, hosiery, glass, paper, silk goods, dry goods, woollens, &c. The French wines have superseded Spanish wines. The first manufactures needed in the country are paper, gunpowder, hats, glass, arms, woollens, &c.

The laws of the country are mild. All crimes are judged by the Federal Courts, the State Courts having only cognizance of civil suits. A Federal Attorney watches in each State over the local laws, so as to prevent any unconstitutional infringement. This may be deemed an improvement over the federal system of the United States. Trial by jury has not yet been established, because the people are not quite prepared for it.—But there is no imprisonment for debt—the shame of the United States! Credit is low, because the country is unsettled, and because payment may be postponed a long while by lawyers, and by bribing the officers of the law. Indeed bribery is a glaring evil in the whole system of government, borrowed from Spanish precedents and practice, as the United States have borrowed from England to put debtors in jail and hold slaves.

We omit the writer's statements in relation to the number and condition of the military forces; as reductions are making, and will be further made, no doubt, in a short time. When the independence of the government shall be acknowledged, at least, this will be done.

Some of his remarks, respecting the Church, are also superfluous at this day. But the following paragraphs possess a considerable degree of interest, as they show that an important change in the state of religious affairs may, ere long, be expected.

Nuns are diminishing; very few have become such latterly, and no young ones; only a few old women tired of the world, or rather dissipation. Young monks are more common. The sons of Creoles embrace the profession, as a wealthy, indolent mode of life. Monks have few restraints—they go out any where, frequenting even gambling houses, theatres, and places of amusements; their morals are very low. Thus they are despised: the Creoles and Indians are wavering in their former respect, and even religious belief.

Nothing can better show the state of the public mind on this score, than the fact that books against the Catholic religion are openly printed, sold, and read, even by the monks. The *Citateur* of Lebrun, a work ridiculing in the most open manner the whole national belief, was lately translated and printed at the government press. Every body laughed with it, and even the monks joined in the laugh. It is evident the government wishes to pave the way to a gradual religious reform and liberty of conscience. The church property, if taken or borrowed by the nation, might lay a foundation for credit and prosperity; but if it is wasted by the military, it may as well be let alone.

The following are the concluding observations of our author:—

Those states forming the Federal Union are very various in climate, soil, productions, population and views. The most populous is the central one of Mexico, which has a million of population: it was 990,000 in 1828. The capital is Tescuco, the city of Mexico itself being the federal city only. The smallest state and least populous is Tabasco, having only 55,000. It may be compared to Rhode Island in the United States.

The state of Durango is the only one which has a population nearly all white, of 175,000. The different Indian nations are scattered in all the other states: they only differ in speech, and are mostly cultivators, one tenth part only being miners, mechanics, fishermen, shepherds, and soldiers. The Aztecas are the most numerous next the brave Tarascas of Michoacan, who began the revolution; the handsome Miztecas of Oaxaca, who are called the Circassians of Mexico; besides the Otomis, Zacatecas, Huastecas, and many more. While in the north are the Mayos, who have a population of 60,000—their chief town has 10,000. The Opatas have thirteen large towns in Sonora, and form two thirds of the population. The Yaquis, who made war on the Spaniards till 1825, and now their king is become a federal General, General Cienfuegos. General Salvador was also once king of the Opatas. All these are very civilized, docile, industrious and warlike tribes. There are also the Guicholas of Xalisco, the Yumas, Nabajos, Seres and Apaches of New Mexico, and many other tribes in Texas, New Mexico and California, more or less civilized, commonly dwelling in towns or missions, except the wandering Apaches and Cumunchas, formerly formidable robbers, but now mostly conciliated and friendly.

Thus the Mexican nation, enjoying a fine climate and soil, much wealth, and many elements of prosperity, cannot fail to become powerful and respected. It is a mistake to suppose the country unhealthy, because there are some narrow strips of lowlands along the shores which are subject to local diseases in the summer. These strips extend from Tampico to Tabasco on the east; but a stranger by coming there between November and April, or by removing once 40 miles inland, if he comes in summer will be perfectly safe. The *Vomito prieto*, or Black Vomito, of this zone, is a kind of yellow fever modified by the climate, and not much worse than the summer disease of New Orleans. Others say that it is a kind of gastronomic fever which assails at once the liver, spinal marrow and the brain. One of the most simple remedies in use, and which is often effectual, consists in speedy and repeated doses of a mixture of castor oil, lime juice, and sea salt. Ninety tenths of the country are healthier than the most healthy parts of the United States, not being liable to consumptions, fevers, nor rheumatism.

Taking every thing connected with this subject into view—the advantages enjoyed by the colored people, in the Mexican Republic, and the present precarious situation here—we feel warranted in devoting a considerable space in these pages to an illustration of the state and co-

Fiat Justitia Rust Coram.

tion of that government and country. A very minute and particular description of the province or territory of *Texas* is laid off for insertion in next month's *Genius*. The time has come, when we think it proper to say: That of all the places ever mentioned, as suitable for the emigration of our *southern* colored population, this is the most inviting, and the most desirable. Our reasons will be given more at length hereafter. The slaveites of this country are *done with Texas*. Wo to them! if they ever attempt (by force) the annexation of any portion of the Mexican territory to the "United States of the North;" and it certainly will never be *otherwise* accomplished.

We close this number with an extract from a *Circular*, entitled "PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOR," written by "*A Free Colored Floridian*," and recently published in the *New-York Daily Sentinel* and *Working Man's Advocate*. His views on this subject are enlarged and liberal; and we are pleased to learn that they are approved by many of our most intelligent colored people. The editor of the "*African Sentinel*" copies the whole article, and speaks of it as "a production worthy of calm consideration, especially in these times, so fraught with prejudice and tyranny; and if," he adds, "the constitution of Mexico recognizes *no distinction of colors*, the subject may claim much of the attention of our countrymen." A perusal of the article which we have just had under review, will convince every one that the constitution and government of Mexico do not recognize any such distinction; but that *all* are upon a perfect political equality in that Republic.

Want of room precludes further remarks at present. The subject will again be adverted to. The following is the extract from the article written by "*A Free Colored Floridian*," as above mentioned. His objections to an *emigration to Canada*, will apply forcibly to the *southern* colored people; but not, generally, to those of the north.

"The free colored people have never asked for more than constitutional protection to person and property; and this is granted to all free people in all civilized countries, with one exception; that exception is the *United States*.

Many humane and liberal thinking statesmen throughout the Union, feel humbled at some recent traits of severity and injustice manifested by individual State Governments, more especially when such aggravated acts of injustice originated in states where slavery was constitutionally prohibited; Ohio, for example, in its acts of oppression against its free colored inhabitants, by which their existence seems so far to have been threatened as to induce an attempt on their part to seek refuge under a foreign government, in a climate ill suited to their natural constitutions.

Nothing can be farther from the intention of the writer of this communication, than either to interfere with, or say any thing disrespectful concerning the acts of the great and independent State of Ohio, or of any other government, in their acts of legislation; or even to enquire whether they do right or wrong. This communication merely originates in a wish to put these unfortunate objects of oppression on their guard against placing themselves rashly in a situation which, though flattering at first view, might not be permanently to their advantage.

Although the British Constitution, under which Canada is now governed, offers an ample guarantee against prejudice or injustice to every settler; yet Canada is only a Provincial Government, and may, at some future period not far distant, lose the advantages of that protection; which probability, when taken into consideration, and added to the extreme coldness of the climate, so uncongential to the feelings of the colored people, argues strongly against the growth of a colored settlement in Canada.

The consideration of the above facts would induce the writer of this, himself colored, a native of Florida, and now a resident of that Territory, and feelingly alive to their success, to recommend them to look towards Mexico, as a place of safety and permanent refuge. The colored people of these States are now loudly called upon by the imperious laws of necessity and self preservation to do something in their own behalf—to mitigate, if possible, the cruel system of persecution now carrying on against them, and which, in the Southern States, threatens their very existence.

Notwithstanding that the present aspect of Mexico is unfavorable, and does not at this moment offer a very great protection to industry, yet this passing political agitation, with which private individuals have little to do, is perhaps only temporary, and can hardly hinder their progress as settlers, which would depend upon their own industry and peaceable behaviour.

In the first place, it is conveniently situated, being contiguous to most of the Southern States—the climate is mild, healthy and pleasant, for people of dark complexion; and it is presumed can be obtained from individuals upon very favorable terms, or from Government *gratis*—cotton, sugar, corn and stock are soon raised where there is little or no winter to kill the vegetation: the country is boundless in extent, and either entirely uninhabited or thinly settled with people who are mostly colored and *entirely free from all prejudice against complexion*. The Constitution and laws of Mexico recognize *no difference of merit on account of color*, between the different shades of the human race; and this gives great advantages to a dark complexion over that of a Danish or Saxon origin, which could not long endure the toils of agriculture of a warm climate.

In the second place, the vicinity of the Southern States, where the free people of color are now looking around for an asylum to relieve themselves from a situation worse than slavery, and from which they would fly to any place of refuge, where the climate was congenial to their existence, and where their persons and properties were constitutionally protected, or where they could peaceably exist by the fruits of their own industry.

A settlement thus located could not fail of

having the support and good wishes of all the humane and liberally thinking people within the United States, or wherever the imperious causes of the migration of the colored people were known. And there are those to be found, who would interest themselves in their behalf with the Mexican Government, so as to obtain lands for settlement, and who would even liberally contribute their means to promote such establishment.

The first step should be, to apprise the Mexican Government of their objects and intentions, and to obtain the good wishes of the local authorities of that country, so as to protect the first emigrants in their settlement, to locate on good land, where there should be a direct and convenient communication by land or water, with the United States; as well to obtain supplies and to export produce, as to facilitate the introduction of new settlers of property, who mostly live on the seaboard of the Southern States, and who would sell out their property at any sacrifice to free themselves from the state of bondage under which they now exist; for what can be greater bondage than to exist without rights, fair subjects of wanton oppression, unrecognized by any permanent protection, either legislative or constitutional?

A FREE COLORED FLORIDIAN.

COLLEGE FOR COLORED PEOPLE.

With pleasure we insert the "Appeal to the Benevolent," (see page 96,) on behalf of an institution which must have an important effect in elevating the character of the colored people of this country. It is true that, in general, we prefer the establishment and support of *common schools*, to those of, what are called, a higher order. Our sentiments are thoroughly democratic. But with respect to the colored race at present among us, a little *strong machinery* is wanting to raise them from the unfortunate position to which a great portion of them have been reduced; some extra stimulants must be applied, to call forth the exhibition of their natural powers of mind; and nothing, perhaps, would be better calculated to effect this than the measure here proposed. It is, indeed, gratifying to perceive that it meets the approbation of the *true* friends of the colored race, in various sections of our country, of different religious persuasions. Several of the most noted clergymen of Philadelphia have signed recommendations approving of it. Many of the members of the society of "Friends" have also expressed their concurrence in the plan, though they would prefer a different *name* for the institution.

Since the absurd and foolish proceedings of the people of New Haven, respecting the location of this College, some doubts have been expressed by those concerned, as to the propriety of pursuing the course originally contemplated. Indeed we think that it would *not* be advisable to establish it at that place. In our opinion,

Morristown, in New Jersey, would be a far more eligible situation, every thing considered. The neighborhood of Belville has also been spoken of. Either would answer well. The principal advantages of the former place would be its remoteness from any great city, and its salubrious healthy climate. In whatever section of the country it may be located, it has our warmest wishes for success.

AN EXCELLENT HIT!

The following is copied from the *N. Y. Daily Sentinel*. A better delineation of *slave* character and logic (as far as it goes) was never presented to the public. We could indulge in a little mirth at the expence of these gentlemen of the lancet, the pill-box, and "cat-o-nine-tail," but the subject is too serious, and the *inhumanity* of their sentiments is too horribly glaring.

DISSECTION IN SLAVE STATES.—In a prospectus of the South Carolina Medical School, says the London *Mechanic's Magazine*, we meet with the following passage:—"Some advantages of a peculiar character are connected with this institution, which it may be proper to point out. No place in the United States offers so great opportunities for the acquisition of anatomical knowledge, subjects being obtained among the colored population in sufficient number for every purpose, and proper dissections carried on without offending any individual in the community."—The colored population, then, according to the faculty of South Carolina, form no part of their "community." They have no feelings to be respected or offended!! You may cut up and mangle them as you please: they are but blacks, and no more to be regarded than any *other* beasts of the field. Of a truth slavery must have a most debasing and hallucinating influence on all around it, when men of a liberal profession can talk thus of beings created with like feelings, affections, and rights, to themselves. It is singular to think that, notwithstanding the white-skin pride of birth of these cat-o'-nine-tail gentry, they should have found out that, after all, a dead black man is quite as good as a dead white man for every purpose of anatomical inquiry—has the same bones and sinews—the same veins and arteries—has the self-same sort of vital fluid—and (perhaps) all but the same sort of—*heart*. Death is, indeed, a great teacher—a mighty leveller of distinctions!

The editor of the Boston "*Christian Register*," speaking of the prospect of a speedy abolition of slavery in the British West Indies, observes:

"What effect this measure, which is now called for by the almost unanimous voice of the British people, and which cannot long be delayed, may have upon the institution of slavery in our own country, we shall not venture to predict. This much, however, seems to us certain, that the abandonment of this pernicious system in the British colonies, must have an immediate and powerful tendency to produce the same result in the Southern States."

Ladies' Repository.

Philanthropic and Literary.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

WOMAN'S INTEREST IN EMANCIPATION.

"The God of Israel bared his red right arm
And burst the bonds of Egypt. Sparta shook
Beneath the Helot's grasp; and Hayti's firm
And new-born vigour the bare sceptre struck
From her oppressor's hold. Thence springs a germ,
Which threatening, warns us to beware the shock.
Columbia view it! And, ere yet too late,
Beware the Spartan's or the Spaniard's fate."

There are other feelings besides sympathy with the oppressed, and detestation of the crime of oppression—other reasonings of a less disinterested nature than the desire to rescue a large portion of their own sex from a state of misery and shameful degradation—though we might suppose these of themselves would be sufficient to induce the females of the United States to lend all their influence and their united exertions to any measure that may tend to promote the extinction of slavery. If they were conscious that a mine had been sprung underneath their dwellings, would they not hasten to escape from them, and urge all around them to fly from the perilous vicinity? Yet on the system of slavery, which, unless its dangerous materials are speedily removed, threatens in its explosion to convulse our whole country, they not only gaze without alarm, but in many instances without even making an attempt to avert such a catastrophe. That the present state of things cannot always exist, is a fact which will admit of no denial. Slavery cannot last forever; and the fetters must be voluntarily stricken by their masters from the limbs of those who have so long worn them, or they will be violently hewed asunder by the sword. The philanthropist, while he foresees this, and mourns over the present condition of the slave, wishes, by restoring to him his long withholden right, to shield the oppressor from the danger of his fearful retribution. The advocates of slavery prove by their conduct the extent of their apprehensions, while they cling with the infatuation of madness to the elements of destruction. And the greater part of the community gaze on unconcerned, admitting the necessity of action, but nevertheless entirely unemployed. Among the latter class are very many of our own sex. The strong claims of natural humanity, the commands of duty, the sweet pleading voice of mercy, are all insufficient to arouse them from their listless apathy; perhaps selfish feelings may sound a louder larum in their ears. If they will not, for the sake of the slave, endeavor to put an end to the system that enthralls him,

they may find in the wish to preserve their own safety, and the safety of those they love, a stronger incentive to exertion. We need not say how deeply interested the females in the Southern States must be to avert the horrors of a servile war. Those of the North may be themselves personally exempt from danger, but have they fathers, and brothers, and husbands, and sons, whom they are willing to yield up for immolation on the terrible altar of revengeful war? The states of the north have pledged themselves that, if needful, northern blood shall be poured out in support of southern oppression;—and how many may tremble to think that perhaps *their* beloved ones will be among the number of the victims! But let it be remembered that it is only by the failure of present duty—by neglecting to 'do justice and love mercy'—by refusing to obey the commands of the Almighty, that so fearful a calamity is to be apprehended for their country.

FEMALE SLAVES.

There is an affecting picture of a portion of the miseries which slavery entails upon our sex, conveyed in the following paragraph from the Washington Spectator. The system of traffic to which it alludes, and men who are engaged in it, are the foulest blot that ever disgraced a country. "It is no uncommon thing to see a young female slave, on ascertaining that she has been purchased by one of the merciless traders for the southern market, flying from house to house, endeavoring to sell herself for a higher price than that for which she has been bartered away, so that she may be able to satisfy the demands of her rapacious purchaser, and live and die among her relations."

What female heart does not rise in abhorrence of the merciless system which dooms so many of her unoffending sisters to so many varieties of misery? We wish our readers to dwell upon the picture; to endeavor to enter into the desolation and anguish of feeling which they must experience who are rudely torn from all they love, from all that makes life happy, to wear out their miserable years in uncheered and unrewarded toil. Think of these oft-repeated and varied scenes of agony—of the daily wretchedness of their lot—of their utter degradation and helplessness, and ask your hearts where there is a deeper call for your sympathy and active benevolence. Think of these things when the warm pulses of your grief and indignation for the wrongs of your fellow creatures have passed by, and you feel a cold indifference creeping over your bosoms, and surely it will incite you to renewed exertions—to fresh perseverance;

and never forget that it is only by means of active exertion that you can preserve your own hands clean from the pollution of this guilt.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

The following lines were suggested by the two signal instances of female justice, lately recorded in the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE ENFRANCHISED SLAVES TO THEIR
BENEFACTRESS.

Oh, blessings on thee, lady! we could lie
Down at thy feet in our deep gratitude,
And give ourselves to die,
So thou couldst be made happier by our blood!
Yet life has never seemed so dear, as now
That we may lift a free unbranded brow.

In the deep silence of the starry night,
Our lips shall call down blessings on thy head;
And the first gush of light,
That in its splendor o'er the world is spread,
Shall view us bowed in prayer, that life may be
A calm and sunny day of joy for thee.

Free! free!—how glorious 'tis to lift an eye,
Unblenching beneath infamy and shame,
To the blue boundless sky,
And feel each moment, from our hearts, the
tame

Dull pulses of our vileness pass away,
Like sluggish mists before the rising day.

And then our infants! we shall never see
Their young limbs cheapened at the public
mart,

Or shrink in agony
To view them writhe beneath the cruel smart
Of the rude lash;—they ne'er, like us, shall know
The slave's dark lot of wretchedness and wo.

For this we bless thee, lady! and may Heaven
Pour down its frequent blessings on thy brow,
And to thy life be given,

Oft through its sunset hours, such bliss as now
Is swelling round thy heart—scarce less than
theirs

Who pour for thee their deep and grateful
prayers. GERTRUDE.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

When will ye be awakened, oh ye sleepers!
when oh, ye idlers, will ye be incited to activity? How long shall suffering humanity, in vain, implore assistance—how long shall reason plead—how long shall justice demand redress, e'er your voices shall be heard in behalf of the oppressed millions in our own country; know ye not, that you are abetting a system more iniquitous, more unjust, than any ever practised by the barbarous nations of antiquity—far more heinously wicked than any acts of tyranny enforced by Hyder Ali, the Pacha of Egypt, or the grand Sultan of the Turks? and yet, you are professing Christians, professedly followers of the immaculate Lamb, who enjoined his disciples to do unto others as they would that they should do unto them!

While ever you remain supinely indolent,—while you refuse to use effective measures for abolishing this inhuman, nefarious traffic in human flesh, you are adding pillars to the structure of slavery, and enlarging its dimensions, although it is already of a fearful size and tow-

ering height, threatening to o'erwhelm the nation in the violence of its fall, which must be ere long, by physical strength, if the arm of retributive justice is not stay'd by removing the fabric while it is yet possible. Then let me once more entreat you to be aroused, to exert yourselves, in promoting the completion of this great object, in destroying this enormous building, that "not one stone may left upon another, that shall not be taken away."

AMELIA.
Philadelphia, 1831.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

SUMMER MORNING.

'Tis beautiful, when first the dewy light
Breaks on the earth! while yet the scented air
Is breathing the cool freshness of the night,
And the bright clouds a tint of crimson wear
Mixed with their fleecy whiteness; when
each fair
And delicate lined flower that lifts its head
Is bathed in dainty odours, and all rare
And beautiful things of nature are outspread
With the rich flush of light that only morn can
shed.

When every leafy chalice holds a draught
Of nightly dew for the hot sun to drink,
When streams gush sportively as though they
laughed

For very joyousness, and seem to shrink
In playful tenor from the rocky brink
Of some slight precipice—then with quick leap
Bound lightly o'er the barrier, and sink,
In their own whirling eddy, and then sweep
With rippling music on, or in their channel
sleep,

While lights and shades play on them with
each breath
That moves the calm still waters; when the
Skims o'er the surface and all things beneath
Gleam brightly through the flood, and its
glance by

With a quick flash of beauty—when the sea
Wears a deep azure brightness, and the sea
Of matin gladness lifts its voice on high,
And mingled harmony and perfume throng
On every whispering breeze that lightly flee
along.

'Tis sweet to wander forth at such an hour
And drink the spirit of its loveliness;
While on the brow no shadowing care-cloud
lower,

And on strong wing the free thoughts up-
press;

Yet there are those whom nature cannot bless
With all her varied beauty;—such are they
Whose cup is drugged with pain and so-
distress

By their own brothers' hand, and the quer-
ed ray

Of whose lost hopes spread gloom across
brightest day.

Lo! where, like cattle driven by the lash,
Forth to their wearying task in groups they
The mother, lifting up her hand to dash
The tear-drops from her cheek, that still
flow,

As on her ear her infant's wail comes low
Yet painfully distinct; and she must leave

For the stern overseer wills it so,
Her tender little one unsoothed, to grieve,

Happy to clasp it safe when she returns at

The feeble crone, who on her knees has borne
Her children's grandchildren, is toiling there;
Young forms, and weak old men, whose limbs
are worn
Nigh to the grave—strong men, whose bowed
necks bear
Perchance the weight of heavy irons, that wear
Into their very souls;—small heed has he
Who tasks them, of their ills; and none will
spare
From the rude scourge—nor old nor infancy—
Who have the allotted toil performed imperfectly.

Oh shame upon man's selfishness! that so
The love of gold should canker in his breast,
Transforming his affection's kindly glow
To bitterness, himself into a pest
Upon the earth, the scourge of the opprest,
And tyrant of the helpless. Strange! that they
Who with man's high capacities are blest
Should for earth's valueless and tinsel clay
Thus cast the priceless jewels of their souls away.

MARGARET.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

A SKETCH FROM REAL LIFE.

—“The coast where the slave ship fills its sails,
With sighs of agony,
And her kidnapp'd babes the mother wails,
'Neath her lone banana tree.”

A Slaver lay off the coast of Africa. It was a still delicious evening, and the golden tinted waves rolled slowly forward and broke against the beach, with a murmur like the melody of a low breathed hymn. It was an hour for man to forget the darker passions, and unseal the long covered fountain of his better thoughts, while his spirit turned with adoring love to his beneficent Creator. But there were no such feelings in the breast of him who paced the sands, pausing to regard the obedient motions of a portion of his crew as they collected on the beach, or conveyed on board the vessel a part of the miserable beings who were to be crowded into its horrible prison, and wrested away forever from all the clinging ties of home. As the last group of slaves were about leaving the shore, a female rushed towards the strand, and flinging herself at the feet of the trader, clasped his knees, while with imploring words and wild gestures, she besought him to accept the hardly-won ransom which she had brought him, and restore her son. The white man extended his hand to receive the proffered gold, and the happy mother covered it with tears and kisses of gratitude, as she placed within it the whole store of her gathered wealth. What was poverty to her so that her beloved son might not be torn forever from her arms, and sold into interminable slavery? The hard unmoved features of the white, gave no indications of sympathy, but something of a scornful smile played upon his lip, as he turned away and commanded her to follow him to the vessel. She did so unhesitatingly; yet it might be that her heart half sunk, and an undefined feeling of apprehension came over her, when she found herself in the power of the man-stealers, but she could not give way to terror for her heart was full of the image of her boy, and her courage failed not. Alas! they were suffered to meet only that they might be hurried together into slavery.

For two nights she shrieked and raved amid the darkness and suffocation of the crowded

hold, and when she was again suffered to come on deck, not an object rose against the unbroken horizon. Africa, the land of her home, the abode of her affections, had disappeared from her sight forever. Frantic with the agony of her feelings, she flung herself at the feet of the wretch who had so deceived her, and with mingled prayers and imprecations besought his mercy; then as her ear caught the sound of the deep, writhing breath of her son, she dashed herself upon the deck, and a long moaning cry came up from her heart, as though life was parting, in the agony of her feelings. With a sudden and desperate wrench, the young man freed his right hand from its fetters, and seizing a knife, while he poured the whole concentrated indignation of his soul in one fixed glare on the traitor before him, plunged it into his bosom, exclaiming: “White man! devourer of blacks, I cannot revenge myself upon thee but by depriving thee of my person!”

Such is the tale, as it has long lingered in my memory. Imagination may perhaps have err'd in portraying some of the touches which she added to the very brief narration of the original sketch, but these affect not the outline of its facts.

ELA.

From an English Pamphlet.

Religion owns not them who bear the brand
Of Mammon on their front, or in their hand.
Go, view the record,—he may run who reads—
What says it? ‘Ye shall know them by their deeds.’
Oh who can tell the horrors of their lot,
When the great Judge exclaims ‘I know you not.’
Woe, double woe, be to the souls that lay
A stumbling stone across a brother's way!
Woe, treble woe, to those who give a theme
That bids the vaunting enemy blaspheme!
While deeds of blood, and avarice, and shame,
Mar the sweet savour of the Christian name.

CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH.

A WARNING TO COLUMBIA.


“Ah! would you not be slaves, to lords & kings,
Then be not masters; there the danger springs,
The whole crude system that torments this earth,
Of rank, privation, privilege of birth,
False honor, fraud, corruption, civil jars,
The rage of conquest, and the curse of wars,
Pandora's total shower, all ills combin'd,
That erst o'erwhelm'd and still distress mankind,
Box'd up secure in your deliberate hand,
Wait your behest, to fix or fly this land.”

Bartow's Columbiad.

THE SLAVE TRADE.—Christians and philanthropists are too apt to imagine that their work is almost done, when it is only begun. The slave trade, for example, which many may suppose has been every where abolished, for years, there is reason to believe is still carried on to as great an extent as ever. It has been recently stated in the papers, that an association of merchants at Nantz, in France, had undertaken to supply the island of Cuba with 30,000 fresh negro slaves annually!* And in Brazil, it is well known, that for several years past the importations have even exceeded this number!

* Should this arrangement be effected, it might be worth while to consider how many of these slaves would be clandestinely brought into Florida, and other parts of the United States.

The Ohio.

 The Editor is still from home. Correspondents are, again, requested to be *patient*!

The following beautiful article is copied from the "Atlantic Souvenir" for 1832. It is gratifying to perceive that the subject of slavery has been there introduced. Let the conductors of our best periodicals make it "fashionable" to discuss, or at least to read and reflect on that subject, and our work is half done.—E. D. G. U. E.

THE AFRIC'S DREAM.

By Miss E. M. Chandler.

Why did ye wake me from my sleep? it was a dream of bliss!

And ye have torn me from that land to pine again in this.

Methought, beneath yon whispering tree, that I was laid to rest,

The turf, with all its withering flowers, upon my cold heart press'd.

My chains, these hateful chains, were gone—oh, would that I might die,

So from my swelling pulse I could for ever cast them by!

And on, away o'er land and sea, my joyful spirit pass'd,

Till 'neath my own banana-tree I lighted down at last.

My cabin door, with all its flowers, was still profusely gay,

As when I lightly sported there, in childhood's careless day;

But trees, that then were sapling twigs, with broad and shadowing bough,

Around the well known threshold spread a freshening coolness now.

The birds, whose notes I used to hear, were shouting on the earth,

As if to greet me back again with their wild songs of mirth;

My own bright stream was at my feet, and how I laugh'd to lave

My burning lip, and cheek, and brow, in that delicious wave!

My boy, my first-born babe, had died amid his early hours,

And there we laid him to his sleep, among the clustering flowers;

Yet lo! without my cottage door he sported in his glee,

With her whose grave is far from his, beneath yon linden tree.

I sprang to snatch them to my soul; when, breathing out my name,

To grasp my hand, and press my lip, a crowd of loved ones came!

Wife, parents, children, kinsmen, friends! the dear and lost ones all,

With blessed words of welcome came, to greet me from my thrall.

Forms, long unseen, were by my side; and, thrilling on my ear,

Came cadences, from gentle tones, unheard for many a year;

And on my cheek fond lips were press'd, with true affection's kiss—

And so ye waked me for my tears—but 'twas a dream of bliss!

EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS,

DELIVERED BY WM. L. GARRISON, BEFORE THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR IN PHILADELPHIA, NEW YORK, &c. JUNE, 1831.

"Countrymen and Friends! I wish to gladden your hearts, and to invigorate your hopes. Be assured, your cause is going onward—right onward. The seed is now sowing broadcast, which is shortly to yield you an abundant harvest. Your advocates are constantly multiplying all over the country; and as far as I know them, not one will ever forsake you. New schemes are agitating for your benefit, which will doubtless be carried into successful operation. The signs of the times do indeed show forth great and glorious and sudden changes in the condition of the oppressed. The whole firmament is tremulous with an excess of light—the earth is moved out of its place—the wave of revolution is dashing in pieces ancient and mighty empires—the hearts of tyrants are beginning to fail them for fear, and for looking forward to those things which are to come upon the earth. There is

"A voice on every wave,

A sound on every sea!

The watch-word of the brave,

The anthem of the free!

From steep to steep it rings,

Through Europe's many climes,

A knell to despot Kings,

A sentence on their crimes:

From every giant hill, companion of the cloud,

The startled echo leaps to give it back aloud:

Where'er a wind is rushing,

Where'er a stream is gushing,

The swelling sounds are heard,

Of man to freeman calling,

Of broken fetters falling—

And, like the carol of a cageless bird,

The bursting shout of Freedom's rallying word!"

* * * * *

"Respect yourselves, if you desire the respect of others. A self-love which excludes God and the world from the affections, is a different thing from self-respect. A man should value himself at a high price—not because he happens to be of this or that color, or rich, or accomplished, or popular, or physically powerful—but because he is created in the image of God; because he stands but a little lower than the angels; because he has a spiritual essence, which is destined to live for ever; because he is capable of exerting a moral power, which is infinitely superior to animal strength; and because he lives in a world of trial and temptation, and needs the sympathy and aid of his fellow men. If he be dead to all these lofty considerations; if, in the words of the poet,—

"He lies in dull, oblivious dreams, nor cares
Who the wreathed laurel bears;"

if his highest ambition be to grovel with brutes; if it is not possible for him to command public or private respect; his company will be shunned; he will live and die a libel upon his Creator. So it will be with a people who are lost to themselves and the world.

Do not imagine that you are only a blank in

creation, and therefore it is immaterial what you are in conduct or condition. Remember that not only the eyes of the people in this place, but the eyes of the whole nation, are fixed upon you. I dare not predict how far your example may affect the welfare of the slaves; but undoubtedly it is in your power, by this example, to break many fetters, or to keep many of your brethren in bondage. If you are temperate, industrious, peaceable and pious; if you return good for evil, and blessing for cursing; you will show to the world, that the slaves can be emancipated without danger: but if you are turbulent, idle and vicious, you will put arguments into the mouths of tyrants, and cover your friends with confusion and shame.

Many of you, I rejoice to know, have found out the secret of preferment. I appeal to your experience and observation: as a general rule, have you not acquired the esteem, confidence and patronage of the whites, in proportion to your increase in knowledge and moral improvement? Who fare they, commonly, that suffer the most among you? They who are intemperate, indolent and grovelling. Is it not so? Self-respect, my friends, is a lever which will lift you out of the depths of degradation, and establish your feet upon a rock, and put a song of victory into your mouths—victory over prejudice, pride and oppression.” * * *

“Sustain, as far as you can, those periodicals which are devoted to your cause. I speak on this subject pointedly, not with any selfish feelings, but because I know that without the powerful energies of the press, every cause must languish. It was this tremendous engine which produced and triumphantly effected the American Revolution; it has twice overthrown the despotism in France; it is fanning the flame of liberty in the bosoms of the Poles; its power is shaking the Government of Great Britain to its centre. The press, in a manner, possesses the gift of ubiquity: it enables a man to address himself to thousands in every state at the same moment, and to throw his influence from one end of the country to the other: it has taken the place of the ancient oracles, and exercises a higher authority. The press is the citadel of liberty—the palladium of a free people. Multiply periodicals among yourselves, to be conducted by men of your own color. The cause of emancipation demands at least one hundred presses.

Whenever you can, put your children to trades. A good trade is better than a fortune, because when once obtained, it cannot be taken away. I know the difficulties under which you labor, in regard to this matter. I know how unwilling master mechanics are to receive your children, and the strength of that vulgar prejudice which reigns in the breasts of the working classes. But by perseverance in your applications, you may often succeed in procuring valuable situations for your children. As strong as prejudice is in the human breast, there is another feeling yet stronger—and that is, selfishness. Place two mechanics by the side of each other, one black and the other white: he who is the most industrious and best, will get the most money; and if he will take a bargain, the color will be no objection. Now, there can be no objection if the white mechanics as well as the black mechanics, once get to trades, they will be able to get the money;

money begets influence, and influence respectability. Influence, wealth and character, will certainly destroy those prejudices which now separate you from society.

Get as much education as possible for yourselves and your offspring. Toil long and hard for it as for a pearl of great price. An ignorant people can never occupy any other than a degraded station in society: they can never be truly free until they are intelligent.”

* * * * *

“As it is by association that the condition of man is made better, and bodies of men rise up simultaneously from a state of degradation, I recommend to you the formation of societies for moral improvement. The whites have their Reading Societies, their Debating Societies, their Literary Associations, and Lyceums.—What is the consequence? These are bursting open the arcana of knowledge, and distributing the hidden treasures of ages, among the working classes. Every member goes to give what information he has got, and returns with an accumulation of intelligence. Mind answers to mind—heart to heart—hand to hand. A common sympathy is felt in each other’s condition—an enduring chain of friendship is formed, which time cannot rust.” * * * * *

“Let me briefly examine the doctrines of colonizationists. They generally agree in publishing the misstatement, that you are strangers and foreigners. Surely they know better. They know that, as a body, you are no more natives of Africa—than they themselves are natives of Great Britain. Yet they repeat the absurd charge; and they do so, in order to cover their anti-republican crusade. But suppose you were foreigners: would such an accident justify this persecution and removal? And, if so, then all foreigners must come under the same ban, and must prepare to depart. There would be, in that case, a most alarming deduction from our population. Suppose a philanthropic and religious crusade were got up against the Dutch, the French, the Swiss, the Irish, among us to remove them to New Holland, to enlighten and civilize her cannibals? Who would not laugh at such a scheme—who would not actively oppose it?” * * * * *

“Colonizationists generally agree in asserting that the blacks cannot be elevated in this country, nor be admitted to equal privileges with the whites. Is not this a libel upon humanity and justice—a libel upon republicanism—a libel upon the Declaration of Independence—a libel upon Christianity? “All men are born equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights—among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” * * *

“In bestowing our censure upon the Colonization Society, my brethren and friends, justice requires us to discriminate between its supporters. Of the benevolent and disinterested intentions of many individuals, especially in the free States, we ought not to doubt. It is true they are carried away in the popular current, but they would not willingly harm a hair of your heads. I rejoice to know, that they are waking from their delusion; that, as the light blazes upon their vision, they begin to see and repudiate the monstrous doctrines of the Society; and that conversions from colonization to abolition principles are multiplying with singular rapidity.—Let us not despair of seeing a speedy, radical, and total change in public opinion.”

EDITORIAL.

PREVENTION OF SLAVE INSURRECTIONS.
No. II.

We proceed with our quotations from Clarkson's view of the experiments made by the Hon. J. Steele; but our limits are so narrow that we can admit but a small portion of his comment. The facts, however, speak for themselves, in a language not to be misunderstood by a sincere enquirer or an attentive observer.

Matters having been adjusted so far, Mr. Steele introduced the practice of *rent* and *wages*. He put an annual rent upon each tenement, which he valued at so many days' labor. He set a rent also upon personal service, as due by the copyholder to his master in his former quality of slave—seeing that his master or predecessor had purchased a property in him, and this he valued in the same manner. He then added the two rents together, making so many days' work altogether, and estimated them in the current money of the time. Having done this, he fixed the daily wages or pay to be received by the copyholders for the work which they were to do. They were to work 260 days in the year for him, and to have 48 besides Sundays for themselves. He reduced these days' work also to current money. These wages he fixed at such a rate, that "they should be more than equivalent to the rent of their copyholds and the rent of their personal services when put together, in order to hold out to them an evident and profitable incentive to their industry." It appears that the rent of the tenement, half an acre, was fixed at the rate of 3*l.* currency, or between forty and fifty shillings sterling, per acre, and the wages for a man belonging to the first gang at 7½*d.* currency, or 6*d.* sterling per day. As to the rent for the personal services, it is not mentioned.

With respect to labor and things connected with it, Mr. Steele entered the following among the local laws in the *court-roll* of the tenants and tenements. The copyholders were not to work for other masters without the leave of the lord. They were to work ten hours per day. If they worked over and above that time, they were to be paid for every hour a tenth part of their daily wages, and they were also to forfeit a tenth for every hour they were absent or deficient in the work of the day. All sorts of work, however, were to be reduced, as far as it could be done by observation and estimation, to equitable task work. Hoes were to be furnished to the copyholders in the first instance; but they were to renew them, when worn out, at their own expense. The other tools were to be lent them, but to be returned to the store-keeper at night, or to be paid for in default of so doing.—Mr. Steele was to continue the hospital and medical attendance at his own expense, as before.

Mr. Steele, having now rent to receive and wages to pay, was obliged to settle a new mode of accounting between the plantation and the laborers. "He brought, therefore, all the minor crops of the plantation, such as corn, grain of all sorts, yams, eddoes, besides rum and molasses, into a regular cash account by weight and measure, which he charged to the copyholder-storekeeper at market prices of the current time, and the storekeeper paid them at the same prices to such of the copyholders as called for them

in part of wages, at whose option it was to take either cash or goods, according to their earnings—to answer all their wants. Rice, salt, salt fish, barrelled pork, Cork butter, flour, bread, biscuit, candles, tobacco and pipes, and all species of clothing, were provided and furnished from the store at the lowest market prices. An account of what was paid for daily subsistence, and of what stood in their arrears to answer the rents of their lands, the fines and forfeitures for delinquencies, their head-levy, and all other casual demands, was accurately kept in columns, with great simplicity, and in books which checked each other."

Such was the plan of Mr. Steele; and I have the pleasure of being able to announce, that the result of it was *highly satisfactory to himself*. In the year 1788, when only the first and second part of it had been reduced to practice, he spoke of it thus:—"A plantation," says he, "of between seven and eight hundred acres has been governed by fixed laws and a Negro-court, for about five years, with great success. In this plantation no overseer or white servant is allowed to lift his hand against a Negro, nor can he arbitrarily order a punishment. Fixed laws and a court or jury of their peers *keep all in order*, without the ill effect of sudden and intemperate passions." And in the year 1790, about a year after the last part of his plan had been put to trial, he says in a letter to Dr. Dickson, "My copyholders, have succeeded beyond my expectation." This was his last letter to that gentleman for he died in the beginning of the next year. Mr. Steele went over to Barbadoes, as I have said before, in the year 1780, and he was then in the eightieth year of his age. He began his humane and glorious work in 1783, and he finished it in 1789. It took him, therefore, six years to bring his Negroes to the state of vassalage described, or to that state from whence he was sure that they might be transferred without danger, in no distant time, to the rank of freemen if it should be thought desirable. He lived one year afterwards, to witness the success of his labors. He had accomplished, therefore, all he wished, and he died in the year 1791, in the 91st year of his age.

After many very pertinent remarks, for which we cannot possibly afford room, the review continues:—

Having now established, I hope, two of my points,—first, that emancipation is *practicable*, and, secondly, that it is *practicable without danger*,—I proceed to show the probability that *would be attended with profit* to those planters who should adopt it. I return, therefore, to the case of Mr. Steele.

I shall begin by quoting the following expressions of Mr. Steele: "I have employed and amused myself," says he, "by introducing an entire new mode of governing my own slaves, for their happiness, and also *for my own profit*." It appears then, that Mr. Steele's new method of management was *profitable*. Let us now try to make out from his own account, of what the profits consisted.

Mr. Steele informs us, that his superintendent had obliged him to hire all his holding at 2*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.* sterling, per acre. He was very much displeased at these repeated charges; and then it was, that he put to trial, I have before related, the question whether he could not obtain the labor of his Negroes

voluntary means, instead of by the old method of violence. He made, therefore, an attempt to introduce task work, or labor with a promised premium for extraordinary efforts, upon his estates. He gave his Negroes a small pecuniary reward over and above the usual allowance, and the consequence was, as he himself says, that "the poorest, feeblest, and by character the most indolent Negroes of the whole gang, cheerfully performed the holing of his land, generally said to be the most laborious work, for less than a fourth part of the stated price paid to the undertakers for holing." This experiment I have detailed above. After this he continued the practice of task-work for a premium. He describes the operation of such a system upon the minds of the Negroes in the following words: "According to the vulgar mode of governing Negro slaves, they feel only the desponding fear of punishment for doing less than they ought, without being sensible that the settled allowance of food and clothing is given, and should be accepted as a reward for doing well, while in task work, the expectation of winning the reward, and the fear of losing it, have a double operation to exert their endeavors." Mr. Steele was benefited in another point of view by this new practice. "He was clearly convinced, that saving time, by doing in one day as much as would otherwise require three days, was worth more than double the premium, the timely effects on vegetation being critical." He found also to his satisfaction, that "during all the operations under the premium there were no disorders, no crowding the sick house, as before."

The account shows, clearly, how Mr. Steele made a part of his profits. These profits consisted of a saving of expense in his husbandry, which saving was not made by others. He had his land holed at one fourth the usual rent. Let us apply this to all the other operations of husbandry—such as weeding, deep hoeing, &c. in a large farm of nearly eight hundred acres, and we shall see how considerable the savings would be in one year.

His Negroes again did not counterfeit sickness, as before, in order to be excused from labor, but rather wished to labor in order to obtain the reward. There was, therefore, no crowding to the hospitals. This constituted a second source of saving; for they who were in the hospital were maintained by Mr. Steele without earning any thing, while they who were working in the field left to their master in their work, when they went home at night, a value superior to that which they had received from him for their day's labor. But there was another saving of equal importance, which Mr. Steele calls a saving of time, but which he might with more propriety have called a saving of season. This saving of season, he says, was worth more than double the premium; and so it might easily have been. There are soils, every farmer knows, which are so constituted that if you miss your day, you miss your season; and if you miss your season, you lose probably half your crop. The saving, therefore, of the season, by having a whole crop instead of half a one, was a third source, of saving of money. Now, let us put all these savings together, and they will constitute a great saving or profit; for as these savings were made by Mr. Steele in consequence of his new plan, and were, therefore, not made by others, they constituted an extraordinary profit to him; or they added to the profit, whatever it might have

been, which he used to receive from the estate before his new plan was put in execution.

One more extract, and we must close this number. The following remarks are recommended to the serious consideration of every planter, in the United States, who now fancies that he treads the threshold of a heaving volcano by day, and reposes on a pillow of thorns by night. How easily might he change his dreadful anxiety, for comparative happiness! And not only to him, but to every slaveholder, is the invitation given, to read, consider, and deeply ponder, these important matters. Say not, that it is the language of your opponents. Every idea here expressed—every sentiment uttered—every fact stated—is calculated to encourage measures strictly in accordance with your temporal, if not eternal welfare.

Dr. Dickson, the editor of Mr. Steele, mentions these profits also, in the same terms, and connects them with an eulogium on Mr. Steele, which is worthy of our attention.—"Mr. Steele," says he, "saw the Negroes, like all other human beings, were to be stimulated to permanent exertion only by a sense of their own interests, in providing for their own wants and those of their offspring. He therefore tried rewards, which immediately roused the most indolent to exertion. His experiments ended in regular wages, which the industry he had excited among his whole gang enabled him to pay.—Here was a natural, efficient, and profitable reciprocity of interests. His people became contented; his mind was freed from that perpetual vexation, and that load of anxiety, which are inseparable from the vulgar system, and in little more than four years the annual net clearance of his property was more than tripled." Again in another part of the work: "Mr. Steele's plan may no doubt receive some improvements, which his great age obliged him to decline"—"but it is perfect as far as it goes. To advance above 300 field-negroes, who had never before moved without the whip, to a state nearly resembling that of contented, honest, and industrious servants, and after paying for their labor, to triple in a few years the annual net clearance of the estate,—these, I say, were great achievements for an aged man, in an untried field of improvement, pre-occupied by inveterate vulgar prejudice. He has, indeed, accomplished all that was really doubtful or difficult in the undertaking, and perhaps all that is at present desirable either for owner or slave; for he has ascertained as a fact, what was before only known to the learned as a theory, and to men as a paradox, that the paying of slaves for their labour does actually produce a very great profit to their owners."

The partisans of emancipation would be happy, indeed, if they could see the day when our West Indian slaves should arrive at the rank and condition of the copyholders of Mr. Steele. The freedom which they desire, they believe to be compatible with the joint interest of the master and the slave. At the same time they maintain, that the copyholders of Mr. Steele had been brought so near to the condition of free men, that a removal from one into the other, after a certain time, seemed more like a thing of course, than a matter of difficulty or danger.

From a Philadelphia paper.

AN APPEAL TO THE BENEVOLENT.

The undersigned committee, appointed by a general convention held in this city, to direct and assist the conventional agent, the Rev. Samuel E. Cornish, in soliciting funds for the establishing of a COLLEGIATE SCHOOL, on the Manual Labor system, beg leave to call the attention of the enlightened and benevolent citizens of Philadelphia and its vicinity to this important subject. In doing which, they deem it unnecessary in this enlightened country, and at this enterprising era, to adduce arguments or multiply words by way of appeal. The contrast between enlightened and barbarous nations—between the educated and the vulgar, is the plainest demonstration of the utility of their plan, and importance of their appeal. The colored citizens of the United States, assembled by delegation in this city, June last, alive to the interests of their brethren and community generally, resolved at whatever labor or expense to establish and maintain an institution, in which the sons of the present and future generations may obtain a classical education and the mechanic arts in general.

Believing that all who know the difficult admission of our youths into seminaries of learning, and establishments of mechanism—all who know the efficient influence of education in cultivating the heart, restraining the passions, and improving the manners—all who wish to see our colored population more prudent, virtuous, and useful, will lend us their patronage, both in money and prayers. The committee, in conclusion, would respectfully state, that the amount of money required to erect buildings, secure apparatus and mechanical instruments, is \$20,000; of this sum the colored people intend to contribute as largely as God has given them ability, and for the residue they look to the christian community, who know their wants, their oppression and wrongs—and more particularly to the inhabitants of this city, celebrated for its benevolence, and in which so many preceding steps, taken for the advancement of our oppressed people, have had their origin. They would further state, that all monies collected by the principal agent, Rev. Samuel E. Cornish, who is now in this city, and whom they recommend to the confidence of all to whom he may appeal, will be deposited in the United States Bank, subject to the order of Arthur Tappan, Esq. of New York, their generous patron and friend; and in the event of the institution not going into operation, be faithfully returned to the several donors. The contemplated Seminary will be located at New-Haven, Conn. and established on the self-supporting system, so that the student may cultivate habits of industry, and obtain useful mechanical or agricultural profession, while pursuing classical studies.

Signed in behalf of the Convention, by
 JAMES FORTEN,
 JOSEPH CASSEY,
 ROBERT DOUGLASS,
 ROBERT PURVIS,
 FREDERICK A. HINTON,
 Provisional Committee of Philadelphia.
 Philadelphia, September 5, 1831.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE WITH THE SLAVES AT THE SOUTH?—This is emphatically the difficult problem for the American Statesman to solve. The Boston

Transcript makes the following suggestion:—"What forbids the law that every child, born of a slave, shall be free, and educated at the public expense? These children might be taught to work on plantations, and their superior value, as free and independent laborers, would be more than equivalent to their wages. We wish that the people of the slave-holding states would think more of this subject. Slavery in this country, cannot exist forever, and they who feel its curse fall heaviest, should surely not be the last to attempt a remedy for the evil."—*Vt. Chron.*

We have received, by the Lady Halstead, the Kingston Chronicle of the 4th inst. The order of the British government for emancipating the Crown slaves had been carried into effect in Jamaica.—*Mer. Adv.*

THE AMERICAN CONVENTION.

The 22d biennial stated meeting of the "American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery," &c. will be held at Washington City, on the second Monday in January next, at 10 o'clock, A. M. All the Abolition, Manumission, Anti-Slavery, and Free Produce Societies, in the United States, are entitled to a representation, and are invited to participate.

On behalf of the Convention.

ROBERT P. ANDERSON, } *Sec'ys*
 CHARLES S. COPE, }

Washington, Sept. 23d, 1831.

N. B. Printers of newspapers, favorable to the cause of freedom, are respectfully requested to give the above a few insertions.

Extract from the Constitution of the Convention.

"ART. 2d. The Convention shall be composed of such Representatives, as the respective Societies associated to protect the rights of free persons of color, or to promote the Abolition of Slavery within the United States, may think proper to appoint, provided the number of any one Society shall not exceed ten."

PREMIUM FOR RICE.

The sum of TWENTY DOLLARS will be given as a premium, over and above the market price, for Five Casks of Fresh Rice, of good quality, raised by Free Labor, and delivered in Philadelphia, to Charles Pierce, before the 1st of June next, 1832.

The gentleman above named, is well known as a very respectable Grocer in Philadelphia, who has for several years past, made it a particular business to keep articles in his line that are exclusively the production of free labor.

The premium, together with the market price, will be promptly paid, on the delivery of the Rice, accompanied by proper reference and vouchers from some respectable person who is known in Philadelphia.

THE GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION. Vol. XII.

The object and character of this work are well known. It has been published ten years, and circulates in all the States of this Union, in Canada, the West Indies, Europe and Africa. It is exclusively devoted to the subject of the Abolition of Slavery, on the American Continent and Islands.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.


The work will, henceforth, be issued monthly. It will be neatly printed on fine paper, and folded in the octavo form, each number making sixteen large pages.

The price of subscription will be One Dollar per annum, *always to be paid in advance.*

Subscribers who do not particularly specify the time they wish to receive the work, or notify the Editor of a desire to discontinue it before the expiration of each current year, will be considered as engaged for the next succeeding one, and their bills will be forwarded accordingly.

Agents will be entitled to six copies for every five dollars remitted to the Editor, in current money of the United States.

All letters and communications intended for this office, must be addressed, free of expense, to BENJAMIN LUNDY, Washington, D. C.

 A few copies of the Eleventh Volume, complete, for sale.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED BY B. LUNDY—PUBLISHED IN WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE—\$1.00 PER ANN.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration of Independence, U. S.*

No. 7. VOL. II. THIRD SERIES.] **DECEMBER, 1831.** [WHOLE NUMBER 271. VOL. XII.]

In consequence of the indisposition of the editor, while travelling, together with other causes of delay entirely beyond his control, the matter for the present number of the *Genius* was not prepared in season, and no paper was issued, for last month. The chasm is partially filled, however, by a supplement of eight pages, accompanying this sheet. The supplement is a *gratuitous* offering to subscribers, to conciliate them for the irregularity here alluded to! They will receive the full complement of *whole sheets*, when the volume shall be completed; but the last number will appear one month later in the year than was originally contemplated.

AMERICAN CONVENTION.

The ninth day of next month will be the stated period for the twenty-second biennial session of the *American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery and Improving the Condition of the African Race.*" This Convention will meet now, for the second time, in the city of Washington. The aspect of affairs, relative to the question of African Emancipation, is such that many of its advocates will, probably, feel some hesitation in recommending much to be done in that assembly the present year. We hope, nevertheless, that the delegates from the various Societies will feel duly sensible of the high importance attached to a steady perseverance in the righteous cause, and that they will be enabled to transact the business that may come before them in the true spirit of republican freedom and christian philosophy. The writer of this has, for a number of years, enjoyed the pleasure of attending the meetings of that philanthropic body. But at the ensuing session he will be deprived of the great satisfaction resulting therefrom, by absence from home. That harmony of feeling and unity of purpose may characterize their deliberations, and that much good may result from their labors, is the sincere desire of his heart.

We perceive, by a notice in the Boston "*Liberator*," that a premium has been offered for an essay, to be submitted to the Convention for inspection, &c. But to give a correct idea of the matter, the notice is copied below. We like this plan of encouraging the investigation of subjects connected with the question of emancipation,—though we have never yet had leisure to compete with others, in such a case, for the prize.

A PREMIUM OFFERED.

An aged and responsible Gentleman in the vicinity of Boston, one of the few remaining revolutionary Patriots, an ardent lover of equal liberty and the rights of man, offers a premium of \$50, for the best written Essay, on the natural ef-

fects of Slavery (as now existing in the U. S.) on the SLAVEHOLDERS.

The Essays to be sent to the 'American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery,' to be held at Washington on the second Monday in January next, and their merits to be carefully examined and declared by a Committee of that body.

The proposed premium being duly awarded, shall be paid on application to the Editor of the *Boston Liberator*. Boston, Nov. 12, 1831.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Petitions to Congress, urging upon the attention of that body the great national importance of the extinction of slavery in the District of Columbia, have been prepared and numerous signed, in various parts of the United States. We inserted one of these, a few months since, which was circulated for signature in the District itself, and to which many names were attached. Copies of several others, from Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, New-York, &c. &c. have also been received for publication; but we find it impossible to spare room for all of them. Two of those received are inserted below, which, in substance, are much the same as the rest.

Since the unfortunate movements among the slaves in Virginia, &c. some of our friends have evinced a disposition to let the subject rest, though that very circumstance should have been considered the strongest proof of the absolute necessity of speedily putting an end to the system of oppression, which is productive of such disastrous results. We see no cause to slacken our exertions for the accomplishment of this purpose; and hope that all, who feel an interest in the matter, will continue their efforts to awaken the national legislators to a sense of the duty which unquestionably devolves upon them in relation thereto.

We were particularly gratified, a short time since, to see a list of about 400 names appended to a memorial of this kind, headed by the venerable ALEXANDER COFFIN,* of Hudson, New-York.

* We were delighted with a brief, though interesting, conversation with the patriarch A. Coffin, who is now verging on the age of a centenarian. The frost of nearly a hundred winters have silvered his locks, and the inexorable hand of time hath furrowed his manly brow;—but yet the generous glow of philanthropy warms his bosom, and the most ardent patriotism beams from his eye. He feelingly descanted on the wrongs of the African, and indignantly repudiated the idea of countenancing the horrible system of oppression, where constitutional power can put it down. Among other remarks, on the subject of slavery, he men-

This aged and very respectable gentleman is highly esteemed by his fellow-citizens, and possesses an extensive and deserving influence among them. May our cause soon have many more such advocates. Several of the people of that place and vicinity have evinced the most laudable disposition to bring this matter before the constituted authorities of the nation. Among others, the keeper of a Turnpike Gate, near the city, had put up a written notice, inviting those citizens of the district, passing through, to stop and sign the memorial. We understand he thus obtained a handsome list of names.

The annexed memorials are briefly couched in respectful terms, and at the same time exhibit a cogency of reasoning that cannot fail of impressing the minds of readers, generally, with the magnitude and importance of the subject to which they allude. Let that subject be fairly examined and well considered.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:—

The subscribers, citizens of the County of Burlington, in the State of New-Jersey, beg leave, respectfully, to call the attention of the representatives of the people to the subject of *Slavery*, within the District of Columbia, over which Congress has exclusive jurisdiction.

We do not impute to you a want of disposition to take measures which will finally eradicate, what we deem a reflection upon our nation, in its national character, so far as it applies to the District within your control. But having obtained the public opinion on this subject, it is presumed Congress will have less delicacy in taking the first step for the gradual, but final relief from *Slavery*, from the seat of the General Government.

It is deemed so incompatible with all the principles of our free institutions, that our surprise is only equalled by our regret, that the emancipation had not been commenced at a much earlier day. We are not aware that Congress have taken any measures to obtain this desirable end; though the National Jurisdiction has been exercised over this District for thirty years.

Your Memorialists will not presume to enter into any details, by which this object can be effected; believing that Congress possesses all the information on the subject calculated to present it to their minds in the boldest relief, when contrasted with the declaration which proclaimed us a nation.

We, therefore, pray that another session will not be suffered to pass without an effort by the representatives of this free and happy country, to say this important work has been commenced.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the U. States of America, in Congress assembled:—

Your Memorialists, citizens of the county of Columbia and state of New-York, respectfully represent:—

That, deeply as they are impressed with a conviction of the evils of *Slavery* in the District of

tioned the circumstance of the African female poet, *Phillis Wheatly*, having been, for some months, a resident (with her mother) in the same house that he occupied, in Boston. He bears ample testimony to the excellent character and fine talents of *Phillis*, and rejects, unhesitatingly, the doctrine of knaves and fools, which stigmatizes the blacks as a *naturally* inferior class of the human family.

Columbia, they believe the existence of those evils is too generally admitted and deplored to render it necessary to detail them. They therefore earnestly solicit your intervention to wipe from the fair institutions of our beloved country, the stain, that the *sanction* of Congress to this calamity, has hitherto suffered to rest upon them.

After the late *peaceable* emancipation of large bodies of *Slaves* in our sister republics of South America, and Mexico, as well as in several of our own states, no one, we conceive, can justly apprehend danger from a like noble act in the small District of Columbia. And as that District is exclusively under the control and authority of the general government, it is not expected that any scruple can arise as to the constitutionality of the measure.

An act of Congress for ever abolishing *Slavery* within those limits, would exalt the national character, and we doubt not would promote the best interests of all concerned, and give general satisfaction to your fellow-citizens.

MEMORIALS PRESENTED.

From a statement of the proceedings of Congress, as published in the newspapers, it appears that *fifteen* memorials, or petitions, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, were presented to the House of Representatives on the 12th instant, by the Hon. John Quincy Adams. We copy the following paragraphs from the *New York Whig*. Who reported the proceedings, we do not know. The editor of this work being from home at present, has not an opportunity of noting personally, the public movements at Washington. We do not believe that the half said by the Hon. member was recorded.

Various petitions and memorials were presented, among which were 15, presented by Mr. John Quincy Adams, from certain Quakers of Pennsylvania, praying for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia. On presenting them, Mr. A. observed they had been sent to him many months ago, with a request that he would present them. He was grateful for the confidence thus reposed in him, and he entertained the highest respect for the class of men from whom they emanated, as comprising "as much human virtue as any other class on the face of the globe;" but concluded by saying:—

"If there were any thing in the present state of the traffic in slaves, which might become a proper subject of legislation, he would move that a portion of the petitions should be referred to a committee appointed on the affairs of the District of Columbia; with respect to the other part, the abolition of slavery, the petitioners probably expected he should give it his support. He felt his duty to declare, that he should not give it his support. Whatever might be his opinion of slavery, in the abstract, in the District of Columbia, he hoped it would not become a subject of discussion in that House.

"If such should be the case, he should then state his reasons for differing from the sentiments of the petitioners, on this subject. The honorable gentleman concluded by observing, that the most healing medicines, when unduly administered, become the most deadly poison."

The petitions were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

We shall reserve for a future occasion the task of commenting, at length, on the language he

used by the gentleman to whom these memorials were entrusted. *We are not disappointed* in learning the course he has determined to pursue. *And we are not the less firmly resolved to press the subject upon the attention of the people and their representatives, from time to time,* because a political favorite of a large portion of our friends chooses to decline the advocacy of our cause. Nay more: Should every popularity hunter in the land set his face against us, (and it is yet to be expected that they will, generally, do so,) we shall still march onward, with unfaltering step, in the glorious path, and in pursuit of the grand object, to which patriotism, philanthropy, justice, and christian duty constantly direct our views. Let every memorial and petition of this nature be forwarded to Congress, that can be prepared and signed in every part of the Union; and in process of time we shall find champions in the halls of that "august" assembly, who will not fear to advocate the cause of justice because it is *unpopular* among the unreflecting and the tyrannical. More anon.

Since the above was prepared for the Press, we have seen another version of the Hon. gentleman's remarks. It is much more explanatory than that we have quoted.

IMPORTANT LEGAL DECISION.

A law was enacted by the Legislature of Virginia, in 1823, which authorized the sale of free colored persons, as slaves, for certain offences.—Sometime since, a mulatto man, named Batkin, was convicted of felony, and sold by authority of this law. His mother was a white woman, and he was born in Virginia. At length, after being several times sold, he was purchased by a man in Tennessee, and removed thither. He petitioned the Circuit Court of that State for his freedom, and was set at liberty. The Court decided that the provisions of the law, under which he was first sold as a slave, were a positive violation of both the Bill of Rights of Virginia, and that clause of the Constitution which prohibits the passage of bills of attainder, &c.

We repeat, that this is an *important* decision;—and it must cause no little stir among the jurists of the "ancient dominion." How many poor wretches may yet be pining in slavery, who were as illegally doomed to that condition as was the ultimately more fortunate Batkin!

CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES.

The following table, &c. showing the number of persons in the United States, according to the Census of 1830, is copied from the *New-York American*. The remarks respecting the disproportion between *aged* white and colored persons are appropriate, and the subject is worthy of consi-

deration. We have been told that *America is not the home of the colored man*. What says Nature? The Census will be noticed more in detail, at a future period.

Recapitulation, exhibiting the General Aggregate Amount of each description of Persons in the United States, by Classes.

FREE WHITE PERSONS.	
Males—under 5 years of age,	972,194
of 5 and under 10,	782,637
of 10 " 15,	671,688
of 15 " 20,	575,614
of 20 " 30,	952,902
of 30 " 40,	592,596
of 40 " 50,	369,370
of 50 " 60,	230,500
of 60 " 70,	134,910
of 70 " 80,	58,136
of 80 " 90,	15,945
of 90 " 100,	1,993
of 100 and upwards,	274—5,358,759
Females—under 5 yrs. of age,	920,104
of 5 and under 10,	751,649
of 10 " 15,	639,063
of 15 " 20,	597,713
of 20 " 30,	915,662
of 30 " 40,	555,565
of 40 " 50,	355,425
of 50 " 60,	225,928
of 60 " 70,	130,866
of 70 " 80,	58,034
of 80 " 90,	17,672
of 90 " 100,	2,484
of 100 and upwards,	234—5,167,299
Total number of Free Whites,	10,526,058

SLAVES.	
Males—under 10 years of age,	353,845
of 10 and under 24,	313,676
of 24 " 36,	185,654
of 36 " 55,	118,996
of 55 " 100,	41,456
of 100 and upwards,	718—1,014,345
Females—under 10 yrs. of age,	347,566
of 10 and under 24,	308,793
of 24 " 36,	186,082
of 36 " 55,	111,753
of 55 " 100,	41,422
of 100 and upwards,	688—996,284
Total number of Slaves	2,010,629

FREE COLORED PERSONS.	
Males—under 10 years of age,	48,737
of 10 and under 24,	43,126
of 24 " 36,	27,629
of 36 " 55,	22,262
of 55 " 100,	11,475
of 100 and upwards,	266—153,495
Females—under 10 yrs. of age,	47,347
of 10 and under 24,	48,125
of 24 " 36,	32,504
of 36 " 55,	24,266
of 55 " 100,	13,369
of 100 and upwards,	361—165,962

Total number of Free Colored Persons.. 319,467
 Total aggregate of the U. S. 12,856,154

The fact that strikes us at the first glance in this statement, is the immense disproportion of *aged* colored people, to *aged* white people. Take the extreme case for instance:—there are of
 White males, over 100 years, - 274
 do. females, " " - 234
 —508
 out of a population of ten and a half millions! or

about one centenarian for every twenty thousand souls.

Of male slaves, over 100 years, - 718
female do. " " - 668—1386
out of a population of little over two millions, or one centenarian for every fourteen hundred souls!

But the free colored persons give a result still more incredible:—there are

Of males over 100 years, - 266
females " " - 361—627
out of a population of three hundred and nineteen thousand persons, or a centenarian for every 500 souls!!

In the periods included between 55 and 100, the colored population exhibits throughout an incredibly greater proportion of aged persons, than, for the same periods, is allotted to the whites.

WILBERFORCE SETTLEMENT.

We have lately had several very interesting interviews with the Rev. Nathaniel Paul, and Israel Lewis, who have been appointed as agents to collect funds, for the purpose of aiding the emigrants to the Wilberforce Settlement, in Canada. The gentleman, first named, will proceed forthwith to England, accompanied, as we understand, by another person, appointed by the colored people of New-York. Lewis will travel in various parts of the United States, soliciting contributions, for the purpose above mentioned. Both of these agents are provided with suitable credentials, and the most unquestionable evidence that full confidence in their integrity and uprightness is reposed in them. We shall soon have more to say respecting this Settlement.

THE VIRGINIA MASSACRE.

It is generally supposed that the finale of this horrible tragedy has developed itself. The prime mover and acknowledged leader having been taken and executed, no further symptoms of insurrection have lately appeared in the slaveholding part of the United States. The dreadful alarm which every where existed for a time, has gradually subsided; and many are consoling themselves with the belief that they are again secure. Some will thus quiet their minds, and rest under the fatal delusion, drawing the cord of oppression still tighter and tighter, until another attempt shall probably be made to sever the "gordian knot," as before. Others, more foresighted, will exert themselves to bring about a change in the political and moral system, by which means the gory arm of servile commotion may be stayed at the bidding of humanity and justice.* Whether these

* A writer in the Petersburg (Va.) Intelligencer, advertng to this subject, remarks as follows:—

"The sentiment is gaining ground in Virginia, that the whole African race ought to be removed from among us. Many people feel unwilling to die and leave their posterity exposed to all the ills which, from the existence of slavery in our State, they have themselves so long felt.

"Others are unwilling themselves longer to suffer these inconveniences—some of our best citi-

zens will possess sufficient influence, and evince the requisite promptitude and activity, to accomplish any thing of importance, we are at present unable to judge. Our hopes lean to the side of peace and safety, yet our doubts, at the same time, tend to increase, rather than diminish our anxious solicitude for the future welfare of all.

On reviewing the various transactions, connected with the subject before us, and in noting, particularly, the results of every investigation as they have unfolded themselves to our view, it is extremely gratifying to perceive that nothing yet done by us, could be construed as having in any degree promoted the direful catastrophe. Notwithstanding the advocates of slavery have charged us with being the chief agents in stirring up the elements of commotion; altho' they madly imprecate us, and in the frenzy of their rage denounce us, as the authors of all the mischief—as the grand marplots of the day, who not only disturb their repose, but even compass their destruction—we say that notwithstanding they thus endeavor to fasten the authorship of that awfully tragic performance upon us, we can, with truth, answer them in the language of Shakspeare:

"Thou canst not say I did it; never shake
'Thy gory locks at me."

No, after every examination that has been made—after the most minute and severe scrutiny that was probably ever instituted—not a single free colored person has been convicted of a participation in any one of the numerous plots, conspiracies, or insurrections, discovered or suspected, in the southern States, during the recent period of alarm. And, further, we have heard of the prosecution of but one slave, in whose possession was found a publication in which an advocate of emancipation is or has been concerned; and it is believed

others are already removing—others will doubtless follow, unless they can see a probability that at some period, the evil will be taken away."

The Richmond Whig, also, considers the subject "of such vital consequence, that in comparison all other questions sink into utter insignificance."

It is much to be regretted, however, that southern gentlemen cannot perceive the futility of depending upon the plan of removing the colored race. The desired object will never, NEVER, be accomplished by such means, alone. We do not wish to discourage this plan, if properly conducted, but—SOMETHING ELSE must also be done. The editor of the New-York Sentinel has a clear view of the matter. He says, in copying the above from the Petersburg paper:—

"It is somewhat consoling to learn, as we do by the above paragraph, that the people of the South are awakening to the danger in which they are placed; but it is extraordinary that they do not determine to do justice, as the best means of averting the threatened danger. The project of removing them, we believe to be a fallacy: let them have a reasonable prospect of liberation, and prepare them for the change, and there will no longer be danger of insurrection."

that that one was acquitted. Instead of participating therein, our most violent traducers have admitted, that free persons of color and intelligent slaves did, in many instances, not only give timely information of meditated insurrection, but also assisted promptly in quelling the same.

Is not a knowledge of these facts of the utmost importance to all concerned? Do they not furnish us with the most TRIUMPHANT VINDICATION that could be even desired? Will not our moderate and honest opponents therefore candidly admit, after a season of calm reflection, that (with a very few exceptions) danger is not to be apprehended from that portion of the colored population whose condition has been meliorated, and whose prospects are hopeful; *—but, on the contrary, that those alone are to be dreaded whose necks are inured to the yoke of cruel bondage; whose limbs are benumbed by unrewarded toil; whose desert minds are as dark as Erebus; cheerless and hopeless as the shades of death; and whose souls are thus estranged from the principles of virtue, fired with vengeance, and frenzied by rage and desperation? This, it must be acknowledged, is the true state of the case; and most ardently do we desire that all may take a right view of the subject. Then shall the light of information soon dispel the gloom of anxiety andoding fear; hostility shall be disrobed of his crimson garb; the moral volcano shall cease its tremulous and awful vibrations; and neither the signs in the heavens" nor wholesome political restrictions will longer be interpreted by superstition and ignorance as the fated precursors of insurrection, bloodshed, and slaughter.

We hope that, henceforth, we shall not have occasion to occupy much space in our pages with this painful subject: but as every reader undoubtedly wishes to have a right understanding of it, we have felt in duty bound to give as many of the particulars connected with it as our limits would allow. We insert below an article, from the *Belmont Enquirer*, relative to the confessions of Nat Turner, the leader of the late insurrection, who was taken, about the last of October, and soon after executed. These "confessions" have been published in a pamphlet, at Baltimore, but not from home, we have not yet seen it.

THE CONFESSIONS OF NAT TURNER.—Mr. T. Gray's pamphlet of "The Confessions of Nat Turner, the leader of the late insurrection in South-

* It is gratifying to perceive that some of the slaveholders to the south of us are sensible of this. A report obtained credit that a conspiracy had been formed among the slaves near Claiborne, Alabama. A letter from that place, in notifying the circumstance, remarked that no fears were entertained of the whites being taken by surprise,—as the creoles (mulattoes and others) were conversant with all the movements of the slaves, and might be depended on to give timely warning, in case an attempt of the kind should be made.

ampton," has been published at Baltimore. It makes 22 pages. It professes to give, from the bandit's own lips, the circumstances which formed him a leader and a fanatic. It sketches the commencement, progress and termination of an insurrection, the bare recital of which makes the blood run cold. The description of the butchery of the whites is terrific. We cannot make copious extracts from it, because it is put under a copy right. But we may be permitted, without infringing on the author's privilege, to copy the following incidents:

"And by signs in the heavens that it would make known to me when I should commence the great work—and until the first sign appeared, I should conceal it from the knowledge of men.—And on the appearance of the sign, (the eclipse of the sun last February) I should arise and prepare myself, and slay my enemies with their own weapons. And immediately on the sign appearing in the heavens, the seal was removed from my lips, and I communicated the great work laid out for me to do to four in whom I had the greatest confidence, (Henry, Hark, Nelson, and Sam.) It was intended by us to have begun the work of death on the 4th July last. Many were the plans formed and rejected by us, and it affected my mind to such a degree that I fell sick, and the time passed without our coming to any determination how to commence. Still forming new schemes and rejecting them, when the sign appeared again, which determined me not to wait longer."—[the strange appearance of the sun.] * * *

"Hark got a ladder, and set it up against the chimney, on which I ascended, and, hoisting a window, entered and came down stairs, unbarred the door, and removed the guns from their places.—It was then observed that I must spill the first blood. On which, armed with a hatchet and accompanied by Will, I entered my master's chamber: it being dark, I could not give a death-blow, the hatchet glanced from his head, he sprang from the bed and called his wife: it was his last word. Will laid him dead with a blow of his axe, and Mrs. Travis shared the same fate, as she lay in bed. The murder of this family, five in number, was the work of a moment, not one of them awoke: there was a little infant sleeping in a cradle, that was forgotten until we had left the house and gone some distance, when Henry and Will returned and killed it. We got here four guns that would shoot, and several old muskets, with a pound or two of powder." * * * *

"From Mr. Reese's we went to Mrs. Turner's, a mile distant, which we reached about sunrise on Monday morning. Henry, Austin, and Sam went to the still, where, finding Mr. Peebles, Austin shot him, and the rest of us went to the house; as we approached, the family discovered us, and shut the door. Vain hope! Will, with one stroke of his axe, opened it, and we entered and found Mrs. Turner and Mrs. Newsome in the middle of a room almost frightened to death. Will immediately killed Mrs. Turner, with one blow of his axe. I took Mrs. Newsome by the hand, and with the sword I had when I was apprehended, I struck her several blows over the head, but not being able to kill her, as the sword was dull, Will turned round, and discovering it, despatched her also. A general destruction of property and a search for money and ammunition, always succeeded the murders." * * * *

"All the family were already murdered, but Mrs. Whitehead and her daughter Margaret. As I came round to the door, I saw Will pulling Mrs. Whitehead out of the house; and at the step he nearly severed her head from her body with his

broad-axe. Miss Margaret, when I discovered her, had concealed herself in a corner formed by the projection of the cellar-cap from the house; on my approach she fled, but was soon overtaken, and after repeated blows with the sword, I killed her by a blow on the head with a fence rail."

What wretches! This monster Will furnishes deeds that would suit the pencil of Salvator Rosa.

One confession of Nat Turner is important:

He was asked "if he knew of any extensive or concerted plan. His answer was—I do not.—When I questioned him as to the insurrection in North Carolina happening about the same time; he denied any knowledge of it; and when I looked him in the face, as though I would search his inmost thoughts, he replied: 'I see, sir, you doubt my word; but can you not think the same ideas, and strange appearances about this time in the heavens, might prompt others, as well as myself, to this undertaking?'"

The pamphlet has one defect—we mean its style. The confession of the culprit is given, as it were, from his own lips—(and when read to him, he admitted its statements to be correct)—but the language is far superior to what Nat Turner could have employed—Portions of it are even eloquently and classically expressed. This is calculated to cast some shade of doubt over the authenticity of the narrative, and to give the bandit a character for intelligence which he does not deserve, and ought not to have received. In all other respects, the confession appears to be faithful and true. The whole pamphlet is deeply interesting.

MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES.

In our review of the article, headed "The Mexicans in 1830," some notice was taken of the attempt, on the part of the United States, to become possessed of the province of Texas, &c.—We now proceed to show further, from other sources, the overweening anxiety manifested, by both the government and individuals, to secure the possession thereof; from which some additional ideas of its great importance to the owner may be formed. The sentiments and movements of some of the most intelligent Mexicans, relative to the subject, will also be noted, that the reader may understand they likewise are fully sensible of its intrinsic value, and determined to *retain it* at every hazard.

We give a description of the Texas country, &c. &c. (which is believed to be generally correct,) in a Supplement to the present number of this work. It will be found very interesting. We likewise intend collecting and publishing, from time to time, such further information respecting that portion of the Mexican republic, particularly, as we may conceive to be desirable to our readers.

In the spring and summer of 1829, Thomas H. Benton, the most open and unblushing advocate of *Missouri slavery*, (now a senator in Congress from that State,) conceived the magnificent project of acquiring, by diplomacy or force, the vast country east of the Rio Bravo del Norte, including the whole of the province of Texas, with parts of se-

veral others adjoining. His avowed object was, to obtain it for the humane purpose of extending the limits of our slave territory and adding several more slaveholding States to this Union. Briefly, his views were delineated in the following extract from a paper published at Edgefield, South Carolina. A more *shameless* claim was, perhaps never made than the one before us; and it will be seen that the hope of success was partially, if not mainly, based on the supposition, that the critical state of affairs in Mexico would compel that government to submit quietly to the usurpation.

"The acquisition of Texas, relinquished by the Government of the United States to the *magnanimous* Ferdinand VII, by the Florida Treaty of 1819, is now a subject of much interest in the Western States. This valuable territory has now devolved upon the republic of Mexico, and free the condition of that country—suffering under invasion and civil war, and with scanty finances—it is supposed that its retrocession might be obtained for a reasonable equivalent. Great confidence is expressed that the Administration will embrace the present favorable occasion of regaining an extensive and fertile region of country, within the natural limits of the United States. Some imposing essays, originally published in the *S. Louis Beacon*, with the signature of American and attributed to Col. Benton of the Senate, explaining the circumstances of the Treaty of 1819 and displaying the advantages of the retrocession have operated upon the public mind in the West with electrical force and rapidity. The writer produces strong circumstantial proof that the surrender of Texas resulted from the subserviency of our negociator to Spain in her contest with Mexico, together with the powerful subsidiary motive of hostility to the Western and Southern sections of our own country. This large fragment of the Mississippi Valley, affording sufficient territory for four or five slaveholding States, was unceremoniously sacrificed, with scarcely the pretext of demand for it on the part of Spain. The time of the negotiation was during the heat of the debate on the Missouri question—the place was Washington, whither the negotiation had been unnecessarily removed while it was proceeding prosperously at Madrid, and where the restrictionists were then assembled in all their strength—and the negociator was Mr. Adams, the friend and associate of the most thoroughgoing among these restrictionists. Americanus exposes the evils to the United States of this surrender under twelve distinct heads, which we have not room to enumerate. Two of them of particular interest to this section of the country, are, that it brings a new slaveholding empire into juxtaposition with the slaveholding Southwest, and that it diminishes the outlet for the emigration of the Indians inhabiting the States of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee."

The writer of the essays, above alluded to, undertook, indeed, to show that *equity and justice* demanded the increase of *slave states*, to keep *par passu* in numerical strength with those which prohibit the practice of slaveholding! Hear him.

"That these latter [the slave states] have much to fear from the undue or excessive preponderance of the free states is proved in every way that human proof can be exhibited to the human mind, in speeches, writings and essays; in new

paper publications; in books and pamphlets; in the acts and proceedings of corporate bodies; in the resolutions and memorials of societies and associations; in the solemn acts of state legislatures; in the halls of congress; from the federal judicial bench, and from the sacred stand of the pulpit; all issuing for a series of years from the non-slaveholding states; all thickening as time advances, and all tending to one point, the abolition of slavery, under the clause in the Declaration of Independence, which asserts the natural equality of all men. Dreadful would be the condition of these states,—cruel and terrible their fate beyond the power of pen to describe or pencil to paint, or of imagination to conceive, if in the excessive preponderance of the free states and in furious contentions for political power a majority of judges should be found on the bench of the supreme court of the U. States to act on the law declared by Mr. Justice Story in his charge to the grand jury at Portsmouth, N. H., in May, 1820, or a majority in congress should be found to act on the principles avowed by Mr. R. King in the Senate; or on the principles contained in the petition presented to the House of Representatives, by its then speaker, Mr. J. W. Taylor, in the session of 1822-3; or on the principles contained in the Report of a committee of the House of Representatives, in the case of the slave of D'Auterive, at the session before last. Whenever a majority may be found in congress, or on the supreme bench, to act upon these principles, thus avowed and declared from the highest seats of legislative and judicial power, and to carry them out to their legitimate conclusions, the fate of the slave states in this Union will be as much more lamentable and terrible than that of the French inhabitants of San Domingo in '93, as the cruelties of Indian war superadded to the atrocities of negro insurrection can exceed the horrors of negro insurrection."

We make no comment on the above, except to say that it has not the least resemblance to probability. No wonder that a man, entertaining sentiments like these, should wish our government to grasp the territory in question—*right or wrong!* A statesman, of this cast, is prepared for any usurpation that *power* or *fraud* can render successful.

We next give an extract from the *Arkansas Gazette*, to show that our government had taken official measures to obtain the territory, by negotiation. The Mexicans, however, had become apprized of the designs of our slavite politicians; they had learned that their great object was to fill the country with *slaves*, by which the "accursed system" would have been almost indefinitely extended, and probably perpetuated for centuries; and they wisely rejected the insidious proposal, based, as it was, on the most ambitious and tyrannical motives. We think the writer in the *Gazette* was mistaken in the supposition that the late President of that Republic and his party would have sanctioned one of the most splendid schemes of magnificent *despotism* that has been presented to the world since the enslavement of the African race. President Guerrero was fully informed of the grand infernal project; and it is a libel upon his character to assert—indeed the man must be ignorant of that character who can suppose—that

he would have lent himself to the accomplishment of an object so degrading to his country, and disastrous to millions of his *color*. The extract from the *Gazette*, aforesaid, runs thus:—

"*Purchase of Texas.*—As the subject of the purchase of Texas has engrossed much of the attention of our politicians for a year or two past, it may not, perhaps, be improper to state, that we are in possession of information, on this subject, derived from a source entitled to the highest credit, which destroys all hope of the speedy acquisition of that country by the United States.

"Col. BUTLER, the Charge des Affaires of the United States to Mexico, was specially authorized and charged by the President, to treat with that Government for the purchase of Texas. But he did not reach the city of Mexico until about three weeks after the overthrow of Gen. GUERRERO, late President of Mexico. If he had arrived there a few weeks sooner, our informant thinks he would have found but little difficulty in concluding a treaty with the then predominant party for the purchase of Texas. But the present predominant party, under Vice-President BUSTAMANTE, appear to be jealous of the United States, and, indeed, of almost every other foreign power, and are decidedly opposed to ceding any portion of its territory.

"No hopes need, therefore, he thinks, be entertained of our acquiring Texas, until some other party, more friendly to the United States than the present, shall predominate in Mexico—and, perhaps, not until the people of Texas shall throw off the yoke of allegiance to that government, which they will no doubt do, as soon as they shall have a reasonable pretext for doing so. At present they are probably subject to as few exactions or impositions as any people under the sun. Their lands are given to them, and they are exempt from taxes of every description, and enjoy many other privileges which they could not look for under any other government. So long as the government of Mexico continues to act in good faith towards them, so long may they be expected to remain loyal and peaceable subjects and citizens."

[We had extended this article to a much greater length;—but regret to find that we have not room for the whole now. The conclusion will appear next month.]

PERSECUTION OF FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR.

A gentleman of New-York writes, under date of December 14th, 1831, that 400 colored persons have arrived in that place, from the South, on their way to the Canada Settlement. They were compelled, no doubt, to leave their native homes, by the fiery persecution that now rages against the free people of color, on account of the misconduct of the SLAVES!!

A short time since, twenty persons of color were sent to New-York, from North Carolina, by the Society of Friends. They were so severely harassed, under the pretence of suspected conspiracy, that the vexation became insupportable, and they determined to seek new homes in some more friendly region.

The fact is, we must have an extensive place of refuge for these cruelly oppressed and innocent sufferers. Go where they will in this "free"—no, this *despotic* country, prejudice stares them in

the face, even if persecution do not quench the last glimmering ray of hope, and efface every vestige of happiness from their minds. Thousands, it is true, are rising up to plead their cause; and, in process of time, a change must come. In the mean time, let them look towards Canada, Mexico, and Hayti. There they will be treated as men, and enjoy every natural human right.

MOB AT NORFOLK.

A very respectable and intelligent colored Baptist preacher, of the name of *Raymond*, residing in Norfolk, Virginia, was invited to preach at several places in North Carolina. Having complied with the request, he returned home soon after the period of the Southampton insurrection.—Without a shadow of cause for suspicion, a lawless mob immediately assembled before his house, charging him with participating in that horrible affair. They were about to take him forcibly from his dwelling, (and would, probably, have executed him summarily,) when a number of more worthy citizens interfered, and with difficulty prevented them from effecting their design. He immediately left Norfolk, and went to New-York, where the writer of this article saw him, and received from him the substance of what is here related. He appeared very grateful for the justice and kindness of his white friends, but considerably dejected in spirit, on account of his hairbreadth escape from a cruel fate.

Reflecting upon this circumstance, the thought frequently occurs: How many blacks may have recently been destroyed, by the exasperated whites, who were as innocent as the more fortunate Raymond? These are some of the consequences of fostering a martial spirit. These, O War! are the murderous concomitants of thy besom march o'er the world!

THE PHRENSY OF CONSCIOUS GUILT!

It is said that the Senate of Georgia has passed certain resolutions, offering a reward of FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS for the arrest and conviction of the publishers of the Boston "*Liberator*"!!!—Let Garrison and Knapp look out, and beware of kidnappers and assassins. There are many who would pay a liberal sum for their "scalps!"

EMIGRATION OF COLORED PEOPLE.

We learn, from the Richmond Whig, that the ship James Perkins sailed from Norfolk, on the 9th inst. for Africa, with about 60 families of colored people, comprising upwards of 300 individuals, many of them liberated slaves.

It is also stated, that 22 persons of color (under the care of the society of Friends) were sent, about the first of this month, to Dighton, Massachusetts.

PREVENTION OF SLAVE INSURRECTIONS.

No. III.

We shall take a few more extracts from the very interesting pamphlet from which we have so liberally quoted already, and then proceed to prove the correctness of our propositions by other equally indubitable testimony. Having finished his review of the experiments made by the Hon. J. Steele, Clarkson proceeds:—

I have now proved (*as far as the plan* of Mr. Steele is concerned*) my third proposition, or the probability that emancipation would promote the interests of those who should adopt it; but as I know of no other estate similarly circumstanced with that of Mr. Steele, that is, where emancipation has been tried, and where a detailed result of it has been made known, I cannot confirm it by other similar examples. I must have resource, therefore, to some new species of proof. Now it is an old maxim, as old as the days of Pliny and Columella, and confirmed by Dr. Adam Smith, and all the modern writers on political economy, that *the labor of free men is cheaper than the labor of slaves*. If therefore I should be able to show that this maxim would be true if applied to all the operations and demands of West India agriculture, I should be able to establish my proposition on a new ground; for it requires no great acuteness to infer, that if it be cheaper to employ free men than slaves in the cultivation of our islands emancipation would be a profitable process.

I shall show, then, that the old maxim just mentioned is true, when applied to the case in our own islands, first by establishing the fact that *free men*, people of colour, in the East Indies, are employed in *precisely the same concerns* (the cultivation of the cane and the making of sugar) as the slaves in the West, and that they are employed *at a cheaper rate*. The testimony of Henry Botham, Esq., will be quite sufficient for this point. That gentleman resided for some time in the East Indies, where he became acquainted with the business of a sugar estate. In the

*It is much to be feared that this beautiful order of things was broken up after Mr. Steele's death by his successors, either through their own prejudices, or their unwillingness or inability to stand against the scoffs and prejudices of others. It may be happy, however, for thousands now in slavery, that Mr. Steele lived to accomplish his plan. The constituent parts and result of it being known a fine example is shown to those who may be desirous of trying emancipation.

year 1770 he quitted the East for the West. His object was to settle in the latter part of the world, if it should be found desirable so to do. For this purpose he visited all the West Indian Islands, both English and French, in about two years. He became during this time a planter, though he did not continue long in this situation; and he superintended also Messrs. Bosanquets' and J. Fatio's sugar-plantation in their partners' absence. Finding at length the unprofitable way in which the West Indian planters conducted their concerns, he returned to the East Indies in 1776, and established sugar-works at Bencoolen on his own account. Being in London in the year 1789, when a committee of privy council was sitting to examine into the question of the slave trade, he delivered a paper to the board on the mode of cultivating a sugar plantation in the East Indies; and this paper being thought of great importance, he was summoned afterwards in 1791 by a committee of the House of Commons, and was examined personally upon it.

It is very remarkable that the very first sentence in this paper announced the fact at once, that "sugar, better and cheaper than that in the West-Indian islands, was produced by free men."

Mr. Botham then explained the simple process of making sugar in the East. "A proprietor, generally a Dutchman, used to let his estate, say 300 acres or more, with proper buildings upon it, to a Chinese, who lived upon it and superintended it, and who relet it to free men in parcels of 50 or 60 acres, on condition they should plant it in canes for so much for every pekul, 133 lbs., of sugar produced. This superintendent hired people from the adjacent villages to take off his crop. One set of task-men with their carts and buffaloes cut the canes, carried them to the mill, and ground them. A second set boiled them, and a third clayed and basketed them for market at so much per pekul. Thus the enterer knew with certainty what every pekul would cost him, and he incurred no unnecessary expense; for, when the crop was over, the task-men returned home. By dividing the labor in this manner, it was better and cheaper done."

The statement of Botham is rather prolix, and part of it irrelevant to the point under examination. The following sentences conclude his statement:—

"I do suppose our sugar-islands might

be better worked than they now are by *two-thirds* or indeed *one-half* of the present force. Let it be considered how much labor is lost by the persons *overseeing the forced laborer*, which is saved when he works *for his own profit*. I have stated with the strictest veracity a plain matter of fact, that sugar-estates can be worked *cheaper by free men than by slaves.*"*

Clarkson further observes:—

I shall now show, that the old maxim, which has been mentioned, is true, when applied to the case of our West Indian islands, by establishing a fact of a very different kind, viz. that the slaves in the West Indies do much more work in a given time when *they work for themselves*, than when *they work for their masters*. But how, it will be said, do you prove, by establishing this fact, that it would be cheaper for our planters to employ free men than slaves? I answer, that, *while the slaves are working for themselves*, they are to be considered, indeed that they are, *bona fide, free laborers*. In the first place, they have no driver with them on these occasions; and, in the second place, *having all their earnings to themselves*, they have that stimulus within them to excite industry which belongs peculiarly to *free men*. What is it, I ask, which gives birth to industry in any part of the world, seeing that labor is not agreeable to man, but the stimulus arising from the hope of gain? What makes an English laborer do more work in the day than a slave, but the stimulus arising from the knowledge that what he earns is *for himself and not for another*? What, again, makes an English laborer do much more work *by the piece* than *by the day*, but the stimulus arising from the knowledge that he may gain more by the former than by the latter mode of work?

Just so is the West Indian slave situated, when *he is working for himself*, that is, when he knows *that what he earns is for his own use*. He has then the stimulus of a free man, and he is, therefore, *during such work* (though unhappily no longer) really, and in effect, and to all intents and purposes, as much a *free laborer* as any

*Mr. Botham's account is confirmed incontrovertibly by the fact, that sugar made in the East Indies can be brought to England (though it has three times the distance to come, and of course three times the freight to pay,) and yet be afforded to the consumer at as cheap a rate as any that can be brought thither from the West.—Clarkson.

And cotton is now (and sugar will be ere long) brought from *Mexico*, and sold in the United States, notwithstanding a heavy duty must be paid on it.

G. U. Eman.

person in any part of the globe. But if he be a free man, while he is working for himself, and if in that capacity he does twice or thrice more work than when he works for his master, it follows, that it would be cheaper for his master to employ him as a free laborer, or that the labor of free men in the West Indies would be cheaper than the labor of slaves.*

That West Indian slaves, when they work for themselves, do much more in a given time than when they work for their masters, is a fact so notorious in the West Indies, that no one who has been there would deny it. Look at Long's History of Jamaica, the Privy Council Report, Gaisford's Essay on the good Effects of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and other books. Let us hear also what Dr. Dickinson, the editor of Mr. Steele, and who resided so many years in Barbadoes, says on the subject; for what he says is so admirably expressed that I cannot help quoting it: "The planters," says he, "do not take the right way to make human beings put forth their strength. They apply main force where they should apply moral motives, and punishments alone where rewards should be judiciously intermixed. They first beslave their poor people with their cursed whip, and then stand and wonder at the tremour of their nerves, and the laxity of their muscles. And yet, strange to tell, *those very men affirm, and affirm truly, that a slave will do more work for himself in an afternoon than he can be made*

*Another case, showing that this presumption is a positive truth, susceptible of the most incontestible proof, is related by a late southern writer. We give his own words below.—Ed. G. U. Eman.

"I was informed by a gentleman who lived near the Fishdam ford, on Broad River, South Carolina, that his employer had made an experiment on the management of negroes, of whom he was overseer, which answered extremely well, and offers to us a strong case in favor of exciting ambition by cultivating utility, local attachment and moral improvement, among slaves. He established four or five plantations, not far apart, and stocked each of them with a suitable proportion of hands, and work cattle, under a driver, who had the entire management of every thing under his (the overseer's) control. The overseer's duty merely extended to direct the driver on what land he was to raise provisions, and where cotton was to be planted; with this understanding, that all the cotton raised, after it was cleaned and packed, belonged to the owner, and that all the hogs, corn and provisions left after supplying the plantation, belonged to the negroes, who might do with it as they pleased.

"The consequence of this arrangement was, that these plantations, regulated as before stated, turned out better crops than any other plantations of equal force in that neighborhood."

to do for his owner in a whole day or more!" And did not the whole Assembly of Grenada, in the evidence they transmitted to the Privy Council, as we collect from the famous speech of Mr. Pitt on the Slave Trade in 1791, affirm the same thing? 'He (Mr. Pitt) would show,' he said, 'the futility of the argument of his honorable friend. His honorable friend has himself admitted, that it was in the power of the colonies to correct the various abuses by which the Negro population was restrained. But they could not do this without *improving the condition of their slaves, without making them approximate towards the rank of citizens, without giving them some little interest in their labor, which would occasion them to work with the energy of men.* But now the Assembly of Grenada had themselves stated, that, *though the Negroes were allowed the afternoon of only one day in every week, they would do as much work in that afternoon when employed for their own benefit as in the whole day when employed in their masters' service.* Now after this confession the House might burn all his calculations relative to the Negro population; for if this population had not quite reached the desirable state which he had pointed out, this confession had proved that further supplies were not wanted. A Negro, if he worked for himself, could do double work. By an improvement then in the mode of labor, the work in the islands could be doubled. But if so, what would become of the argument of his honorable friend? for then only half the number of the present laborers were necessary.

But the fact, that the slaves in the West Indies do much more work for themselves in a given time than when they work for their masters, may be established almost arithmetically, if we will take the trouble of calculating from authentic documents which present themselves on the subject. It is surprising, when we look into the evidence examined by the House of Commons on the subject of the Slave Trade, to find how little a West Indian slave really does when he works for his master; and this is confessed equally by the witnesses on both sides of the question. One of them (Mr. Francklyn) says that a laboring man could not get his bread in Europe if he worked no harder than a Negro.—Another (Mr. Tobin) says that no Negro works like a day-laborer in England. Another (Sir John Dalling) says that the general work of Negroes is no

to be called labor. A fourth (Dr. Jackson,) that an English laborer does three times as much work as a Negro in the West Indies. Now how are these expressions to be reconciled with the common notions in England of Negro labor? for "to work like a Negro" is a common phrase, which is understood to convey the meaning, that the labor of the Negroes is the most severe and intolerable that is known. One of the witnesses, however, just mentioned explains the matter. "The hardship," says he, "of Negro field-labor is more in the *mode* than in the *quantity* done. The slave, seeing no end of his labor, stands over the work, and only throws the hoe to avoid the lash.* He appears to work, without actually working." The truth is, that a Negro, having no interest in his work while working for his master, will work only while the whip is upon him.

I have now "shown, first by the evidence of Mr. Botham, and secondly by the fact of Negroes earning more in a given time when they work in their own gardens, than when they work in their master's service, that the old maxim "of *its being cheaper to employ free men than slaves*," is true, when applied to the *operations and demands of West Indian agriculture*. But if it be cheaper to employ free men than slaves in the West Indies, then they, who should emancipate their Negroes there, would *promote their interests by so doing*. "But hold!" says an objector, "we allow that their successors would be benefited, but not the *emancipators themselves*. These would have a great sacrifice to make. Their slaves are worth so much money at this moment; but they would lose all this value, if they were to be set free. I reply, and indeed, I have long affirmed, that it is not propos-

ed to emancipate the slaves *at once*, but to prepare them for emancipation *in a course of years*. Mr. Steele did not make his slaves *entirely free*. They were *copyhold bond-slaves*. They were still *his property*: and they would, if he had lived, have continued so for many years. They therefore, who should emancipate, would lose nothing of the value of their slaves; so long as they brought them only to the door of liberty, but did not allow them to pass through it. But suppose they were to allow them to pass through it and thus

* That *whipping* is more *fatiguing*, and will wear out the man sooner, than moderate voluntary labor, must be admitted by all.—G. U. Eman.

admit them to freedom, they would lose nothing by so doing; for they would not admit them to freedom till *after a certain period of years, during which* I contend that the *value of every individual slave* would have been *reimbursed* to them from the *increased income of their estates*. Mr. Steele, as we have seen, *more than tripled* the value of his income during his experiment: I believe that he more than quadrupled it; for he says, that he more than tripled it, *besides increasing his stock, and laying out large sums annually in adding necessary works, and in repairs of the damage by the great hurricane*. Suppose then a West India estate to yield at this moment a net income of 500*l.* per annum, this income would be increased, according to Mr. Steele's experience, to somewhere about 1700*l.* per annum. Would not, then, the surplus beyond the original 500*l.*, viz. 1200*l.* per annum, be sufficient to reimburse the proprietor in a few years for the value of every slave which he had when he began his plan of emancipation? But he would be reimbursed again, that is, (twice over on the whole for every individual slave,) from a new source, viz. *the improved value of his land*. It is a fact well known in the United States, that a certain quantity of land, or farm, in full cultivation by free men, will fetch twice more money than the same quantity of land, similarly circumstanced, in full cultivation by slaves. Let us suppose, then, that the slaves at present on any West Indian plantation are worth about as much as the land with the buildings upon it, to which they are attached, and that the land with the buildings upon it would rise to double its former value when cultivated by free men; it follows that the land and buildings alone would be worth as much then, that is, when worked by free laborers, as the land, buildings, and slaves together are worth at the present time.

So far we have confined our statements principally to a review of Clarkson's very interesting exposition. We have many other articles, connected with this subject, selected for future examination, but must defer it to the period of issuing the next number. The great importance of the matters here presented to the view of the reader, will, it is hoped, afford an ample apology for occupying so large a space in this work.

Ladies' Repository.

Philanthropic and Literary.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

SLAVEHOLDING.

Oh execrable son! so to aspire
Above his brethren; to himself assuming
Authority usurped, from God not given;
He gave us only over beast, fish, fowl,
Dominion absolute; that right we hold
By his donation; but man over man,
He made not lord; such title to himself
Reserving, human left from human free.

Milton.

When slaveholding is abolished we may aspire to the character of a civilized nation; until that era we may expect to be characterized by posterity as a race of savages. Cruelty and oppression are yet unexpunged vestiges of heathen barbarism. The spirit of Christianity and Philosophic refinement, are both directly and unalterably opposed to them; and before these they must eventually disappear, leaving future ages to reflect with astonishment on their long protracted existence. Were it not for the strange obliquity of our moral eyesight, occasioned by prejudice and long familiar custom, we should regard with becoming horror and repugnance the savagely unnatural practice of enslaving our fellow-creatures, and making merchandise of human flesh. To one whose feelings have not been rendered obtuse by long acquaintance with the system of slavery, the bare imagination of a slave market, would be productive of feelings of utter abhorrence. To place before the mind's eye a view of christian men gathered together for the purpose of chaffering about the purchase of their brethren, disputing for their possession, and meting out the price of human limbs in paltry pieces of coin:—to behold the miserable objects of their scandalous traffic—terrified and heart-stricken mothers, whose frightened infants cling shrieking about them for protection—youthful females shrinking painfully from the exposure of their situation, and goaded forward by the rude lash and brutal oath into public notice—husbands and fathers awaiting in sullen anguish the decision which is to be to them the parting knell from all they love—and aged men that have perhaps worn out their lives in toil for those who are now about to transfer them, for a paltry pittance, to a stranger's service—who that has the feelings of a human being would not be filled with mingled emotions of grief and shame and detestation at such a scene! Yet these are only the outlines of the picture, the less obvious touches of the reality are crowded with much that is still more harrowing to the feelings; the appealing look, the convulsive sigh, the disregarded prayer—these we have not attempted to portray:—nor aught of the varied circumstances of peculiar and individual wretchedness, that are of perpetual recurrence.

How can it be believed that the authors of so much misery are professors of the religion of the meek and merciful Jesus! that gentle compassionate *Woman* can lend her sanction to such a system, and join with the oppressor in the gains of his dark iniquity. It is a bitter thing to feel that this is the truth—to know that such scenes are of daily occurrence in our country; and still more painful is it to witness the indifference with which they are regarded by so large a portion of the community.

CONVERSATION.

Among the methods employed by the female friends of emancipation, to benefit the unhappy slave, and extend to other bosoms the sympathy for his situation, which they themselves feel, must not be overlooked the useful and very obvious one of frequent conversation on that subject. Those who are already interested will, by pursuing this course among themselves, find their feelings still more deeply engaged in the cause of freedom, their purposes strengthened, and their minds excited to more sedulous perseverance; while an allusion to the subject in the presence of others, may open the door to an instructive discourse, awaken the dormant sensibilities, and perhaps arouse into action those who have never before had their attention directed to the subject. Opportunities for this are rarely wanting in society, and a few words so uttered may perhaps leave an abiding impression on a mind previously unoccupied by prejudices, and prepare it to receive, with attention, any future information relative to the system. Let not any be discouraged from adverting to this topic by the belief that they shall fail to interest their hearers; it is better to risk the mortification of being listened to with repulsive coldness, than to fail of using every proper exertion, in a cause where so much is needful in order to ensure success. Besides, where there is least expectation of securing attention, the attempt to do so is sometimes rewarded by a more than ordinary display of it;—or, if productive of no immediate effect, the words may be like bread, which being "cast upon the waters" shall be found "after many days." Let those who are now most deeply interested for our slave population endeavor to trace those feelings of interest to their spring, they will probably, in many instances, find they have had their rise from quite as trifling a source as a casual conversation. Cowper's beautiful poem, "The Negro's Complaint," was distributed all over England under the title of "A subject for Conversation at the Tea-table;" and was supposed to be productive of so much good effect that Clarkson has thought it worthy of notice in his "History of the Abolition." An abstinence from slave produce, if of any other service, would be valuable on account of its frequently giving rise to such conversations, and

we hope that the few advocates of that system, will suffer no suitable opportunity for representing its advantages to pass unimproved.

PETITIONING CONGRESS.

To the politeness of a Lady in Philadelphia, we are indebted for a copy of the annexed Memorial to the Congress of the United States. At a more convenient season, we may notice this subject further. Our limits are too narrow at present. The memorial will, as we understand, be generally circulated in Philadelphia and its vicinity, and, no doubt, many signers will be obtained. It will be laid before Congress some time during the present session, if, upon due consideration, too many exciting causes shall not render it inexpedient. To the Senate and House of Representatives of the U. States of America, in Congress assembled:—

Your Memorialists, Female citizens of Philadelphia and its vicinity, with due respect represent:— That deeply commiserating the condition of that portion of the citizens of these United States, who are held in bondage, we earnestly solicit your attention to this momentous subject.

Your Memorialists believe, that if our General Government act to the extent of their power in removing this evil, their example may have a happy influence on the Legislatures of the southern States.

Our sympathies are also enlisted on behalf of the Slaveholders, on many of whom this evil is entailed, and who are involved in increased difficulties by the recent lamentable occurrences.

Your Memorialists are aware that at this juncture our attempt may be considered intrusive, but we approach you unarmed; our only banner is Peace.

The Slave system, as it exists at this time in the District of Columbia, particularly claims our attention, not that we feel less keenly the sufferings of those, who are not within its limits, but as that section is under the immediate jurisdiction of Congress, we entreat, that effective measures may be adopted for the entire abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

In this month's Genius we commence the insertion of an interesting article, entitled an "Apology for Ladies' Anti-Slavery Associations." It is too long to copy in one number, and too valuable to bridge. We have therefore divided it; and the conclusion will appear hereafter.

We have not room for any remarks of our own, upon this publication, now. We are indebted to a friend in the state of New-York for the pamphlet containing it. Our female friends, in the United States, who have been awakened to the subject upon which it treats, will, no doubt, feel sufficiently interested to peruse it with that attention which its nervous style and cogency of reasoning demand. The pamphlet was issued at London, in the year 1828. Since that period great activity has been manifested among the friends of freedom both England and Ireland, and a powerful impulse given to the sacred cause of West Indian emancipation. To this the publication before us has, probably, contributed essentially.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE SUNSET HOUR.

No! I have not forgotten yet the gentle sunset hour,

That comes with such a soothing touch, to shut the bright leaved flower,

Nor have I yet forgotten those who shared its light with me,

Amidst a scene I fondly love, though distant far it be.

A gleaming of its parting light is lingering even now,

With dim and faded brilliancy, around my lifted brow;

While memory flings aside the veil that hangs o'er parted things,

And drives the shadows from the past, before her glancing wings.

I seem to see thee, gentle friend, before me even yet!

So meekly in thy wonted place beside the casement set

With calm still brow, and placid eye across the landscape bent,

Where all of nature's varied charms are beautifully blent.

The gliding stream, the low white mill, the hill upswelling high,

With its few crowning forest trees, so painted on the sky;

The vine-hung crag, the shadowy wood, the fields of tufted maize,

And emerald meadow slopes that gleam beneath the sunset rays.

In sooth it is a lovely scene; alas! that some as fair,

Man's lawless selfishness should make the home of dark despair!

That 'midst glad nature's purity the bending slave should tread,

And proud oppression o'er the earth a waste of anguish spread!

Hath God's rich mercy formed the earth so beautifully bright,

For man to wrap his brother's soul in gloominess and night?

That all its charms must be unseen, its loveliness unfelt,

By eyes and hearts all dimmed and broke by cruelty and guilt?

No! never hath he meant that those within whose forms are shrined,

The rich and deep capacities of an undying mind, Should 'neath a brother's foot be crushed, be loaded with his chains,

And drain to feed his riot waste the life-blood from their veins!

GERTRUDE.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

SLAVE LUXURIES.

I believe it is Addison who declared in one of his essays, that the sight of a luxuriously spread table, always exhibited to his imagination, the sight of innumerable diseases lying in ambush among the dishes. An idea something similar to this has arisen in my mind with respect to an entertainment imbued with the spirit of

the slave cultivated cane. I have fancied that the death-sigh of some unfortunate victim of oppression might be yet trembling on the bosom of a jelly, and the rich flavor of a conserve conceal the briny tears that have mingled with the saccharine crystals that enter into its composition. A pound cake seems like the sepulchre of the broken heart with which it may perhaps have been purchased, and the delicious ice to wear the red tinge of human blood. If those who unscrupulously partake of these delicacies, had beheld the horrors by which they are too often purchased, if they could witness, gathered up before them, all the agony endured by their fellow-creatures, only that the gratification of their palates might be ministered to, I believe there are few females who would retain any desire to taste of the blood-polluted banquet. Yet why should the sight of blood be needed, when they know it has been shed, to awaken their sleeping sensibilities? Under other circumstances, they would shudder to be told that the morsel upon their lips, or the garments upon their forms, had been torn by rapine and murder from the hands of their rightful possessors; and who can assure them that the price of the very articles now before them, has not been the life of a fellow-creature! The whole system of slavery is replete with barbarity, and there are numerous instances of the o'er-wearied slave having perished with exhaustion amidst his toil, or died beneath the tortures of the mercilessly inflicted lash;—and how can it be said that the object for which such cruelties are perpetrated, is free from the stain of blood?

MARGARET.

APOLOGY FOR LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATIONS.

By the author of "Immediate, not Gradual Abolition," &c.

AGAINST a system of oppression upheld on British territory by British law and British gold,—pronounced by Dr. Paley "*the most merciless and tyrannical ever tolerated on the face of the earth*,"—proved, by unquestionable evidence, to involve the worst extremes of injustice and cruelty,—demonstrated to be as mischievously impolitic as it is atrociously wicked,—the nation has protested and petitioned in vain. For five years, philanthropists and patriots, statesmen and moralists, have been striving, in vain, to obtain some mitigation of its enormities." To effect this

object the recommendations and orders of Government have been issued in vain. The colonists claim, and are still allowed to exercise uncontrolled right of property in the person and posterity of their slaves, and to spurn the interposition of the British Legislature.* In the mean time, the public ear has grown weary and impatient of the subject. Numbers have deserted the anti-slavery standard. Some, who once ranked amongst its ablest supporters, do not scruple to express their disgust at the bare mention of slavery; familiar acquaintance with its nature seems to have extinguished their horror of its atrocities, and to have deadened their sympathy for its victims.

In an enterprise so difficult,—under circumstances so discouraging,—what can we, whose ability and influence are so circumscribed, hope to accomplish?

We must remember that "the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong;"—that there is an all-controlling power which can defeat the best concerted plans of human policy and prosper the feeblest:—that the great purpose of infinite wisdom are often accomplished through weak instruments.

It is encouraging to know that the great leaders in this arduous conflict are far from regarding our co-operation as an officious or useless intermeddling:—one of them thus expresses himself in a letter to a friend: "I am well acquainted with the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society at Birmingham, Calne, &c., and am of opinion that never were better instruments thought for the furtherance of our cause." "I am persuaded," says another, "that the great work of emancipation, if ever accomplished by this country, will be brought about by the people; and I am convinced that the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Societies are of great use in increasing the public interest in this momentous question."

The noble veterans who have borne the heat and burden of the day, who have devoted their time and talents, their whole lives to this righteous cause,—who have furnished us through an incessant fire of misrepresentation, calumny, and abuse with volumes of unquestionable, well-authenticated facts, illustrative of the present nature of West Indian slavery; are now the bitternes of successive disappointments.

* A Correspondent well acquainted with the sentiments of the West Indians says, "they do not care one jot for the clamours of the British public, or for the threats of the British Government; they believe in the sincerity of neither."

looking to us for co-operation in their final resort. These devoted philanthropists have been our pioneers;—they have opened and cleared the way for us;—they have spared us the labor of enquiry and investigation;—they have proved what slavery in the British West Indies *actually is*:—they have spared us the trouble of confuting the bold assertions of its supporters, that it is an easy and a *happy* servitude;—they have demonstrated by accurate calculations, that in those Islands where sugar is most cultivated, the destruction of human life is going on at a rate so rapid, as, were it generally to prevail, “would depopulate the earth in less than half a century.”*

The sensitive nature of woman must dispose her to regard with peculiar hostility an institution which rudely tears asunder all the strongest ties of nature, and subjects the sex to the most degrading and brutal coercion;—her leisure and her influence in the domestic department enable her to be a most efficient auxiliary in discountenancing the consumption of that luxury from which slavery derives its chief profit, and the rejection of which would be fatal to the system of slave-cultivation.

But how can such an extensive rejection of that luxury be obtained as would secure this result? *It can be obtained by no ordinary efforts.* Christian duty alone can supply the requisite portion of zealous exertion;—and for that portion of zealous exertion which christian duty alone can supply, no more urgent claims than those of the cause in which we have embarked were ever presented. The eternal as well as temporal interests of 800,000 of our fellow-subjects are deeply concerned in it;—*and so are our own.*

The vast accumulation of well-authenticated facts illustrative of the nature and consequences of colonial slavery;—the immense labor bestowed in enlightening the public mind, in disabusing public credulity, in detecting and exposing that range of lies behind which its supporters are continually striving to hide its enormities;—the palpable demonstrations, furnished by the colonists themselves,† that it is the greatest moral and physical curse which can degrade and embitter human existence,—lay us under a very aggravated weight of responsibility.

We may not say in this case, “Am I my brother’s keeper?” and hold ourselves guiltless, because we are not the active agents of his oppression. We have known, —we have *seen*—the anguish of his soul, in the well-authenticated records of his complicated wrongs; his silent, unresisting, long and patiently-endured sufferings, cry, though in no audible voice, yet in language which should pierce the inmost soul of a christian, for such exertions for his relief as we, in his circumstances, should reasonably claim for ourselves;—*and it is at our peril to withhold them.*

And what are those exertions which we, in his circumstances, should reasonably claim? Doubtless, such as would most speedily break our cruel bonds, and restore to us our unalienable rights. This, it may be said, has been the grand object of all anti-slavery labors; they have aimed at *gradual* emancipation, because no other was thought practicable. But the fallacy of this aim seems now to have been abundantly proved, in the wide door it has opened for the endless contentions of opposing interests;—in the time and opportunity it has afforded the strong party to circumvent the weak,—to set the rights of possession against the claims of justice,—to prove the sacredness of vested interests in fraud and robbery;—in the time and opportunity it has afforded the colonists for systematic opposition and determined resistance,—for bribing sordid talents to plead the cause of the oppressor against the oppressed. Its fallacy has been abundantly proved by the heart-sickening delays and bitter disappointments to which it has subjected the abolitionists;—above all in the long interval it has afforded for the decline of public sympathy,—for the profitless expenditure of that strong current of right feeling which burst forth on the first faithful delineation of the horrors of slavery, and which would have done much towards effecting its complete extinction, had that been the object towards which it had been directed.

More than five years have elapsed since the first formation of the Society for the melioration and gradual extinction of British Colonial Slavery;—more than four years have elapsed since a Government pledge was obtained for the accomplishment of this object;—and the work is yet to be begun!—no progress worth notice has been made in it! Nor will there, as we firmly believe, *ever* be any progress worth notice in a design so heartless and

* See Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society.

† See “A Picture of the Slave Colonies, drawn by the Colonists themselves.”

so hopeless ; so defective in principle ; so incapable of sustaining a vigorous interest ; so exceedingly short of the requisitions of justice ; so widely diverging from the course prescribed by christian duty—from the sacred injunction, "ALL THINGS WHATSOEVER YE WOULD THAT MEN SHOULD DO UNTO YOU, DO YE EVEN SO UNTO THEM."

[To be continued.]

The Olio.

From the American Spectator of Nov. 5.

CHALLENGE ACCEPTED.

A Mr. Jones of New-York challenges any advocate of the Colonization Society, to defend it against him. I am ready, and now prescribe the terms. He shall publish first, in the N. Y. Spectator, Gazette or Courier, or in the Philadelphia National or U. S. Gazette, or Poulson's Advertiser, or in the Baltimore Chronicle or American, or in the Intelligencer or Telegraph of Washington City. The articles to be alternate, the numbers not to exceed five, and each not to occupy more than one column in the paper; a copy of the papers containing them to be sent gratis to the American Spectator.

SHADE OF ASHMUN.

From the N. Y. Genius of Temperance.

MESSRS. EDITORS :

There are thousands upon thousands who are inquiring at the present time, what can be done to overthrow slavery. They are anxious to do something, but *what* to do they find not. I will therefore propose a measure, which, if adopted by all who wish to see slavery done away, will produce the desired effect—a measure which could be very easily adopted—which would cost neither blood nor treasure—and which surely will be adopted, if people care one half for the subject which they seem to do. The measure is this:—to practise "total abstinence" from slave productions. Let free labor stores be established, and let the opposers of slavery patronize them, rather than others. In order to this, let Anti-Slavery Societies be organized, after the manner of Temperance Societies, and thus let the friends of the cause act in concert. Let there be Anti-Slavery Agents employed, to scour the free states, and rouse up the people to the great measure of "total abstinence" from the productions above mentioned. And it is self-evident, that if the market

for slave productions should cease, slavery itself must cease.

Now, Messrs. Editors, there must be a beginning somewhere in this movement; and where in all this country, could it begin better than here, in this commercial metropolis?

I do therefore propose, that an Anti-Slavery meeting be called forthwith, for the purpose of adopting such measures as in their opinion will tend to overthrow slavery. And who can tell but such a meeting would be the commencement of a movement that would result in the accomplishment of this great object? Let us at least "TRY."

HUMANITAS.

A friend of mine was asked lately to give the derivation of Cuffee, a word colloquially employed to designate the sons and daughters of Ethiopians. "Our community," said the legal gentleman, "is divided into two great classes: the whites, who are Cuffees, and the blacks, who are Cuffees."

PREMIUM FOR RICE.

The sum of TWENTY DOLLARS will be given as a premium, over and above the market price for *Five Casks of Fresh Rice*, of good quality raised by *Free Labor*, and delivered in Philadelphia, to *Charles Peirce*, before the first of June next, 1832.

The gentleman above named, is well known as a very respectable Grocer in Philadelphia, who has, for several years past, made it a particular business to keep articles in his line that are exclusively the production of *free labor*.

The premium, together with the market price will be promptly paid, on the delivery of the Rice accompanied by proper reference and vouchers from some respectable person who is known in Philadelphia.

THE GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION. Vol. XII.

The object and character of this work are well known. It has been published ten years, and circulated in all the States of this Union, in Canada, the West Indies, Europe and Africa. It is exclusively devoted to the subject of the *Abolition of Slavery*, on the American Continent and Islands.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

The work will, henceforth, be issued monthly. It will be neatly printed on fine paper, and folded in the octavo form, each number making sixteen large pages.

The price of subscription will be One Dollar per annum, *always to be paid in advance*.

Subscribers who do not particularly specify the time they wish to receive the work, or notify the Editor of a desire to discontinue it before the expiration of each current year, will be considered engaged for the next succeeding one, and the bills will be forwarded accordingly.

Agents will be entitled to six copies for every five dollars remitted to the Editor, in current money of the United States.

All letters and communications intended for this office, must be addressed, free of expense, BENJAMIN LUNDY, Washington, D. C.

A few copies of the Eleventh Volume, complete, for sale.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED BY B. LUNDY—PUBLISHED IN WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE—\$1.00 PER ANN.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration of Independence, U. S.*

Supplement to Number 7, Volume XII.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

If any thing, that the generality of politicians have yet done, were calculated to excite our utter astonishment, the following Report, from the Committee for the District of Columbia, made to the House of Representatives of the U. S. on the 19th inst. is fully sufficient for the purpose. We were prepared for the exhibition of the grossest inconsistency, the rankest sentimental tyranny, and the most anti-republican doctrines, supported by the most paradoxical logic:—all this we expected, from the unprincipled advocates of hereditary slavery, on the floor of Congress. But we were not prepared for such a Report as this, accompanied, as it is, by the name of PHILIP DODDRIDGE! We copy it, now, without further comment:—but we put the following questions to the Chairman of the Committee, (as a gentleman whom we have long highly respected, and as a truly patriotic statesman,) for his calm and deliberate consideration. When these queries are properly digested, we shall probably offer a few more ideas for the consideration of our National Legislators.

1st. If Congress is not invested with a *perfect* right to legislate for this District, where does the legitimate authority rest, seeing the *people* are disfranchised, and have no other Legislature to which they can look for protection:—or, if Congress do possess this right, *independently*, should it not be exercised, when the national honor and the individual interests of *the majority of those concerned* require it?

2d. Is it not "unwise" in one *independent* legislative body, to wait for the counsel or move at the bidding of another, in matters *purely municipal*, though of high import as respects its own character and future welfare?

3d. Was it "unwise," or "unjust," in the Legislature of Pennsylvania, to abolish the system of slavery,—seeing that the slaveholding States of Maryland and Virginia, lie contiguous to that Commonwealth?

4th. But to come nearer to the point:—*Was it* "unwise," "impolitic," or "unjust," in the Congress of the United States, to restrict the people of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, upon this very same subject, "composed," as these several districts were, "of cessions of territory made to the United States by the State of Virginia?"

Enough for the present;—but we shall read this Committee a longer catechism, very soon. The spirit of justice is abroad in the earth. The time

is past, when republican legislators can play into the hands of the greatest tyrants, without being strictly interrogated on the score of CONSISTENCY.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES U. S. Dec. 19, 1831.

Mr. DODDRIDGE, from the Committee for the District of Columbia, made the following report, which was read and concurred in by the House.

The Committee of the District of Columbia have, according to order, had under their consideration the memorials of sundry citizens of the State of Pennsylvania, to them referred, praying the passage of such a law or laws by Congress, as may be necessary for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade within the said District, and beg leave to report thereon, in part:

Considering that the District of Columbia is composed of cessions of territory made to the United States by the States of Virginia and Maryland, in both of which States Slavery exists, and the territories of which surround the District, your Committee are of opinion, that until the wisdom of the State Governments shall have devised some practicable means of eradicating or diminishing the evil of Slavery, of which the memorialists complain, it would be unwise and impolitic, if not unjust, to the adjoining States, for Congress to interfere in a subject of such delicacy and importance as is the relation between master and slave.

If, under any circumstances, such an interference on the part of Congress would be justified, your Committee are satisfied that the present is an inauspicious moment for its consideration.

Impressed with these views your committee offer for the consideration of the House the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Committee on the District of Columbia be discharged from the further consideration of so much of the prayer of the memorialists, citizens of the State of Pennsylvania, to them referred, asking the passage of such law or laws as may be necessary for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade within the said District, as relates to the first of these objects, the abolition of slavery within said District.

REFUGE FOR THE PERSECUTED.

Some very good remarks will be found in the following article; and we hope that instead of setting their faces against the victims of the most causeless and fiery persecution ever yet known, the citizens of our free States will compassionate them, and act upon the principle here recommended. The "Pilgrims," from the bigotted and enslaved nations of Europe, found a refuge from persecution in Northern America. The sons of those worthy people will, surely, commiserate others in similar circumstances.

From the Commercial Advertiser.

Having read with considerable interest the editorial remarks in the Spectator respecting the present cruel expulsion of the free blacks from the southern states, in reflecting on the circumstance that numbers of them have been landed on our

shores, and that a remedy is inquired for, the following remarks are suggested.

For a long period this country, and more especially the State of New-York, has been an asylum for the distressed poor of distant lands.—The immense numbers of this class poured among us, particularly from Ireland, has occasionally caused such alarm, as to induce the enactment of severe laws to prevent their introduction. These measures, however, proved unavailing, and time has made it manifest, that we can absorb many thousands annually of these suffering people, not only without detriment, but so as greatly to promote our general prosperity. The canals, railways, domestic manufactures, &c., could not otherwise have advanced as they have, but at a vast additional expense of capital, and the withdrawing a large body of our own citizens from pursuits more congenial to their habits. Now, if I am rightly informed, the current of this description of emigrants, has latterly been very much turned into Canada, and from hence to the western parts of our Union. I would therefore propose that we grant an asylum to our persecuted colored countrymen, which I am persuaded can be done, to our mutual advantage.

Last summer, the writer of this hired an individual, at ten dollars per month, who was once a slave in the south, and probably a burden to his master; and a neighbor of mine paid a colored man who was formerly his slave, one hundred dollars for his services the present year. And I know not that either of us were ever better served, or better satisfied with our contract. And yet, simply, as a question of interest, neither of us would accept either of these men as a slave, because it would destroy every motive to serve us faithfully and profitably, whereas they are now saving nearly all their wages, and will probably in a few years, own each a small farm.

In addition to these facts; from the very obvious improvement that has taken place in the dress and deportment of the colored population since their liberation in this State, there is satisfactory evidence that the improvement is general, and that they are beginning to *respect themselves, and to be respected.*

If, therefore, the good citizens of New-York will kindly receive these persecuted people for the present, and encourage them, as soon as the season will admit of it, to seek employment through the State, surely their benevolence would be blessed to themselves, and to the recipients of their bounty. It is not expected that this State will necessarily be their permanent home. Whenever any thing like their just rights be granted them in the South, congeniality of climate will tend powerfully to draw them to that quarter, happily with improved habits of industry and economy.

Here allow me to deplore the conduct and situation of our mistaken brethren in the South. I have the fullest confidence that any State, (if general concert be unattainable,) might at once disperse the tremendous cloud that hangs over it, by giving freedom to its slaves! Make its municipal regulations to prevent vagrancy, as strict as it pleases, but give to all its inhabitants *personal freedom.* Low wages would only be necessary, and the planters would be better, and more profitably served than heretofore; and their increased safety, prosperity and happiness would soon induce others to follow the example. This is not theory merely; it has been tried in Mexico, in South America, in half our own States, with complete success; at least so far as our own unreasonable prejudice against people of color do yet permit.

M.

GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF TEXAS.

This very interesting portion of the Mexican Republic is beginning to attract the attention of American Philanthropists. That it will, eventually, become one of the most important agricultural and commercial sections of North America, there cannot be a doubt. And that it will, ultimately, *present an asylum for hundreds of thousands of our oppressed colored people* is equally probable.

Entertaining this belief, we offer no apology for occupying a considerable space in this work with statements of the many advantages there held out to such as may choose to settle in that far region, where the rigors of winter are unknown, and where man, without distinction of color or condition, is looked upon as the being that Deity made him—*free and independent.*

The following is from the pen of a gentleman of the name of Smith, who has spent about two years in Texas, and has travelled much in various parts of that section of country, previous to the year 1826. From the concurrent testimony of sundry other respectable individuals, who have had fair opportunities of judging, we have no doubt of the general correctness of this statement.

“The province of Texas is bounded south by the Gulf of Mexico; east and north east by the state of Louisiana and the territory of Arkansas; and west and south west by the Mexican provinces of New Mexico, Cuahuila and Santander. It is situated between 27 and — deg. north latitude,* and 93 and 107 deg. west longitude from Greenwich. Its extreme length is about 1000 to 1200 miles, and its average breadth 350 miles. The surface of the country, especially for the distance of 150 miles from the Gulf, is moderately uneven, the hills rarely having pretensions to the dignity of mountains.

* On consulting the best maps, it appears that the mouth of the river Nueces (the southernmost point of Texas) is in 27 deg. 15 min. north latitude; and the southwestern point of Arkansas which may probably be considered the highest northern limit of the Territory, is in about 33 deg. 40 min. thus including 5 deg. 55 min. or upwards of 350 miles, from south to north, of the finest climate on the habitable globe.—Ed. G. U. Emanc.

Indeed there are no mountains in the province, except those on the river Colorado, or if others do exist, they are situated on the Northwest and unexplored corner of the province. These mountains rise at the distance of about 150 miles in a direct line from the ocean. From thence they extend Northwestwardly on both sides of the river, 80 to 100 miles, when they again sink into level prairie. I do not know the breadth of the mountains from Northwest to Southwest, but I believe they have little extent in this direction; for from an elevated peak on the east bank of the river I have overlooked longitudinally the whole range; clearly distinguishing the prairie beyond them. This peak however is near the southern extremity of the mountains: and it is not improbable that they have a more considerable breadth in a higher latitude. The mountains of the Colorado are not regular in their shape or course, but consist of numerous isolated peaks, having little connexion with each other, but that of near neighborhood. They are for the most part bare of trees; and even those that are not entirely destitute of covering, are clothed only with dwarf cedars. The rocks and caverns of the mountains are much frequented by bears and other wild animals, as affording a shelter from the elements, and a safe retreat from the pursuit of man. That part of the province not mountainous, consists of three descriptions of country, to wit: prairie, and bottom, and post oak lands. The eastern section of the province, (indeed from the Sabine to the Toyaca, 35 miles,) is covered with hickory and oak of different species; and the land in general is fertile and well watered. The post oak region extends from the Toyaca to the Trinity. This species of oak is also found bordering on the bottoms of the Brazos, from the Labalia crossing of that river, to the Ueco (Waco) village (130 miles.) West also of the Brazos, and north of the St. Antonio road, and extending to the mountains of the Colorado, and from thence southwardly along the bottoms of that river to the Atascozito crossing, post oak is the prevailing, and almost the only species of timber. The remainder of the lands in the province, excepting the bottoms on the rivers and creeks, which are from one to fifteen miles broad, may be denominated prairie land. In defining the limits of the different descriptions of country, I have not of course aimed at exactness, intending only to give an

idea, in the general correct, of their positions. The prairies contain no timber except small groves, and scattering trees. They are clothed with a rich covering of strong, coarse grass; and in the northern, and western parts of the province, with mesquite bushes and prickly pears. The timbered uplands are also covered with grass not less luxuriant in its growth than that of the prairies: so that no country on earth affords better pasturage for horses, cattle, sheep and goats. The timbered uplands are in general well adapted to the growth of corn, cotton, &c. In some instances, the hills are of a light sandy soil, not less valuable on that account; as this description of country is better calculated than the richer soils for the successful cultivation of the vine. The soil of some of the prairies is of an indifferent quality: whilst the great body of them consists of a strong black loam, which is proved from actual experience, to be highly productive. The most indifferent soils of the province cannot be termed barren. Lands of the like quality in the Atlantic states, are not suffered to lay waste: but through the industry, and agricultural skill of the inhabitants, are rendered highly productive. On the Colorado and San Jacinto, and on the Trinity and its waters, are immense bodies of pine land similar in quality to the post oak lands; and furnishing timber of the best quality, amply sufficient for all the wants of a numerous population. The bottom, or intervale lands in this country, vary in breadth from one to fifteen miles. They are heavily timbered with oak, ash, peccan, black walnut, elm, hackberry, cottonwood and sycamore. The under growth consists of different species of vines, of cane, and wild peach. The soil of those lands is inferior in quality to none on earth. It is well adapted to the growth of corn, wheat, rye, oats, flax, and all culinary vegetables. None of these productions, however, can be considered as the staples of the province. Cotton, sugar-cane, the vine, and the olive, will be the principal objects of culture in Texas. We have ample experimental proof that the lands in the province of Texas, yield a more abundant crop of cotton, and that too of a finer, and longer staple, than the most favorite regions of the southern states of North America: and it may confidently be predicted, that five years will not have elapsed, before "Texas cotton" will be as well known in foreign markets, and as eagerly sought for, as is

that of Mississippi at the present day. Sugar-cane grows luxuriantly in the province: and the cane becomes "sweet" much higher than in Louisiana. This is owing, not only to the favorable influence of the soil and climate, but to the fact, that the frosts here set in days, and sometimes weeks, later than in the sugar region in that state. The fruits which can be successfully cultivated in Texas, are the orange, pear, peach, nectarine, apricot, quince, fig, plum, grape, and olive; and it is probable that the apple will come to perfection in the northern, and many West India fruits not mentioned above, in the southern sections of the province.

At the distance of 35, 80 and 92 miles west of the Sabine, are the creeks Toyaca, Andelina, and Noches. They have a southern direction, and unite about 20 or 30 miles from the ocean, discharging their waters after their junction, into the Sabine bay. There is much good land on each of these creeks, but their bottoms in general are subject to inundation. West of the Noches, and distant 48 miles, is the Trinity. This river rises in the high lands near Red river, and running Southeast, after a course of about 400 miles, discharging its waters into Trinity or Galveston bay.—At low water, the Trinity is an inconsiderable stream, its waters transparent, its banks (70 to 100 yards apart,) almost perpendicular, and remarkably elevated. Notwithstanding the great elevation of its banks, in seasons of floods they are full, and often overflown: at which time the Trinity is navigable, for boats of considerable burthen, 200 miles or more from its mouth. Seventy miles west of the Trinity is the river Brazos, a stream 150 to 200 yards wide from bank to bank. This river is a miniature picture of Red river in Louisiana: so much does it resemble that stream in the appearance of its waters, its bed and its banks. Like the Trinity its rises in the highlands near Red river, though much farther to the west, than the sources of that stream; and after a Southeast course of about 1,000 miles, discharges itself into the Gulf of Mexico, about 18 miles west of the western end of Galveston island. This river has no bay at its mouth; but a canal of a few miles, would complete an inland navigation from its mouth to Galveston bay. The depth of water over the bar at the mouth of the Brazos, varies from 6 to 10 feet: it being at times increased by the floods of the river, and again lessened by a

deposit of sand from the ocean. The tide flows up the Brazos about 50 miles, and thus far it is at all seasons navigable: and when the river is swollen, it is navigable for keel-boats and small steam-boats 7 or 800 miles from its mouth. The San Jacinto and Buffalo Bayou rise in the country between the lower Trinity and Brazos, and after a short course, unite at the distance of 42 miles from the head of the bay of Galveston, into which they are discharged. The tide flows up the Buffalo Bayou 40 miles above the junction of the creeks, affording a good navigation for vessels of six feet draft, to a point but 25 miles from the Brazos and not more than 40 miles distant from the town of St. Felipe de Austin. Galveston Bay extends from the island of that name about 40 miles north, having an average width of about 14 miles.—The harbor is off the Northeast point of the island, and has an anchorage perfectly secure, and sheltered from all winds. Vessels of twelve feet draft can enter the harbor from the ocean at the lowest tides. Ten feet is the general depth of water, over the bay of Galveston; but a bar called Red-fish Bar extends east and west across the bay, affording at low tides but five feet water for vessels bound to the mouth of the Trinity or the San Jacinto. The San Bernardo enters the Gulf of Mexico about 14 miles west of the mouth of the Brazos. The tide flows 30 miles up this river, and thus far it is at all times easy of navigation; but the San Bernardo is more remarkable for the breadth and fertility of its bottom land, than for its length or magnitude. These bottoms are not less than sixty miles along the river, and have an average breadth of about 15 miles. They are of wonderful fertility; and adapted to this section of country is to the cultivation of cotton and sugar, it bids fair, at no distant day, to become one of the most wealthy agricultural districts in North America. Sixty miles west of the Brazos the river Colorado crosses the St. Antonio road. It rises in the high lands towards the sources of Red river. Like the other streams of the province, it has a Southeast direction, passes through the range of mountains before mentioned, and at length discharges its waters into the bay of Matagorda. It is a bold rapid river; its waters transparent and excellent. The navigation of the Colorado to the ocean, is obstructed by a raft; and in addition thereto, the bar at its mouth will pro-

vent the entrance of vessels of burthen. These obstructions to the navigation of the river, can and will be removed, whenever the population on its banks requires an outlet for its produce. To the rivers already named, may be added the Sabaca, Guadaloupe, St. Marks, St. Antonio and Nueces, besides a thousand creeks tributary to these which intersect the country in every direction. All the rivers and creeks in the province abound in fish. The cat and the buffalo are the most numerous species. The coast also affords an abundant supply of red fish, sheepshead, trout, mullet, oysters, crabs, &c. Wild fowl in the season, cover all the bays which put in from the ocean. In the interior of the country they are not numerous: there being neither Lakes nor Lagunes to which they can resort for food.

Game is abundant in Texas. Black bears are numerous in all the river and creek bottoms. Vast numbers of them are killed by the inhabitants for their oil, which is superior to lard, and for their flesh, which, cured as bacon, is not inferior to the flesh of swine. Deer abound in all parts of the province. In the early settlement of this country by Americans, venison was the principal food of the inhabitants; and their clothing was made most entirely of dressed deer skins. At this time, however, they are possessed of large herds of cattle and swine; spinning wheels and looms have been introduced, and a commercial intercourse with New-Orleans has been opened; so that the inhabitants of Texas are no longer dependant on the chase, for their supplies, either of food or clothing. Buffalo (bison) roam in large herds over the northern and middle sections of the province. They do not approach within 80 miles of the seacoast: for the belt of country between their range and the ocean, contains a large population of Americans: and it is well known that this animal always retires on the approach of civilized man. The Buffalo is well known to naturalists, and to them I refer for a correct description of it. I will only observe, that it is more easily approached and killed than the common red deer. Its flesh is somewhat darker than that of our domestic cattle: but in sweetness and delicacy of flavor it surpasses that, or the flesh of any other animals.—I ought, perhaps, to enumerate amongst the beasts of the chase, the wild cattle which roam in immense herds in the bottoms of the Brazos and Colorado, and in

the adjoining prairies. The Spaniards at times make a business of catching them. Being prepared with a fleet horse, and with a strong rope having a noose on one end of it, they go into their range and watch until the cattle come into the prairies to feed, which is usually in the morning and evening. They then rush upon them, and seldom fail in running from 300 to 800 yards to throw the rope over the horns of the particular animal to which they give chase. These cattle are of the Spanish breed, and remarkably large.—They are easily domesticated, after which they become as useful and valuable as those which have been raised on our own farms. The Javelina (Peccari) is an animal peculiar so far as I know to Spanish America. It attains to the size of a half grown hog, which animal it greatly resembles in shape and general appearance. But it differs from the hog, and I believe from all other animals, in this circumstance: it has on its back a cavity somewhat resembling a navel, which name has indeed been applied to it. Out of this cavity exudes a species of wax highly offensive to the smell, which serves in some measure as a defence to the animal. The beasts of prey known in the province, are the panther, leopard, leopard cat, and wolf. The panther and wolf are well known in the United States of North America and need not a particular description. The leopard has a close resemblance in shape to the domestic cat; in size it surpasses the largest Newfoundland dog, and is remarkably strong and active. The ground color of its skin is a yellowish white, beautifully spotted with black.—The description given of the leopard is equally applicable to the leopard cat, except in this, the leopard cat does not excel in size the red fox of the United States.

The province of Texas has been too little explored, to enable us to speak with certainty, on the subject of its mineralogy. It is however known that there are silver mines in the mountains of the Colorado. They are not at present wrought; and I am not informed whether or not they promise to become valuable. Ores of copper and iron have also been found in the mountains; but the country being without inhabitants, these mines have consequently been neglected.

Every section of the country is abundantly supplied by nature with salt. The most important Salt-licks which have yet been discovered, are those on the Noches,

the Brazos, the Navasota and Little River, both of which latter rivers are tributary to the Brazos.

The population of Texas consists of three classes of inhabitants: Indians, Spaniards, and Americans. The principal tribes of Indians are the Cherokees, Comanches, Pawnees, Lipans and Tankaways. The Cherokees, to the number of about 100 warriors, are located about 60 miles north of Nacogdoches. Like the parent tribe of that name in the United States, they have made considerable advances in civilization. The men are devoted to agricultural pursuits, and the women to domestic occupations. This tribe differs little indeed in dress, and mode of life, from the frontier inhabitants of the United States. The Comanches are the most numerous tribe in the province of Texas. They subsist entirely on the produce of the chase: and their clothing, tents, &c. are made solely of the skins of deer and buffalo. This tribe is divided into numerous bands, of from 50 to 500 souls, who roam over that immense tract of country, which stretches from the San Saba to Santa Fe, and from Red River to the Rio del Norte. But the strength of the Comanches is by no means commensurate with the vast extent of their territory. General Pike, if I mistake not, estimated the force of this tribe at 5000 warriors. His estimate, however, was not founded on personal observation: and from information derived from Spaniards and Americans, men of intelligence and close observation, who have long resided amongst them, I am induced to believe, that 2500 warriors is as great a force as the collected bands of the Comanches can muster. The Lipans and Tankaways range in the country between the Comanches and the Spanish, and American settlements. They do not pretend to cultivate the earth, deriving their sole support from the chase. These tribes united, number 4 or 500 warriors. The Pawnees are divided into three bands: the Tahuiases, living on Red river, (of Louisiana;) the Weecos (Wacos,) whose principal village is situated on the Brazos, about 200 or 250 miles in a direct line from its mouth; and Tahuacanos (Tiwakanies) who are located on the head waters of the Navasota, about 30 miles east of the Ueco (Weco) village. The three bands of Pawnees number about 400 warriors.— They raise at their village considerable quantities of corn, beans, pumpkins, &c..

The Spanish population in Texas is confined almost exclusively to the village of Nacogdoches, St. Antonio, and La Bahia. These are all inconsiderable towns; the largest of them (St. Antonio,) not containing a population of more than 2000 souls. The inhabitants plant corn, wheat, &c.; but their chief attention is given to the raising of horses, mules, cattle and sheep. They carry on a considerable trade with the United States by the way of Nachitoches, taking into that country money, horses and mules, and receiving in return their supplies of European and American goods.

The North Americans resident in Texas, are settled on the whole route from Sabine to the Guadalupe. We have no data on which to found an estimate of the American population in any part of the province, except in the colony founded by Col. Austin. The limits of this colony extend east and west from the San Jacinto to the Labaca, and north and south from the ocean to the St. Antonio Road, including the extensive and fertile bottoms of the Brazos, St. Bernardo and Colorado. A census of the inhabitants within these limits was completed some months since, which gave an aggregate population of more than 1800 inhabitants: and there can be no doubt that at this time* the number of inhabitants exceed 2000.

* * * * *

It is a received opinion with the inhabitants of the northern climates, that countries situate within or near the tropics must necessarily be unhealthy. Facts however prove that the comparative health of countries does not depend so much upon their relative latitudes as upon other causes. Mexico and Quito are situated within the tropics: and yet no cities in Europe are more exempt from endemical diseases. In general it may be remarked that all countries possessing a high dry soil and a clear elastic atmosphere, must be healthy. This description applies to Texas. Its lands are rolling and dry, and its atmosphere remarkably pure and elastic. There are no ponds, lakes, or swamps, which in the southern states of North America are a fruitful source of pestilence. Another cause tending greatly to the healthfulness of this country, is the prevalence of the trade winds. The wind rises in the morning during the summer season, and continues to blow with little abatement throughout

the day, and so strong is this breeze that travellers are often obliged to tie on their hats when riding through the prairies.— These circumstances would necessarily induce a belief that the climate of Texas must be healthy: and the experience of the inhabitants abundantly proves the soundness of that opinion. The first settlers of this country suffered beyond comparison more severely than those of any section of the United States. They were destitute of wholesome food, and of the thousand necessaries which in other countries minister to the health of the inhabitants. If local causes of disease did exist in this country, they must under these circumstances of the inhabitants, have exerted their greatest influence and with the greatest effect. Yet the inhabitants of Texas have continued to enjoy the greatest degree of good health. The subjects of the few diseases which have occurred have been almost without exception strangers."

Although the foregoing article is very prolix, and may deter the casual reader by its formidable length, yet we shall be excused, we trust, by those who feel desirous to acquaint themselves fully with the position and natural advantages of the country in question, for introducing the following extract from a more recent statement, made by a gentleman of intelligence and respectability, who had resided there about four years. The article, from which this extract is taken, was dated *October 2, 1830.*

"Texas embraces a very extensive territory, and a single glance at the map will be sufficient to show the great advantages derivable from its *local position* in respect to soil and commercial facilities. It is bounded on two sides by the United States of America, and extends, as it were like a peninsula, into that nation. The intercourse between the two republics by water, along the coast, is easy and safe, and three or four days' sail will take you from the coast of Texas to the mouth of the Mississippi, to Vera Cruz to the South, or to the Havana. The land communication between the two republics is equally easy, being open the whole extent of the Louisiana and Arkansas frontiers, and susceptible of good roads leading into Opelousas, Attakapas, and the upper

settlements of Arkansas territory on the Red river, and also to New Mexico, Chihuahua, New Leon, and the other Mexican States lying to the west. The West Indies lie in front, and an immense extent of Mexican coast to the south—thus presenting channels of commerce in every direction. The climate of Texas is mild, salubrious and healthy. It lies between lat. 26 and 34 degrees North, and is greatly favored by pleasant and refreshing sea-breezes during the summer months. The country is intersected by four rivers, that are navigable from one hundred to four hundred miles, to wit: the Natches, the Trinity, the Brazos, and the Colorado, besides a great number of smaller streams that afford good navigation a shorter distance, and the great abundance of its creeks and living springs, taken in connection with topographical characters, presents more extensive facilities for canalizing than can be found on an equal surface in any part of North America.

"Texas forms an immense inclined plane, the apex of which is the highland south of the Red River, where its principal rivers have their source. From this summit the inclination is towards the southeast and surprisingly uniform. The surface is beautifully undulating to within about on an average sixty miles of the coast, where it becomes level, and some parts of the northwestern section is hilly, particularly at the heads of Colorado and Guadaloupe rivers, though the general feature of an inclined plane is observable throughout; for the hills do not form leading ridges so as to impede the flow of water to the southeast, neither are the undulations greater than are necessary to render the country dry, healthy and beautiful. The hills gradually lessen till they lose themselves in the level strip that borders on the coast, which is from forty to eighty miles wide.

"The whole of this tract of country (strange as it may appear in this latitude) is, without exception, free from marsh or lakes even down to the sea-beach.

"The soil on the rivulets and creeks is of the first quality of alluvial and heavily timbered; between these, the country is entirely prairie, though level and rich, and of dark complexion. The timbered bottom lands are from two to fifteen miles wide, a small portion or strip of which is subject to inundation in extreme high freshets, but the floods are not frequent, and owing to the comparative shortness

of the streams soon subside. The undulating country comprises by far the greatest portion of Texas. It is timbered and prairie land, conveniently interspersed, and abounding in good springs, and creeks of pure water; and the same observation as to the water applies to the healthy country on the Colorado and Gaudaloupe. —The level region is evidently alluvial and of recent formation, and the undulating region presents numerous evidences of secondary formation.

“The pasturage of Texas is also surprisingly abundant all over the whole country, and good both summer and winter, and every species of domestic animals incident to the comfort and convenience of man, cultivated by *North Americans*, is more easily reared in Texas than elsewhere. There is also positive proof that Texas possesses many beds of good iron and lead ore, and it is said that copper, silver and gold have been found in the hilly region of the Colorado in small quantities, but no experiments in mining have as yet been made by *the Colonists* for two reasons; one is, that the supposed mines of the precious metals are in the Indian territory, and another, the principal reason, is the want of capital.

“Nature seems to have formed Texas for a great agricultural, manufacturing and commercial country. It combines in an eminent degree all the elements necessary for those different branches of industry. It possesses about 70,000 square miles of good sugar lands south of lat. 30, and on the coast of the river Nueces, which is the present western boundary of Texas. This river is about eighty miles east of the Rio Grande or Bravo del Norte. The northern and high parts of the country are well adapted to the cultivation of wheat and small grain, and the streams afford great facilities for water works and irrigation. The whole country produces cotton of the first quality, acknowledged in New-Orleans to be equal, and in Liverpool, to be superior to Red river and Louisiana cotton. The Tobacco and Indigo of Texas are also of superior quality, the latter of which is a spontaneous growth of the country in the poorest parts—and in addition to these, the climate and soil are congenial to the culture of the olive, the vine, and other fruits and productions of a temperate southern latitude.

“The country on the Sabine, Natchez, and Trinity rivers, abounds in good pine,

and some cypress and cedar, though the two latter are not abundant, and live and the other species of oak and North American timber are sufficiently abundant in every part of the country except the southwestern section bordering on the Nueces, which is thickly timbered. Texas possesses three large and important bays, to wit:—Galveston, Matagorda and Arransaso. The Trinity and San Jacinto rivers discharge into the first; the Colorado, Labaca, Gaudaloupe, and San Antonio rivers into the second, and the Nueces into the third. The two first of these bays has never less than twelve feet water over the bar at the entrance at the lowest tide and the last has from eight to nine feet the whole affording good anchorage and safe harbors. The Brazos river, which is the largest in the country (a singular phenomena indeed) discharges itself directly into the Gulf, fifty miles west of the entrance of Galveston, and from six to twelve feet over the bar, as both tide and channel vary. The Sabine and Natchez rivers discharge into an oblong lake bay into which there is an entrance of eight feet water. Less than *thirty miles canalling* would connect all these bays from the east to Arransaso to the west, and one mile canalling would connect the Brazos river with the western extremity of Galveston bay by means of a deep tide-water

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN VIRGINIA!

We have barely room to insert the following paragraph, from the *Richmond Whig*, relative certain proceedings in the Virginia Legislature on the 11th inst. Two petitions had been presented, by Mr. Roane, one from the Yearly Meeting of Friends, the other from citizens of Hanover County—recommending the *Abolition of Slavery*. These proceedings are IMPORTANT.—*Ed. G. U.*

“Mr. Goode moved to *reject* these petitions, upon which a discussion of much interest ensued. Messrs. Roane, Moore, Brodnax, Chandler, Jones and Bolling, opposing the motion with much warmth, and Messrs. Witcher, Goode, Carter, P. W. and Sims, supporting it. The petition of the Friends was referred by a great majority. This is an important step. The question of a more and gradual abolition, is under the consideration of the General Assembly. Circumstances have subdued the morbid sensitiveness which disallowed even public allusion to the topic. Public opinion can now act out its wishes. Every man will demonstrate the groundlessness of apprehension from considering the question of abolition. The people of the Commonwealth will feel emboldened to express their wishes openly, and reservedly, and the practicability of ridding ourselves of an evil which all men confess to be the sorest which ever nation groaned under, will now be tested. We do not know that yesterday will not be celebrated by posterity, as a day to be associated with the 4th of July, by the benefits which may flow to Virginia from the step then taken.

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"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration of Independence, U. S.*

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IRREGULARITY OF THE MAILS.

It is believed that the proprietor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* has been as little troubled with complaints, respecting the miscarriage of the work by mail, as any other publisher of a periodical in the United States. The papers are, uniformly, well put up and securely wrapped, before they are sent to the post office; and unless some of those who have charge of the mails are guilty of extreme negligence, or gross mismanagement, they should arrive safely at the place of their destination. In a very few instances, indeed, have we heard of irregularity in their transmission, within the last six or seven years: but it seems that one case has occurred, that calls for investigation and exposure.

There are two subscribers to the work in the village of Geneva, New-York. For several months, we learn, they received their numbers regularly. But during the last half year *none came to hand!* We know that those numbers which thus did not reach their destination were as properly mailed as others that were duly received at the offices to which they were directed. The cause of their miscarriage is, therefore, somewhat mysterious. And we hereby request the postmaster at Geneva, to assist us in making the necessary examination, in order to oblige those who have business with his office, and also that no imputation may be charged against himself, for acting in violation of his duty. Further we say not—at present.

THE SURPLUS REVENUE.

From the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, it appears that, on the 2d of January next, the whole debt of the United States will amount to but twenty-four millions of dollars. With the facilities at command the government may extinguish this debt in the course of a few months; and it is more than probable that it will be done. A question hence arises: "What disposition should be made of the *surplus revenue*, after that period?"

The revenue, for the year 1832, is estimated at \$30,100,000—the expenditures for the same year, it is supposed, will not much exceed \$13,365,202, for all objects exclusive of the public debt. Thus, it will be perceived that when this debt shall be liquidated, a considerable reduction must be made in the annual revenue, or a large sum will accumulate in the treasury, if no new appropriation be made.

Some of our contemporaries have suggested various plans for employing or reducing the surplus here anticipated. The following paragraph, from the *New-York American*, presents an interesting view of the subject. Speaking of the proposition of the Secretary of the Treasury, to sell the public lands to the States in which they are respectively located, and distribute the proceeds among the several States of the Union, the editor observes:—

"There is an appropriation of these public lands we would greatly prefer to that suggested by Mr. McLane. It is that proposed by Mr. Rufus King in the latest act of his Senatorial career. Faithful to the last to those principles which, at the outset of his political life, led him to mark his desire for the extinction of slavery in this Republic, by urging successfully the adoption of that clause in the ordinance for the government of the Northwestern territory, which inhibited slavery there, he submitted a resolution, that the proceeds of the public lands, after the extinguishment of the debt—should be applied to the purchase, *with the consent of the States wherein they might be owned*, of slaves, and to their transportation out of the United States. At that time the proposition was, by Southern men, treated—incredible as already it appears—mad and monstrous as hereafter it will more strikingly appear—as a *firebrand*; and we of the free States, who suffer not from the curse and crime of slavery, but who, in zealous friendship and affection for our less fortunate fellow-citizens of the slave States, were willing to give up all our share of a common treasure in order to enable them at their own time and in their own way—but mainly at our cost—to rid themselves without too great a sacrifice, of what constitutes their weakness, their poverty and their shame,—we were treated as fanatics and incendiaries!—Yet this proposition would we gladly see renewed; and the time having arrived when the debt is provided for, we would say to the slave States, take the whole proceeds of the public domain, parcel it out in your own way, by your own commissioners, among yourselves, on the sole condition that within a stipulated period—be it longer or be it shorter, but irrevocably stipulated—slavery shall no longer mar the symmetry nor contradict the principles of our glorious Republic."

So anxious are we for the extinction of that "supreme curse," the system of slavery, we hail this proposition with pleasure. Should it be "*irrevocably stipulated*," that slavery must cease to exist within a given period, not too far distant, the slaves might with propriety be purchased, *for the express purpose of emancipation*: but without *such positive stipulation*, the measure would have the ultimate effect of *increasing the foreign slave trade*, to an indefinite extent. It is believed that the vacuum created in the colored population of the U. S. by *African colonization*, is now more than filled by the clandestine introduction of

slaves from Africa, via Cuba, &c. We recollect meeting, some time since, with the following paragraph from the *New-York Whig*. If the sole object had been to encourage the breeding of slaves in the northern and western slave states, and the extension of the African slave trade, the project were the best that could have been devised! O that our statesmen and moral reformers would take the pains to think and reflect a little! We repeat, let the government pay any reasonable sum (in the way of compromise) for the slaves, upon the express condition that ALL shall CERTAINLY be emancipated in due time;—but never sanction the principle that man can be rightfully considered the property of man, by the purchase of a single one, without this 'IRREVOCABLE STIPULATION.'

"Our Statesmen are in just apprehension of the danger of an overwhelming treasury. The tariff will be moderated to meet the exigency with all possible despatch; but then the prosperity of our commerce is so great, that with a small levy upon those commodities, which our independence as a nation requires us to fabricate, our revenues will exceed our expenditures in a few short years. In the mean time, thinking what we shall do with the *overplus*, let us consider the propriety and utility of laying it out for buying at the market price, of such as are willing to sell, their bond servants, and colonizing them in Africa. If the whole people will agree to it, we see no objection to the plan: and being of those who in this matter will pay money, and receive none, we begin by proposing it for consideration."

LOUISIANA.

The governor of Louisiana, it appears, became so much alarmed at certain measures lately adopted in Virginia, for the banishment of some of the slaves suspected of being concerned in the Southampton insurrection, that he called an extra meeting of the Legislature, principally with the view of preventing their introduction into that State. He complains bitterly of this act of Virginia, in his message, and says she "condemns her slaves who have assisted in scenes of pillage and murder, to go, without the possibility of their being recognized, and to carry into neighboring States the contagion of their crimes." This is, indeed, quite as bad as the circulating of "incendiary publications" among our slaveholding brethren; and every Virginian, so offending, should be prosecuted for a misdemeanor (a "libel," or something) and demanded from the Executive, to be tried and punished by the laws of Louisiana! But governor Roman should recollect that the authorities in Virginia have adopted this plan in order to avoid the sacrifice of "PROPERTY." It would cost them too much, to hang, or send to the penitentiary, every slave they now wish to get out of the State. Like the good "republicans" of Louisiana, they wish to hold on to their human "property," body and soul, while life shall last, or they get the value thereof. There being so much congeniality of sen-

timent among them, on this subject, slaveholders should treat each other more civilly.—At least, they should be cautious how they use such expressions as to furnish those "madmen," the philanthropists, with additional reasons for doubting their honesty.

His excellency adverts to the inutility of measures heretofore adopted for preventing the introduction of slaves, accused of crimes, into that State.* He observes: "The total prohibition of introducing slaves into this State, during a certain number of years, [it should be indefinitely, as the cause of the evil will continue to operate while slavery exists,] appears alone, to me, to be the only method of avoiding the danger with which we are threatened."†

But it appears that the members of the Legislature were not prepared to go the length of this recommendation. They passed an act, prohibiting the introduction of slaves into that state, except by persons emigrating thereto for the purpose of residence, and by citizens for their own use and service, provided that in the latter case they shall not be procured from the States of Mississippi or Alabama, or from the Territories of Florida and Arkansas, and provided also that in neither case shall they be sold, mortgaged, or loaned, for five years after their introduction. [Yet they may purchase any they please in Tennessee, or Kentucky, a few hours' excursion, in a steam-boat, up the Mississippi River.] All slaves, introduced contrary to these provisions, are to be made free and removed from the State. The penalty for a violation of this clause (when it can be proven!) is \$500 to \$1,000 for each slave, with costs of prosecution, and imprisonment until paid. The penalty for removing beyond the limits of the State any

* And well he may begin to see their inutility. It is stated that from the 16th to the 22d of Oct. 513 Slaves were imported into New-Orleans; and it was feared 12 or 15,000 would be imported before the Legislature could interfere.

† General Dupre, in some remarks upon this subject, addressed to the Legislature of that State a year or two since, goes further and observes "It seems to me that one great and important step to the attainment of so desirable an object, would be the entire prohibition of the further introduction of slaves into this state. By partial return of the census now taken by the officers of the United States, we are enabled to ascertain the vast disparity in numbers between the white and black population, a disparity too great to be viewed with indifference or inattention by those who are intrusted with the preservation of the peace and security of the public. The annual supply gradually pouring in, and scarce a ship arrives from the slave-holding states that does not come freighted with a living cargo of vice and crime, to be disgorged upon our shore and incorporated into our domestic establishments. If this continual and growing evil be not a fair and proper ground for legislative interference, then we have formed a very erroneous opinion of what would contribute to the security or the best interest of the state."

slave, thus freed, is a fine of \$1,000, and five years' imprisonment at hard labor. All slaves brought for sale, and remaining unsold at the time of the passage of this act, are to be immediately removed from the State, under a penalty of \$20 per day, for each slave not thus removed.* Those now on their way to that market, must be removed in five days after their arrival.

We truly rejoice to perceive that the evils connected with the slave system have thus been so far discovered, as to induce the legislators of Louisiana to do something to check their extension.— But we feel assured that every measure, yet adopted, will prove insufficient to accomplish the object they have in view. It is merely like administering anodynes to a patient, whose disease is of a malignant and dangerous character. It is much to be regretted that statesmen are so short sighted as to be insensible of the fact, that while the MARKET for slaves exist, they will be introduced, in spite of all the laws prohibiting it that can be enacted. In short, *nothing but the ABOLITION OF SLAVERY will put an end to the slave traffic, FOREIGN OR DOMESTIC.*

We subjoin the following extract from a law of Louisiana, now in force, relative to free colored persons and slaves. Awful, indeed, must be the prospects of a people who are wont to adopt measures of such extreme severity—measures so incompatible with their republican and christian professions! The desires and exertions of all good men should be directed to the spread of that light among them, by which they may see that a different course of proceeding would redound more to their permanent peace and safety.

Be it enacted, etc. "That whoever shall write, print, publish, or distribute any thing having a tendency to produce discontent among the free colored population of the state, or insubordination among the slaves therein, shall on conviction thereof before any court of competent jurisdiction, be sentenced to imprisonment at hard labor for life or suffer death, at the discretion of the court.

"Sec. 2d. That whosoever shall make use of language, in any public discourse, from the bar, the bench, the pulpit, or in any other place whatsoever, shall make use of language in private discourses, or shall make use of signs or actions, having a tendency to produce discontent among the free colored population of this state, or to excite insubordination, or whoever knowingly be instrumental in bringing into this state, any paper, pamphlet or book, having such a tendency as aforesaid, shall on conviction thereof, before any court of competent jurisdiction, suffer imprisonment at hard labor, not less than three years nor more than twenty-one years, or death, at the discretion of the court.

"Sec. 3d. That all persons who shall teach, or permit or cause to be taught, any slave in this state to read or write, shall on conviction thereof

*It is stated that, at the date of our last accounts, 1000 slaves were on hand, unsold, in the city of New Orleans. We hope our slave trading gentry will realize some disappointments now.

before any court of competent jurisdiction, be imprisoned not less than one month nor more than twelve months."

MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES.

(Concluded from page 103.)

So much evidence was exhibited of a disposition, in this country, to obtain the territory alluded to, not only by treaty, but also by inciting the emigrants from these states to revolt, (when a pretext would have been found to take possession, in the expected inability of the Mexican government to quiet the tumult,) that a law was passed by the Mexican Congress, on the 6th of April, 1830, prohibiting our citizens from settling there in future.* Several grants of land, made by the local authorities and not yet confirmed by the general government, were thus annulled; and much disappointment was felt by many who had even entered into speculations with honest views. The measure was susceptible of the clearest justification, however, upon the popular principle of self-preservation. The following is an extract from the law, aforesaid, which particularly alludes to the prohibition:—

"Article 11.—In virtue of the authority which has been reserved by the general congress to itself, by art. 7th of the law of the 18th of August, 1824, all foreigners, whose country is bounded on said state and territory of the federation, (i. e. the state of Cuahuila and Texas, and the territory of New Mexico,) shall be prohibited from settling within the said state and territory, in consequence of which all the contracts that have not taken effect, and are opposed to this law, shall be suspended."

Thus, it will be perceived that inordinate avarice and despotic ambition overleaped the bounds of prudence, and completely foiled its own intentions, in this instance. The subject was one of such momentous import—the object in view was so intrinsically valuable—that the pursuers were blinded by the splendor of its dazzling glare,—and, contemning the counsels of both moderation and justice, they dared the precipice, from which they fell to rise no more! Though the Mexican government is desirous to encourage the emigration and settlement of all other industrious and worthy persons there, the white citizens of this republic are now denied the privileges once offered them, and viewed more in the light of enemies than friends. To give some idea of the antipathy

* This disposition prevailed so generally throughout the slave states, in 1830, that the electors of one district in Mississippi put the following, among other interrogatories, to their candidates for Congress:—

"Your opinion of the acquisition of Texas, and how—whether by force or treaty—and whether the law preventing the emigration of Americans, is not evidence of apprehension that that province wishes to secede from the Mexican government—and whether, if requested, we ought to give the seceder military assistance—and what would be the effect of the acquisition of Texas upon the planting interest of the southwest."

which then prevailed against us, and no doubt still exists among them, we insert an extract from a paper laid before the Mexican Congress, in secret session, by *Don Lucas Alaman*, the present Secretary of State, a short time previous to the enactment of the law above mentioned. This extract is merely an enumeration of grievances—a sort of text-book, upon which their subsequent legislation was an ample commentary. The whole paper is ably drawn up. The author calls upon the nation to assume a firm attitude, and assures the representatives that the executive will sustain them in the measures thus recommended, both in diplomatic discussions and with military force; the honor of the republic and the integrity of its territory being threatened. We, have only room for the following:—

“The Americans commence by introducing themselves into the territory which they covet on pretence of commercial negotiations, or of the establishment of colonies, with or without the assent of the Government to which it belongs.—These colonies grow, multiply, become the predominant party in the population; and as soon as a support is found in this manner, they begin to set up rights which it is impossible to sustain in a serious discussion, and to bring forward ridiculous pretensions, founded upon historical facts which are admitted by nobody, such as *Lasalle's Voyages*, now known to be a falsehood, but which serves as a support, at this time, for their claim to Texas. These extravagant opinions are, for the first time, presented to the world by unknown writers; and the labor which is employed by others in offering proofs and reasonings, is spent by them in repetitions and multiplied allegation, for the purpose of drawing the attention of their fellow-citizens, not upon the justice of the proposition, but upon the advantages and interests to be obtained or subverted by their admission.

“Their machinations in the country they wish to acquire, are then brought to light by the appearance of explorers, some of whom settle on the soil, alleging that their presence does not affect the question of the right of sovereignty or possession to the land. These pioneers excite, by degrees, movements which disturb the political state of the country in dispute; and then follow discontents and dissatisfaction calculated to fatigue the patience of the legitimate owner, and to diminish the usefulness of the administration and of the exercise of authority. When things have come to this pass, which is precisely the present state of things in Texas, the diplomatic management commences. The inquietude they have excited in the territory in dispute, the interests of the colonists therein established, the insurrection of adventurers and savages instigated by them, and the pertinacity with which the opinion is set up as to their right of possession, become the subjects of notes full of expressions of justice and moderation, until, with the aid of other incidents which are never wanting in the course of diplomatic relations, the desired end is attained of concluding an arrangement, onerous for one party as it is advantageous to the other. Sometimes more direct means are resorted to, and taking the advantage of the enfeebled state or domestic difficulties of the possessor of the soil, they proceed upon the most extraordinary pretexts to make themselves master of the country, as was the case in

the Floridas, leaving the question to be decided afterwards as to the legality of the possession, which force alone could take from them.

“It has been said further, that when the United States of the North have succeeded in giving the predominance to the colonists introduced into the countries they had in view, they set up rights, and bring forward pretensions founded upon disputed historical facts, availing themselves generally, for the purpose, of some critical conjuncture to which they suppose that the attention of Government must be directed. This policy, which has produced good results to them, they have commenced carrying into effect with respect to Texas. The public prints in those states, including those which are more immediately under the influence of their government, are engaged in discussing the right they imagine they have to the country as far as the Rio Bravo. Handbills are printed on the same subject, and thrown into general circulation, whose object is to persuade and convince the people of the utility and expediency of the meditated project. Some of them have said that Providence had marked out Rio Bravo as the natural boundary of those states, which has induced an English writer to reproach them with an attempt to make Providence the author of their usurpations: but what is most remarkable, is, that they have commenced that discussion precisely at the same time they saw us engaged in repelling the Spanish invasion, believing that our attention would, for a long time, be thereby withdrawn from other things. The government besides is informed, from a source worthy of confidence, that the subject of Texas is going to be taken up at Washington—that if the President has omitted to mention it in his Message, it was in order that it might originate in Congress under a more popular aspect; and that with the same view, a 50 gun frigate, the *Brandywine*, will soon sail for our coast, with a few others, to be fitted out by the Cabinet of Washington.”

About the period that this excitement was raised in Mexico, it would seem the unprincipled ambition of the party in the U. S. headed by the notorious T. H. Benton, (a second *Burr*, in his views of personal aggrandizement,) attracted the attention and severe animadversion of the British public. A debate incidentally occurred in the H. of Commons, in which the celebrated Mr. Huskisson took a leading part, that manifested the liveliest interest in the welfare, the integrity, and the independence of the Mexican Republic. We have not room for any of the speeches delivered upon this occasion, but we copy the following allusion to the discussion, from the London “*Times*,” with the remarks of the editor of that Journal. From these remarks which, we must consider, are in strict accordance with the tone of public sentiment in Great Britain it would appear a rather hazardous enterprise, for our slavites, to attempt the acquisition of Texas *per force*;—and there are many, among our colored neighbours, who are a full match for Col. Benton and his coadjutors, in diplomacy. The grand project was, therefore, suffered to rest—at least for a time.

“Mr. Huskisson, in presenting the Liverpool petition on the subject of our relations with Spain and Mexico, in the course of last night, urged with great force the propriety of preventing Spain from

making further attacks from the side of Cuba, on the now liberated Republic of Mexico.

There was a further subject, and one of extreme importance, discussed by Mr. Huskisson in the course of his speech—we mean the general prevalence of an opinion that the United States covet a fine province of Mexico, called Texas, and are disposed to have recourse to violence, if necessary, for the purpose of getting it into their hands. The province of Texas extends southwards from the United States along the coast of Mexico, and as such, the seizure of it by the former power could not be a matter of perfect indifference to Great Britain. The possession of the Floridas by the United States has long since given rational cause of uneasiness to England, from regard to the safety of our West India Islands; and we agree with Mr. Huskisson, that when the Government of Washington intimated its repugnance to seeing Cuba transferred from the feeble Ferdinand to the vigorous grasp of George IV., the United States should have been informed, that if Cuba were to continue permanently Spanish, so Texas, and in general the whole shore along the Gulf, should enure to the Mexican republic.

The references made by the Right Hon. Gentleman to communications, official as well as private, from the late Mr. Jefferson, descriptive of the eager and deep rooted longings of the American statesmen for slices of Mexico, and above all things, for the island of Cuba, will not, we are sure, be lost upon the memory of His Majesty's Government in its future transactions with the Spanish Cabinet, with that of Mexico, and of the United States. With Spain we have a defensive alliance, ready made and consolidated by the most obvious interest, to prevent Cuba from falling a prey to the systematic agrandizement of the United States. With Mexico, again, we are equally identified in resistance to the attempts of the same States upon Texas. With the United States themselves we have no relation but that of commercial intercourse so long as they will suffer it, and of forbearance on other points so long as our patience may not be too severely provoked."

BRAZIL—"GOING, GOING!"

The United States will be the last foothold of the "accursed system," on the American Continent. The remnant of Portuguese power is fast waning in Brazil,—and that fine country will soon be on a footing with the rest of the Southern American Republics, "FREE AND INDEPENDENT"—not merely by name, as our boastful, hypocritical, and tyrannical government is—but, CONSISTENTLY SO.

We give the following items of intelligence, without further comment. The reader will perceive that the *heavings of the great moral and political volcano* have excited a little consternation among those who had nothing to do but *make money and live easy* upon the sweat, and tears, and blood, of their fellow men and women.

A letter from an officer, on board the Potomac, in the harbor of Rio Janeiro, to a gentleman in N. York, dated Oct. 23d, says: "You may have heard of the insurrection of the blacks here, on the island Cobras; there is no doubt it was their intention to take possession of Rio. They fired upon it, and under cover of the smoke hoped to

gain their object. But the disturbance was soon quelled."

Another letter from Rio, dated Oct. 9th, states as follows:—

"There is a wonderful excitement in town, owing to a discovery of deposits of arms; and information being given to the authorities of a desperate attempt being contemplated by the mulattoes to overthrow the government."

The "General Assembly" of Brazil are endeavoring to remodel their form of government.—They had, at the last dates, a proposition under consideration to call it a "Federative Monarchy," and give it limited powers. *But this will not be sufficient.* They must proceed with the SPIRIT OF THE AGE—establish a Republic, and abolish Slavery. Nothing else will do.

It will be perceived, by the interesting article which follows, that the citizens of Virginia are at length beginning to awake to a true sense of their situation as it regards the moral blight to which their state is subjected, through the accursed system of Negro Slavery—and are becoming feelingly alive to the great necessity there is that some efficient mean of getting rid of the evil with which they are afflicted should be immediately devised. We trust the enlightened and philanthropic inhabitants of that commonwealth will leave no effort unassayed to accomplish the object for which they have set out. Humanity, as well as the interests of the people, imperiously requires that the business of emancipation should not now be suffered to rest a moment. We copy from the N. Y. Whig.

LOUDON COUNTY, VIRGINIA. Nothing foreign or domestic has lately fallen under our notice, more deeply interesting to the hopes we form of our country's glory, than the meeting at Leesburg, Loudon Co., Va., 17th December, respecting the coloured population. The Mayor presided in the meeting; the most influential citizens took part in it. Their resolutions offer sympathy to the Southampton County mourners, and deliverance from the dangerous cause of their mourning, by the gradual emancipation and removal of the colored mass. We quote the 4th resolution.

"4th. Resolved, As the opinion of this meeting, that a gradual emancipation and removal of the Slaves of the commonwealth is practicable; and that, upon this assumption, the continuation of slavery is forbidden by the true policy of Virginia, repugnant to her political theory and christian professions, and an opprobrium to our ancient and renowned dominion."

They adopted a memorial to the General Assembly of Virginia, which takes three things for proved:

1. That the labour of slaves, in a community like ours, is the most expensive that can be used.
2. Slavery tends to lay waste the region in which it subsists.
3. It fills with inquietude the bosoms of those who employ it.

We quote from the memorial.

"Is not all this literally and mournfully true? A sense of the common interest, a love of peace, the sentiment of security for all that is dear to the heart of social man, combine to adjure Virginians to make a great exertion, a becoming sacrifice, to deliver their soil from an evil, serious now, terri-

ble in prospect.—It is most clear, then, that the safety of individuals calls aloud for energetic but prudent measures, having for their objects the ultimate extinction of involuntary servitude, and the removal of the race which is irreconcilably antagonist to ours.”

“To complain of public evils, which are remediable, is the part of children; to remove them, that of men:” and they pledge themselves to a cordial co-operation in this great work.

This generous spirit is further discovered in the correspondent of the Richmond Whig, 2d Jan., under the signature of *A Political Economist*. Believing his friends to be irreconcilably opposed to disbursing the surplus revenue of the U. S. for this purpose, he proposes to the state to buy its resident slaves, as fast as they attain the age of sixteen, at an average price of \$200. The necessary means are to be procured by creating a stock. To pay the interest and principal of this stock, the writer proposes to hire out the slaves at the rate of thirty-five dollars each *per annum*.—At this moderate price, their attendance in sickness, and daily support, will be required in the bargain; and in ten years, that is when the slaves are twenty-six years old, they will have repaid the state their purchase money, and the annual interest upon it, besides a surplus sufficient to pay their passage to Africa, and more.

But could the State hire them out, so many, at this price? The correspondent of the Richmond Whig says: “By embarking in a System of Internal Improvement, upon a large scale, which Virginia *must* do, or sink into insignificance, she can in a great degree, control the price of this species of labor.” This is better and better. In twenty years, were the proposed course adopted, the surviving slaves of Virginia would not number 50,000. Speed the work. “To complain of evils that are remediable, is the part of children; to remove them, that of men.”

The following Resolutions have been submitted for consideration in the Virginia Legislature.—We have not yet learned their fate.

Resolved, That it is expedient, as early as possible, with their assent, to remove the Free Negroes and Mulattoes, from this Commonwealth.

Resolved, That the Colony now established at Liberia, on the coast of Africa, presents the most desirable Territory to which the said Free Negroes and Mulattoes shall be transported.

Resolved, That this State will annually appropriate the sum of \$100,000 towards defraying the costs of transportation of said Free Negroes and Mulattoes to the coast of Africa; which sum shall be raised by a tax upon land, slaves, and other property now declared taxable by law.

Resolved, That it is expedient to constitute a Board, which shall have authority to draw for such sums as may be necessary for the purposes aforesaid; whose duty it shall be to select from among such as may present themselves as candidates for emigration, under the limitations hereafter mentioned, and to do all other acts and things properly appertaining to such Board.

Resolved, That for the purposes herein contemplated, the State of Virginia shall be laid off in sections, corresponding with the divisions established by the constitution of the Commonwealth;—that is to say ———, and it shall be made the duty of the said Board to make a fair and equal annual appropriation of the fund before mentioned, for the relief of the several divisions of the State, according to the number of Free Negroes and Mulattoes in each.

Resolved, As an inducement to emigrate, each emigrant shall be provided, at the public expense, with agricultural and planting implements, clothing, and other necessary articles, not exceeding in value ——— dollars.

THE PETERSBURG OUTRAGE.

We have had an article on hand, for more than two months, relating to the outrageous treatment of H. D. Robinson, at Petersburg, Virginia. Its great length has induced us to postpone a general notice of it, though it was briefly adverted to in a previous number of this work. We had determined to take copious extracts from it; but, our limits are so narrow that we are compelled to condense it as much as possible.

Robinson, we understand, is an Englishman.—He was engaged in vending books, pamphlets, &c. when the Southampton insurrection occurred. Upon the spreading of an alarming story that 500 armed blacks were on the road towards Petersburg, about 11 o'clock at night, he marched, with others, to guard a bridge at the edge of the town. After the panic had subsided, he took occasion to remark, in the presence of some rank slavites and others, that “the blacks, as men, were entitled to their freedom, and ought to be emancipated.” This roused the angry tyrannical feelings of some who heard it; and the next morning, about 6 o'clock, he was informed that a number of persons had determined to *mob* him, for the expression of his opinions. He was advised to leave town immediately, as it was thought his life was in danger. He made arrangements, accordingly, and engaged his passage, in the stage, to Richmond. Before the stage had proceeded beyond the limits of the town, a party of 15 or 20 men assembled and stationed themselves in the road, to intercept him on the way. Having received some intimation of their intentions, he left the stage, and went to the house of a friend, where he was admitted, and the doors were locked. A mob soon collected in the street, and demanded entrance. On being refused, they forced the doors, and dragged him from an upper room, where he had retired and armed himself, though upon reflection, he made no resistance. The civil authorities were applied to, for protection, *but refused to interfere!* Being now completely in the hands of the mob, they first led him towards the bridge, at the extremity of the town, then to a wood, *where they stripped off his clothing and most savagely WHIPPED HIM, until their fiend-like rage was satiated!!!* It was then proposed to *tar and feather* him; but some of them thought they had sufficiently wreaked their vengeance upon him, and interceded for his release from further punishment. He was then permitted to depart, and ordered to take the road to Richmond. The heroes of mobocracy drew a line across the road with a stick, and told him that if ever he

should dare to cross that mark, "it would fare worse" with him.

Having now got rid of his ferocious assailants, he travelled on as well as he could, and arrived at Richmond in the evening. The hot sun, poured down its fervid rays upon his lacerated back, and his boots blistered his feet, insomuch that he suffered greatly on the way. From Richmond, he took passage in a vessel, bound for New-York, which place he reached in a few days, still severely afflicted in consequence of his savage maltreatment.

The intelligent philanthropic reader will make his own comments upon this instance of lawless outrage. These are the sort of beings to whose cruel "tender mercies" thousands of defenceless Africans—and Americans—are unconditionally committed!* May every patriot rouse—may every friend of humanity rouse—may every professor of the christian religion rouse—may every virtuous human being, without distinction of name, sex, or age, ARGUSE from their slumber of apathy, and put an end to that barbarous, soul corrupting SYSTEM, whose fruits are so destructive to the morals and virtue of those who partake of them.

ANOTHER ABOMINABLE ASSAULT!!

The following extract of a letter to the editor of the Boston Liberator, from a gentleman in Macon, Georgia, shows something of the temper prevailing in that section of country. The writer is correct in his opinion of the corruption of apostate yankee republicans. Among the most virulent advocates of slavery in Missouri, during the great contest of 1819—'20, there were, to our knowledge, a goodly number of the bastard sons of New-England. Many of them set out, in early life, and roam the world, with the sole view of "making fortunes." Money is their object, and money is their God.—And not a few of them would just as soon excoriate the back of a trembling slave, or sell a free man or woman, as to measure off a yard of tape, or puff a lighted cigar!

"Macon, (Geo.) Nov. 16th, 1831.

"DEAR SIR—I regret to inform you, that our mutual friend, Mr. John Lamb, got into a difficulty last evening, in consequence of receiving your laudable paper. A mob of unprincipled ragabonds assembled around his house, and violently took him out, and tarred and feathered

* But few of the scoundrels concerned in this abominable transaction, were known to the gentleman thus wantonly abused; but among them he recognized the following, whose names, he wishes recorded, that they may be handed down to posterity, as the infamous violators of law and justice. They are: Joseph Mason, David Cross, Doctor Cox, Thomas Cogvill, — Gibbon, — Gallagher, Thomas Stroud. The last is said to be a pious professor of religion!—yet he was very active in urging on the rest,—saying to the villain wielding the whip, "lay it well on him!"

him! They then poured oil on his head, and set fire to it!! They next carried him on a rail to the river and ducked him!! And then returned with him to a post near Darraugh and Simms' Tavern, and whipped him!! They are now preparing your effigy, with the determination to burn it.

"I blush for my native state, to think that such a spirit of opposition and bitterness should pervade our community; but I can truly say that northern men who reside among us, are more violent against the Liberator, than our native Georgians."

FLOGGING FEMALE SLAVES.

This is a "delicate" topic! The editor of the Genius of Universal Emancipation once found himself in a "dilemma" for having published something about it! Two braggadacios came, more than thirty miles, to bid him retract in what had been said and done. They requested an audience in a private room. Not knowing either the men or their errand, it was granted. One of them, who considered himself aggrieved, drew weapons, stormed and swore:—and, when the fit was over, sneaked out of town, with more haste than he came in!

A perusal of the following, revived the remembrance of the above mentioned circumstance.—The substance of the story is from the New-York Spectator.

By the brig Eliza and Abby, Jamaica papers have been received to the 30th Nov. inclusive.—A debate took place in the House of Assembly on the 22d, on a proposition to abolish the flogging of female slaves, which led to severe personal remarks between Mr. Berry and Mr. Beaumont.—A duel ensued. Mr. Beaumont twice received his antagonist's fire without returning it; upon which they separated.

DIVISION OF VIRGINIA.

It is said that the question of dividing the State of Virginia into two separate Commonwealths, has lately been revived in the Lexington Intelligencer, and other papers. We presume that the inhabitants of Western Virginia will never rest until they free themselves from the misrule of Negro Barons, and cleanse their skirts of the crimson stain of African Slavery. Late events have, no doubt, presented to their minds this horrible evil, in its most glaring colors; and that section of the State contains men of the brightest talents—disciples of Washington and Jefferson—hosts in themselves—warm advocates of Freedom, and enlightened politicians. It is ardently to be hoped that this contemplated project may speedily succeed, if measures for the abolition of slavery, now in contemplation, fail. We shall then have, at least, another bright star in the galaxy of FREE STATES, on this portion of the North American Continent.

WEST INDIAN EMANCIPATION.

By a recent arrival from Jamaica, at New-York, advices were received, relative to the proceedings on the subject of the abolition of slavery. The "Slave Law" was to go into effect on the 1st of November. The *Jamaica Courant* concludes an article on the subject with the following remark:—

"If the Slave Law, as far as it is applicable to the present state of our peasantry, is really defective, let it be immediately amended; but let the government of the Mother Country know that to this extent shall we go and no further, as some limit ought to be fixed to the demands made upon us, or at all events, until the question of compensation is finally settled:—this once fixed, the colonists will be eager and willing to grant every immunity to those who are the objects of such mock philanthropy and consideration."

So! after all their blustering, the petty tyrants of Jamaica are willing to agree to the demands of Government, and emancipate their slaves, *provided*—they shall be PAID FOR THEM! Here is a wonderful "backing out." How long is it since they absolutely refused to permit the government to interfere at all? What has become of the threat to transfer their allegiance to the U. S. in case they were not left in the unmolested enjoyment of their slave "property?" Here we have another evidence of the certainty of success, in case of *perseverance* in a righteous cause.

An interesting debate occurred in the British House of Commons, on the 17th of August, respecting the recent emancipation of the "crown slaves," in the colonies of that empire. The following is all we have room for now.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, Aug. 17.

Mr. Burge wished to know whether the government had taken pains to obtain full information on the subject before they sent out the order to emancipate the crown slaves; and whether they had adopted measures to provide for these slaves before these orders were dispatched?

Lord Howick said, that before the orders were sent out to emancipate these slaves, the government had taken the best information on this subject; and these orders were not sent out till such information was fully considered. Besides this, he could assure the Hon. gentleman that all the necessary precautions had been taken by the government to provide for those slaves. He could not let this opportunity pass without reading an extract from a letter written by the Governor of Antigua. That letter stated, that during the five months since the Crown slaves had been set at liberty, there had been no complaint of their conduct,—(hear, hear;)—none had made application for relief on account of their poverty—(hear,)—but they were all industriously occupied in providing for themselves. (Hear, hear.) That was the report made by the Governor of Antigua of 371 slaves who were suddenly emancipated.—There were now to be emancipated only 36 in number, and they were creoles. He asked the house whether there was any danger that these 36 creoles would create any embarrassment when 371 negroes had occasioned none whatever?—(Hear, hear.)

Mr. Burge hoped that the government, before

they adopted any decisive measures, would have some communications with those who possessed the best means of information on the subject, and those who had the deepest interests in the welfare of the colonies.

Mr. Hume said, that the Noble Lord had made a statement, the substance of which he had himself put to the house about ten years ago; namely, that those slaves when emancipated, would provide for themselves. He was glad that government were at last convinced of this fact, and he hoped that they would act upon their own knowledge. He offered them his best thanks for what they had done, and he hoped they would persevere in the same course they had adopted.

REPUBLIC OF HAYTI.

The New-York Standard, of a recent date, noticing the intelligence brought by an arrival from Hayti, says:—

"We learn with pleasure that the measures adopted by the French Consul, commissioned to settle the affairs of Hayti and France, have not been approved by his government, and that the pecuniary indemnity required from Hayti is admitted to have been too great for their resources."

What will the enemies of the Haytiens do now? No war yet with the French! Sad, sad news, this! "I guess," as "brother Jonathan" would say, better let them "Free Negroes" have their own way. They'll "drive through Creation, without hittin' both sides" oftener than other folks!

Some of the owners of sugar estates, we learn, are making considerable improvements; and the culture of the cane will, no doubt, soon be greatly extended in that fine island. We saw the following notice in a newspaper some months since. The experiment must have been highly interesting.

"General Lerebours [probably Gen. Labau] has introduced on his plantation of Chateaublond, in the plain of Cul de Sac, a steam mill for sugar canes, put up under the direction of Mr. McKellar, a mechanical engineer. Its operation was tested on the 11th, in the presence of a number of anxious spectators, who were doubtful of its succeeding, but were agreeably disappointed. According to an accurate calculation, in less than 11 hours, 5700 gallons were expressed."

Would it not be advisable for our southern colored people to reflect on the advantages held out to those who will migrate thither? Every reasonable encouragement will be given to orderly and industrious emigrants, by both government and people; and in no part of the world could they, with industry and economy, live more free and independent,—or, with temperance and prudence, enjoy a greater share of health and comfort.

ANOTHER "ENTHUSIAST."

Our friend, Dennison, of the *Stonington Phoenix*,* has caught a "live coal" from the altar of Universal Emancipation. He is becoming almost

* Since writing the above, we learn that he has assumed the editorial charge of a new work, entitled the "Herald of Peace," at Norwich, Connecticut. Success attend him!

enthusiastic as he should be. Some of the "yan-
 kee" boys may be a little too full of fire,—but icy,
 indeed, must be that bosom which does not burn
 for the promotion of such a cause as this!—A
 list of newly initiated coadjutors, who are now
 distinguishing themselves, is prepared for inser-
 tion; but (thank Heaven!) it is too long for our
 limits, this month.

DEFINITION OF THE TERM "FREEMEN."

The people of Fayetteville, North Carolina, are
 desirous to have a new Dictionary!—They have
 been scandalized long enough by the latitudinarian-
 ism of the term FREEMEN!!! Hear them!—

A Memorial address to the legislature of this
 State, protesting against the right of emancipated,
 as they are usually called *free negroes*, to vote
 members of the General Assembly, and pray-
 ing for the adoption of a resolution declaratory of
 the true meaning of the term FREEMEN, as used in
 the Constitution, has been prepared, agreeably to
 a resolution adopted by a number of citizens, at a
 meeting held in the Masonic Hall, on Saturday
 evening last."—*Sentinel*.

THREATS, AND PERSONAL DANGER.

The editor of the *Liberator* has published sun-
 dry letters, threatening personal violence, and
 warning him to be on his guard, &c.—That there
 are lawless wretches, who would willingly commit
 crimes of this nature, the editor of *this work*
 is also long since been convinced, even by "oc-
 casional demonstration." Many letters, couched in
 the most indecent and menacing language, and
 signed, in the kindest spirit of anxious concern
 and friendly warning, have been received, from
 time to time. This is, indeed, calculated to dis-
 courage chicken-hearted reformers. It is a cheap
 method for bullying blackguards to vent their ma-
 lignant spleen. But they must risk a little more
 responsibility, ere they succeed in their designs.—
 Though personal violence, of the most outrageous
 character, has been actually meted to the writer
 of this, he yet assures both friends and foes, that
 his resolution flags not—his spirit soars as lofty
 ever. Those who embark on the stormy sea
 of reformation, must, first, be satisfied of the ra-
 tionality and justice of their cause, and even be
 willing to suffer martyrdom if necessary; they will
 have nothing to fear from the raging elements
 of human passion, prejudice, and malignity.

We copy the following extract of a letter, just
 received from a friend to the south, (who had sub-
 scribed for the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*),
 showing the sensitiveness prevailing among some
 of liberal sentiments there, at this juncture.
 By such letters have been received from thence,
 at different times, although the paper has long had
 an extensive circulation in that part of the Union.

The title of your paper puts one in mind of a
 man who, to favor his favorite terrier, had the la-
 bel "Mad dog!" put round his neck. It cannot

travel south under such a title; nor do I recom-
 mend it to you known as its Editor to do so.—
 Your friends as well as yourself would be implic-
 ated.—You need not forward mine until you
 hear from me."

We have had the following Address, &c. on hand
 for some length of time, but deferred its insertion
 for want of room. When may we look for such
 patriotic decision from the statesmen of Northern
 America?

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRI-
 TAIN.

The Society for the Abolition of Sla-
 very throughout the British dominions,
 earnestly request your attention to the
 present state of the question. The Dis-
 solution will probably soon take place,
 when the great body of Electors will be
 strongly agitated with discussing the
 measure of Reform, which has divided the
 existing Parliament. At this crisis we
 entreat you, in the midst of conflict and
 excitement, to remember the sacred cause
 to which, in conjunction with ourselves,
 you are solemnly pledged. Upon the exer-
 tions now made, as far as human wisdom
 may foresee, mainly depends the continu-
 ance or extinction of that system which
 has so long prevailed in violation of all
 the principles of the British Constitution,
 and in subversion of all justice, outraging
 every feeling of humanity, and utterly re-
 pugnant to the precepts of the religion we
 profess to acknowledge. We pray you
 to rouse yourselves to strenuous, perse-
 vering and well-organized exertions; and
 we suggest for your consideration the fol-
 lowing measures:—To call meetings of
 your Committees, and to invite to join you
 all who prefer humanity to oppression,
 truth to falsehood, freedom to slavery:—
 to appoint frequent periods for assembling;
 to form a list of all the Electors who can
 be properly influenced in the approaching
 contest, each individual answering for
 himself and as many more as he can bring
 to aid:—to make strict inquiries of every
 Candidate, not only whether he is decid-
 edly favourable to the extinction of Slave-
 ry, but whether or not he will attend the
 Debates in Parliament when that ques-
 tion shall be discussed; herein taking spe-
 cial care not to be deceived by general
 professions of disapprobation of Slavery,
 but ascertaining that the Candidate has
 adopted the determination to assist in
 carrying through measures for its speedy
 annihilation. None look with greater
 horror on the shedding of blood, or the re-
 motest chance of occasioning such a ca-
 lamity than ourselves; but we are in our

own consciences convinced, and that after investigation the most careful and scrupulous, that from the emancipation we recommend, no risk to the safety of the white inhabitants could arise; on the contrary, we verily believe that the continuance of Slavery renders desolation and bloodshed much more probable; and that if the country does not repent of the sin of Slavery and cast it from her, it may, by the just retribution of Providence, terminate in a convulsion destructive alike of life and property.

On behalf of Candidates who are known to hold these principles, and on behalf of such Candidates only, we ask your assistance; and this assistance may be most powerfully rendered, not merely by votes, but by open and public adoption of the Candidate on these avowed grounds, by the exertion of lawful influence, by saving him time in his canvass, and by relieving him from expense in going to the poll.

We assure you, that on our part, we will not be backward in our efforts for the attainment of the same ends; and we will, from time to time, afford you all the information we may deem requisite.

In the truth and justice of our Cause we are all confident; but men must work by human means. Without strenuous efforts, the gold and combination of our interested opponents, may leave the cause without that support in Parliament which is essential to success, and so continue, for an indefinite period, sufferings indescribable and iniquity incalculable.

We solemnly conjure you to show yourselves, by your courage, energy, and perseverance, faithful in the cause of Truth and Mercy, and then, with His aid to whom all good is to be ascribed, we trust this accumulation of guilt and misery may be speedily annihilated.

Signed in behalf of the London Committee,

T. F. BUXTON,	Z. MACAULAY,
S. GURNEY,	D. WILSON,
W. WILBERFORCE,	R. WATSON,
W. SMITH,	S. LUSHINGTON.
T. CLARKSON.	

RESOLUTIONS,

Unanimously adopted at a General Meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, held at Exeter Hall, London, April 23, 1831; the Right Hon. Lord Suffield in the Chair.

1. That the object of this Meeting is the entire extinction of Negro Slavery.

2. That the time has now arrived, in

which the people of Great Britain and Ireland may give, by their votes, as they have already given by their petitions, efficacious assistance towards delivering the Negroes from the evils of Slavery, and the nation from the guilt of tolerating it, and that the address now read [see preceding pages] be adopted by this Meeting and circulated throughout the country.

3. That the buying, or selling, or holding of our fellow-men as slaves, is contrary to the Christian religion, and to the principles of the British constitution.

4. That, under the strongest rational conviction, fortified by the experience of all ages, that the holders of slaves are, by the very circumstances of their situation rendered as unfit, as they have always proved themselves unwilling, to frame laws for the benefit of their bondmen, the Assembly cannot refrain from avowing their utter despair of receiving any effectual aid from the Colonists in the prosecution of their great object.

5. That this Assembly consider it incumbent on them to renew the declaration of their decided conviction, that Slavery is not merely an abuse to be mitigated but an enormity to be suppressed; that involves the exercise of severities on the part of the master, and the endurance of sufferings on the part of the Slave, which no laws can effectually prevent; and that to impose on the British people the involuntary support of a system so essentially iniquitous, is an injustice no longer to be endured.

6. That the experience of the last eight years has not only furnished additional evidence of the criminality and incurable inhumanity of Slavery, but has also demonstrated incontrovertibly, that it is only by the direct intervention of Parliament that any effectual remedy can be applied to this enormous evil; and that it is an unalterable determination of this Meeting to leave no lawful means unattempted in obtaining, by Parliamentary enactment, the total abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions.

7. That this Meeting desire the expression of their sincere regret for the unavoidable absence of His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, to be respectfully conveyed to him, together with their cordial acknowledgements for the unstinting support he has uniformly given to the principles on which this Society is founded.

THOMAS PRINGLE,
Secretary.

Ladies' Repository.

Philanthropic and Literary.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

ON THE USE OF FREE PRODUCE.

This is a subject to which we have already frequently adverted, yet convinced as we are of the utility of that method of opposition to slavery, we believe we cannot err in again placing it before the attention of our readers. The use of Free produce, though it has become much more general than formerly, is still far too limited. In very many sections of our country, none except the more cultivated articles can be procured, though many persons in such places would undoubtedly give the preference to those of a contrary character, if they could be readily obtained. This is certainly to be regretted; yet where there is sincerity and steadiness of purpose we believe that difficulties of this kind may be generally, at least in some measure, overcome. If in every neighborhood those families who are friendly to the use of free produce would unite in requesting their grocer to procure for them the desired articles, we should suppose self-interest, if no better motive, would induce him to oblige them. Where this arrangement cannot be made, and no other method can be fallen upon, we would earnestly advise the friends of our cause, to provide themselves with no supplies in advance, and to carefully avoid the use of superfluous articles. But, again we repeat, a little exertion is often all that is necessary to obtain the wished for object.

To such of our sex as voluntarily give the preference to the products of slave labor, we would utter a word of serious expostulation on the inconsistency of their conduct. They would doubtless deny any wish to perpetuate the present condition of the slaves; nay, they will probably assert that their warmest wishes are engaged in behalf of abolition, and that the most active friends of that cause do not exceed themselves, in their detestation of slavery. How illy do such professions accord with their conduct. They abhor the system of oppression, and yet contribute their money to pay the slaveholder for maintaining it! They commiserate the slave, but instead of endeavoring to afford him relief, their whole assistance is given to those who retain him in bondage! They would probably advance many arguments in their justification, but unfortunately the slaveholder makes use of equally strong, and not uncommonly the very same, reasonings in favor of his conduct. And though we would not judge rashly, and are willing to make all due allowance for the effects of education and custom, we believe that both of them are actuated by the same principle of self-interest, though perhaps under different modifications. We entreat them to

review more carefully the ground on which they are standing; to reflect on the strange impropriety of the course they are pursuing. How can they reconcile it to themselves that they, christian mothers and wives and daughters, with all the kind and gentle sympathies of woman's nature playing about their hearts, should be accessaries in supporting one of the most heinous systems of oppression ever known in the world? If an entire abstinence from the products of slave-labor is considered impracticable, certainly they ought to make use of them only when it is entirely out of their power to procure those of the other class. And surely this cannot be too much to ask of any one, in support of such a cause as the overthrow of inhumanity and the relief of wretchedness.

We have not often met with a more touching appeal (in a few words) to the hearts of Rulers, than the following. We hope it may be listened to by those who *have hearts* to feel, both for the wrongs of the oppressed, and the safety of others. It is an extract from a petition to the Legislature of Virginia, from sundry *female* inhabitants of the County of Fluvanna. We have not seen the petition, at length.

"Will the absent father's heart be at peace when, amid the hurry of public affairs, his truant thoughts return to the home of his affections, surrounded by doubtful, if not dangerous, subjects to a precarious authority? Perhaps when deeply engaged in his legislative duties, his heart may quail, and his tongue falter, with irrepressible apprehensions for the peace and safety of objects dearer than life itself.

"Such will be the trials of our posterity unless efficient measures are speedily put in operation to avert them from the unborn myriads of our native land."

It may not be inappropriate here to introduce the stanzas below. They appeared, originally, in the Albany "Argus."

DIRGE.

On the night following Sunday, August 21st, while many of the inhabitants of Southampton County, Virginia, were absent at a camp-meeting held in a neighboring district, the blacks rose upon the defenceless and unarmed, who remained at home, and sacrificed, with barbarous cruelty, between sixty and seventy victims, without discrimination of age, sex, or condition.

Wail! for the innocent,
The beautiful and fair,
The young, who perish'd in their youth,
The old in his hoary hair.

Wail! for the many hearths
And homes made desolate;
For broken hearts and sever'd ties—
The spoils of murderous hate.

Fair pass'd the Sabbath-sun
Behind the western hills:
For hymns were heard in the ancient wood,
And songs by the gushing rills.

The old man call'd his flock,
And read the living word;
And the peace of God was in his heart,
While his lips in prayer were stirr'd.

All solemnly knelt down
With meek, confiding air;
And breathed "amen," as the sire implored
For them the Great Keeper's care.

Sleep, in her folded arms,
Wrapt husband, child and wife,
And throbbing pulse, and heaving breast,
Were all that betoken'd life.

A shriek was heard by night!
The startled eye but saw
The gleaming axe, and the ear just caught
The sable fiend's hurra!

The ear heard not again;
The lid shut o'er the eye;
And only death stood sentry by
The red postern of the slain.

Morn smil'd as it was wont,
On upland, plain, and stream,
And thousand birds their matins sung
To the first awakening beam.

But woman's cheerful smile,
And man's exciting voice,
And childhood's gleeful laugh, no more
In the morning bade rejoice.

Out on the polish'd floor
Ran the ensanguin'd flood;
The babe slept on its mother's breast,
And its bruis'd lips dash'd with blood.

Upon the cold hearth stone
The unripen'd virgin lay,
Crush'd in her budding loveliness,
And dawn of her opening day.

And manhood's sturdy arm
In dust was beaten down;
From youth his boast and pride were reft,
From reverend age his crown.

Wail! for the young and fair,
And their remorseless fate,
Wail! for the merry homes laid waste,
And the bosom desolate.

VIATOR.

A NEW YEAR'S ODE.

The following is *extracted* from an article originally published in the *United States Gazette*. Its great length forbids its entire insertion. The piece is the production of no ordinary pen.

Another year! And is there in the last
Nought to forbid us hail the newly born?
Does no dark shadow lower upon the past
And throw its gloom upon the rising morn?
Ask of yon trembling Slave, who stands aghast,
Beneath his tyrant's scourge and visage stern;
Ask of yon Indian, as with silent gloom,
He looks his last upon his father's tomb.

Start'st thou, Columbia! Does the fether's clank
Disturb thy slumbers? interrupt thy dreams?
Does Afric's groans pour forth her hovels dank
Grate on thy senses? Or has Lethe's streams
Pour'd dark oblivion round thee? Hast thou
drank

Thyself into forgetfulness? Still gleams
Before thy leaden-eye the warning past,
And art thou still in murky darkness cast!

'Tis time to rouse thee! Time all else destroys,
And sometimes breaks the fetters of the slave
Perhaps his finger even now employs
The long forgotten, toil-worn, wretch to save.
Hayti, emerging from the gloom, enjoys
A taste of that, which God to all men gave.
Blood marked her course! Blood ever marks the
strife,
When the vast price is Liberty and Life.

God made man free; Man makes his fellow slave
Nature abhors the crime, and by its fruit
Works out its own destruction, digs the grave
Of Slavery with a scion from its root:
Cupidity and Pride and Avarice, gave
To man the base desire; those bid him shoot
Beyond the mark, until his feeble grasp
The multiplying numbers cease to clasp.

And the rous'd tide of being from its course
Bounds unrestrain'd! Thus man in pride do
sieve,

And captive lead the humble streamlet's force;
And feels secure: but when the lightning's blast
Breaks on the mountains, and the hoarse
And heavy breathings of the storm betrays
The multiplying waters, can his hand
Curb the wild surge, the torrents' force withstand

The God of Israel bared his red right arm,
And burst the bonds of Egypt. Sparta shob
Beneath the Helot's grasp; and Hayti's firm
And new-born vigor the bare sceptre struck
From her oppressors' hold. Thence springs
germ,
Which threat'ning, warns us to beware
shock.

Columbia view it! And e'er yet too late,
Avoid the Spartan's, or the Spaniard's fate.

A Slave! What is the *thing*, that thus we call?
In what relation stands it to its lord?
Does reason sway it? An immortal soul
Withit it tremble at a haughty word?
Approach Cupidity, with all thy gall,
And Pride and Avarice, all, ye motly herd!
Is not that frame thy task doth daily break
Of human flesh and blood? Thy brother's
Speak!

And for what sin doth that untiring scourge
Lash him to toil? Does some black named
crime,

Yet unaton'd, the steady torture urge?
Or has the son of Afric, through all time,
Pour'd on his throbbing brow, its fiery surge,
And stamped it with the *guilt of hue, and crime*
A guilty skin hath seized, and doth infold
His writhing body in its poison'd fold!

Say, thou pale shrinking, bloated, mass of pride
Why dost thou shake, as tho' thy frightened
Would fly its prison, when the storm doth ride
In darkness round thee? Does the thunder
roll

And the fierce flash that bids the storm divide,
Appear rebellion? Does the fearful goal—
The boundary of thy dark dominion—rise
In threat'ning horror naked to thine eyes?

"Hark that loud crash! that shout! they come
they come!

"That flash! the signal of the bloody strife.
"The thousands round, amidst the deeping gloom
"Shout to the storm, and whet the hung
knife!

"Ah! God of mercy! ah! avert the doom!
"Save, oh! in mercy save this wretched life
Thou coward fool! 'tis but the tempest raves
O'er thee—in peace repose thy toil-worn slave

The rising sun may bid the storm disperse
 And scatter to the winds thy frantic dream;
 And thou, resuscitate, again may'st curse
 Thy tardy bondmen; bid the tiger scream
 Thy fell driver rouse them—but a worse,
 A deadlier flash may on thy eyeballs gleam!
 Another night may come, more dark, more deep,
 And seize thy spirit in its tempest's sweep.

APOLOGY FOR LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY
 ASSOCIATIONS.

By the author of "Immediate, not Gradual Abolition," &c.

(Continued from page 112.)

No,—we are firmly persuaded that the proposition of *gradual* emancipation is a delusive phantom,—an *ignis-fatuus*, which will perpetually elude the grasp,—a forlorn hope, which has done nothing, and will do nothing, but deceive and disappoint its supporters.

We are now on the eve of a fresh Session of Parliament, under a new Administration. Public meetings are again continuing, petitions are again preparing, to solicit Government to redeem its own pledge, to enforce its own decrees—short and defective as they are admitted to be. We venture to predict that the speeches to be made in favor of gradual emancipation will be no more eloquent in style, no more forcible in argument, no more resistless in evidence, than those that have been already made;—that the petitions to be presented for the accomplishment of that object, will be no more availing than those which have been already presented:—the principles of human nature justify the prediction that the anticipated speeches will be *less* eloquent, *less* forcible; that the anticipated petitions will be *less* availing. In this unequal strife of right against might, without some fresh excitement to rouse, some fresh stimulant to exertion, there must of necessity be a declension of zeal. Familiarity with objects the most revolting imperceptibly diminishes the horror with which they were at first contemplated. The most vehement indignation against injustice and cruelty, of which we are not ourselves the victims, if unaccompanied with vigorous resistance, will gradually subside; and vigorous resistance cannot be long maintained, unless it prove some measure successful.—“*Hope deferred*,”—fruitless labor, “makes the heart sick,”—enfeebles its pulsations,—benumbs its sensibilities,—deadens its energies.

When will this heartless, hopeless, impracticable project of *gradual* emancipation, on which so much precious time and talent have been so unprofitable consumed,

be abandoned? When will the enemies of slavery unite in a bolder, a juster, a more auspicious enterprise,—an enterprise in which all the principles of humanity, justice, and religion may have free scope and fair play? The divine blessing can be reasonably expected upon no compromise with what is essentially evil; it will rest on no lukewarm propositions of mercy,—on no attempt to lower and accommodate the standard of righteousness to that of expediency. No mutilated offerings on the altar of duty will be accepted. The fire from heaven will consume no maimed imperfect sacrifices. To ensure divine approbation, the intention must be upright; conformity to the divine standard must be the undeviating aim, however defective the execution. The requisitions of the Gospel can be satisfied with no vain attempts for the *mitigation* and *gradual* extinction of slavery; they require the *breaking* of that anti-christian yoke—the setting of its oppressed victims free. There are awful denunciations against the sacrilege of taking away any of the words of divine revelation;—of lowering the authority, deducting from the strictness of the divine commands. The sacred injunction of our great Lawgiver, “WHATSOEVER YE WOULD THAT MEN SHOULD DO UNTO YOU, DO YE EVEN SO UNTO THEM,” will not admit a moment's acquiescence in a law which should empower the slave to buy out his own freedom,—which should require him to pay a price for an unalienable right, to which he is not only entitled without purchase, but for the long withholding of which HE of all earthly claimants, is most entitled to compensation.

During the last year there has been a considerable increase of Ladies' Anti-Slavery Associations; but they must be greatly multiplied; their zeal and exertion must be greatly accelerated before they make any perceptible advances towards their ultimate object.

Success, in every enterprize, is generally proportioned to the well adapted means by which it is pursued, and to the ardour and industry with which those means are applied;—and the means *will* be well adapted—they *will* be applied with ardour and industry proportioned to the *personal* interests which is taken in their success.

Personal interest is the main-spring of all voluntary exertion; this will be vigorous or languid, persevering or intermittent, according to the strength or weak-

ness of that great regulator. The ambitious, the covetous, the worldling, and the christian, are tenacious, vigilant, persevering, and successful, according to their devotion to the respective objects of their pursuit,—*according as they feel their own interest and happiness staked upon the issue.* In the present discouraging circumstances of the Anti-Slavery contest there is nothing to justify surprise: they are the natural and necessary consequences of deficiency of *personal interest* in its successful and speedy termination. Yet we *have* a personal interest, and a very important one, in its successful and speedy termination. "No father," it has been justly said, "who wishes to preserve his son's principles, will trust him to breathe the atmosphere of slavery;—it is fatal to virtue." And are we, with the great Atlantic rolling between us, out of reach of its baneful infection? Has the long passive sufferance of the wrongs and outrages which it systematically inflicts, had no tendency to blunt our feelings and to paralyze our humanity? Have the revolting barbarities, the scenes of horror to which it is, through its faithful reporters, familiarizing our imaginations, no effect similar in kind if not in degree, to that which is occasioned by the habitual ocular observation of them?

There can be no question that the system, ever since its atrocious injustice has been so clearly demonstrated, has been *dearly* upheld. The expense of annual millions in defending it with our fleets and armies, with our bounties and protecting duties, is a cheap sacrifice compared to that of our best feelings and principles, which it is rapidly deteriorating. Let those who have been most richly endowed with these inestimable treasures, ask themselves whether they have not been robbed and spoiled of much of this precious inheritance during the last five years unsuccessful anti-slavery struggle? Let them ask themselves whether they can think or feel, speak or write about slavery, with that life and energy, that glow of christian zeal and holy indignation, with which they thought and felt, spoke and wrote about it five years ago? Let them ask themselves whether they have not experimentally felt that evil institutions corrupt good principles, as much as "evil communications corrupt good manners?"—that they can no more live under a government which obstinately, against light and conviction, upholds palpable and

acknowledged injustice, without being sensible of a withering influence, a blight upon their moral sensibility,—than "man can touch pitch without being defiled?" The very best among us have cause to tremble for themselves as well as for their country, on account of the poisonous infection of this legalized iniquity, for as long as it exists its work of moral deterioration will never be at a stand still.

We *have* a personal interest then, and a momentous one, in the speedy extinction of slavery. It is a criminal weakness, a dangerous infatuation, which has induced so much weariness and indifference of the subject. To banish it from our thoughts will only accelerate the process of our obduration. Having once come acquainted with the dreadful extremes of moral degradation and physical wretchedness which slavery entails, shall seek in vain to secure the undisturbed enjoyment of our own immunities, turning away from the painful contemplation of its murderous ravages, and leaving its helpless victims to their fate.

Christianity is not a voluminous code of arbitrary commands and prohibitions—it is a system of principles, few in number, but of universal application. It requires the supreme love of God, and love of our neighbors as ourselves. The love of our Creator and the love of fellow-creatures are inseparably connected;—in proportion as we grow indifferent to their interests and happiness, the love of God is extinguished, and our own happiness is extinguished with it. While we labor most assiduously for the welfare of others, we are best promoting our own—when we become careless of their interests, we are moral suicides. All the springs of pure enjoyment are stopped, the heart incrustated with selfishness. This is not all. By a careless insensibility to other's sufferings we incur positive evil as well as privation of good. We expose ourselves to the *personal endurance* of those very sufferings which our negligence allows, or our wilfulness inflicts. For, "WITH WHAT MEASURE YE METE SHALL BE MEASURED TO YOU AGAIN." It may be long ere we perceive the advances of this retributive justice:—but if the gospel be true, we must all feel its weight in time or eternity. It may be long ere we have any very *alarming* conception of the advances of this retributive justice, but we may be already sensible of the rapid progress of its certain precu-

insensibility and hardness of heart. And what greater evil can befall accountable beings, living under the bright effulgence of the Christian Revelation, richly endowed with capacities widely to reflect its beneficent rays, by a practice conformable to its divine precepts of love and universal good will? What greater evil can befall a people to whom the five talents have been committed with the certain assurance that to whom much is given of them will much be required?
(Conclusion next month.)

The Olio.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
A TOUCH OF THE COMIC!

In a late number of the *Greensborough Patriot*, of N. C. is what purports to be a portion of "Wide Awake," in which he overhears the conversation between "Guzzle," an elector, fond to excess of a drop of "O be joyful," and a candidate for the General Assembly.—Guzzle declines engaging to support the candidate, until he partakes of his whiskey, and hears his sentiments in relation to the quakers, and negroes. The candidate having discovered that Guzzle is inimical to the claims of both, proceeds to develop his political opinions.

I have been to the legislator these two years. And last session we past more good laws, and got the nighest the pinnacles of perfection, than all the 'semblies that ever succeeded us. We past several resolutions about the nigurs: Among the rest we found it inexpedient to make the nigurs not larn to read nor write. The Quaker men and some others tried their best to keep us from it: but they couldn't do it. Some said it was poorly worth while to send missionaries to the Indians, and heathens, while we're a tryin to make the heathens of our nigurs. And that was scandalous to our 'semblies to pass such a law; and a shame to try to make us believe they might come over here, to be free, and find christianism, and then pass a law that did'nt let 'em larn to read the bible. And they did'nt quit at that with their tarnal nonsense; but told us, (just like the thought we'd believe it,) that the nigurs would be more likely to raise revolutions 'mong us if we kept them ignorant, and in a savage state; and that they had nothing to prevent them from cutting our throats, while we're all asleep. They say they, if we would larn them to

read the bible and make christians of 'em, there would be less danger of their rising. And our unruly slaves would become peaceable and quiet domestics. That they'd not be gittin in hoards on Sundays to make plots and contrive how to kill us; but they'd flock together to worship God, and read their bibles. But its all a *blast-ed lie*.

"They first want to shuffle the nigurs out of our hands. Who cares for their shaming us about our missionaries. I reckon I know what about it. *Jist* like the durn'd nigurs and Injuns, that lives ten thousand miles off, knows any thing 'bout what we're a doin here. Why they'll think we're all saints when they hear our missionaries preach; and they'll naturly want to come over here and get 'ligion where its plenty. And above all, to think they'll tell us to give the nigurs larnin, and to make christians of 'em. Did you ever hear the match of it? Make a christian of a nigur, and larn him to read! *Jist* like there's any goodness in a nigur. Like guoin to meetin or readin the bible does 'em any good. I know that's a lie, by myself."

Whether there be more irony, or truth, in the above, each reader will determine for himself:—certain it is, however, that many conceive it dangerous to instruct the sable descendants of Africa:—not so, the A. E. Society of the U. S.—There, names known to the world of science—marshalled in the ranks, and under the banner of virtue, are nobly appended to the opposite sentiment.—Their philanthropy, their wisdom, and their independence will not be forgotten;—but a spontaneous, and continued flow of gratitude will revert to their memory, from a coming state of society, which will have no ear for the wily intrigues of the mere politician—no pleasure in placing "the blood stained wreath on the brow of the warrior"—nor any desire to extenuate the deeds of the proud oppressor. G.

KENTUCKY. It appears that in the State of Kentucky, the owners of slaves who are executed for crimes receive pay for them from the State Treasury, and that 68,000 dollars have already been paid for that object. In a late legislative debate, it appeared that there were in the state 160,000 slaves, and that they were owned by *one-fifth* of the tax paying whites; and an effort was made to alter

the law, so as to relieve the non-slaveholding whites from the odious tax, but without effect.—*W. Intel.*

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

In view of the alarming facts which are now coming out on the subject of slavery, we would suggest the immediate convocation of every friend of Light and Liberty, in the city of Philadelphia, to take it into solemn, and deliberate, yet active consideration. One judicious step now, may save miles of travel through human blood, in a few months to come.—*Stonington Phenix.*

The Shelbyville (T.) Freeman states, that a plot for an insurrection among the blacks in and around Fayetteville, in that state, had happily been discovered, in time to prevent its execution, through information given by a female slave.

PREMIUM FOR RICE.

The sum of TWENTY DOLLARS will be given as a premium, over and above the market price, for Five Casks of Fresh Rice, of good quality, raised by Free Labor, and delivered in Philadelphia, to Charles Peirce, before the first of June next, 1832.

The gentleman above named, is well known as a very respectable Grocer in Philadelphia, who has, for several years past, made it a particular business to keep articles in his line that are exclusively the production of free labor.

The premium, together with the market price, will be promptly paid, on the delivery of the Rice, accompanied by proper reference and vouchers from some respectable person who is known in Philadelphia.

THE GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION. Vol. XII.

The object and character of this work are well known. It has been published ten years, and circulated in all the States of this Union, in Canada, the West Indies, Europe and Africa. It is exclusively devoted to the subject of the Abolition of Slavery, on the American Continent and Islands.

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The work will, henceforth, be issued monthly. It will be neatly printed on fine paper, and folded in the octavo form, each number making sixteen large pages.

The price of subscription will be One Dollar per annum, always to be paid in advance.

Subscribers who do not particularly specify the time they wish to receive the work, or notify the Editor of a desire to discontinue it before the expiration of each current year, will be considered as engaged for the next succeeding one, and their bills will be forwarded accordingly.

Agents will be entitled to six copies for every five dollars remitted to the Editor, in current money of the United States.

All letters and communications intended for this office, must be addressed, free of expense, to BENJAMIN LUNDY, Washington, D. C.

A few copies of the Eleventh Volume, complete, for sale.

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EDITED BY B. LUNDY—PUBLISHED IN WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE—\$1.00 PER ANN.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration of Independence, U. S.*

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THE LATE STEPHEN GIRARD.

We war not with disembodied Spirits—we tread lightly on the ashes of the dead.—But when erring mortals are worshipped merely for the gold they have hoarded; when they are held up to the public view as paragons of virtue, while oppression marked their career; when pæans are chanted over their sepulchres, as an acknowledgement of their triumph over the vices and baser passions of the heart, while their own recorded acts proclaim them the unrelenting and inexorable tyrants of their species, it is time to raise our voice—we cannot "hold our peace."

The public has been informed of the recent demise of the celebrated merchant and banker, Stephen Girard, of Philadelphia. It is generally known that his industry and economy were proverbial, and that he was immensely rich in this world's goods. We also learn that he very liberally bequeathed to various public institutions a large share of the wealth he had hoarded. For all this he has been justly eulogized, both when living and since his death.—But, as a counterpart to all the virtue and generosity here recognized, we are painfully compelled to witness in his progress through life, and even in the last act preceding his exit from time to eternity, a disposition to tyrannize over and perpetually enslave his fellow creatures! And yet, thousands, professing unbounded philanthropy, are sounding loud the note of admiration and praise, and earnestly pronouncing the most unqualified eulogiums upon his character, without adverting to the dark and honoring fact that, in a land of universal liberty, he was the willing oppressor—the hereditary enslaver—the unrepentant despot, who held in bondage during life, and ordered to be sold after death, more than thirty human beings!!*

But enough:—We leave the reader to make his or her own comments on the following extract from his *Will*, which has been lately published in the Philadelphia papers. After bequeathing to the City of New-Orleans "upwards of one thousand arpens or acres of land, with the appurtenances and improvements thereon, and also all the personal estate thereto belonging, and thereon remaining, including upwards of thirty slaves now on said settlement, and their increase," which estate

* Willing to give all credit wherever it is due, he cheerfully state, that he did emancipate one—a woman, named Hannah—to whom he bequeathed the sum of two hundred dollars per year, during the term of her natural life.

&c., is situated near Washita, Louisiana, he gives the following directions.—How cool and dispassionately tyrannical! how steeled and adamant the heart that could endite this in *Philadelphia!*

"I desire that, at the expiration of the said term of twenty years, or on the decease of the said Judge Henry Bree, should he not live so long, the land and improvements forming said settlement, the slaves thereon or thereto belonging, and all other appurtenant personal property, shall be sold, as soon as the said Corporation shall deem it advisable, and the proceeds of the said sale or sales shall be applied by the said Corporation to such uses and purposes as they shall consider most likely to promote the health and general prosperity of the inhabitants of the city of New-Orleans. But until the said sale shall be made, the said Corporation shall pay all taxes, prevent waste or intrusions, and so manage the said settlement and the slaves, and their increase thereon, as to derive an income, and the said income shall be applied from time to time, to the same uses and purposes, for the health and general prosperity of the said inhabitants."

ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE PEOPLE OF COLOR.

The proceedings of this Convention were received, in pamphlet form, a short time previous to the issuing of our last number, but a particular notice thereof was necessarily deferred. And our limits are so narrow that we can, now, do nothing more than give the pamphlet a very brief review.

The Delegates, consisting of fifteen in number, from New-York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, met on the 6th of June, in the Wesleyan Church, Lombard-street, Philadelphia. The meeting was organized by the election of John Bowens *President*, William Whipper *Secretary*, and Thomas L. Jennings *Assistant Secretary*.

A committee was appointed to institute an inquiry into the condition of the free people of color in the U. S. &c. This committee subsequently made a report, in which it is recommended to encourage the Canadian Settlement; to meet annually in Convention to devise measures for general improvement; to create a fund for the future use of the Convention; to memorialize the proper authorities relative to certain grievances; to encourage education, temperance, and economy; and, finally, to protest against the measures of the African Colonization Society.

Several white persons visited the Convention, among whom were Rev. S. S. Jocelyn, of New-Haven; Arthur Tappan, of New-York; B. Lundy, of Washington City; W. L. Garrison, of

Boston; T. Shipley, and J. L. Pierce, of Philadelphia.

A committee having been appointed to consider a proposition to establish a College, "on the Manual Labor System, by which, in connexion with a scientific education," the students may "also obtain a useful Mechanical or Agricultural profession," reported in favor thereof, and also of raising a fund of \$20,000 for that purpose. They likewise informed the convention that a benevolent individual* had offered *one thousand dollars towards it*. They recommended the establishment of the institution at New-Haven, Connecticut. The Report was received by the Convention, and resolutions adopted to carry the proposition into effect. Arthur Tappan was chosen for Treasurer, and the Rev. Samuel E. Cornish was appointed general Agent, to collect funds. Various Committees were also named to assist therein.

A Conventional Board was organized, to attend to all necessary business during the recess of the Convention. This Board will have a President, Secretary, Treasurer, &c., and meet, when occasion requires, in Philadelphia; but a Vice-President and Corresponding Secretary will reside in each of the States represented.

The formation of auxiliaries to this Convention was recommended;—and those Societies, organized for promoting the emigration to Canada, were invited to become such.

Sundry Resolutions were adopted—1st, approving of a proposition by Junius C. Morel and John P. Thompson, for establishing a weekly Journal in Philadelphia; 2d, complimenting their white friends for their attention; 3d, recommending the colored people of the United States "to set apart the fourth day of July, AS A DAY OF HUMILIATION, FASTING, AND PRAYER—and to beseech Almighty God to interpose on [their] behalf, that the shackles of slavery may be broken, and [their] sacred rights obtained,† and that there be appropriate addresses

*This individual was *Arthur Tappan*, of New-York, whose liberality, in contributing to benevolent and philanthropic purposes, is proverbial. Few men living have, perhaps, distinguished themselves in this way more than him. He has, not only by this contribution, but also by many others, entitled himself to the enviable appellation of "A FRIEND OF THE OPPRESSED."

† An excellent idea, this!—What will the tyrants of the "old world" say to the curious—nay, the ineffably ridiculous—spectacle, which this nation will henceforth present on each anniversary of its "glorious birth-day?"—Here we shall behold one part of the population revelling amid ruined palaces and castles; strewing around them the broken links of slavery's chains; trampling the fragments of mitres, crowns, and thrones; shouting the triumphs of victory; waving the ensigns of freedom; and even offering up thanks and adorations to Almighty God, for the overthrow of despotism, and the blessings of LIBERTY which they enjoy:—while the other moiety, equally entitled to every common privilege, is arrayed in the

delivered on that day, and collections taken and forwarded to the Treasurer at Philadelphia, for the general purposes of the Convention." It was also further resolved: "That the editors of the 'Genius of Universal Emancipation,' 'The Liberator,' and 'African Sentinel,' are our tried friends, the fearless advocates of our rights, and promoters of our best interests, and are entitled to a prominent place, in our affections—that the principles emanating from said presses, ought to be proclaimed throughout the world, and read by every friend of the rights of man—and that we pledge ourselves to use all our influence in promoting the support and circulation of such vehicles."

After recommending the people of color in the U. S. to discontinue all public processions, and passing a vote of gratitude to the Anti-Slavery Societies in America and Great Britain, the Convention adjourned, to meet again in Philadelphia on the first Monday in June, 1832.

The Board of Officers has issued an excellent address to the public, on behalf of the Convention which we shall notice more particularly at another time.

VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE.

We have before noticed the movements in the Legislature of Virginia, relative to certain propositions for the abolition of slavery. Many causes have combined to awaken a spirit in the "ancient dominion," that looks to this important change in the policy of her statesmen and citizens. The writings of her Patrick Henry, her Jefferson, and others; the efforts of sundry members of her late State Convention, among whom a Campbell, Johnson, and a *Doddridge* were conspicuous; the labors and publications of various Societies, religious and philanthropic; and the circulation of periodicals, &c., devoted to an investigation of the important subject, had measurably paved the way for the state of things here adverted to.—And the late attempt at rebellion, on the part of sundry slaves, has convinced many, that the various exposures, predictions, and warnings, conveyed through the channels above mentioned, were just delineations and faithful heralds, to arouse them from their wicked supineness, and induce them to guard against the impending danger by the removal of its cause. It is hoped that the holy work now begun, will continue to progress, until the fertile state, the land of the noble hearted—the land of our Washington and Jefferson—may be freed from the blighted curse that withers her fairest flowers, turns her fertile fields to desert wastes, and converts her free institutions into the

habiliments of sorrow, bathed in tears, and supplicating that *same God*, to deliver them from the grievous oppression inflicted by their brethren!—The theme would be worthy the pen of Shakspeare, and the scene the pencil of a Hogarth!

most odious aristocracies and grinding despotisms. A recent number of the *Enquirer*, a paper published at Richmond, contains the stirring language exhibited in the following extract. Some of the ablest periodicals, both in Virginia and Kentucky, are warmly enlisting in the sacred cause. *The work will go on!*

"It is probable, from what we hear, that the Committee on the colored population will report (to the Legislature now in session) some plan for getting rid of the free people of color—but is this all that can be done? Are we for ever to suffer the greatest evil which can scourge our land, not only to remain, but to increase in its dimensions? We may shut our eyes and avert our faces if we please," (says an eloquent South Carolinian, on his return from the north a few weeks ago,) "but there it is, the dark and growing evil at our doors! and meet the question we must, at no distant day. God only knows what it is the part of wise men to do on that momentous and appalling subject; * of this I am very sure, that the difference—nothing short of frightful—between all that exists on one side of the Potomac, and all on the other, is owing to that cause alone. The disease is deep seated; it is at the heart's core; it is consuming, and has all along been consuming our vitals; and I could laugh, if I could laugh on such a subject, at the ignorance and folly of the politician, who ascribes that to an act of the government, which is the inevitable effect of the eternal laws of nature.† What is to be done? Oh! my God—I don't know; but something must be done."

"Yes, something must be done—and it is the part of no honest man to deny it—of no free Press to affect to conceal it. When this dark population is growing upon us; when every new census but gathering its appalling numbers upon us; when within a period equal to that in which this Federal Constitution has been in existence, those numbers will increase to more than two millions in Virginia;—when our sister States are closing their doors on our blacks for sale, and when our whites are moving westwardly, in greater numbers than we like to hear of;—when this, the fairest land on all this continent, for soil and climate and situation combined, might become a sort of garden spot if it were worked by the hands of white men alone; *can we, ought we*, to sit quietly down, fold our arms, and say to each other: Well, well! this thing will not come to the worst of our day. We will leave it to our children, and grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, to take care of themselves and brave the storm!" Is this the part of wise men? Heaven knows we are no fanatics‡—we detest the madness which created the *Amis des Noirs*.—But something ought to be done—means sure, but gradual, systematic, but discreet, ought to be adopted, for reducing the mass of evil which is pressing upon the South, and will still more press upon her. The longer it is put off."

The *Richmond Whig*, of the 2d inst. contains the following remarks and Resolutions below. "The ice

* Not exactly so!—God has informed all "wise men" what to do in such a case.

† Well confessed:—but had a "yankee" said this in South Carolina, he might have got his head broke for it!

‡ "No fanatics!"—We would ask Thomas Ritchie, how long it is since he could brand every man as a "fanatic," who had the courage to say a word in favor of African emancipation!—"No fanatics," indeed!—G. U. E.

is broken" in Virginia,—and we may now hope that slavery will, ere long, be annihilated within her borders.—And not only so; but we may indulge the pleasing anticipation, that FIVE MORE "FREE STATES" will soon adorn our splendid galaxy of genuine republican Commonwealths. The District of Columbia, too, will then be disenthralled, whatever may be the policy of an *Adams* or a *Doddridge*!

"The following resolution was to-day submitted in the Select Committee, by Mr. Faulkner, and laid on the table. We publish it for the purpose of apprising the public, that there will be legislative action on the great question which so deeply concerns and engages all, and with a hope that it may stimulate other counties to follow the example of Loudon and Albemarle, and call public meetings for the purpose of ascertaining the will of the people, and instructing their delegates.

"Resolved, as the sense of this committee, that they adopt and recommend to the consideration of the House, a scheme for the gradual emancipation of the slaves of the Commonwealth; which scheme, however, shall steadily keep in view the rights of the present proprietors of slaves, to the slaves now in esse, or an adequate compensation for their loss."

[Since the foregoing was in type, we learn that the Legislature have passed a resolution appropriating \$35,000 for the present year, and \$90,000 for next year, for the purpose of promoting the emigration of the free people of color in Virginia, besides \$10,000 for the erection of a suitable shelter for their reception in Liberia.—c.]

VIRGINIA.

We copy the following article from the *Friend or Advocate of Truth*, published in Philadelphia. It expresses our views clearly upon the question at issue in the Legislature of Virginia. That the subject now agitated in the slaveholding states is one of greater importance than any thing which has claimed their attention since the revolution, our readers will readily admit.

The frankness with which the debate has been carried on, is highly creditable to the representatives of the people of Virginia—and the feeling, with which the most thorough anti-slavery doctrines have been received by the public press in that section is extraordinary, when we consider the state of the public mind, in that respect, twelve months ago. It is truly a most wonderful revolution; and as revolutions never retrograde, something honorable to the age and our country must be the result.

A.

"The time has at length arrived when the slavery of the African race is acknowledged to be a question of engrossing interest and importance by statesmen and politicians in the south. The spell has been broken which sealed the lips of the orator, and restrained the effusions of reason and humanity. Slavery has been denounced in the legislative hall of Virginia, as a violation of the sacred and inalienable rights of man. A comparison has been made between the progress of wealth and population in the free and slaveholding states,

and the rapid advancement of the former, compared with the latter, has been traced to its true cause. The question of abolition has been fearlessly met, and the acknowledgment openly and honorably made, that *something must be done*, or Virginia will be deserted by her best and most intelligent citizens. We rejoice in beholding our sister state alive to the evils which are paralyzing her energies, and undermining the foundations of her prosperity.— And more especially we rejoice in the hope of yet seeing some measures adopted, which may avert the impending calamities which must inevitably result from a blind adherence to the present system. A few short extracts will show the absolute necessity that *something should be done*, to relieve Virginia from the burden and the curse of slavery.

“Can we remain insensible to the startling fact, that the increase of our slave population is even now rooting out our free white yeomanry, who are leaving the fair fields of their native country for the west; and is it too much to predict that in fifty years its excess over the whites will be so great, that the lower and middle divisions of the state must, by the natural operation of circumstances, (to say nothing of violence,) be abandoned entirely by the latter, or maintained in a condition of abject wretchedness, with their few remaining proprietors crying in vain—‘save us from the body of this death’—remove this intolerable curse?”—*Norfolk Herald*.

“Virginia, the much loved, the venerated mother of us all, from being the first state in the great confederacy, is now the third, positively the fourth; and her declining fortunes have long been the source of melancholy reflection to her patriotic sons. What, sir, is the cause of this decline? Whatever others may think, to my mind it is clear, that the answer to this interrogatory is, *her slave population. Hinc illæ lachrymæ.* Here lies the source of all her misfortunes. This prevented her onward march *pari passu* with her sister states in their career of improvement. Does any gentleman doubt this?”—*Powell's Speech in the House of Delegates*.

“The following picture is drawn by another member of the House of Delegates.

“So exhausted is our soil—so depressed our markets, and so dear is slave labour, that it is as much as the master can do to clothe and feed his slaves—nay, sir, often more than he can do; for, if you will go into the credit stores and pop-shops, with which the whole country is thronged, you will find that, with very few exceptions, the slaveholder has there become very deeply entangled—the embarrassment mainly incurred to clothe and feed his slaves. The slave is clothed and fed that he may labor for victuals and clothes—a beautiful operation! Thus, sir, the master of the slave absolutely belongs to the merchants, and has to labor—and labor hard—for their benefit. He is literally their bondsman. Finally, when they have abstracted from him all they can, his account is put in the lawyer's hand for collection, and he has to raise the money or go to jail. Then steps forward the paper shaver, another fungus of our present condition, and kindly proffers the money at *thirty-three and a third* per cent. Thus the poor master is finally stripped of all he has, to swell the importance of these gentry. The very fact, sir, that we see such cattle daily springing into importance from the dregs of society—he did not mean by dregs of society, the poor, but honest man—no, but he meant men lost to honor, virtue, and to common honesty—this, he said, was a proof of the necessity of a change in our condition. We have been taught from our infancy to chime the stale tune of ‘Yankee tricks,’ but he

did not believe such a character was to be found in the Eastern States.’

“It is utterly impossible for us to avoid the consideration of this subject, which forces itself upon our view, in such a manner that we cannot avoid it. As well might the apostle have attempted to close his eyes against the light which shone upon him from heaven, or to have turned a deaf ear to the name which reached him from on high, as for this assembly to try to stifle the spirit of inquiry which is abroad in this land, as to the best means of freeing the state from the curse of slavery. The monstrous consequences which arise from the existence of slavery, have become exposed to open day; the dangers arising from it stare us in the face, and it becomes us as men, as freemen, and the representatives of freemen, rather to meet and overcome them, than to attempt to escape by evading them.”—*More's Speech in the House of Delegates*.

“He then goes into an examination, in detail of the effects of slavery upon the white population, as well as its degrading and demoralizing influence upon the slave, and shows that in the one it produces a conscious feeling of violated rights which induces him to regard it no fault to appropriate any part of the master's property to his own use; and in the other an ‘indisposition to engage in the cultivation of the soil, that species of labour upon which the prosperity of every country chiefly depends.’ He presents some very important statistical views of the rapid increase of the slave population, in the eastern counties, and consequent declension of the efficient yeomanry which are the strength and security of every state. The contrast in the condition of the free and slaveholding states is fully admitted, and the true cause assigned. ‘We learn,’ he observes, ‘from those who have ample means of deciding, that the situation of the yeomanry of the middle and northern states, is in every respect, different from that of the same class of people in the slaveholding states. There the farmer cultivates the land with his own hands, which produces all the necessities, and many of the comforts of life, in abundance. He rears up his children in habits of industry, unexposed to the allurements of vice, and instead of being a burden, they assist him in his labors. If, sir, we compare the face of the country in Virginia, with that of the Northern States we shall find the result greatly to the disadvantage of the former. We shall see the Old Dominion, though blessed by nature, with all the advantages of a mild climate, a fruitful soil, and fine navigable rivers, gradually declining in that constitutes national wealth.’

“The picture of slavery in Virginia, it will be seen, is more highly colored, and tinged with deeper shades, by her own statesmen, than by the abolitionists of the north. Their eyes are opened to a full perception of their condition, and the conviction of the necessity of applying an adequate remedy, is deep and strong. Whatever may be the immediate result of the discussion now pending in the legislature of Virginia, it cannot fail to be ultimately productive of some measures for abolishing slavery. It is, however, to be feared that whatever measures may be adopted will be connected with some plan of colonization, which will greatly lessen their utility. A law declaring all children of slaves, born after a fixed period, free, and providing for their education, without any specific provisions respecting their future location, would more effectually relieve the state from her present embarrassment than any scheme of colonization in Africa, or elsewhere.

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

"It is well known that the colored people of this country generally are opposed to emigration to Africa. They have as strong attachments to the land of their birth as ourselves, and are not easily reconciled to being separated from their native country, and transported to a foreign land. Even the Virginians themselves are not willing to part with their free people of color. Memorials have been presented to the legislature from some of the counties, remonstrating against sending them out of the state. They are too important and useful a class of laborers to be spared. Many of them are tradesmen, or mechanics, whose places could not be supplied by white men; and their importance, therefore, in the neighborhoods in which they reside, is fully understood. Besides, none of them have been implicated in the late insurrections and murders. They have remained quiet and peaceable during the disturbances among the slaves; and in some instances they have been the means of preserving the lives of the whites. The sober and reflecting part of the citizens of the south, therefore, perceive that no danger is to be apprehended from their residence among them; but their usefulness presents the strongest inducements for retaining them. If the Virginia and Maryland legislatures, contrary to the principles of sound morality and true policy, should pass any obnoxious law for the expulsion of their free people of color, such a law would be a dead letter upon their statute books. The good sense of their citizens, motives of interest and of humanity towards an unoffending class, would prevent the execution of such a law.

"A resolution has been offered to the legislature of Pennsylvania, directing the committee on the judiciary system to inquire into the expediency of making some provision for preventing the

emigration of free blacks from other states into Pennsylvania. But we presume nothing further will be done in the premises. We cannot suppose that Pennsylvania, the first state in the union to proclaim freedom to the slave, will now descend from that high moral standing which she has always occupied among her sister states, by denying to any class of men, on account of a difference of complexion, those privileges which her constitution and her laws have guaranteed as the common right of all men. We cannot believe that she will now stain her statute book with any law, founded on difference in color, unequal in its operation, and unjust in its principles."

MARYLAND.

From a late paper it appears "that a joint committee of the Legislature of Maryland has been appointed to investigate and report on the condition of that State in reference to its colored population."

The example of Virginia is like to have an awakening tendency: the fearless manner in which the subject of slavery has been handled in the legislature of the "Old Dominion," cannot but arouse the entire country which is "cursed with slavery," to a sense of its real condition. One opinion appears to be held in common—"something must be done" to purge the country of that greatest of all earthly ills—or all will be lost.—From this state of feeling we cannot but anticipate, that the day is near, when the much abused and deeply degraded colored race, will receive a little justice at the hands of the whites. A.

THE CENSUS FOR 1830.

In page 99 of this work, we gave the aggregate of the population of the United States, accompanied by some remarks, from a contemporary print, on the *longevity* of the African descendants, &c. Below we insert a Table, representing the numbers of the various classes, by States. And here we would make, at this time, one single observation of our own, viz.—Let the reader first consider that the black or colored population is principally located near the seacoast;—then look at Virginia!—Louisiana!!—South Carolina!!!

STATES.	Whites.	Free Colored.	Slaves.	Total.	Population to be represented.
Maine,.....	398,255	1,207	-	399,462	399,462
New-Hampshire,.....	268,910	623	-	269,533	269,533
Vermont,.....	279,794	885	-	280,679	280,679
Massachusetts,.....	603,008	7,006	-	610,014	610,014
Rhode-Island,.....	93,631	3,565	14	97,210	97,204
Connecticut,.....	239,624	8,064	23	297,711	297,701
New-York,.....	1,868,382	45,080	46	1,913,672	1,913,489
New-Jersey,.....	300,226	18,307	2,246	320,779	405,761
Pennsylvania,.....	1,309,296	37,990	386	1,347,672	1,347,517
Delaware,.....	57,605	15,829	3,305	76,739	75,417
Maryland,.....	231,093	52,942	102,878	446,913	405,761
Virginia,.....	694,445	47,103	469,724	1,211,272	1,023,382
North Carolina,.....	472,433	19,575	246,462	738,470	639,885
South Carolina,.....	257,878	7,915	315,665	581,458	455,192
Georgia,.....	296,614	2,483	217,407	516,504	429,541
Alabama,.....	190,171	1,541	117,494	309,206	262,208
Mississippi,.....	70,618	529	65,659	136,806	110,542
Louisiana,.....	89,379	16,753	109,659	215,791	171,927
Tennessee,.....	537,930	4,513	142,379	684,822	627,870
Kentucky,.....	518,678	4,816	105,350	628,844	622,704
Ohio,.....	928,093	9,586	-	937,679	937,679
Indiana,.....	338,020	5,562	-	341,582	341,582
Illinois,.....	155,176	1,653	746	157,575	157,276
Missouri,.....	114,552	546	21,956	140,054	130,089

MEXICO.

It appears that a great degree of liberality exists in Mexico, relative to religious matters. An attempt was recently made to pay some distinguished marks of respect to one of the *Bishops*, which occasioned a little criticism in one of the public papers. One of the *orthodox* Generals undertook to punish the editor. This produced a great excitement, and even an insurrectionary movement in that section of country, which could be quelled only by some popular concessions. The reign of superstition and priestcraft is over in Mexico.

BRAZIL.

This country, despotic as we call it, will be rid of the evil of slavery long before our blessed "republican," "christian" nation. By a late law, all slaves imported from Africa into that country, *are to be free*. The importers are to suffer *corporal punishment*, and also pay a fine of \$200 for each slave so introduced. Slavites! look about you—the "whip" is to be applied to *your own backs!*

LIBERTY OR DEATH.

It is stated in an Ohio paper, that a colored man, who had "eloped" from slavery in Kentucky, was seized at Dayton, in that state, by the man claiming him as his "property," and threw himself from an upper story of a house, by which he was killed.

GOOD CONDUCT OF SLAVES—ABOMINABLE SENTIMENTS.

Since the great fire, at Fayetteville, N. C. which a few months ago desolated the town, the papers of that place have been induced to notice the good conduct of the slaves and free colored people, as manifested upon that occasion. One of them (the "Observer") remarks as follows:

"As a circumstance highly creditable to the character of our colored population, it ought not to be forgotten, that among the discoveries of goods pilfered during and immediately after the fire, we have not heard of a single instance of any thing being found in the possession of a negro."

The annexed paragraph also appeared in one of the Fayetteville papers, about the same time, which, though bearing the most favorable testimony to the meritorious conduct of the people of color, contains an assumption of almost a blasphemous character:—

"The slaves and other colored population, deserve great credit for their conduct on that eventful day. There was nothing like riot or disorder among them, but they all seemed to work with a zeal and intrepidity which manifested a hearty sympathy, and that devotion to the interest of their masters so remarkable in the African character, before a sickly and a false humanity had instilled into his bosom the poison of discontent, and alien-

ated his feelings from those whom God had appointed him to serve."

Upon this abominable heterodoxy, the editor of the "*Greensboro (N. C.) Patriot*" makes the very pertinent remarks below. It should be mentioned, that the present editor of the "Patriot" is WILLIAM SWAIM, a native of North Carolina, and, for a short time (a few years since) assistant editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.—It is gratifying to perceive that our friend Swaim still dares to speak out pretty freely, since the Legislature of that State applied its fetters and muzzle to the Press. After noticing the subject, somewhat in detail, and applying the language of the Declaration of Independence to the doctrines of slavites, he concludes, as follows:

"Now if 'God appointed' one part of the human race to be subservient to another, then those sages who pledged their 'lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor' to sustain the principle that all men are 'equal,' must have been fools, and were acting under the influence of 'a sickly and false humanity!' The inference is irresistible. This is the second time we have heard it gravely asserted that 'slavery is of divine appointment,' but we are not entirely converted to the doctrine yet; nor do we ever expect to be while we have confidence in the justice of God, or the radical principles of our government.

"Every man, who is neither a priest, nor has been priest-ridden, both of which classes believe that all things are of 'God's appointment,' would once admit that slavery is wrong in principle. And what surprises us most is, that a writer amidst the ruins of Fayetteville, should charge God with a sin which is condemned in every part of the scriptures—which is admitted to be of the most aggravated nature, even by reprobates—and which has spread the most desolating contagion through our state! It would seem from the nature of this charge against Omnipotence, and the circumstances under which it was made, that in the midst of their despondency, they had determined to take the advice of old Job's wife—that is, 'to curse God and die!'

"We should not stop here, if it were not that they are, at this time, destitute of the means of defence. Had they not given utterance to the sentiment since the day of their calamity, we should revolt at the idea of repelling it in such a way as to criminate them; but if they can find tongue enough to propagate a false maxim, they certainly can find enough to defend it. We hope they will soon be permanently re-established in business; and then let them give utterance to such a sentiment if they *dare!*"

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

This subject, it is well known, attracted the attention of a large number of the enlightened citizens of Great Britain, long before it was scarcely thought of in these States. The London "*African Institution*," at the head of which was the celebrated Granville Sharp, planted the Colony of *Sierra Leone*, many years since, on the western coast of Africa. Great calculations were made of the effect it would have in destroying the Slave Trade; and, for a number of years the philanthropists of England were as sanguine in their hopes, in this particular, as are any of the

most active members of our "American Colonization Society," now. But at length it was discovered, by those who watched the progress of events, that the "abolition of the slave trade" could not be accomplished by measures of this nature, aided by any other system of foreign operations.—Clarkson frankly admitted, in an able treatise published in the year 1824, that they had failed to realize their expectations; and he then urged the necessity of turning the public attention to the general abolition of slavery, as the only efficient means of putting an end to the foreign traffic in human flesh.

For more than ten years, we have advocated the principle here recognized, as the true basis of rational calculation in matters connected with the subject before us. And while we rejoice at the prospect of civilizing and christianizing that long benighted quarter of the globe, and approve the efforts of the Colonization Society, so far as they look to the removal of the southern colored people, *solely with their own consent, and their settlement in a way that will better their condition,*—we have never reposed the least faith in the efficiency of that scheme, either for the eradication of slavery from the American soil, or the extinction of the murderous traffic on the high seas. It is, in fact, the extreme of folly to depend upon a measure which, applied to such a magnificent object, is so insignificant and futile in its operations—so palpably inadequate to the attainment of the grand object in view.

These remarks were elicited by the perusal of an article written by Captain Charles Stuart, and recently published in England, criticising the laws and proceedings of the "American Colonization Society." It was received, a few weeks since, from a gentleman in New-York, who requested its publication in this work. The great length of the article forbids its insertion entire; and we give some extracts, which embrace the main points and principal cogency of the argument.

The writer commences with a brief historical account of the Society, thus:

"This Society was formed in the U. States, in 1791.

"Its 13th Annual Report has just reached this country.

"Its object as expressed by itself (see 13th Report, page 41, app. 9, art. 2,) 'Is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing the free people of color, residing in 'the United States,' in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient.'

- "The facts of the case are these :
- "1. That the United States have about 2,000,000 enslaved blacks.
 - "2. That they have about 500,000 free blacks.
 - "3. That both these classes are rapidly increasing.
 - "4. That both are exceedingly depressed and degraded.

"The duty of the United States to them, is the same exactly as we owe to our colored fellow-subjects in our slave colonies, viz. to obey God, by letting them go free, by placing them beneath wise and equitable laws, and by loving them all, and treating them like brethren: that is to say, the unquestionable duty of the people of the United States is to emancipate their 2,000,000 slaves, and to raise the 500,000 free colored people to that estimation in their native country which is due to them.

"But the American Colonization Society deliberately rejects both of these first great duties, and confines itself to the colonization in Africa of the free colored people. They say, in page 5, of their 13th Report, 'To abolition she could not look—and need not look.' It 'could do nothing in the slave states for the cause of humanity;' and in page 8, 'Emancipation, with the liberty to remain on this side of the Atlantic, is but an act of dreamy madness.'

He then reasons upon the subject, and insists that in "letting the great crime of Negro Slavery alone," and substituting an act of infinitely less moment for "the great and sacred duty of right, which they owe to all," they injure the cause of truth and justice. After making some pointed observations upon this topic, he proceeds:

"The American Colonization Society is beautiful and beneficial as far as it supports the cause commenced at Sierra Leone, by introducing into Africa, civilization, commerce, and genuine christianity—by checking the African Slave Trade—and by serving in love the emigrants who choose to pass to Liberia.

"But it powerfully tends to veil the existing and outrageous atrocity of Negro Slavery; and it corroborates against the people of color, whether enslaved or free, one of the most base, groundless, and cruel prejudices, that has ever disgraced the powerful, or afflicted the weak.

"The following calculations may throw further light upon the subject.

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

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

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

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

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

"But perhaps you wish to extinguish the crime in thirty years.

"Then you must begin by transporting at least 100,000 yearly. In order to do this, you must have an annual income of upwards of 2,000,000 dollars, and if you have not only to transport, but also to purchase, you would probably want yearly, twenty millions more!!—Where are you to get this?!"

* In justice to the members of the Colonization

We shall not vouch for the correctness of all the author's estimates. In the aggregate, they are believed to be far below the mark. No calculation is made for the expenses of clothing, medicines, working tools, implements of husbandry, beasts of burden, building of houses, furniture, cooking utensils, provisions until they can raise something for their subsistence, and the numberless, nameless et ceteras required for the use of those who settle in an unimproved country, where

Society, many of whom we highly esteem, as genuine philanthropists, we here insert an extract from an Address recently delivered before the Lynchburgh (Va.) Auxiliary Association, by Charles L. Mosely. His calculations look well, on paper;—and "if," as he says, all that he proposes could be accomplished, the work might go on in accordance with his views! But what evidence have we, that the stony heart of avarice, in this republic, will yield to the requisition?—None, NONE!

"The whole population of the United States, is estimated at something more than 12,000,000 of human beings. The relative proportions of white and black population are as ten to two. If we could transport annually to the shores of Africa, an amount of black population exactly equal to its increase (which is about 50,000 a year) while the whites were left to multiply uninterruptedly, then at the end of twenty-five years (the period of duplication) the result would be thus: The white population will have increased to its full amount, and perhaps to a greater, by reason of the vacuum formed in society by the withdrawal of the increase of the blacks, while the black population, which cannot increase, or rather, whose increase is constantly taken off, will be most sensibly diminished, so that the relative proportions between these two classes will no longer be as ten to two, but actually, or nearly, as twenty to one. If this process were continued a second term of duplication, it would produce the extraordinary result of 40 white men to one black in the country—a state of things in which we should not only cease to feel the burdens which now hang heavily upon us, but actually regard the poor African as an object of curiosity, and not uneasiness. This purpose can be effected (always supposing that the demands of the Society for transportation will be supplied by voluntary emancipation) by an annual expenditure of \$1,000,000. This sum can be raised by a contribution of 10 cents a head upon our white population. How paltry the sum! How grand the object! If the attention of all the Legislatures of the slaveholding States, could be duly awakened on the subject, their appropriations, added to the voluntary offerings of the patriot and philanthropist, would amply meet the requisite expenditure. Why should we doubt it? We hear the evils of slavery echoed from north to south—from east to west. The universal voice of the nation is heard lamenting the curse, which has been entailed upon us, without our wish or agency, by our ancestors. Is it an empty sound—an idle profession, without meaning? Let us not libel the virtue and goodness of our country by so unworthy a supposition—let us strive to make known the principles of our Society, and the purposes it seeks to effect, and we may then confidently expect that cheering and animating support which a good cause always receives from a great people."

very few, comparatively, would find employment, by which they could procure even the actual necessities of life, immediately on their arrival. He concludes by a recapitulation of his statement of expenditures, in the following:—

2,000,000	Number of slaves in the United States.	500,000	Number of free coloured persons.	56,000	Yearly increase of both.	150	Transported yearly by A. C. S.	2000	Total transported in 13 years by A. C. S.	723,000	Total increase in 13 years, at 56,000 yearly.	726,000	Excess of increase transported.	20	Average expense of transporting each. Dols	1,120,000	Expense of transporting the annual increase of 56,000.	2,000,000	Expense of transporting 100,000 in order to extinguish slavery in 30 years.	20,000,000	Purchase of 100,000 yearly, at 200 dollars* each.	22,000,000	Expense of transportation and purchase of 100,000 yearly.	30	Time that slavery would still last. Yrs.	2,000,000"	Number that would still perish in slavery.
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* Little more than half the average price of a grown slave.—Ed. G. U. Emanc.

SYNOPSIS OF PRECEDING CALCULATIONS.

U. S. TROOPS IN THE SLAVE STATES.

We have said that, as the United States government is bound to assist the individual slaveholding States (when necessary) in quelling slave insurrections, the people, in every portion of the Union, are interested in the general abolition of slavery, by which means, alone, the necessity of their ultimate interference will be certainly obviated. We do not say that the government of one State should dictate to another, in this matter; but

we insist that all should aid in the accomplishment of the desirable object, as far as possible, consistently with the constitutional regulations of the Republic.

But we have been told that no probability exists of a speedy call upon the citizens of the non-slaveholding states; and that they cannot be directly interested until that takes place. Waiving for the present, a discussion of sundry propositions, from the *New-York Courier and Enquirer* and other Journals in the slaveholding interest, which have advocated the increase of the Standing Army, for the purpose of stationing U. States troops at the south to keep the slaves in check, we copy the following extract of a letter, to show that very recently, a case in point has actually occurred.—

Our readers will make their own comments. All we ask of them is, to reflect upon the subject. The letter is dated "Trent Bridge, N. C. Nov. 21."

"The U. States troops in Newbern are ordered to return to Fortress Monroe; it being supposed there is no longer any danger to be apprehended. It seems to be generally believed now, that no actual danger has existed at any time: and had it not been for the tragedy in Southampton, none would in all probability have been feared.

"Not a single arrest has taken place in Newbern, and the black population have conducted themselves in the most orderly manner."

Since writing the above, we have read the Report of the Major General of the U. S. Army, to the Secretary of War, for the past year. We extract the following paragraphs, as an ample text, for the commentary of our readers. Will any now say, they "are not interested" in the general abolition of slavery?

"Representations were made to the Department of War, by the authorities of Louisiana, that a disposition was manifested by the people of color in that State to revolt, and that the presence of a military force in New-Orleans was, in their opinion, necessary to ensure order, and to allay the apprehensions of the inhabitants. The commanding officer of the troops at Baton Rouge was instructed to proceed to the city of New-Orleans and confer with the Governor of the State, and the authorities of the city, in reference to the subject, and to adopt such measures as would be proper and satisfactory. Orders were given to the troops at the contiguous posts to be held in readiness in case of necessity, and two companies of infantry were stationed in the city with an extraordinary quantity of arms.

"In the month of August, a partial but sudden insurrection of the negroes in the county of Southampton, Va. took place, the intelligence of which being communicated by the Mayor of Norfolk to the commandant of Fortress Monroe, a detachment of that garrison, consisting of three companies of artillery, under a field officer, was forthwith ordered to the seat of the disturbances, where they arrived in the course of twenty-four hours, a distance of sixty miles. The insurrection having been quelled, the detachment returned to its quarters at Fortress Monroe.

"On the application of the authorities of Newbern, in North Carolina, under the excitement which prevailed after the late disturbances in Southampton, a company was detailed from For-

tress Monroe to guard that city and its vicinity, and to quiet the apprehensions of the citizens of that quarter generally. The necessity of their remaining any longer at that position having ceased, the company was ordered to Bellona Arsenal, where it relieved the company of the 1st regiment of artillery, which had been long stationed there. The relieved company was ordered to Fortress Monroe.

"During the excitement which prevailed, in consequence of the disorderly conduct evinced by the colored population in the States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, the garrison of Fortress Monroe was augmented by five companies, drawn from the northern posts on the seaboard, with a view of having at hand a disposable force, to afford protection to such parts of the country as might require it—that fortress being so situated as to possess all the requisite facilities for promptly entering into any part of the country, where there was any probability that the presence of a military force might be necessary. The concentration of so large a portion of the artillery at Fortress Monroe, afforded, at the same time, the advantage of practising their appropriate duties on an enlarged scale, that post being the established school of artillery."

"NOT INTERESTED."

Are the people of the United States, generally "not interested" in the abolition of slavery? What thinkest thou, gentle reader, of the following, from the *Spectator*, a paper published at Newbern, North Carolina!—The article is dated Dec. 16th, 1831.—

"We understand that the President has complied with the Ladies' request, and ordered a company of U. S. troops to march for this place. Without debating the necessity of the measure, or discussing the Ladies' want of confidence in the prowess of their natural protectors, implied in the application, we cannot but applaud the ready courtesy of the President."

PREVENTION OF SLAVE INSURRECTIONS.
No. IV.

Taking leave of Clarkson's very interesting publication, we now copy from a pamphlet, issued by the English Anti-Slavery Society, an account of the state of things in the island of Trinidad, a short time since. Among other important items of information, this pamphlet presents us with a view of the condition of the free colored part of the laboring population, commencing with a large number who had been suddenly emancipated. We take a few extracts, as follows:—

"In the year 1814, a large British squadron, having on board a powerful land force, made a descent on different parts of the coast of the southern United States. During these expeditions, some hundreds of American slaves joined the British standard by invitation. When the campaign was over, a difficulty occurred about disposing of these. It was at length determined to fix them in Trinidad, as free laborers. But an objection was

started by the planters against receiving them. They were sure that no free negro would ever work for hire, and that, therefore, they would support themselves by plunder. Sir Ralph Woodford the governor, however, resisted these prejudices. He received them into the island, and settled them where he supposed the experiment could be most safely made. The result has shown his discernment. These men are now earning their own livelihood, and with so much industry and good conduct, that the calumnies originally spread against them have entirely died away. Their number in 1816 when they were settled, was 774, men, women and children. The official return of the number of these settlers, at the close of 1824, was 923, being an increase, in eight years, of 149, at the rate of about 2 1-2 per cent. per annum; while the slaves, on the same island, have been decreasing at the rate of 2 3-4 per cent. per annum. Mr. Mitchell, the superintendent of these free negroes, himself a sugar planter, who had resided in Trinidad for 27 years, says he knows of no instance of a manumitted slave not being able to maintain himself. Their easy circumstances rendering them independent, though they are ready to work for hire on sugar estates from sunrise to sunset, yet they will not submit to the toil of the slave, who in many instances, is forced to work 18 hours out of the 24. The manumitted slaves who do not cultivate their own ground, generally work as journeymen tradesmen. They are generally observant of the marriage tie. The women are careful of their children, and feed and clothe them well; and they attend closely to their domestic concerns. The free settlers enjoy the rest of Sunday, and never work in their grounds; they generally hear a lecture from one of their preachers; and pass the rest of the day quietly.

"In the Island of Trinidad, there are upwards of 15,000 free people of color. There is not a single pauper amongst them. They live independently and comfortably, and nearly half of the property of the island is said to be in their hands. It is admitted by all, that they are highly respectable in character, and are rapidly advancing in knowledge and refinement."

It is stated in a recent communication from Trinidad, "that the most work is done by free blacks and people from the main, at a much cheaper rate than by slaves; and as these are generally em-

ployed by foreigners, this accounts for their succeeding better than our countrymen, who are principally from the old islands, and are unaccustomed to any other management than that of slaves; however, they are coming into it fast; and it is the general opinion, that if no importation is allowed, the slaves will soon give way to a free population."

We have much more interesting information from the various islands in the West Indies, tending to confirm the statements heretofore submitted to our readers; but we shall now take a view of the state of things in the neighboring country of Mexico, as it existed previous to the abolition of slavery in the sugar districts, and also as we find it subsequent to that period. The best, and most authentic article, that we can at present offer to the perusal of the reader, is an extract of a letter from the British Envoy in Mexico, to his Government, in the year 1829. This valuable information was embodied in the Report of a Committee to the American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery, at its biennial session held at the city of Washington, in December, 1829. We copy the whole Report, which closes with some observations in addition to the extract above alluded to.

Washington, Dec. 11th, 1829.

TO THE AMERICAN CONVENTION:

The Committee, appointed to procure information in relation to the culture of sugar, cotton, &c., on this continent by free labor,—

Respectfully state,—That owing to the inadequacy of the means to make the requisite investigations, your Committee has not been able since the last session of the Convention to acquire much information or any farther general facts. The following notice of the cultivation of sugar in Mexico, to which your committee has briefly adverted, has been obtained through the medium of the London Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter for August, 1829. It is an extract of a letter from Mr. W. Mexican Envoy of the British Government, to the Right Honorable George Canning, viz.

"Mexico, March 13, 1826.

"Sir,—The possibility of introducing a system of free labor into the West Indian Islands having been so much discussed in England, I conceived that it might not be uninteresting to His Majesty's Government to receive some details respecting the result of the experiment in this country, where it certainly has had a fair trial.

"I accordingly took advantage of Mr. Morier's prolonged stay here to visit the Valley of Cuernavaca, and Cuanthla An-

pas, which supplies a great part of the
 Federation with sugar and coffee, although
 a single slave is at present employed
 in their cultivation.

"I have the honor to enclose a sketch
 of the observations which I was enabled
 to make upon this journey, together with
 such details as I have thought best calcu-
 lated to show both the scale upon which
 these estates are worked, and the com-
 plete success with which the abolition of
 slavery has, in this instance, been attend-

"The valley which extends almost un-
 interruptedly from Cuernavaca to Cuant-
 Amilpas and Jyncar (covering a space
 about forty miles,) is situated on the
 road to Acapulco, at the foot of the first
 range of mountains by which the descent
 from the Table Land towards the south-
 west commences, about fifty miles from
 the Capital.

"It is about 2,000 feet lower than the
 Table Land of Mexico. The difference
 in temperature is proportionably great, so
 that two days are sufficient to transport
 the traveller into the very midst of Tierra
 caliente.

"It is believed that the sugar-cane was
 first planted there about one hundred
 years ago; from that time the number of
 sugar-estates has gone on increasing, un-
 til there is now hardly an acre of ground
 in the whole plain which is not turned to
 account.

"The cultivation was originally car-
 ried on entirely by slaves, who were pur-
 chased at Vera Cruz, at from 300 to 400
 dollars each.

"It was found, however, that this sys-
 tem was attended with considerable incon-
 venience, it being impossible to secure a
 sufficient supply of slaves during a war.
 The losses, likewise, at all times, were
 great, as many of the slaves were unable
 to support the fatigue and changes of tem-
 perature, to which they were exposed on
 their journey from Vera Cruz to Cuernava-
 ca, and perished, either on the road, or
 soon after their arrival.

"Several of the great proprietors were
 induced by these circumstances to give
 liberty to a certain number of their slaves
 annually, and by encouraging marriages
 between them and the Indians of the
 country, to propagate a race of free labor-
 ers who might be employed when a sup-
 ply of slaves was no longer to be obtained.

"This plan proved so eminently success-
 ful that on some of the largest estates

there was not a single slave in the year
 1808.

"The policy of the measure became
 still more apparent on the breaking out of
 the revolution in 1810.

"The planters who had not adopted
 the system of gradual emancipation be-
 fore that period saw themselves abandon-
 ed, and were forced, in many instances,
 to give up working their estates, as their
 slaves took advantage of the approach of
 the insurgents to join them en masse;
 while those who had provided themselves
 with a mixed cast of free laborers, retain-
 ed, even during the worst times, a suffi-
 cient number of men to enable them to
 continue to cultivate their lands, although
 upon a smaller scale."

The same work for September, 1829,
 speaking of free and slave labor, remarks:

"The controversy is fast tending to its
 termination. The march of events will
 scarcely leave room much longer, either
 for misrepresentation or misapprehension.
 The facilities already given in Bengal by
 Lord W. Bentinck, to the investment of
 British capital and the developement of
 British skill in the cultivation of the soil;
 the almost certainty that those fiscal regu-
 lations which have hitherto depressed the
 growth of sugar in Bengal, and prevented
 the large increase of its imports into this
 country, will soon be repealed; the pros-
 pect of an early removal of the other re-
 strictions which still fetter the commerce
 of our Eastern possessions; the rapidly
 increasing population and prosperity of
 Hayti; the official statements of Mr.
 Ward, as to the profitable culture of su-
 gar by free labor in Mexico; and the ra-
 pid extension of the manufacture of beet
 root sugar in France; a prelude as we
 conceive, to its introduction into this coun-
 try and especially into Ireland; all these
 circumstances combined, afford a promise
 which can scarcely fail of seeing a death
 blow inflicted on the culture of sugar by
 slave labor, which all the misrepresenta-
 tions of all the slave holders in the world,
 with all their clamorous partisans in this
 country, cannot avert, or even long re-
 tard."

Since their views have been directed
 to the subject, your committee are fully
 satisfied that its further investigation will
 be highly important; and that at no very
 distant period, *the results of very interest-
 ing experiments nearer home may be ob-
 tained.*

Respectfully submitted,

B. LUNDY, Chairman.

Ladies' Repository.

Philanthropic and Literary.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

FEMALE SLAVES.

The following is the amount, as given by the last census, of the number of females in the United States, who are deprived by the cruel system of slavery of the natural privileges of humanity—ranked with the furniture of the kitchen, or the beasts of the field—transferred like these from owner to owner—fettered and driven in herds, with their brethren, through the country, to be sold, or exposed in the public market-place—kept in gross mental darkness, irreligion, and degradation—subjected to the vile indignity and laceration of punishment by the horsewhip—torn at the will of another from all the ties that make life precious to the female heart—denied the woman's privilege of ministering to the wants and comforts of their own household—obliged to waste their whole lives in toil for which they receive no compensation save a scanty and miserable sustenance—and condemned to entail all these evils on their hapless offspring. We have copied the statement as one of the strongest arguments we could use in urging the more favored of our sex, to use such means as are in their power, to raise their helpless sisters from a state of debasement, which is far more disgraceful to those who look on in unconcerned selfishness, than to those who are degraded and rendered wretched by its influence.

Females—under 10 years of age,	347,566
of 10 and under 24,	308,793
of 24 “	36, 186,092
of 36 “	55, 111,753
of 55 “	100, 41,422
of 100 and upwards,	669

Total.....996,284

Nine hundred and ninety-six thousand two hundred and eighty-four female victims to the severe and unrelenting system of oppression that pollutes our whole country with its guilt and infamy!—The whole number of slaves in the British Colonies is but 800,000, yet the energies of nearly the whole nation have been aroused in order to effect their manumission. Our sisters there, have exerted themselves well and nobly, and the reward which they have striven for will doubtlessly soon be theirs. Ere long the daughter of a much injured race, shall no more, when she bends her lips upon the brow of her young infant, mingle the scalding tears of affliction for his future fate, with the caresses of her love; no more shall she be compelled to listen to its piteous cries, without being allowed to soothe them; no more shall the rapacity of avarice have the power to tear it from her arms, or to bear herself away from home and all its loved ties for ever. The sharp lash shall

no more mangle her limbs, or the heavy iron of her fetters cut into her flesh. She will be Free. She will become educated, refined and virtuous and her blessing will descend “like the dews of Hermon” on the heads of those who have been instrumental in rendering her such. And will our countrywomen, when there are so many more thousands of their own sex suffering beneath the pitiless grasp of oppression, listen carelessly to the story of their accumulated wrongs, and forget that they themselves are aggrieved in the injuries offered to their helpless sisters? We hesitate not to say that to every female in the United States attaches some portion of the stigma of Female Slavery. We all share in the disgrace, both the ignorance and degradation of the female slave and of the iniquity of those, alike her sisters and ours, who too often hold her in bondage. Therefore are interested, if not from motives of humanity, at least for their own sakes, in the abolition of slavery. And all, unitedly, should promote such measures as may eventually effect a desirable an object.

THE NEW YEAR.

There is no season more calculated to dispel the mind to reflection, than the last moments of the passing year, or the entering ones of the new. It is a fit time for retrospect. For the events, while the year yet lingered, seemed almost to form a part of its existence, and still to remain present with us, we now feel indeed to exist only in memory, and in the impression, whether pleasing or painful, which they may have left upon our minds. Then too, the mind is most prone to anticipate. If we feel that during the past year we have fallen far short of our duty and our wishes—if our hopes have been deceived, or sorrow has laid its vail upon our hearts, we look forward to the future with fresh resolutions, with renewed expectations, and a rekindling of almost confidence that the pressure of calamity will speedily be taken away from us. Yet to the poor slave, the new year opens with no brighter hopes than the weary ones that have gone by since first he was the chains of bondage. It will pass away, and leave him, as on its entrance, still in fetters. Yet beyond that, even for him, there may be a brighter prospect. If the friends of Emancipation press on, and tire not in their efforts, he will lift up a free brow to hail the light of some future year. We ask of them at this season, to turn back their thoughts in review over the past year, and to inquire of themselves, whether they have severally done all that they might have done to promote the cause of Emancipation?—if no opportunity of advancing its interests has been offered to pass by unimproved—if indolence, or difference or weariness has not sometimes been upon them, and given a listlessness to their

ions? If it has been theirs, let them resolve upon more activity and perseverance for the future; upon still greater self-denial and more untiring efforts. They are all needed, and they must all be made use of before the conquest over oppression can be won.

THE LONG EVENINGS.

We would recommend the female advocates of Emancipation, as one means by which they may much advance the cause for which they are interested, occasionally to devote a few hours during the long evenings of the present season, to composing, or transcribing from authors who have written on the subject of slavery such extracts as may appear to them calculated to produce a good effect, and to send them for insertion to some newspaper or periodical, not expressly devoted to that subject; as by this means they might be read by persons, who would have in no other way their attention, or memory, awakened to the oppression of their brethren and sisters. One of the best things that can be done is to arouse the public mind more fully and generally to the true nature of slavery, and to keep the subject continually before their attention.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

NEW YEAR'S EVE.

Light! with its thousand stars, and the deep hush that makes its darkness solemn! The winds rush
troubled music, o'er the wooded hill,
and the wide plain, where creeps the fetter'd rill,
wintry silence; but a softer sound
of melody from man's lit halls swells round.
To slumber yet to night! the hours fleet on,
With converse, song, and laughter's joyous tone;
The young and gay are met in social mirth,
The home circle gathers round the hearth,
The swelling upwards from the house of prayer,
The voice of praise concludes the passing year.
'Tis almost midnight now;—hark! hush!—the
bell!—
Once a note of triumph, and a knell!
A sudden silence—the quick breath is quelled,
The speaker's voice in mute suspension held,
That thousand thoughts are in that moment
press'd—
Past, present, future, crowding on the breast,
A stroke by stroke tolls on!—and then a start—
A sudden lightening of the eye and heart,
A burst of joyous greeting—such as here
We wish you, friends beloved,—a happy year!
It speeds time on! Scarce seems a moment sped,
Since first we hailed the year that now has fled.
It speeds time on—but hath it left no trace,
That future hours shall never more efface?
To turn to Poland! may her sons forget,
Their desolated fields with carnage wet?
Their bright, brief hopes,—their struggle fierce
and proud,
With the stern despot 'neath whose yoke they
bowed,
The lightning thrill that flash'd through every
breast,
When wakening Freedom waved her eagle crest,
Their hopes, upspringing almost from despair,
And burning with a short illusive glare,

Soon to be quench'd in blood? Oh God of Peace!
Must such wild scenes of carnage never cease?
Is blood "pour'd out like water" still to be
The price of man's high yearning to be free?
Wo for the tyrant selfishness and pride,
That hath to man his holiest rights denied!
Is life too poor in ills?—hath Death so scant
His fearful quiver stored, that men should pant
To give the earth red graves? Ah! when shall
right

Her nobler triumphs seek by moral light,
And learn that even the sweets of liberty,
Are bought with slaughter, at a price too high!

And when shall our own banner cease to wave
Its starry folds in mockery o'er the slave?
Oh! blot upon our land, and heavy shame,
That e'er Columbian should bear such name!
That men, like beasts, should be chain'd and
sold,

For a base pittance of poor, sordid gold;
That woman's limbs beneath the scourge should
bleed,

The swollen pomp of luxury to feed;
And in the freest nation of the earth

The licensed thief invade the household hearth,
The purest best affections of the heart,
And the strong ties of kindred rend apart,
And seizing, fiendlike, on his helpless prey,
Tear them for ever from their homes away,
Oh when shall tyrants learn that human veins,
Bear pulses that were never meant for chains;
And loose their links, before the oppress'd one's
band

Becomes a deadly weapon in his hand!
Our brethren found it such;—in southern halls,
The cold damp foot of desolation falls;
Young gladsome eyes, that late were sparkling
bright,

With the free spirit's joyous gush of light;
Mothers, made happy by the bursts of glee,
From the gay creatures group'd about their knee;
The brow of hoary eld—all, all are there,
With the pale look of anguish and despair,
Or smitten rudely to the reeking earth,
Have deluged with their blood their own loved
hearth,

Alas, alas, for them! alas, for those,
Who still in white-lipped terror wait their foes!
And wo for all the oppressor's haughty guilt,
And the fresh blood his vengeful hand hath spilt!
Oh Heaven! in mercy yield them yet a space
To speak with tears of penitence thy grace!
Touch their steel'd hearts with thy dissolving
love,

And their vile stains of prejudice remove,
That they may learn upon the negro's face
A brother's lineaments, at last to trace,
And strike away the soul-degrading chains,
Which long have hung upon his swollen veins;
That mad, relentless hatred may no more,
Flood the red earth with streams of mingled gore,
And other new years o'er our country rise,
With brighter aspect, and more cloudless skies.

E.

APOLOGY FOR LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATIONS.

By the author of "Immediate, not Gradual Abolition," &c.

(Concluded from page 135.)

But it is not in mortal power,—in that of individuals, or of nations, to provide a remedy for "the countless ills that flesh is heir to,"—for the privation and suffer-

ing, the injustice and cruelty which man inflicts upon his fellow man. No,—it is not;—nor will individuals or nations be held responsible for any but such as are inflicted by their own wilfulness, or perpetuated by their own negligence;—for none but such as they have power to expel.

But the evil in question, enormous as it is, comprising, as it does, all the crimes which most disgrace, and all the miseries which most embitter human existence;—upheld, as it is, by a mighty host of powerful interests and deep-rooted prejudices—we have the power to expel. The power which could most *promptly* expel this mighty mischief, may be lodged in hands which have no will to exert it;—but the power *effectually* to destroy it is diffused over a wide surface, and may be roused and concentrated by humble exertions. Though *we* have no voice in the senate, no influence in public meetings,—though no signatures of ours are attached to anti-slavery petitions to the legislature,—yet we have a voice and an influence in a sphere, which, though restricted, is no narrow one. To the hearts and consciences of our own sex, at least, we have unlimited access. By dispelling their ignorance, disseminating among them correct information of the nature and consequences of West Indian slavery, and dissuading them from all participation in its guilt, by a conscientious rejection of its produce, we may withdraw its resources and undermine its foundations. At present the work is making slow progress. With a few distinguished exceptions, we may take shame to ourselves that our zeal and exertions in this righteous cause have been so little proportioned to its urgent claims. The cause needs earnest and devoted laborers, and it were better to abandon it altogether than to pursue it by such tardy and indirect means as afford no rational hope of success.

Let us emulate the truly christian zeal of the first institutor of Ladies' Anti-Slavery Associations, and strive to our utmost ability to increase their activity and to multiply their number. We do not all possess equal talents or influence, but we can each determine to make the best use of such as we have. The plan of dividing large towns into districts, and of making indiscriminate calls upon the inhabitants for the purpose of diffusing general information of the nature of slavery, and of recommending a general rejection of its

produce, has been objected to on various grounds, especially on account of the great sacrifice of time which it required; but the sacrifice would be transient were vigorous means once employed to bring the plan into general operation. The great object which by strenuous exertion might be speedily secured, may, probably without them, remain unaccomplished for ages. What important good is secured without sacrifice? Self-denial is the indispensable price of all human virtue. What rational hope is there left of the extinction of slavery but by rendering it unprofitable? and how can we render it unprofitable but by rejecting its produce and how can such an extensive rejection of its produce be obtained *as shall render it unprofitable*,—without direct appeals to the hearts and understandings, to the feelings and principles of individuals, on the folly, danger, and wickedness of upholding such a system of iniquity?

We have seen the inefficacy of petitioning Parliament even to enforce its own limited plans of melioration and gradual abolition. Even the late lamented Premier, the avowed opponent of slavery, declared that the numerous Anti-slavery petitions with which the table of the House of Commons was last year loaded, "*rather added to the incumbrance than increased the power of Government*;" "*they tended to create new obstacles as to aggravate old ones.*" We have seen the insolent scorn with which Lord Brougham's very cautious propositions have been rejected by the colonists. To conciliate the planters, to disarm their peculiar hostility to emancipation, it has been proposed to purchase the freedom of negro infants. And very recently it has been proposed, by gradual process, and by means apparently the most easy and unexceptionable, to purchase adult slaves also. "If," says a very humane and sensible writer, "300,000 persons would each contribute two pence per week, this would raise upwards of 120,000*l* annually; and this sum, valuing the slaves at 100*l* each, would redeem more than 1200 of them every year. If gold be an antidote to slavery, is it not our duty to apply that antidote? Though the principle of compensation to the slaveholders, be exactly similar to that which would indemnify the receivers of stolen goods, when obliged to restore to the true owners the property they wrongfully obtained; yet if the existing slaves are to taste the sweets of free-

every available method must at once be employed for their deliverance. If they themselves were determined to remain in bondage, rather than admit the right to which their masters so unjustly pretend, this would certainly be very magnanimous on their part; but were we, who offer no personal inconvenience from what they endure, to act thus, it would only furnish another example of the facility of being great and dignified at the expense of others."

And what reply is to be given to these apparently unexceptionable and generous propositions? They are altogether inadmissible. "No combined plan, such as the above, for aiding the work of emancipation, would be allowed by his Majesty's government!!!"

But we are not yet bereft of free choice between the productions of free and slave labor. In the right direction of that choice, there is still a wide field open for restricted anti-slavery exertion. Here, then, let us work with redoubled diligence, and as our resources diminish in number, let those which remain be more strenuously exerted. Although it is admitted that arduous labor is indispensable requisite for the accomplishment of the object, yet we can imagine no other equal importance, comprehending blessings so great to existing and unborn millions, was ever accomplished at a price so cheap, by sacrifices so comparatively trifling as those now required for the extinction of West Indian slavery:—so much more aggravated will be the condemnation of withholding them.

Let us remember the utter helplessness of the objects of our sympathy,—*they cannot plead for themselves,—they have none in the land of their captivity to plead for them.*" Let us remember the horror which the first faithful denunciation of their sufferings excited. Let us remember that though our feelings may be blunted by familiarity with the often related story of their oppression, that oppression remains unmitigated; their bodily torture from the lacerating scourge and the long chain—their mental anguish from the reckless tearing asunder of all the strongest ties of nature, are in no degree lessened by the abatement of our sympathy.

Let us also remember that we have participated in their oppression by consuming its produce. This consideration ought to lay us under peculiar obligations of discountenance as well as to relinquish

this guilty participation: *guilty* it is, and where there is no consciousness of its guilt, it is the part of christian duty to awaken that consciousness;—"Thou shalt not suffer sin upon thy brother,—thou shalt in any wise admonish him," is a divine command. We have no moral right to the produce of robbery and oppression. In the eye of British law the receiver of stolen goods is as criminal as the thief; and in the estimation of a purer law, the wilful consumer of slave produce may appear *more* criminal than the *slave-holder*, because without the powerful temptation of interest, he furnishes the latter with all the incitements to his inhuman oppression.

Let none of us rest satisfied with individual abstinence from the produce of slavery. Let all act with fidelity to their own convictions, and strive, by well-timed and judicious reasons, to press the duty upon others. And whatsoever our hand findeth to do, towards loosening the bonds of oppression, let us do it with all our might. It may be that this apparently last remaining human resource for the abolition of slavery (that of refusing its produce) is that which shall prosper; it may be that which, if diligently and faithfully exerted, may be crowned with success. To whom, then, must we look for its faithful and diligent exertion, but to those who have leisure and influence,—to those who are blessed with enlightened understandings, sound principles,—with tender consciences and feeling hearts.

Let those who have been thus favored, remember that "to whom much is given, of them will much be required;"—that for all who are exempt from the necessity of daily labor for their daily bread, there is an assigned portion of labor for the good of others;—that no *christian* is exempt from the duty of doing to all men, *to his utmost ability*, whatsoever he would that they should do unto him;—that when the floods rise and the winds blow, as they will against all our houses, they will stand or fall as we have practically obeyed, or have only speculatively approved, the precepts of our divine Lawgiver.

For our own sakes then, as well as the wretched objects of our sympathy, let us be earnest and persevering in the application of that obvious antidote to slavery which is within our own power. There is satisfaction in *vigorous* exertion in a good cause, though its efficacy be not immediately apparent; there is *pleasure* in the approving testimony of conscience

that we are faithfully endeavoring to do our part;—but in feeble, languid efforts, there is no pleasure, no satisfaction, no utility.

In a cause beset with such peculiar discouragements, opposed by such powerful interests, such inveterate prejudices; which has no novelty, no allurements for ambition or sordid interest,—no considerations but those of christian duty can resist the approaches of supineness and despondency, and sustain that steady zeal and persevering labor which its exigencies demand. By the strong obligations, then, of christian duty, let us stir up our own and each other's slumbering humanity;—by these, let us animate each other to vigorous unwearied exertion in that plain course of duty which has been opened to us: above all, let us make earnest application to that divine power which alone can take away the heart of stone and give the heart of flesh. Thus will our zeal be not only kept from declining, but will gradually brighten, till it comes to glow with true christian fervor, and the work before us will become a labor of love instead of constraint.

The Ohio.

LIBERIA. By the Brig Criterion, Capt. Lowell, arrived at New-York, the Liberia Herald (published monthly) of October 22d and November 22d, have been received. The arrival of the Criterion out, is thus noticed in a paper of the latest date.

ARRIVAL OF THE EXPEDITION.—It is with much pleasure we announce the arrival of the brig Criterion, with forty-five emigrants, after a passage of 86 days. They are all in good health. Among them are the Rev. Mr. Cæsar and his Lady, members of the Episcopal Church.

We are further pleased to learn that Mrs. Cæsar comes out under the patronage of a few ladies of Philadelphia, as an instructress of a school. We should be proud to learn that as it is also Mr. Cæsar's intention to teach, some benevolent individuals in the United States had extended an open hand towards him also. Our friends in America can hardly conceive the great need we stand in of able instructors, and the many openings which daily offer for the labor of teachers.—*Cin. Am.*

Late and important from Jamaica.—By the brig Montillo, which sailed from Kingston on the 27th January, we have received

copious files of papers to the day of sailing. We are happy to state that the insurrection had nearly subsided. The injury to property had been very great; upwards of 150 plantations had been destroyed, loss of property said to be a million and a half of dollars.

About 2000 blacks were supposed to have been killed, and 500 had fled to the mountains.

At one time, it was said 30,000 negroes were under arms. The greatest exertions are made in all parts of the island by the military to preserve order; courts martials are held in all parts for the trial of the blacks. The governor had visited several of the disturbed districts which he produced the happiest effects. The details given of the destruction of lives and property is most distressing. On the 27th Jan. martial law was continued for 3 days longer.—*N. Y. paper.*

PREMIUM FOR RICE.

The sum of TWENTY DOLLARS will be given as a premium, over and above the market price for *Five Casks of Fresh Rice*, of good quality raised by *Free Labor*, and delivered in Philadelphia, to *Charles Peirce*, before the first of Jan. next, 1832.

The gentleman above named, is well known as a very respectable Grocer in Philadelphia, and has, for several years past, made it a particular business to keep articles in his line that are exclusively the production of *free labor*.

The premium, together with the market price will be promptly paid, on the delivery of the Rice accompanied by proper reference and vouchers from some respectable person who is known in Philadelphia.

THE GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION Vol. XII.

The object and character of this work are well known. It has been published ten years, and circulated in all the States of this Union, in Canada, the West Indies, Europe and Africa. It is exclusively devoted to the subject of the *Abolition of Slavery*, on the American Continent and Islands.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

The work will, henceforth, be issued monthly. It will be neatly printed on fine paper, and published in the octavo form, each number making six large pages.

The price of subscription will be One Dollar annum, *always to be paid in advance.*

Subscribers who do not particularly specify the time they wish to receive the work, or notify the Editor of a desire to discontinue it before the expiration of each current year, will be considered engaged for the next succeeding one, and bills will be forwarded accordingly.

Agents will be entitled to six copies for every five dollars remitted to the Editor, in current money of the United States.

All letters and communications intended for this office, must be addressed, free of expense, to BENJAMIN LUNDY, Washington, D. C.

☞ A few copies of the Eleventh Volume, complete, for sale.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED BY B. LUNDY—PUBLISHED IN WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE—\$1.00 PER ANN.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration of Independence, U. S.*

No. 10. VOL. II. THIRD SERIES.] **MARCH, 1832.** [WHOLE NUMBER 274. VOL. XII.

WILBERFORCE SETTLEMENT.

The editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* recently visited this interesting settlement of colored people, in the province of Upper Canada. The sole object, in doing this, was to obtain correct information respecting the situation, climate, soil, the present prospects of the settlers, &c., with the view of publishing an accurate statement thereof, as extensively as possible, for the benefit of that oppressed and persecuted race in the United States. A very minute journal was kept, in passing through the province, from Queenston, via the head of Lake Ontario and the aforesaid settlement, to Detroit, in order to bear in mind whatever might be observed, worthy of a place in the account thus to be published. This journal will shortly be inserted at length in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. At present our views must be confined to the state of things connected with the actual condition and prospects of the Wilberforce Settlement.

We have heretofore noticed sundry statements, which originated in other papers, relative to the progress of this colony of colored exiles, who have sought a refuge from the demon-spirit of persecution, in these States, as did the pilgrim fathers of American Colonization, when a similar spirit raged and trampled down the sacred rights of man, in the rotten empires of Europe.—But such that we were enabled to gather in that way is uncertain and contradictory; of course little credence could be placed upon it. We now can speak for the correctness of what we lay before our readers.

The Wilberforce Settlement is situated on the *Au Sable*, in the District of London, Upper Canada. It commences twelve miles from the village of London, (London Court House,) and extends north-westwardly, along the road, leading to Goderich on Lake Huron, upwards of four miles. The last mentioned place is about twenty-five or thirty miles from the *Au Sable*, where a road crosses it, north of which the colored people have made but one opening. The distance from New-York, U. C., to the settlement, by way of London, is one hundred and forty-eight miles—by Queenston, or Niagara Falls, by the head of Lake Ontario, and London, about the same distance—from Buffalo, (proceeding up Lake Erie to Port Talbot, at the mouth of Kettle Creek,) perhaps little more than one hundred miles, thirteen or fourteen miles, only, of which is travelled by land from Sandwich opposite Detroit, by London, about one hundred and twenty-three miles.

No place, perhaps, in the northern or north-western portion of America presents a stronger and richer soil, or a country more beautifully situated for agricultural pursuits, than this. It is covered with a heavy growth of timber, consisting of oak, hickory, sugar maple, beach, ash, poplar, bass, &c., &c., with some cherry and walnut; and along the streams may be seen a portion of elm and sycamore. The land, in general, is gently rolling, though very much diversified. Along the streams it is considerably uneven; yet there are no hills of magnitude; and between the water courses, in some places, it is quite level. There are some fine springs, and the water is clear and excellent. The soil appears, generally, to be a dark loam, intermixed with more or less clay and gravel; but there is very little sand; and the whole is deeply clothed with a black vegetable mould, which renders it extremely fertile. All kinds of grain, &c., produced north of the Carolinas, succeed well here. The ground is entirely clear of stone on the surface, but there are quarries (mostly of limestone) in the elevations, particularly along the streams.

Markets for the produce of this part of the country will be convenient, as it is but a short distance either to Lake Erie, on the south, or Lake Huron on the north;—and the navigable waters of the Thames approach within a few miles of London, the seat of government for the District of the same name. Manufacturing may also be extensively carried on, the various streams with which the country abounds affording excellent facilities for the application of water power.

On a reference to the map, it will be perceived that the Wilberforce Settlement is very nearly in the same latitude with Albany, in the State of New-York. But the climate is much more mild than at that place, as there are no mountainous elevations to increase the rigors of winter, as there are about the middle of New-York and Pennsylvania. An account of the state of the weather was kept at Wilberforce, through the month of December, which is annexed to this article; and it will be seen that the severity of the cold was not greater than it is frequently known to be much further to the south. At no time during the present winter, has the snow fallen as deep, in this part of Canada, as it has south of Lake Erie; and it has been observed, by old settlers, that it seldom or never does.

It will be recollected that the Wilberforce Set-

tlement was commenced by a few colored persons from Cincinnati, Ohio, who were induced to seek an asylum there, from the storm of persecution that appeared to be gathering in that section of country and directing its force towards them.* The business was badly managed, *at first*. The persons who acted as agents contracted for more land than they could pay for according to agreement. A new bargain was then made, and another failure to comply with the terms succeeded. Confidence in their ability to prosecute the business successfully, was impaired. At length a smaller quantity of land has been secured to the company, and individuals have made purchases on their own account. A number of very respectable and intelligent men have taken up their residence there. Some of these are in good easy circumstances—a few even wealthy—and it is believed that every thing will go on well hereafter.

The members of the Settlement have entered into an association for mutual assistance, &c. They have appointed a Board of Managers, of which Austin Steward, formerly of Rochester, New-York, is the President. The Rev. Benjamin Paul, late of New-York City, is their Treasurer; and the funds that may be collected, in the way of donation, &c., will be applied to the purchase of land, and necessaries, for the settlement and comfort of those who may be induced by persecution, &c. to remove thither from the United States, while destitute of the means to support themselves or families. An Agent has been commissioned to proceed to England, with the view of interesting the British government and people in the promotion of the desired object; and the friends of the maltreated African descendants may now look for the accomplishment of something there, worthy of an intelligent people and the high importance of the occasion. Full confidence may be placed in those at present selected to manage the public concerns of the settlement; and the true friends of the oppressed could scarcely render a more acceptable service to the cause of philanthropy, than by assisting, with pecuniary and other means, the persecuted colored man in obtaining a residence there. Under the liberal provisions of

* In justice to the great mass of the citizens of Ohio, it must be stated that, notwithstanding the *political and moral fanaticism* of a few misguided and highly prejudiced creatures, who had found their way into offices of "brief authority;" altho' they made as much noise (a momentary noise!) as the thundering artillery of the heathen Jove; and while a few of their intended victims of their terrible wrath were *frightened* into exile, not one has been actually *forced* to go out of the State. Whatever their representations may hereafter do to prevent others coming in, from the south, there is too much humanity in the citizens, generally, to drive out, against his will, a single well behaved colored man who is now there. The *slavite fanatics*, it is hoped, comprise a lean minority in the great State of Ohio.

the government regulations, as now interpreted and administered, ALL ARE FREE AND EQUAL. Every citizen, *without distinction of color or cast*, is entitled to all the privileges and immunities that the most favored individual can claim. And there is no danger of an alteration in this state of things while the European influence exists in the councils of the province, as it now does and will doubtless, continue to do.

There are, at this time, thirty-two families residing in the settlement, which average about five individuals to each. (It is stated, by the settlers that *upwards of two thousand persons* have visited and intended to establish themselves at that place most of whom were necessitated to go to other parts of the province, where they could obtain employment, not being able to support themselves while they could clear the land, plant, &c.) Four or five of the families, now there, arrived about twenty months since;—the rest at later periods; and some few of them quite recently. Twenty-five families have purchased land; and the most of them have erected tolerably comfortable houses, and cleared a few acres of ground. They have purchased nearly two thousand acres in the whole, two hundred of which are cleared and about sixty sown with wheat. The settlers have cut a wide road, through seven miles and a quarter of very thickly and heavily timbered land for the Canada Company,—the price for which was placed to their credit in the purchase of the several lots. It should also be remarked that, in clearing, they leave no trees deadened and standing, as it is customary with many in new settlements; but cut all off, though the labor is great. They have about one hundred head of cattle and swine, and a few horses. Oxen are mostly used with them, for hauling, ploughing, &c. They have a good substantial saw-mill, erected on a branch of the Au Sabie, within the precincts of their settlement, and, of course, they will hereafter have no difficulty in procuring lumber for building. (Their dwellings are, as yet, constructed of logs—some of them hewed—and a few have shingled roofs.) There are one grist-mill and two other saw-mills within eight or nine miles of the settlement; and one grist-mill is part built within five or six miles of them.—Several small stores are located also near by; and a tailor, shoemaker, and blacksmith reside among them. They have two good schools, for the education of the children; one of which is under the charge of Thomas J. Paul, son of the Rev. B. Paul, a young man of fine promise.* In the summer season a date

* Such are the excellent regulations, and high is the reputation, of this school, that a number of respectable *white* people send their children to it, in preference to others that are conducted by white teachers. The following testimony to its good conduct, &c., of its superintendent, is high

ter of the same gentleman—a quite accomplished and amiable young woman—also teaches a school for girls. A Sabbath school is likewise kept up in the warm season, under the direction of Austin Steward. Two regular meetings for religious worship are established among them, for the Baptist and the Methodist denominations. A Temperance Society has also been organized, the members of which have pledged themselves to exert their influence in discouraging both the vending and use of all kinds of ardent spirits. The settlers, generally, are sober, industrious, and thrifty. In their houses things mostly appear clean, neat, and comfortable.

Between the village of London and this settlement the country is pretty thickly inhabited; and within a few miles to the southwest of it there are a considerable number of white people, mostly Europeans, and their immediate descendants born in Canada. Emigrants from the United States are beginning to settle about London, and to the south of that place. Twenty-five or thirty miles to the northwest, and about the same distance to the northeast, there are likewise settlements, most of those composing which are said to be English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, &c. &c. These Europeans are, in general, very friendly to the colored people. While the "yankees" (as they denominate all emigrants from these States) are still accented by their abominable prejudice against the colored race, the Irish, &c., are often heard to say they prefer the people of color, as neighbors and citizens, to them. The natives, or Canadians (born in the country) appear likewise quite as friendly to the colored population, as to the "yankees." It is believed these observations will also generally hold good, throughout the Canada.

The Canada Company, from which the settlers at Wilberforce have purchased their land, is about to make a good road through the whole distance from London to Lake Huron. It is now in part finished to this settlement; and a great number of laborers will find employment there the ensuing summer. Some of the settlers will also want assistance in improving their lands; and good, industrious, working colored men may do well by

honorable to him. It is a copy of a Certificate presented him on leaving the Academy.—

New York, April 27th, 1831.

This is to certify, that Thomas J. Paul attended my Academy about six months; that during that time his attention to study was remarkably diligent, his proficiency rapid, and his conduct exemplary; that I consider him well qualified to instruct in the ordinary branches of English education; and that, on leaving me, he takes with me my wishes and prayers for his welfare, and my confidence that, in the progress of life, he will conduct himself worthily and usefully.

JONATHAN B. KIDDER,
Teacher of Classical and English Academy in
New-York.

proceeding thither early next spring, if they have only the means of getting there. Some apprehension is felt that the price of land will be raised, when the aforesaid road shall be completed; but even should this be the case, emigrants will, no doubt, be able to procure enough on favorable terms, near by, if prepared to make prompt payment. Many poor white settlers, in the neighborhood of Wilberforce, offer to sell their improvements, upon reasonable terms, in order to go further towards the frontier, where they may get more land; and colored persons, who are somewhat forehanded, will find it very advantageous to purchase these improvements. They may be had at from \$2,50 to \$5,00 per acre, including buildings, &c. Unimproved land has heretofore sold at \$1,50 per acre.

We learn that there are several other settlements of colored people in various parts of Upper Canada, among which may be enumerated the following: One at Lake Simcoe, in the northeastern part of the province—one at Woolwich, on or near Grand River, north of Brantford, and thirty or forty miles from the head of Lake Ontario—one at Chatham Creek, near the river Thames, about sixty-five miles below London, and fifty-five or sixty above Sandwich, opposite Detroit—and another near Malden, 18 miles south of Sandwich, a little distance from the mouth of Detroit river, and opposite Brownstown, at the mouth of Huron river. This last is said to be composed of three or four hundred persons; and there is a ferry from Brownstown to Malden, where many of the emigrants cross when the river is not obstructed by ice.

But the settlement at Wilberforce will be, by far, the most important, as there are men of known intelligence and public spirit there, who will give it a consequence, that probably will not, at least very soon, be attached to the others. It will, indeed, be viewed by the colored people as a nucleus, for an extensive emigration from the northern and middle parts of this Union, especially from Virginia, and several contiguous States. Many will go there, and obtain information that will induce them to settle in other places, when the price of land shall rise and more new settlements be opened. They will thus scatter over the province, some one way and some another; but many will stop here, as at a central point, which first shall have attracted their attention, and where they will find intelligent friends and brethren.

The following table, exhibiting the state of the weather, at Wilberforce, from the 3d to the 25th of December last, (the coldest part of the season,) was politely furnished by Austin Steward, one, among the few, of the most intelligent and worthy colored men in America. The thermometer was placed the whole time in the open air.

State of the Weather at Wilberforce, Upper Canada,
from the 3d to the 25th of December, 1831.

Days of the month.	Degrees below freezing point.	Degrees below cipher.	Prevalence of the wind.
December 3,	12	—	Southerly.
4,	30	—	do.
5,	—	2	do.
6,	—	22	do.
7,	14	—	S. W.
8,	15	—	do.
9,	20	—	do.
10,	22	—	N.
11,	16	—	S.
12,	18	—	S. W.
13,	15	—	N.
14,	16	—	S.
15,	19	—	W.
16,	20	—	S.
17,	26	—	W.
18,	27	—	S.
19,	25	—	W.
20,	10	—	S.
21,	20	—	N.
22,	20	—	E.
23,	6	—	S.
24,	10	—	do.
25,	6	—	do.

Through the early part of the month of January, 1832, the mercury ranged at about one deg. below the freezing point, wind southwardly, for a number of days; and about the middle of the month the weather was mild, and it thawed considerably.

JEFFERSON'S PLAN.

It will be recollected that, soon after the decease of the justly celebrated Thomas Jefferson, something was said about a plan for the abolition of slavery, devised by him and left among his papers. It appears, from a recent debate in the Virginia Legislature, that the substance of the plan was as follows:—

To declare by law that, from and after the 4th July, 1840, all the children of female slaves, born in Virginia, should (the males at 21, and the females at 18,) become public property, if detained by their owners in the State until they should arrive at those ages respectively—and be hired out until the net sum should be sufficient to defray the expense of removal to a foreign country.

Proceeding upon the principle of this plan, twenty-six years would elapse before the law would operate in a single case. The period would be quite too remote, and the mode of proceeding would be too little in accordance with strict justice, to suit our notions of propriety; yet we should be glad to see this proposition adopted, if nothing better can be devised—trusting to the wisdom of the people and future Legislatures to vary the plan, and hasten the consummation of the great work, when they become more fully acquainted with the manner in which they may proceed with safety, as the authorities of N. York and Mexico have done.

We are glad to perceive that a relative of the great statesman himself (T. J. Randolph,) has taken up the important subject in the Legislature, and appears disposed to advocate it warmly. In one of his speeches, he uses this emphatic language: "Speaking as a Virginian," Mr. R. said, he "would rather have the fame with posterity arising from this, than from all the other great acts of that great man's life." And he "thanked the enlightened people of Albemarle for affording an opportunity to have it proved to the world, that the illustrious example constantly before them, had been appreciated by his descendants, and that they were now walking in his footsteps."*

It is with pleasure we also see it stated in the newspapers that another member has determined to immortalize his name in this holy undertaking. The gentleman to whom we allude is a Mr. Moore. He used the following eloquent language:—

"Let me inquire, sir, what must be the estimation in which we shall be held by foreign nations, if we fail even to make an effort to send our slaves to some country where they may enjoy the blessings of liberty? Is it not due, sir, to our character, as a moral, a just, a sincere, and a magnanimous people, that we should yield obedience to those principles contained in our Bill of Rights, and which we have solemnly declared to be applicable to, and obligatory on, all mankind? Can we be justified in the eyes of man, or of Heaven, in withholding from our negroes, rights which we have declared to be the common property of all the human race?—and that, too, in violation of the fundamental principles of our own government? What must be thought of the zeal which we profess to feel in behalf of those nations which have been struggling for freedom across the ocean? Will not the admiration expressed at the heroic exertions of the Parisians in their recent struggle for liberty, and the sympathy we professed to feel for the suffering Planters, be regarded as mere hypocrisy and dissimulation by those who know we do not practise the doctrines which we preach? It matters not, sir, whether oppression be exercised over a few individuals, or over many millions; it is much tyranny in the one case as in the other; and in a moral point of view, the Autocrat of Russia is not more deserving the name of a tyrant, than having sent his hordes of barbarians to plant the blood-stained banner of despotism upon the walls of Warsaw, amid the ruins of all that was dear to free men, than the petty tyrant in any other quarter of the globe, who is equally regardless of the acknowledged rights of man. It is due, not only to our own character, but to the reputation of our ancestors, that we should make a determined effort to free our country from the odium of slavery. On the 29th day of Jun

* Another evidence of the propriety of the people's movements in such matters. The people of Albemarle had petitioned the Legislature; and this gentleman, as their representative, now felt liberty to act, though he had not before. Let a majority of the constituents of the Hon. J. C. Adams also speak out their sentiments, and he will feel at liberty to CHANGE HIS TUNE!—Gen. U. Eman.

1776, our ancestors, in order to escape the odium which would attach to them in the estimation of foreigners, as the owners of slaves, solemnly declared in the preamble to the Constitution, which they then adopted, that the King, against whom they were then in rebellion, had prevented them from excluding negroes from among them by law, by an inhuman use of his negative; and assigned that as one of the grounds on which they justified their rebellion. Should we now refuse even to consider of the means of sending from among us, those very slaves whom our ancestors expressed so much anxiety to have excluded from the State, every intelligent foreigner will conclude, either that our forefathers grossly calumniated the King of England, or that we are the degenerate offspring of more worthy ancestors."

DECISION OF THE VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE.

The 25th of January, 1832, will long be remembered in Virginia, as an important epoch in legislative proceedings. On that memorable day a vote was taken in the General Assembly of this State, on the question whether it would be expedient, then, "to make any legislative enactments for the abolition of slavery." It was decided in the negative, by a vote of 64 to 59. But, on a motion for indefinite postponement, the vote stood 70 to 71, showing a majority of ELEVEN, in favor of acting upon the subject at a future period. It was on the following preamble and resolution, that the question was decided by the vote of 64 to 59. It fully sanctions the principle of emancipation.

"Profoundly sensible of the great evils arising from the condition of the colored population of this Commonwealth: induced by humanity as well as policy, to an immediate effort for the removal in the first place, as well of those who are now free, as of such as may hereafter become free: believing that this effort, while it is in just accordance with the sentiments of the community on the subject, will absorb all our present means; and that a further action for the removal of the slaves should await a more definite development of public opinion:

"Resolved, As the opinion of this committee, that it is inexpedient, for the present, to make any legislative enactments for the abolition of slavery."

Here we not only perceive that a majority of seven recorded their votes against an indefinite postponement of this important subject; but we also perceive that the very lean majority of FIVE was opposed to IMMEDIATE ACTION. Truly this is cheering news for the philanthropist.— And when the enlightened statesmen of Virginia came to investigate the subject thoroughly, the majority will soon be found in favor of the immediate adoption of measures for the total extinction of that despotic system, which has filled the land with tyrants and vassals, paralyzed the arm of industry, quenched the spirit of improvement, and crimsoned her plains with the blood of women and children! At the next session of the Virginia Legislature, we may look for still more important movements. During the intervening period every member will prepare himself for the

battle. The people, too, will be roused to action. Petitions, memorials, and instructions will pour into the halls of legislation; and wo to the "mealy mouth," or the "dough face," that shall be recognized as having figured there, when next the "people" assemble at the POLLS!

We are pleased with the bold and decided stand taken upon this subject, by the "Richmond Whig." This is one of the most popular and influential papers in Virginia. The editor does not, by any means, go as far as we could wish; but he manfully advocates the principle of Universal Emancipation. Speaking of the late proceedings in the Legislature, above mentioned, he argues that the members, by their last vote, have "declared their belief that, at the proper time, and in the proper mode, Virginia ought to commence a system of gradual abolition." He considers the result of the late discussion in the General Assembly, as decidedly "favorable to the cause" of emancipation; and, at the close of an article on the subject, he says: "The House of Delegates have gone thus far, and in our opinion it had no right to go farther. The public is not prepared to go farther at this time. These are astonishing and animating results. They who will look back to the state of opinion five months ago, may well consider them almost miraculous."

Many other papers, in that State, now advocate the same principles. Among them the "Norfolk Herald" takes strong ground, and speaks fearlessly. We present a short extract from a late number of this print:—

"Can we remain insensible to the startling fact, that the increase of our slave population is even now rooting out our free white yeomanry, who are leaving the fair fields of their native country for the west; and is it too much to predict that in fifty years its excess over the whites will be so great, that the lower and middle divisions of the State must, by the natural operations of circumstances, (to say nothing of violence,) be abandoned entirely by the latter, or maintained in a condition of abject wretchedness, with their few remaining proprietors crying in vain—'save us from the body of this death'—remove this intolerable curse?"

It is stated that many have been astonished at the developments in the speeches of the members of the Virginia Legislature, respecting the increase of the slave population in the southern States. This can be accounted for upon no other principle than that of wilful ignorance and voluntary blindness. The facts were always at hand which, had they opened their eyes to see them, would have put them in possession of all the information they have acquired from this discussion. But they may thank the conductors of those "incendiary" periodicals, who have, by their "violence," and their "fanaticism," roused them from their stupid insensibility. We must have more such "incendiary publications!"

FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR IN PHILADELPHIA.

We extract from the Philadelphia Friend, the following testimony in favor of the moral condition of the free people of color in that city. It is so very common to represent these people, generally, as the pests of society, that it gives us pleasure to lay before our readers any fact that may go to remove the prejudices that exist against them, and which may tend to elevate them to that rank in the scale of being to which, notwithstanding their hue, they are equally entitled with the whites.—c.

"Many erroneous opinions have prevailed with regard to the true character and condition of the free colored people of Pennsylvania. They have been represented as an idle and worthless class, furnishing inmates for our poor houses and penitentiaries. A few plain facts are sufficient to refute these gratuitous allegations. In the city and suburbs of Philadelphia, by the census of 1830, they constituted about eleven per cent, or one ninth of the whole population. From the account of the guardians of the poor, printed by order of the board, it appears that of the out-door poor receiving regular weekly supplies, in the first month, 1830, the time of the greatest need, the people of color were about one to twenty-three whites; or not quite four per cent, a disproportion of whites to colored, of more than two to one in favor of the latter. When it is considered that they perform the lowest offices in the community—that the avenues which are esteemed the most honorable and profitable professions in society, are in a great measure, if not wholly, closed against them—these facts are the more creditable to them. One cause of this disproportion, which we presume is but little known, but which is worthy of special notice, will be found in the numerous societies among themselves for mutual aid.

"These societies expended, in one year, about six thousand dollars for the relief of the sick and the indigent of their own color, from funds raised among themselves.

"Besides, the taxes paid by the colored people of Philadelphia, exceeds in amount the sums expended out of the funds of the city for the relief of their poor. If my limits permitted I could proceed to show, by fair inferences from well ascertained facts, and by sound reasoning, based upon principles in political economy which are generally admitted, that so far from being a nuisance or a burden upon the community, the free colored people of Pennsylvania are a valuable acquisition to the state. Perhaps these topics may be examined at another time. One thing more I will mention before I dismiss the subject. Much has been said in favor of separating the two races, African and European. The condition of both, it is contended, would be benefited by their living apart, in separate communities. Now so far from admitting the correctness of this opinion, I believe the very reverse to be true. I think it may be conclusively shown that, in the present state of things, the condition of both is greatly benefited by their living, as they now do, in the mutual exchange of advantages.

"The whites are elevated, in the scale of civilization and refinement, by the lower and most menial services being performed by the colored race. For if not performed by them, they would necessarily have to be performed by whites. And on the other hand, the colored people are gradually receiving that intellectual culture, which is derived from their intercourse with a people whose opportunities of improvement have been greater than theirs."

"PURCHASE OF TEXAS."

This old song, which had long since "grown out of use," and was consigned to the "tomb of the capulets," has recently been revived, and set to a new tune! The *Richmond Enquirer*, whose "high born" editor—strange as it will appear—is about to join the ranks of the "fanatics;" (wonder if John Randolph and Joe Gales won't turn out next?) and in the overflowings of his zeal, like all new political converts, presents us with a proposition, from one of his correspondents, "to purchase Texas, and invite the free negroes to settle there." It is also imitated that they may, in that case, form a State, and ultimately be admitted into the Union.

Without discussing the question, (a grave one!) why the colored people should go out of the Union to be "admitted" in again, we would—"not discourteously," as Friend Sower of Leesburg, Va. would say—remind Thomas Ritchie, as we did Thomas H. Benton, that Texas is now in very good hands.—And, further, we tell these sapient projectors, that until "Uncle Sam" takes effectual measures to "reform" himself, he should not be intrusted with any more *Indian Lands*.

AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

The French and English Governments, we are happy to perceive, have at length turned their attention to the subject of the African slave trade and have entered into a compact for the suppression of this most detestable and infamous of all traffics. We trust many months will not be suffered to pass by, ere the United States will form a party also to this most righteous union in defence of suffering humanity and the sacred rights of man. The combined efforts and vigilance of the three greatest naval powers in the world, could not fail of soon sweeping from the bosom of the ocean those execrable marauders,—the slave dealers,—whose existence in these enlightened times is a foul blot upon the escutcheon of all civilized nations. Heretofore the only matter which has prevented the government of this country from uniting with Great Britain in an attempt to suppress the trade, has been the settled determination of the U. States not to sanction, in any shape, a principle strenuously contended for by England, namely, the right of searching vessels on the high seas. It is to be hoped, however, that this difficulty may in some manner be obviated and the "star spangled banner" of America, be joined with the cross of England and the tricolor of France, in a generous effort to vindicate the cause of the weak and the oppressed, and to put a final stop to a cruel and degrading and unrighteous traffic—an unholy bartering of the "blood and the thews and the sinews" of an unoffending portion of the human family.

The English King thus alludes to the Conven-

tion between Great Britain and France, in his speech upon the opening of Parliament on the 6th of December last.—c.

"I have the satisfaction to inform you, that I have concluded with the King of the French a Convention, which I have directed to be laid before you; the object of which is the effectual suppression of the African Slave Trade. This Convention, having for its basis the concession of reciprocal rights to be mutually exercised in specified latitudes and places, will, I trust, enable the naval forces of the two countries to accomplish by their combined efforts, an object which is felt by both to be so important to the interests of humanity."

ALABAMA.

The people of this state, as will be perceived by the following remarks from the Buffalo Journal, have also turned their attention to the internal slave-trade, and by the law which has passed the Legislature, prohibiting the introduction of slaves for sale, would seem to be awakening to a true sense of its evils. It is to be regretted, however, that in doing a just act, the Legislature should have been guilty of one grossly unjust. We allude to the section of the law quoted by the Journal. The constitution declares that "citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states."—From what source then does the Legislature of Alabama, or any other state, derive the right of excluding freemen because of their color, from settling at such place within the jurisdiction of these United States, as to them may seem fit? To us it is clear, that all such laws as the one under consideration are decidedly unconstitutional in their construction, and in their provisions cruel, unjust and iniquitous.—c.

"SLAVERY. The Legislature of Alabama has passed a law prohibiting the introduction of slaves into that state, as articles of traffic. This cuts off another slave market till now enjoyed by the older states of the south, and will bring their awful condition still more emphatically home to them. Virginia has begun to talk of measures of relief—the other states have not yet done this—while the coming storm thickens every moment, and incessantly do its dangers multiply.

"Circumstances connected with and growing out of slavery have likened the south to a besieged city, and every morning discloses new parallels of approach which have been opened by the foe, the preceding night.—Meanwhile the sentinels continue to cry 'all's well!' from the outer battlements! Horrid situation, that can induce slumber upon a volcano."

"The law above mentioned has the following section:

"Be it farther enacted, that from and after the first day of January next, it shall not be lawful for any free person of color to settle within the limits of this state; and should any free person of color, after that time, settle in this state, he, she, or they shall, on notice of

this act, depart within thirty days, or shall be liable, on conviction before any justice of the peace, to receive thirty-nine lashes. Any person may arrest any such free person of color, and take him or her before any justice of the peace for trial: and if any such free person of color shall not depart this state within twenty days after the infliction of the punishment last mentioned, he or she shall be liable to be arrested by any person, and taken before a justice of the peace for trial, and on conviction by such justice, shall be ordered to be sold as a slave for the term of one year for ready money, ten days notice being given of the time of sale, one half of which, after paying all the expenses of the prosecution, (which shall be to the justice one dollar, the constable two dollars for summoning the witnesses attending the trial, and selling the said free person of color, and fifty cents a day for each day he may keep said free person of color, and fifty cents per day for each witness who may attend the trial,) shall be paid to the informer, and the other half to the state; and if any free person of color shall not depart this state within twenty days after the expiration of said year, he or she shall forfeit his or her freedom; and upon conviction thereof before any Circuit Court of this state, shall, by order of said court, be sold to the highest bidder, and that the proceeds of the sale of said free negro so forfeiting his or her freedom, shall go one half to the informer and the other half to the State.'"

COST AND TROUBLE OF SLAVERY.

The cost and trouble attendant upon the "accursed system" which subjects one portion of the human race to involuntary labor for the sole benefit of another, simply because of a shade's difference in color, may be inferred in part from the following communication, which is taken from a late Baltimore Patriot. When will the eyes of our southern brethren be opened to a right view of their true condition and best interests, and their hearts be inclined to render evenhanded justice to their suffering fellow-creatures?—c.

MR. EDITOR:—On a late visit to the Capitol of Virginia, and the several public edifices, I found the Armory guarded by armed men in uniform, and was informed, that they were part of a force comprehending 60 or 80, raised and equipped by the State on the plan of the French Gendarmerie; and intended to be a nucleus, on which a greater force might readily be formed, in case of a servile insurrection, &c., &c. Would it not be well for our Legislature to follow the example, as respects the lower counties of Maryland, and by placing a competent guard at Easton and Annapolis, where the State arms are deposited, at once provide for the safety of the public property, and remove any possible apprehension which may be still entertained by the people of the Eastern Shore, and the country South of Patapsco. This is a subject of such importance, that the members of the Legislature will surely not suffer the session to pass without taking measures adequate to the security of those so deeply interested in it, whose exertions to provide for the objects above mentioned out of

their private funds, have been great in individual instances, that came under the personal observation of

VIATOR.

GEORGIA.

In a previous number we briefly noticed the law of Georgia, offering a reward of five thousand dollars for the arrest of the editor of the Boston Liberator. The Friend, or Advocate of Truth, thus pertinently alludes to the same subject.—c.

“The legislature of Georgia, it seems, has passed an act offering a “reward of FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS for the arrest, prosecution, and trial to conviction, under the laws of that state, of the editor or publisher of a certain paper called the Liberator, published in the town of Boston and state of Massachusetts; or any other person or persons who shall utter, publish or circulate, within the limits of the state of Georgia, said paper called the Liberator, or any other paper, pamphlet, letter or address, of a seditious character.” The orators in the legislature of Virginia would do well to be on their guard. For anything we know, a reward may be offered for their apprehension and conviction. If the editor and publishers of the Liberator have made themselves liable to a prosecution under any existing law, by the publication of that paper, how shall the statesmen of Virginia escape? They have more than confirmed the facts, and sustained the arguments of the Liberator. If the publication of opinions and arguments opposed to slavery be seditious in the one case, the uttering of them cannot be less so, in the other.”

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

TORREY'S PORTRAITURE OF SLAVERY.

The above mentioned work, which has gone through two editions, is a volume of about one hundred pages, written by Dr. Jesse Torrey of Philadelphia, and published in 1818. It treats of Slavery only as existing in the United States, and may be read with much interest by all who feel anxious for the honor and welfare of their country. The author relates many painfully interesting occurrences that came under his own observation, during the visit to the South, that appears to have originated this volume, which display the evils of Slavery in a strong light and under a most appalling aspect. The sketches given by him of the scenes which he beheld at the City of Washington, his description of the cruelties and misery as he there witnessed them, produced by the internal slave trade, and the facts he discloses respecting the frequency of the crime of kidnapping free persons, and selling them into illegal bondage, are sufficient to make every American citizen hang his head in shame for the country of his birth. Dr. Torrey is perfectly correct in asserting that “every citizen in the Republic, entitled to the right of suffrage, is responsible for his proportionable quota of the miseries inflicted

on the defenceless Africans, in our country.” To say that a large portion of the states composing our government, are entirely opposed to slavery, will not remove the stigma even from those states, and still less from the nation at large, so long as its worst form is cherished in a spot which is alike governed by them all, and the seat of their general Legislature is suffered to be made the great mart for the traffic in human flesh. In allusion to this well known fact Dr. Torrey says:—

“The United States Jail is frequently occupied as a storehouse for the Slave merchants, and some of the rooms in a tavern devoted chiefly to that use, are occasionally so crowded, that the occupants hardly have sufficient space to extend themselves upon the floor.”

The voice of the whole people should be heard on this subject in petitions innumerable and repeated, till their object is attained by the removal of this national disgrace. One of the principal objects of the volume, is to recommend measures for the relief and education of the slaves and the gradual abolition of slavery. Of his views respecting the melioration and final abolition of slavery, his own words will give the best explanation.

“Let *Masters*, without hesitation, become *Patrons, Guardians, Civil Governors*. Let *Slaves* be converted into tenants or indented *servants* (or laborers bound for the present by the lamentable crisis of existing circumstances. In compliance with the loud and imperative demands of justice and humanity, and the injunctions of policy and self-interest, let their toil be carefully and justly proportioned to their bodily strength, and rewarded by a sufficiency of comfortable nourishment, clothing, and shelter. And particularly in cases of correct behaviour and diligence, let a reasonable sum be paid, monthly or annually, to those who have discretion to make a proper use of it or allotted and reserved for the education and eventual benefit of their children. Let them be effectually protected from the ravages of distilled spirits. Let them not be bought and sold as the beasts of the harness, without their consent, unless guilty of criminal conduct; and let this be decided by the laws of the country. Nor for all the *silver* in the mines of Potosi, let an ounce of *iron* ever be riveted on their *necks, wrists, or ancles*; for he who fashioned those sections of their bodies never designed them for such barbarous pur-

poses! Let the *resounding lash*, and the savage arts of torture and cruelty be laid aside. The adoption of a discipline, founded on justice and reciprocal equity, will render these unnecessary. It is a very important fact, in human nature, that men, in all conditions, perform their duty with much more alacrity and pleasure, when prompted by the exhilarating anticipation of reward and advantage, than by coercion, and the paralyzing menace of penalties and pain."

This plan appears to be something similar to that adopted by Mr. Steele of Barbadoes, with so much success. But that justice requires the slaves to be "ransomed" as Dr. T. expresses it, or compensation be made to their masters for their emancipation, especially after the manner he proposes, is a very incorrect idea. The following are the principal arguments on which he grounds his opinion.

"Laws ought to be responsible for their own operations and results. If a law were enacted authorizing the sale of all the debtors now in prison in the United States, for unconditional and perpetual servitude, with their posterity, and they should be accordingly sold, it would be morally unjust with respect to the purchasers, but not the slaves, to proclaim an immediate emancipation, without restoring the purchase money: that is, it would be unjust not to restore it. Hence the people of the United States, considered collectively as a nation, having confirmed and legalized the transfer (or abdication) of the assumed power of African despots and banditti, to their assigns in America, and now holding the sovereignty over the laws in their own hands, are the *master aggressors* upon the victims of those savage tyrants, and are bound to make them appropriate reparation. While justice is rendered to the slave, renumeration is due to the holder, for the loss he sustains in consequence of his prior confidence of the continuation of his legal power over him."

It is therefore the conviction of the author that it is the duty of the nation "to ransom every human creature held in bondage for life, against his will, without accusation of crime; at an equitable valuation of his worth to the possessor under existing laws, within the jurisdiction of the republic." In the first place the whole number of 2,000,000 slaves, at an average price of 50 dollars, which would probably be the lowest "valuation of their worth to their possessors under existing laws,"

could not be "ransomed" for a less sum than 100 millions of dollars. Now would it be fair to empty the treasury of the nation into the coffers of the south as a reward for a mere act of long-withheld justice to a body of men who have for so long a series of years toiled solely for their benefit? as a reward for the disgrace with which for selfish purposes they have stained our country—for renouncing their claims to a species of property to which no human laws could give them the right of possession, which they have retained during the whole time it was profitable to them and of which the renunciation will now be tenfold more advantageous than the retention? Besides by Dr. Torrey's plan what would they lose except the privilege of *tyrannizing* over their slaves? The services of their laborers would still be theirs, only better directed and far more valuable than before. If compensation is to be made, it should be to the slave, for the long years of his unremunerated toils. To what amount it is due to him, let our author himself state, from a page, nearer the commencement of the volume.

"It is certain that the labor of a slave is of more value than the expense of his daily personal necessities, or he would not be sold, (notwithstanding the risk of a premature death,) for 400 or 900 dollars. It is a logical truth, therefore, that the loss of liberty to an industrious prudent man, at the age of maturity, (without counting the irksomeness of *uncontrolled control*) is equal to the loss of a capital of 650 dollars and the interest of it during his life; which amount, or more, he might obtain by a voluntary life-lease of his labor. Thus, if justice, uncontrolled by Power and Law, were the arbiter between a good slave at the age of 45 years, and his master, she would find a balance due the slave of \$1137,50."

The subject of the internal slave trade, occupies principally the remaining part of the volume, with facts and observations relative to kidnapping free persons of color. During his stay in Washington, Dr. T. was fortunate enough to be the means of rescuing several individuals of the latter class from the hopeless and interminable bondage into which they were about to be hurried. An act for which he deserves the blessing of every friend of emancipation, and which may shed a gleam of happiness over the darkest moments of his life.

Ladies' Repository.

Philanthropic and Literary.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

WINTER.

This is a word whose sound excites many, and very dissimilar ideas, in different bosoms. To some it speaks of gay festivity, to others of the quieter, but more delightful, friendly gatherings round the social hearth. The invalid, and the querrulous complainer, it tells of painful and wearisome moments; the studious, of renewed mental occupation and improvement; and unfriended poverty, of many dreary hours of suffering and want. By those unhappy beings who pine in unmitigated bondage, its return will probably be almost unmarked. When the whole life is one unvaried round of wretchedness, the alterations of seasons can make but little difference. The clear summer sunshine cannot enlighten the clouded bosom of the slave, nor the gloom and mists of winter deepen the gross darkness of his ignorance. But to those who feel the condition of their enslaved fellow-creatures to be a drawback upon their own happiness, this season offers the best opportunity for active and efficient exertion; and we call upon them, most earnestly, for renewed and unremitted efforts in their behalf. This is no time for supineness—no time to falter or relax in their labors. Scarcely yet has the earth settled quietly down upon the red graves of those who have perished by the hands of the exasperated slave; not yet have the hearts of those who were made widows and orphans by the pitiless doom of retribution, been soothed and comforted by the healing progress of slow-lapsing time.—And is it the part of American women to sit down and lament the past, or idly await the recurrence of such another scene of calamity, without using their utmost endeavors to remove the cause of danger? Not if they dread as they ought, the awakening of man's wrathful passions!—not if they shudder as we do, to look into the human soul when it is convulsed and deformed by rage, and revenge, and bloodthirstyness! not if they feel, as woman's heart ever should feel, for the misery and unhappiness of others! Will they cling to a few paltry luxuries and comforts, when the prosperity or wretchedness, perhaps even the life or death, of thousands of their fellow-creatures may be resting upon their self-denial, and their exertions? Will they drink the blood from the veins of their fellow-creatures, and clothe themselves with their flesh, (for what else is the consumption of slave produce) and yet say that they have no part in the guilt or the perpetuation of slavery? Our southern brethren, many of them, declare their wishes to rid themselves of a

system, which holds themselves, as well as their slaves, in a species of bondage; and shall female aid be withheld from them in so doing? Will our sisters rivet the chains of the captive with their bribe of gold, and render more difficult the abolition of a system, which is the source of so much misery to thousands of their sex? We are confident, that if they would but do all that it is in their power, and consequently their duty to do, slavery could not much longer exist in the United States. If even those who are already interested in the cause of emancipation, would but multiply societies among themselves, wherever there is a sufficient number to form one (if it consisted of no more than half a dozen persons) and were earnest and persevering in their purposes, a striking change would ere long be manifest in the state of public opinion.

THE FREE COTTON ASSOCIATION.

For several months past we have heard but little of the proceedings of this Society. But we sincerely hope that no difficulty or discouragement may deter them from pursuing steadily, and with a zeal that can feel no weariness, the path of usefulness which they have marked out for themselves. That they have many difficulties to contend with we are well aware; but they have notwithstanding effected so much, that we think they may well be inspirited to continue the prosecution of their important object, even though obstacles and disappointments should seem to thicken around them.

We are glad to learn that the Free Dry Goods Store belonging to Lydia White, of Philadelphia meets with considerable patronage. May the present year multiply twenty fold, both the number of her customers, and her ability to supply them with unpolluted merchandise.

FLAVIA GARDINER.

We have been much interested by the following brief obituary notice of this individual, a colored woman, long resident at Pittsburg, who died on the 19th of the 12th month, at the very advanced age of one hundred and ten years. What a volume of events must the hand of Memory have opened before her, until the eyes of her mind became too dim longer to distinguish the blurred characters of its page!

"The deceased was a native of the Gold Coast, Guinea, and was kidnapped by a party of whites when she was about 14 years old, whilst she was gathering shells on the seashore. She was thence taken to Kingston, in the Island of Jamaica, and sold as a slave, and lived in that place upwards of twenty years—she was then sold to a master that took her from Kingston, to some other of the West India Islands, and with whom she lived about ten years, when she was sold to a man that brought her to the colonies, about ten years before the breaking out of the revolutionary war. She enjoyed good health generally, until a short time

before her decease, and has left behind her 9 children, 31 grand children, and 22 great grand children; total now alive of her descendants, 62.—She was a person of great integrity, and her death much regretted, as well by the white, as the colored population of Pittsburg.”

This account has brought forcibly to our mind some very fine lines by Montgomery, in a little English book called the Negro's Forget Me Not. We shall place them before our readers as an appropriate comment on the above paragraph; and we hope their stirring and powerful appeal will not be unfelt.

INSCRIPTION

Under the picture of an Aged Negro Woman.

Art thou a woman? So am I; and all that woman can be, I have been, and am; daughter, sister, consort, mother, widow. Whichever of these thou art, O be the friend of one who is what thou canst never be! Look on thyself, thy kindred, home, and country; when fall upon thy knees, and cry “Thank God, an English woman cannot be a slave!”

Art thou a man? oh! I have known, have loved, and lost, all that to woman man can be; father, brother, husband, son, who shared freedom, and my wo in bondage. Childless widow now, a friendless slave, what shall I ask of thee, since I have nought to lose but life's sad burden; nought to gain but heaven's repose—these are beyond thy power, what thou canst neither wrong nor help; what then? Go to the bosom of thy family, gather thy little children round thy knees, gaze on their innocence; their clear full eyes, all fixed on thine; and in their mother mark the loveliest look that woman's face can wear, her looks of love beholding them, and thee. When at the altar of your household joys, bow one by one, vow altogether, vow with heart and voice, eternal enmity against oppression by your brethren's hands; all man nor woman under Britain's laws, nor son, nor daughter, born within her empire, shall buy, or sell, or hold, or be a slave!

FEMALE ASSOCIATIONS.

We are glad to find that Associations, benevolent and literary appear to be multiplying among colored sisters. We learn by the Liberator that one has recently been established at Boston, under the name of The Afric-American Female Intelligence Society. A literary association was some months since organized by some of the colored females of Philadelphia. We wish them much success and a long career of usefulness.—We hail with delight every intimation that our Afric American sisters are becoming more sensible of the value of mental cultivation, and are exerting themselves to procure it. We have copied the Preamble and such articles of the Constitution of the Boston Society as will best explain their objects and be most useful to those who may wish to imitate them.

CONSTITUTION

Of the Afric-American Female Intelligence Society of Boston.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas the subscribers, women of color of the

Commonwealth of Massachusetts, actuated by a natural feeling for the welfare of our friends, have thought fit to associate for the diffusion of knowledge, the suppression of vice and immorality, and for cherishing such virtues as will render us happy and useful to society, sensible of the gross ignorance under which we have too long labored, but trusting, by the blessing of God, we shall be able to accomplish the object of our union—we have therefore associated ourselves under the name of the Afric-American Female Intelligence Society, and have adopted the following Constitution.

Art. 1st. The officers of this society shall be a President, Vice-President, Treasurer, Secretary, and a Board of Directors of five—all of whom shall be annually elected.

Art. 2d. Regular meetings of the Society shall be held on the first Thursday of every month, at which each member shall pay twenty-five cents, and pay twelve and a half cents at every monthly meeting thenceforth.

Art. 3d. The money thus collected shall be appropriated for the purchasing of books, the hiring of a room and other contingencies.

Art. 4th. The books and other articles purchased by this Society, shall be considered as the Society's property; and should the Society cease to exist, said property shall be disposed of by auction, and each member receive her proportional part of the proceeds accruing from such sale.

Art. 11th. All candidates for membership shall be of a good moral character, and shall be elected by a majority of the votes of the Society.

Art. 12th. All members who shall be absent at the regular monthly meetings, shall be fined six and a quarter cents, unless a satisfactory apology can be offered to the Society.

Art. 15th. Any member of this Society, of one year's standing, having regularly paid up her dues, who may be taken sick, shall receive one dollar per week out of the funds of the Society as long as consistent with the means of the institution.

Art. 18th. In case any unforeseen and afflictive event should happen to any of the members, it shall be the duty of the Society to aid them as far as in their power.

Art. 19th. If any member shall neglect to pay her regular monthly assessment, such person shall be subject to a fine of twelve and a half cents per month until paid; and if not paid at the end of a year, she shall be removed therefrom by a vote of the Society, and forfeit all claims thereto.

Art. 20th. Should circumstances cause any member to withdraw from the Society, she may transfer her certificate of membership to any person approved of by this institution.

BY-LAWS.

Art. 1. Each member who wishes to speak shall rise and address the chair.

Art. 2d. While any member addresses the chair there shall be no interruption.

Art. 3d. If any member becomes sick, it shall be made known to the President, who will instruct the Directors to visit the sick person, and devise means for her relief.

Art. 4th. Twelve members shall constitute a quorum to transact business.

Art. 5th. Any person or persons who shall rashly sacrifice their own health, shall not be entitled to any aid or sympathy from the Society.

Art. 6th. Each meeting of this Society shall begin and end with prayer.

Art. 7th. The Treasurer shall make quarterly reports of the state of the funds.

Art. 8th. The Secretary shall read the proceedings of the last meeting at each succeeding one.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE CONFESSIONS OF THE YEAR.

The gray old Year—the dying Year!

His sands were well nigh run;
When there came one by in priestly weed,
To ask of the deeds he'd done.

'Now tell me, ere thou tread'st the path,
Thy brethren all have trod,
The scenes that life has shown to thee,
Upon thine onward road.'

'I've seen the sunbeam rise and set,
As it rose and set before;
And the hearts of men bent earthwardly,
As they have been evermore,
The christian raised his hallow'd fanes,
And bent the knee to God;
But his hand was strong, and guilt and wrong
Defaced the earth he trod.

'The Indian by his forest streams,
Still chased the good red deer,
Or turn'd away to kneel and pray,
With the christian's faith and fear:
The hunting knife he flung aside,
He dropped the warrior blade,
And delved for bread, the soil o'er which
His fathers idly strayed.

'The white man saw that gold was there,
And sought with savage hand,
To drive his guiltless brother forth,
A wanderer o'er the land.
I saw—and gave the tale of shame,
To swell on history's page;
A blot upon Columbia's name,
For many a future age.

'With aching brow, and wearied limb,
The slave his toil pursued;
And oft I saw the cruel scourge
Deep in his blood embrued,
He till'd oppression's soil, where men
For liberty had bled,
And the eagle wing of Freedom waved,
In mockery o'er his head.

'The earth was fill'd with the triumph-shout
Of men who burst their chains;
But his, the heaviest of them all,
Still lay on his burning veins.
In his master's halls there was luxury,
And wealth, and mental light;
But the very book of the Christian law,
Was hidden from him in night.

'In his master's halls there was wine and mirth,
And songs for the newly free;
But his own low cabin was desolate
Of all but misery.
He felt it all—and to bitterness
His heart within him turn'd,
While the panting wish for liberty,
Like a fire in his bosom burn'd.

'The haunting thought of his wrongs grew changed
To a darker and fiercer hue;
Till the horrible shape it sometimes wore,
At last familiar grew.
There was darkness all within his heart,
And madness in his soul,
And the demon spark in his bosom nursed,
Blazed up beyond control.

'Then came a scene—oh! such a scene!—
I would I might forget
The ringing sound of the midnight scream,
And the hearth-stone redly wet!
The mother slain, while she shriek'd in vain
For her infant's baby life,
And the flying form of the frightened child,
Struck down by the bloody knife.

'There's many a heart, that yet will start,
From its troubled sleep, at night,
As the horrid form of the vengeful slave,
Comes in dreams before the sight.
The slave was cruel'd, and his fetters link,
Drawn tighter than before;
And the bloody earth again was drench'd
With the streams of his flowing gore.

'Ah! know they not that the tightest band,
Must burst with the wildest power?
That the more the slave is oppress'd and wrong'd
Will be fiercer his rising hour?
They may thrust him back with the arm of might
They may drench the earth with his blood,
But the best and purest of their own,
Will blend with the sanguine flood.

'I could tell thee more, but my strength is gone,
And my breath is wasting fast;
Long e're the darkness to-night has fled,
Will my life from the earth have pass'd,
But this, the sum of all I have learn'd,
Ere I go I will tell to thee;
If tyrants would hope for a tranquil heart,
They must let the oppress'd go free.'

GERTRUDE.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

AN APOLOGUE.

The wise and enlightened Rabbi Samuel ben John, whose memory be blessed, had three sons. His house was the abode of hospitality, and the stranger was daily nourished at his table. His herds fed upon a hundred hills, and rivers of plenty flowed around his feet. The voice of the wretched also blessed him, and his praise was in the assemblies of the people. Yet for all these things he was not happy, and the lip of the scorner was shot out against him. Domestic dissensions embittered his peace. He had forgotten to do justly in his own household, and when his neighbors extolled his virtues, they stopped suddenly and laid their hand upon their lips. His youngest son was weak, and ill-favoured in his father's eyes, and his heart turned not towards him with the affection of a parent; but he placed the covering as of a leper upon his lip, that all men should turn aside from his path-way, and he gave him to be a bondman in the house of one of his brethren. For a time the youth bore with the injustice patiently, but the yoke of his servitude pressed with an intolerable weight upon his shoulders, and the cry of his weeping came up daily into the ear of his father. The heart of the other of his brethren melted also because of his anguish, and he besought his father for him. Then arose the Rabbi Samuel ben John, with whom be peace, and went unto the house of his son, saying, Lo! all these years hath thy brother served thee, and thou hast thriven and grown rich upon the fruit of

his labors: release him therefor now, I pray thee, and let him go. But the elder son answered, I will not; and he took his brother and scourged him before the face of his father. Also the other son brought his brother that he would release the younger from his bonds; but he would not hearken unto him. And the hearts of the young men waxed wroth towards each other, and there was discord and bitterness between their houses.— Then the Rabbi Samuel ben John, whose memory be blessed, took sackcloth and girded himself, and sat in the dust mourning. And his daughter came and bowed herself before him. And she opened her mouth and spake, saying, let not the heart of my father be troubled. Lo look now round about thee, and consider the food that is upon thy table, and the raiment that is upon the forms of thine household. Is it not the toil of thy son for whom thou journeyest that hath supplied thee with these things? and thou hast also bought them with thy money from the hands of his brother whom thy son serveth. Now therefore, if thou, and my brother, and all his household, will no more buy of the fruits of the labor of thy son who is in bondage, then will he whom he serveth, break off from his neck the yoke of oppression. And her advice seemed good in the ears of her father, and in the ears of his son, and they followed it. And the storehouses of the elder were filled with goods, but no man bought of them, and he lacked many things; and his wife and his daughters murmured because of their want. Then he arose and came to his father, and to his brother, and said unto them—Lo, I have sinned against my brother, but I have repented me of mine iniquity, and have let him go free. Then his father and both his brethren took him, and kissed him, and forgave him. And there was joy in the heart of the Rabbi Samuel ben John, whose memory be blessed, and in the hearts of all his household.

The Olio.

TOUSSANT, THE NEGRO CHIEF.

In 1802 during the short interval of peace between England and France, Maitland, the British General who had been at war with Toussant, went to his camp in the country, in order to settle some points with him previous to the embarkation of his troops. It was a proverb

among the whites of St. Domingo, as well as the blacks, that Toussant *never broke his word*. Accordingly, the British General, trusting the promise of the negro chief, did not scruple to go to him with only two or three attendants, though it was a considerable distance from his own army, and he had to pass through a country full of negroes who had very lately been his mortal enemies. Meanwhile Mons. Roleme, the French Commissioner, wrote a letter to Toussant, urging him to seize the British General and detain him as a prisoner. Of this plot the general received information by the way, but proceeded forward nevertheless. When General Maitland and his attendants arrived at Toussant's head quarters, he was not to be seen. The general was desired to wait, and after much delay, the Negro Chief did not still appear. General Maitland's mind began to misgive him, as was natural, upon a reception seemingly so uncivil, and so much falling in with the warning he had received. But at length Toussant came out, with two letters open in his hand.—“There, General,” said the upright Chief, “read these before we talk together; the one is a letter just received from Roleme, and the other my answer. I would not come to you till I had written my answer to him, that you may see how safe you are with me, and how incapable I am of baseness.”

General Maitland read the letters, and found the one, an artful attempt to excite Toussant to seize his guest, as an act of duty to the republic; the other, a noble and indignant refusal. Toussant's answer to Roleme was in the following noble strain:—“What, have I not passed my word to the British General; how then can you suppose that I will cover myself with dishonor by breaking it? His reliance on my good faith leads him to put himself in my power, and I should be forever infamous were I to act as you advise. I am faithfully devoted to the republic, but will not serve it at the expense of my conscience.”

ANCIENT SLAVERY IN ENGLAND.

“O FREEDOM! first delight of human kind.”

DRYDEN.

SHARON TURNER, in his interesting “History of the Anglo-Saxons,” says, “It was then (during the reign of Pope Gregory I.) the practice of Europe to make use of slaves, and to buy and sell them; and this traffic was carried on, even in the western capital of the Christian Church.

Passing through the market at Rome the white skins, the flowing locks, and beautiful countenances of some youths who were standing there for sale, interested Gregory's sensibility. To his inquiries from what country they had been brought, the answer was, from Britain, whose inhabitants were all of that fair complexion. Were they Pagans or Christians? was his next question: a proof not only of his ignorance of the state of England, but also, that up to that time it had occupied no part of his attention; but thus brought as it were to a personal knowledge of it by these few representatives of its inhabitants, he exclaimed, on hearing that they were still idolators, with a deep sigh, 'What a pity that such a beautiful frontispiece should possess a mind so void of eternal grace.' The name of their nation being mentioned to be Angles, his ear caught the verbal coincidence—the benevolent wish for their improvement darted into his mind, and he expressed his own feelings, and excited those of his auditors, by remarking—'It suits them well, they have angel faces, and ought to be the co-heirs of the angels in heaven.'

"The different classes of society among the Anglo-Saxons were such as belonged to birth, office, or property, and such as were occupied by a freeman, a freedman, or one of the servile description. It is to be lamented, in the review of these different classes, that a large proportion of the Anglo-Saxon population was in a state of abject slavery; they were bought and sold with land, and were conveyed in the grants of it promiscuously with the cattle and other property upon it: and in the Anglo-Saxon wills, these wretched beings were given away precisely as we now dispose of our plate, our furniture, or our money.

At length the custom of manumission, and the diffusion of Christianity, meliorated the condition of the Anglo-Saxon slaves. Sometimes individuals from benevolence, gave their slaves their freedom—sometimes piety procured a manumission. But the most interesting kind of emancipation appears in those writings which announce to us, that the slaves had purchased their own liberty, or that of their family. The Anglo-Saxon laws recognized the liberation of slaves, and placed them under legal protection. The liberal feelings of our ancestors to their enslaved domestics are not only evinced in the frequent manumissions, but also in

the generous gifts which they appear to have made them. The grants of land from masters to their servants were very common; guilds or social confederations were established. The tradesmen of the Anglo-Saxons were, for the most part, men in a servile state; but by degrees the manumission of slaves increased the number of the independent part of the lower orders."

When the statute 1st Edward VI. c. 1 was made, which ordained, that all idle vagabonds should be made slaves, and fed upon bread, water, or small drink, and refuse of meat;—should wear a ring round their necks, arms, or legs; and should be compelled by beating, chaining, or otherwise, to perform the work assigned them, were it ever so vile;—the spirit of the nation could not brook this condition, even in the most abandoned rogues, and therefore this statute was repealed in two years afterwards, 3rd and 4th of Edward VI. 16.

RHODE ISLAND THE FIRST AGAINST SLAVERY.

From the Providence American.

Our venerable fellow townsman, Mos Brown, has copied, in his own hand, and sent us for publication, a document, believed to be the first act of any government designed to prevent enslaving blacks. It is honorable to the state. Our respected correspondent accompanying the copy, with some appropriate remarks exhibiting a remarkable instance of vigorous intellect and active philanthropy, an extreme age, when, in the common course of nature, the strength of man faileth, and he becomes as a child.

For the Daily Advertiser and American.

Observing in the transcribed State Record, an ancient Act of our Government, I send a copy for publication, as it shows the inhabitants of that day had a much better idea of liberty and the rights of man than too many of their descendants to have; and that too, at a time when Roger Williams was gone to England, so enacted by him, which I mention because the just credit due to others of our ancestors has not only been neglected, but has been ascribed to him, by writers respecting our liberties, civil and religious. It will, I hope, serve as a memento to our members of Congress, to do all they can to remove the reproach which lies on the Congress of the United States, by suffering slavery, and kidnapping of people of color.

and selling them into slavery, to continue in the city of Washington, under their immediate government, to the disgrace of the United States, and of every State in the General Government, that does not instruct their members to use their endeavors to have that black stain removed from our country.

At a General Court, held at Warwick the 18th of May, 1652.

Whereas there is a common course practised among English men, to buy negroes to that end they may have them for service or slaves for ever: for the preventing of such practices among us, let it be ordered that no black mankind or white being shall be forced by covenant, bond or otherwise, to serve any man or his assigns longer than ten years, or until they come to be twenty-four years of age, if they be taken in under fourteen, from the time of their coming within the liberties of this Colony—at the end or term of ten years to set them free, as the manner is with English servants. And that man that will not let them go free, or shall sell them away elsewhere, to that end that they may be enslaved to others for a long time, he or they shall forfeit to the Colony 40 pounds."

To the credit of the members that enacted this law, I subjoin their names, on the record.

The general officers were John Smith, President. Thomas Olney, General Assistant from Providence. Samuel Gorton, from Warwick. John Geeen, General Recorder. Randal Holden, Treasurer. Hugh Bewett, Gen. Sergeant.

The Commissioners were, from Providence Robert Williams, Gregory Dexter, Richard Waterman, Thomas Harris, William Wickenden, and Hugh Bewett.—from Warwick, Samuel Gorton, John Dikes, John Smith, Randal Holden, John Green, Jr. and Ezekiel Holliman.

MARYLAND.—It may be expected, we think, that the legislature of this state, at the present session, will pass a strong law to prevent the introduction of slaves and the ingress of free persons of color, and also making liberal provisions for the colonization and comfort of such of the latter as shall be willing to remove to Africa.—*Niles*.

VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE.—*Free Negroes*.—A bill has passed the House of Delegates of Virginia, by a vote of 79 to 1, providing for the removal of the free

people of colour in that commonwealth. The bill appropriates for the object \$35,000 for the present year, and \$90,000 for the year 1833; and the emigrants to be transported to some place beyond the limits of the United States, left to the discretion of the Central Board. This Board is to consist of the Governor, Treasurer, and Auditor, *ex officio*, who are clothed with the power of appointing agencies at Norfolk, Petersburg, or other places.—*Nat. Intelligencer*.

THE SLAVE TRADE.—Some of the British vessels on the coast of Africa, being in pursuit of a slave vessel, the villains on board of her threw 180 slaves into the sea, manacled together, four of whom were picked up and saved. We hope that all nations will soon agree to regard this trade outlawed, so that the simple fact of being caught with slaves on board shall cause the death of every person engaged in the business. A few well-armed vessels would then soon end this infernal business,—and it must be seized with a strong hand.—*ib.*

Errors in the Census relating to the Slaves in the Free States.—In obedience to a late resolution of the House of Representatives of the United States, Mr. Livingston has given an explanation of the returns of the Census which represented several slaves, as living in some of the free states. Of the four in Massachusetts, one is said to be 100 years old or upwards, in the family of Joseph Cummings, of Andover, Essex County; and one of about the same age in the family of Prince Walker, in Barre, Worcester County. The other two were set down as slaves by mistake. The six returned as slaves in Maine are all free. The few slaves, who still remain in the Eastern States and other states, where slavery is not allowed, are those who are unable, through age or infirmity, to provide for their own support, and are allowed to depend upon their masters. There have been no slaves in Massachusetts for more than fifty years.

LEGISLATION IN NORTH CAROLINA.

For circulating seditious pamphlets, imprisonment, pillory, and whipping—for the second offence, death; for teaching a black to read or write, or to sell him books or pamphlets, subjects a white to a fine of 200 dollars, a free negro to fine, imprisonment, and whipping, and a slave to 39

lashes. Slaves may be emancipated if the owner gives bonds in a thousand dollars for each that they shall behave well while in the State, and leave it in ninety days never to return. If they neglect to leave, they are to be sold, and a legal title is assured to the purchaser.

The African colonists at Monrovia have established a reading room. Editors and others, friendly to the cause of education, are invited to forward papers and books for the use of the room.

VIRGINIA. The bill from the House of Delegates, appropriating \$35,000 for the present year, and \$90,000 for next year, to be applied to the removal, with their own consent, of the free colored people of Virginia, to some place without the jurisdiction of the United States, has been rejected in the Senate of that state.

PREMIUM FOR RICE.

The sum of TWENTY DOLLARS will be given as a premium, over and above the market price, for *Five Casks of Fresh Rice*, of good quality, raised by *Free Labor*, and delivered in Philadelphia, to *Charles Peirce*, before the first of June next, 1832.

The gentleman above named, is well known as a very respectable Grocer in Philadelphia, who has, for several years past, made it a particular business to keep articles in his line that are exclusively the production of *free labor*.

The premium, together with the market price, will be promptly paid, on the delivery of the Rice, accompanied by proper reference and vouchers from some respectable person who is known in Philadelphia.

THE GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION. Vol. XII.

The object and character of this work are well known. It has been published ten years, and circulated in all the States of this Union, in Canada, the West Indies, Europe and Africa. It is *exclusively* devoted to the subject of the *Abolition of Slavery*, on the American Continent and Islands.

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The work will, henceforth, be issued monthly. It will be neatly printed on fine paper, and folded in the octavo form, each number making sixteen large pages.

The price of subscription will be One Dollar per annum, *always to be paid in advance*.

Subscribers who do not particularly specify the time they wish to receive the work, or notify the Editor of a desire to discontinue it before the expiration of each current year, will be considered as engaged for the next succeeding one, and their bills will be forwarded accordingly.

Agents will be entitled to six copies for every five dollars remitted to the Editor, in current money of the United States.

All letters and communications intended for this office, must be addressed, free of expense, to BENJAMIN LUNDY, Washington, D. C.

 A few copies of the *Eleventh Volume*, complete, for sale.

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GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED BY B. LUNDY—PUBLISHED IN WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE—\$1.00 PER ANN.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights: that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration of Independence, U. S.*

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APRIL, 1832.

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TOUR IN UPPER CANADA.

In the last number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* we inserted a statement of the proceedings of the colored emigrants at the *Wilberforce Settlement*, in the province of Upper Canada. The writer, having travelled through that province, from Queenston to Detroit, and made many inquiries and observations, thinks it advisable to publish the result thereof, for the information of such as are now turning their eyes towards that region, as a place of refuge for the persecuted colored people of these States. As this tour was performed in the winter, however, there was no opportunity to judge of the quality of the soil, (except in a few instances,) but by the timber, shrubbery, &c., which could be seen above the snow. To supply the deficiency in personal observation, minute inquiry was very frequently made; and it is believed that this, together with a pretty general knowledge of the various growth that may be expected on light and heavy soils, has furnished the means of forming correct opinions, and drawing tolerably accurate conclusions, upon the particular point here adverted to. As much brevity has been used, in the narration, as would be consistent with a clear view of matters and things connected with the purposes of the tour;—though, upon some occasions, the reader may, at first, think that more simplicity has been indulged than was absolutely necessary.

The notes of this tour, commenced at Queenston, where the author arrived at the date first mentioned therein. We insert them as follows:—

Queenston, U. C., January 13th, 1832.

Having taken lodgings at Lewiston, N. Y. last evening, I crossed the river, to Queenston, immediately after breakfast, this morning. The weather had been severely cold, for several weeks past, and much ice was collected on the margin of the river. We had some difficulty in getting on the ferry boat,—but, at length, found ourselves safe on the Canada shore. I had scarcely put my trunk down, at the stage office door, when a man, of quite an ordinary appearance, stepped up to it, and, giving it a jerk one side, abruptly said, in a tone of authority: "Open that." I understood him—he was the Custom House officer, and it was his business to see that travellers do not smuggle goods into the province, under the appellation of "baggage," to defraud the revenue. Though I had nothing to sell, except a few incomplete volumes, or files, of my periodical work,

this expounder of the revenue laws (he was a Deputy) exacted about *seven dollars*, for duties and fees on a few books and pamphlets, with a little writing paper. I was afterwards told that the demand was illegal; but I had not, then, leisure to contest it.

It is known, to the intelligent reader, that Queenston is situated on the west bank of the Niagara river, about seven miles below the celebrated Falls, at the foot of what is called "the mountain," which extends from the head of Lake Ontario, in Upper Canada, far east, and parallel with the southern shore of said lake. This "mountain" is nothing more than the *old bank or margin of the Lake*; and there can be no doubt that the great Falls were once at the verge of this elevation, near the place where the village of Queenston now stands. In process of time, however, the water has cut away the earth and rock, for the space of *seven miles*! and it is still progressing—*slowly*, but *steadily*—towards the outlet of Lake Erie. The village of Queenston is tolerably well situated, and appears to be in a rather improving condition. There are a number of mercantile stores, some mechanics' shops and taverns, and a few public buildings; but there does not seem to be any very extensive business carried on there. Some of the buildings are of brick and stone; but a large proportion consist of wood. Before taking leave of the place, it should be mentioned, that the heights, back of Queenston, were the scene of an engagement between the United States and British armies, in the time of the last war; and that it was here the celebrated *General Brock* lost his life. His *monument* is erected near the spot where he fell, in a very conspicuous situation, from the top of which there is a grand view of the upper part of Lake Ontario, and the circumjacent country for a great distance around.

About the middle of the day, I got all things arranged, and took the stage, for Hamilton.—There being a sufficiency of snow, the stage-box was placed on runners, and we travelled on finely. The weather was moderate, and being desirous to note every thing of importance as we passed along, I took a *stand* with the driver, on the front of the vehicle.

Proceeding along near the foot of the "mountain," in a westerly direction, we have, on our right hand, a beautiful, level, and exceedingly fertile country, partly clothed with a thick forest, and partly chequered with fine farms,—and on

our left a stupendous ridge, of almost 300 feet perpendicular height, faced, in places, with a wall of limestone rock, on the summit of which straggling pines, scrubby oaks, and dwarf cedars, occasionally appear. (The traveller, who has crossed the "American Bottom," above Kaskaskia, in Illinois, has seen a good sample of this ridge, in the old bank of the Mississippi.) About three miles from Queenston, is situated the little village of St. Davids. There are a few neat houses here,—but not much business seems to be doing. Five miles further on, we come to Ten-Mile Creek. Here are a few scattering houses, giving the place the appearance of a village. It is, however, of little consequence. From thence, the distance is three miles to St. Catherines, where something more like business appears to be going on. We see nothing there, however, worthy of particular notice. The next place of note is Hamilton, situated near the head of Lake Ontario, and forty-eight miles west of Queenston. We arrived here about half past 8 o'clock in the evening, and took lodgings at a tolerably passable tavern, which is kept as a stage house.

The country, through which we passed to-day, exhibited a sameness of appearance, the whole distance. The fine and level alluvion, on our right, alternately presented heavy, dense forests, and numerous fields and improvements. The whole is clear of stone, as I was told, on the surface. The timber, on this tract, consists of oak, hickory, sugar maple, beach, ash, elm, bass, &c., &c., indicating a strong, rich soil. The appearance of the inhabitants, their style of building, improving farms, and general mode of living, is much like what we meet with in the western parts of New-York. A large proportion of them have, indeed, emigrated from the United States. Some English, Scotch, and Irish, are to be found among them. The white emigrants from the U. States are *all* termed "Yankees." The productions of the soil are about the same, here, as in New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, &c. The country being thickly settled, game is scarce.—Fish are plenty in the lakes and streams. The water is pure and wholesome. Land sells too high, in this section, for the poorer class of emigrants. The wealthy may find advantageous locations, for the investment of capital.

January 14th.

At day-light, this morning, I took a walk out, to view the town. Hamilton is, truly, a beautifully situated village. It is laid off on a kind of secondary elevation, a short distance from the foot of the "mountain," so often before alluded to. The plat of the town is delightful. There are some handsome buildings in the place, though not many for public uses. They have a neat Court House and Jail—several pretty good Inns—about a dozen mercantile stores—a fair proportion of

mechanics' shops, &c., &c. Two weekly newspapers are also issued. My stay was short, and I did not learn what encouragement is given to the arts and sciences; what attention paid to the education of youth; or what regulations exist relative to the duties of religion. The stage roads from Queenston and York to Detroit, here come together. This place is about equidistant from the two first mentioned. The stage runs daily in the summer, and tri-weekly in the winter, as far west as Brantford; and the mail is carried through to Detroit, three times a week. The country, around here, is said to be thickly settled, and many of the inhabitants wealthy. Situated near the lake, the advantages of commerce are great; and both town and country must improve.

Between 8 and 9 o'clock, in the morning, our stage driver notified the passengers that he was "ready to go." All of them huddled into the comfortable enclosure, but myself. I again took a *standing place*, with our Jehu,—from whence I could "see what was to be seen," as we traverse the "King's dominions." We now take the road towards Detroit, bearing a little more to the south of west, than before. The weather is tolerably good for the season. The snow is not as deep to the eastward. We soon find ourselves rising the "mountain;" and here we leave the beautiful alluvial country, bordering the lake. The road is good, up the hill, though the ascent is steep. The view of Burlington Bay, and the head of Lake Ontario, together with the vast extent of country adjacent, as we rise this prominence, is grand and sublime! On reaching the top of the hill, we have before us a different kind of a country from that we have just left. We have no "mountain" to descend, but are presented with fine level and beautifully rolling land, though the soil is, evidently, of a lighter color. There is a good deal of pine timber, mingled with the oak, &c. Proceeding about seven miles, we come to the village of Ancaster. In future it will, probably, be more noted for classical allusion, than any thing else—some little matter having occurred here, during the late war, which history recognizes. It is an insignificant place, and little note was taken of it. The land about here, is somewhat hilly, and lightly timbered—soil rather inferior, no doubt. We now proceed through a country considerably diversified, as respects to soil and settlement. In some places pine timber is very plenty; in others the general varieties of oak, &c., &c., prevail. Some particular sections are well watered and fertile, some are sandy and barren. There are numerous fine farms on the road.

After a few hours' ride, we come to the charming village of Brantford. This place is situated twenty-five miles west of Hamilton. It takes its name from *Brant's Ford*, across Grand River,

mediately in the neighborhood of the town. There is a large settlement of the Mohawk Indians.— They are quite a civilized people. They have a village, about two miles to the east of this place, where there is a Meeting for worship, at which an Episcopal Clergyman regularly officiates.— It is called the "Mohawk Parsonage." This place is the residence of the celebrated *Brant Family*, one of whom was, a short time since, returned as a member of the Provincial Parliament.— It appeared, however, that a few illegal votes were given for him, and his seat was denied him. But I heard several *white* persons remark, that if he offers again, as a candidate, he will, no doubt, be fairly elected. He is a full blooded Indian, well educated, and, as the white people say, "very much of the gentleman." Until now, I saw very few of the *African race* in Canada. A considerable number of them reside in Brantford.— There appears, also, to be a good deal of mixture of American, European, and African blood (but especially the two first) in this section of country. As the stage would not leave Brantford before the morning of the 16th, and being myself, a little unwell, I was detained at a public house. The accommodation was good.

January 15th.

This being the first day of the week, the places of business are closed, and all is still and quiet. On our arrival, yesterday, many Indians were in town, and a few of them staid about the taverns pretty late in the evening. Some of them, as well as the blacks and whites, drank quite freely; and I learn, this morning, that a fracas occurred in the landlord's bar-room, among the heterogeneous assemblage there. Having retired early, I knew nothing of it. The blame was thrown upon the "negroes," by the bar-keeper, who was a "Yankee" of "high pressure" prejudice, but it did not amount to much; and, to-day, very few Indians or blacks are to be seen in the public places.

By the way, it may not be amiss to observe, that the white emigrants, from the United States, retain all the prejudice, here, that they formerly had against the colored people in their native country. And the latter, being admitted to equal privileges with them, under this government, are accused of being "saucy." Perhaps there is some ground for the charge; for when we reflect that the colored people are now released from the shackles of degradation, and yet frequently provoked by the taunts, and gibes, and supercilious treatment, of the "Yankees," we need not wonder at their indulging their resentment, sometimes, so far, and even behaving with impropriety. But let the whites, themselves, clear their skirts of the charge of being "saucy," in their deportment towards the blacks, I apprehend that we shall hear no more of this kind of complaint. Indeed, if good REPUBLICANS choose to leave their

"free" government, where they can tyrannize over the colored man with impunity! and take up their abode among MONARCHISTS, where all are "free and equal!" they would act wisely to assume fewer airs, and submit, cheerfully, like good liege "subjects," to the regulations adopted by the government of their choice.

The village of Brantford is quite a neat and stirring little place. It has an Episcopal Church, and one or more schools. It is situated on the bank of the river, which is, here, a stream of some importance, though not navigable for large vessels. There is a handsome bridge erected over it, opposite the town. A grist-mill, running four pair of stones, is located within its limits; and several saw-mills are in operation, near by. There are about a dozen mercantile stores, (several of which, however, are very small,) a considerable number of mechanics' shops, that make a good appearance, and two pretty good taverns, in the village. They talk of cutting a Canal, from this place to intersect the Welland Canal, between the Lakes Erie and Ontario. The tout ensemble of the country, around, is handsome; but, from the appearance of the timber, &c., I incline to think the soil, on the uplands, is very light. The river bottoms are, no doubt, more fertile. The settlements on either side of the road, for some distance, are extensive, and quite dense. The inhabitants, beyond the Indian reservation, are a mixture of Europeans and Americans. A settlement of colored people is located a few miles to the north of this place, which goes by the name of Woolwich. There is said to be a considerable number of emigrants from the U. S. there; and they are represented as doing well.

January 16th.

The stage set out, pretty early this morning, for London C. H. in the direction of Detroit.— The weather had been mild, for a day or two, but was now cold and frosty. The snow was so light, that the sleighing was very poor. We crossed the river on the bridge, before mentioned, and went some distance up along its western bank.— Then, rising the hill, we took leave of it, and entered a level, thinly timbered, tract of country, through which we passed several miles, without meeting with a single house. The timber, here, consists, solely, of scrub oak. Scarcely a bush, of any other kind, is to be seen; and the land is, probably, a good deal sterile. The high lands, near the river, on either side, exhibit a rather dwarfish growth of timber, of various species.— Very little pine is met with in its vicinity. Oak, hickory, &c., predominates. There is, also, some hazel to be seen, in places. Although the general appearance is unfavorable to the idea of a fertile country, I was told that the land, for the most part, produces well. I noticed some stacks of very fine timothy hay, by the road side, and the corn stalks were large in some of the fields

that we passed by. About five or six miles west of Brantford, the land is, evidently, of a better quality. It becomes more rolling, better watered, and the timber is diversified. A little white pine is intermixed with it. Proceeding fifteen or twenty miles further still, we entered a very rich tract of country; and I learn that it extends a considerable distance in every direction. Oak, hickory, beech, ash, sugar tree, bass, elm, &c., are the prevailing kinds of timber. There is a little poplar, walnut, and cherry, and also some elder, and sumach, (but no pine,) in this particular section. The land lies exceedingly well; and the soil is unquestionably strong. The society of Friends have a settlement, at a place called Norwich, a little to the south of our road, and about twenty-five miles from Brantford. The country, through which we now pass, is newly and thinly settled; and the roads are bad.

At a distance of thirty miles from the last mentioned place, we come to a tavern and stage house. Here the country has been long settled. We see fine farms, and comfortable dwellings, as we pass along; and the land lies well for cultivation. It is also said to be of a good quality. We are now near the head waters of the river Thames, the principal branch of which flows within a mile of the stage house, just adverted to. The character of the inhabitants is much the same, in this part of Canada, as further to the eastward; and their general mode of living is, likewise, very similar. Five miles from the aforesaid stage house, we cross a fine stream, called Ingersoll's Creek. It falls into the Thames, a mile or more to the north of our road. This place has the appearance of a small village. They have a fine grist-mill, a saw-mill, a store, and sundry mechanics' shops; and I should suppose that a good deal of business is done there. Passing on, somewhat further, we have a view of the Thames. It may, here, be called a good large mill stream. Its banks are bold and dry; and its waters are clear and transparent. Its course is somewhat serpentine, yet our road, henceforth, keeps near it, occasionally, for a great distance. Although the river is too small to navigate, to much advantage, thus far, I was informed that logs are frequently rafted down it in the spring season. For a few miles back, we passed through a high, rolling section of country. The timber is of various kinds, among which a small proportion is white pine. We, here, see what is very uncommon—pine, beech, hickory, oak, ash, &c., mingled together. The inhabitants say the land is rich, and produces handsomely. A short distance further westward, our road leads us into a dense forest, exclusively of white pine. For miles, there is scarcely a stick of any other description in view. The mind of man can hardly imagine a more interesting wilderness scene, than is here presented to the eye of the tourist. The road very gradually

descends as it extends southwestward. The regular and elegant *wall of trees*, on either hand, whose spiral tops reach (seemingly) to the heavens—their beautiful evergreen hue—the deep impervious shade, beneath their small and straight yet intertwining branches—all, viewed together, appears at once pleasing, sublime, and solemn. Some of the trees are very large; and in no other place have I ever seen a forest so compact—such vast quantity of timber on any particular space of ground. After proceeding five or six miles, over a tract of country in which *stumps* are by far more numerous than *corn hills* should be! we lose the pine timber again, and find ourselves in a rich country of beautiful rolling land, well settled, and handsomely cultivated. We several times pass within sight of the river, which gradually increases in size as we proceed towards its mouth, but it is not yet navigable for vessels of burden. At about 7 o'clock in the evening, we arrived at the stage house of Hiram Martin, three miles south of London C. H. and sixty miles from Brantford. For a great part of the distance, the snow was light, (except in the woods,) and the roads were rough. The body of a curtained coach had been placed on sleigh runners, for the accommodation of our stage passengers; but, for my own part, I rode the whole day on the outside, standing all the while on my feet. The weather was mild, in the latter part of the day, and the snow melted considerably.

(To be continued.)

THE COLONY AT LIBERIA.

By a recent arrival from the American Colony in Africa, the "Liberia Herald," of December 22d, has been received in Washington. The following extract from an article in that paper (which we copy from the National Intelligencer) shows that our old friend, Russwurm, is betrayed into some errors, by his zeal in favor of African colonization. We must set him right.

"From late occurrences at the south, [the Virginia Insurrection, &c.,] which we deplore as much as any man possibly can, we are led to conclude that a new impulse will be given to the scheme of Colonization. *Facts speak louder than words*: and when we predicted, months before, that the late coercive measures, pursued by the State of Ohio, would have to be adopted by the free states, we were laughed at by many who were opposed to emigration. But how stand the facts at present? Ohio has put her prohibitory laws, which were suffered to go unenforced, in operation, and the rest of the free states will shortly follow her example. And where, then, will the thousands of free persons of color, and the thousands of slaves, whose masters stand ready to free them, flee for shelter? Can they go to Canada? It is folly to think, much more to say so. Can they, will they flee to Hayti? The experiment has been already tried, and hundreds have returned back, with these words in their mouths: 'If we are to be slaves, let us slaves in America.'"

It is difficult to find, in all the Journals under the darkest prejudice, or the rankest slavite influence, a more distorted and erroneous view of things, in as few words, than is here given. Had the editor of the Herald been a *South Carolina* planter, instead of the conductor of a free *African Press*—had he been an American slaveholder, instead of a pioneer in the great work of African emancipation, and African improvement,—we should not have wondered at his using the language here quoted; for, in that case, he would be anxious to send all the free colored people to Africa, out of his way. But that he (a man of color himself) should give currency to statements so utterly untrue, and, with seeming approbation, circulate the odious doctrines and foul slanders, invented and propagated by despotic knaves, to injure the people of color,—is almost incredible. We can make all due allowance for his ignorance of what is doing here, occasioned by the distance of his location, and the consequent inconvenience of procuring correct information. But this will not wholly screen him from the charge of unfairness. He may not know that Ohio has not “put her odious prohibitory laws, which were suffered to go unenforced, into operation.” He may not know that, (whatever a few persons, surcharged with the tyranny and cowardice of prejudice, may have said)—not a single free state has yet shut its doors against the suffering exiles from the south, nor fully evinced the disposition to do so.* But he does know that the language he quotes, respecting the emigration to Hayti, is absurd and ridiculous—that it carries a glaring falsehood on its face,—that it has been refuted a thousand times.—“Slaves,” in Hayti!!! That an intelligent man, like John B. Russwurm, should quote such language, approvingly, at this day, is astonishing.—It is little better than a wilful perversion of truth. It is moral treason against the cause of his colored brethren. The emigrants to Hayti are doing well. Those who talked of slavery, there, were mostly the drunken vagabonds from New-York, Philadelphia, &c. whose vagrancy was discouraged and punished.

We are not surprised to perceive that such editors as those of the “*National Intelligencer*,” select stuff like the foregoing for the palates of their readers. The proverb: “It is my vocation, Hal,” applies to them, in cases of this nature. But that the ignorant dunces should have copied from an *African paper*, what they should have known to be false information, respecting *American affairs!* is amusing, though quite in character.

It is gratifying to us, in common with every well wisher of the descendants of Africans, to learn that those who have been so enterprising as to establish a colony in the land of their remote

* Some new propositions have, it is true, been introduced into the Legislature of Pennsylvania and Ohio; but they could not in either case, obtain a majority to act upon them.

ancestors, are doing well. But it is folly to expect that all of those who wish to remove from this country, will consent to go thither. If many leave these states, they must have places to locate themselves *much nearer at hand*. They must, also, have a choice of country and clime. Vain will be the attempt to promote an extensive emigration, upon any other principle. And it is an absolute fact that Canada will suit our *northern*, and Mexico and Hayti our *southern*, colored people, generally, much better than any portion of Africa. In either of those countries they will be considered “free and equal” with all others; and, if orderly and industrious, may soon become respectable and wealthy citizens.

The following very flattering account of Monrovia, is extracted from the statement of Captain William Abels, of the schooner *Margaret Mercer*, lately returned from a voyage to Africa. He arrived there on the 14th of December, and was detained about thirteen days. We make no comment.

“There are about two hundred buildings in the town of Monrovia, extending along the cape Montserado, not far from a mile and a quarter. Most of these are good substantial houses and stores, (the first story of many of them being of stone,) and some of them handsome, spacious, painted, and with Venitian blinds. Nothing struck me as more remarkable than the great superiority, in intelligence, manners, conversation, dress, and general appearance in every respect, of the people over their colored brethren in America. [Was Capt. Abels ever in Hayti?] So much was I pleased with what I saw, that I observed to the people, should I make a true report it would hardly be credited in the U. States. Among all that I conversed with, I did not find a discontented person, or hear one express a desire to return to America. I saw no intemperance, nor did I hear a profane word uttered by any one.”

MORE “LIBELLING!”—DOINGS AT WASHINGTON!!

Every reader of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* knows that the editor has been, several months, from home. Due allowance will, therefore, be made, for any seeming neglect in promptly noticing occurrences in the District of Columbia, and places contiguous. He has, at present, very important objects in view, which require his attention abroad for the space of a few months to come. The *Enemies of Freedom* have permission, of course, to make what use of his name they please—for a time.

Briefly: I am subjected to the charge of another “LIBEL,” for pleading the cause of the oppressed! The “penalty” will, probably, be inflicted when I tread the soil, “sacred to Liberty”—the City of WASHINGTON!!!

What grounds the advocates of slavery have taken, in this proceeding against me, I do not precisely know. If my health continues, they shall have an opportunity to put their laws in force,

and punish me for any thing I have done amiss, before many months elapse. But they must not think that I am to be diverted from my course, by their *idle bravado*. The "authorities" in *Baltimore* have not yet put their threats in execution against me, though I have passed through the city *six or seven times*, spending a day or two at a time, and walking the streets as inclination or business dictated. And if the slavite gentry, in Washington, think to *frighten me, by persecuting me in my absence!* they will find themselves **MISTAKEN**. They must incur a little more responsibility, if they succeed in this business.

The information that I have upon this subject, is contained in a letter from a friend at Washington, received a short time since. He informs me that the *Grand Jury* had made out a bill of indictment against me—that the *Marshal* had been in search of me—that the spirit of opposition to every thing like emancipation ran high—that the Abolition Society had not met for some time—that consternation prevailed, every where, at the period of the Southampton Insurrection, &c., &c. It was *natural* to expect something of this, during the heavings of the great southern volcano.—The people will not think, until they are *compelled*,—and then they think at random! They refuse to examine this momentous subject, while they may do it in calmness and tranquillity; and when the storm approaches—which must in the nature of things be looked for—they seek any kind of shelter, and *push at any one*, that may happen to be within their reach. Yet, I am well aware that the great and important work of reformation will progress. I shall not slacken my exertions for the moral and political salvation of my country, and the freedom and safety of every class of its inhabitants, while the vital spark shall animate this bosom: and if I must even submit to *martyrdom*, in the cause of **FREEDOM AND JUSTICE**, it will be some consolation to lay down my life beside the **TOMB OF WASHINGTON**. The *thoughtless* creatures, who call me a "fanatic," I despise—the *tyrants*, who persecute me, I scorn and detest. Of popularity-hunters (though in power) I ask *no favors*, for their whole soul is wrapt up in *self*. To the **PEOPLE** I look for protection, for the cause I advocate is **THEIRS**. I suggest no idea, advance no opinion, promulgate no doctrine, that I do not *know* to be strictly in accordance with their best interests, and the fundamental principles of our democratic government; and if they are, notwithstanding, disposed to *sacrifice me*, on the altar of prejudice, ignorance, and tyranny, under the shining rays of their Christian profession, and beneath the gilded dome of their republican edifice, they may prepare the *pile* and the *faggots*—I shall soon be *ready for them*.

The following paragraph is extracted from the

letter above alluded to. Had the *Hon. John Quincy Adams* been present, and witnessed the scene here described, would he still have refused to "advocate" the abolition of that horrible system which is productive of such outrageous, *demoniac* practices? Would the *Hon. Philip Doddridge* have suffered his name to be attached to a Congressional "Report," upon that system, which virtually *sanctions these horrors*, and disgraces the nation? *Charity* whispers: "They are ignorant of all this."

"Some of our citizens went almost crazy, during the period of the Southampton Insurrection. We had *Patrols* out, armed with *two pieces of cannon*, guns, pistols, swords, daggers, clubs, and *whiskey!* Many outrages were committed. Colored people, coming to town, with market carts, before day, were cruelly beaten, dragged to lock-up houses, by lawless ruffians, and the carts robbed of apples, peaches, chickens, &c., &c., and often the colored people had to *hold up the drunken wretches who conveyed them to prison!* One colored man, (a hack driver,) whose wife was in a state of confinement, attempted to go to Georgetown for the midwife. He was attacked by the *Patrol*, knocked to the ground, and inhumanly beaten. He begged permission, on his knees, to go on his errand, or return to his wife. The drunken savages would let him do neither, but *dragged him to prison*—and in the morning **HIS WIFE WAS FOUND DEAD!!!"**

Was ever such diabolical conduct practised in a truly Christian country? Will the *American people* long permit the enactment of such deeds of refined cruelty on the soil dedicated to **FREEDOM**—the "District," consecrated as the **NATIONAL DOMAIN**—where the principles of **JUSTICE, LIBERTY, and EQUAL RIGHTS**, are avowed and *professedly* maintained? Forbid it, Heaven! This state of things cannot, *will not*, last. An *Adams* and a *Doddridge* may invoke the god of popularity—they may propitiate the Genius of Despotism, for purposes which their judgments even approve—they may strive to quench the generous flame, enkindled in the breasts of the *ten thousands* who "have not bowed the knee" to the "Baal" of popular delusion, or the "Moloch" of African slavery—they may bask in the smiles of hereditary "republican" lordlings, or list to the plaudits of "dough-faced" politicians, whose souls are encased with brass; whose eyes are be dimmed with meal; whose tongues are under the hammer of the auctioneer!—But there is a *redeeming spirit* in the **YOUTHFUL ENTERPRISE** of this Nation. Ere the few years shall have elapsed, when those statesmen, who now figure in the ascendant, shall be "gathered to the tombs of their ancestors," an important revolution in public opinion may be calculated on, that shall put the legitimacy of the present doctrines to the severest test of public scrutiny. The "let-alone policy"

may now be orthodox, with the unreflecting,—but a “protective system” will soon be called for, that shall PROTECT man and woman (though their skins be dark) in the enjoyment of “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”

THEIR EYES ARE OPENING.

It has been one of the prime objects of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, to advocate the doctrine that FREE LABOR is more valuable than that of SLAVES. Many of our southern friends, having become fully satisfied of the truth of this, and also that they may, with safety, abolish the slave system, are promulgating the same sentiments, and zealously urging the adoption of measures that shall, eventually, produce the desired change. We have, several times, copied detached paragraphs from the “Constitutional Whig,” published at Richmond, Virginia. This paper exercises a high degree of influence in a large portion of the state; and the opinions advanced therein, will have great weight with the citizens thereof. The editor of that paper lately undertook to show that the great southern excitement, relative to the Tariff, had its origin in the evils connected with SLAVERY. This is an absolute fact, which the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* long since predicted would be seen and acknowledged by our statesmen. The language of the Whig is so much to the point, we copy it as follows:—

“Slavery is not only a million of degrees more ruinous to the prosperity of the south than the Tariff, but it is the very cause which makes the Tariff itself oppressive—if it be oppressive, which we do not see, and do not believe. Is not the entire non-slaveholding quarter of the Union flourishing under the Tariff to an extent without any parallel in the history of the world? Would prosperity cease precisely at the Ohio and at Mason and Dixon’s Line, and decay begin, if slavery did not exert an influence to produce it?” * * * *

“This truth is too striking to be overlooked—too important to be neglected—too invincible to be combated. The people of Virginia, if they have not already, will see, acknowledge, and avail themselves of it.”

It is truly pleasing to perceive, that southern politicians, as well as moralists and religious professors, are becoming sensible of the truth of such opinions as are here inculcated. Americans, generally, will also, in due time, be impressed with the positive certainty of another important political axiom, which we have before offered to their consideration, viz. That every contest relative to the election of a President of the U. States, for many years past, has turned upon that great pivot, the question of Slavery. It will likewise, as a matter of course, have a decided bearing upon future contests, of this nature, while it continues to exist in this republic. We shall not, however, dwell upon this topic, now. “Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.”

But, to return from this brief digression. We put the question, fairly and candidly, to our southern friends: If the advantages of a system of free labor are now apparent, in the grain-growing sections of our country, why should not similar advantages result from the adoption of this same system, in the sugar, rice, and cotton districts? This is an important query—one that should engage the attention of every citizen. It is not difficult of solution. On the contrary, we can avail ourselves of the light of experience, in addition to reason, philosophy, and common sense. It has, indeed, been proven, to the satisfaction of many, that the advantages are equally great, in the one case, as in the other; and when the conductors of the American Press shall make it their duty to collect facts and disseminate information upon this interesting subject, we shall soon witness the commencement of a revolution in public sentiment, generally, to which even that occasioned by the invention of the steam engine will bear no comparison. We shall indulge the hope, that the day is not far distant, when these things will more particularly engage the attention of all.

LEGISLATIVE MOVEMENTS IN VIRGINIA.

It appears, from the proceedings of the Virginia Legislature, that the members of that body are not yet quite prepared to adopt efficient measures for the prevention of trouble with the slave population. They talk of the “free negroes,” “African colonization,” &c., &c., but the slaves—from whom, only, can they experience either difficulty or danger—they must not be meddled with!—they are “property,” and the “owner” may “do what he pleases with it!”—Although it is known to be more dangerous than gunpowder—more destructive than the pestilence—yet it must be let alone! It is to be hoped, however, that this state of things cannot last long. Some of the newspapers, and particularly the Richmond *Whig*, continue to urge upon the attention of the people and their representatives further and more important measures that shall finally abolish the slave system, wholly and totally. Let these patriotic philanthropists still extend their efforts, and the public mind will soon be sufficiently enlightened—they must, eventually, succeed.

We learn that a bill passed the House of Delegates, at the late session, appropriating the sum of \$35,000 for the present year, and \$90,000 for the year 1833, towards the removal of free colored persons from that Commonwealth. They must be transported to “some place beyond the limits of the United States,” which place shall be designated by a “Central Board,” consisting of the Governor, Treasurer, and Auditor, *ex officio*, who are authorised to appoint agencies, &c. From this, it would seem that some of the Virginia statesmen begin to entertain doubts of the practicability of removing all the colored people to Africa. That

doctrine, which is nothing less than *infatuation*, itself, has had its day. If the people of our southern states will encourage the emigration of the slaves to Canada, Mexico, and Hayti, as well as to Africa, and take effectual measures to emancipate as fast as they are willing to go, they may do something to the purpose in this way. Let them, however, *emancipate beforehand*, in order to prepare them for the change of location. There will not be the least danger in it, if suitable regulations are made, by law, to restrict the ignorant, and prevent vagrancy. It will, indeed, be the *safest* plan, that can possibly be devised, for the salvation of the slaveholding portion of this Union. No insurrections need be apprehended, if measures are adopted for the abolition of slavery.

PROCEEDINGS IN MARYLAND.

The deep agitation, relative to the slave question in Virginia, has roused the people of Maryland. The majority of those who have held the reins of authority, in the latter State, have proceeded, hitherto, upon as *despotic* a principle as any section of the United States has ever done:—but the *voice of the people* will, ere long, drown the vociferations of a corrupt, and effeminate, and *degraded* aristocracy. The great volcano heaves mightily, at present; and it would seem that the statesmen of Maryland are determined to keep a little in advance of those of Virginia, in retreating from the fiery crater, though they, evidently, wait for the latter to sound the tocsin of alarm, and point the direction of its burning lava! We hope the Maryland politicians will, at least, evince as much *wisdom*, in future, as they have heretofore done—keeping ahead of the States, farther south, in the good work. (And we might hope as much for “little Delaware,” had she not fully acknowledged, by a tacit acquiescence in the decisions of her *southern neighbors*, that she has but “little” mind of her own, relative to this subject.)

It appears that, although the Bill, reported in the Virginia House of Delegates, appropriating \$35,000 the first year, and \$50,000 the second, for the removal of free colored persons, &c., *did not pass*, the Legislature of Maryland has appropriated the sum of \$200,000 a year, for this purpose. This is *going ahead* cleverly!—and it may be presumed that, when Virginia shall determine on a *remote* extinction of the slave system, in that Commonwealth, Maryland will occupy the ground that Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, &c., now do. Delaware will agree to the regulation of the latter, *pro forma*—there will be no help for her! The “dough-faced gentry” of the north, will then, also, agree to admit the *District of Columbia* (a “Commonwealth” in itself, of much more “importance” than a *State*!) to a participation in the

privileges, honors, and happiness of a free community.

We have not had leisure (while travelling) to notice the proceedings, in detail, of either of the above mentioned States. It is certain, however, that the most outrageous propositions were made to the Legislatures of Virginia and Maryland, and received the sanction of sundry members. But a majority could not be found to echo the sentiments of the most violent, and a sort of compromise was effected, that will, merely, *prepare the way* for something of importance. While a certain bill was pending in the House of Delegates of Maryland, relative to the subject before us, a Memorial was forwarded from the city of Baltimore, which we here present to the reader. It is pleasing to perceive that the friends of our cause, in that place, have had the courage to speak out upon the occasion, surrounded, as they have been, by the *bristles* of the slavites.

MEMORIAL.

To the Honorable the General Assembly of Maryland.

The Memorial of the undersigned, citizens of Maryland, and inhabitants of the city of Baltimore, respectfully shows, that in the opinion of your memorialists, the time has arrived for your honorable body to act decisively, on a subject which involves the honor and welfare of their country, no less than the well being and happiness of a race that demands the deepest sympathy and consideration.

Your Memorialists are fully aware, that the subject of Slavery presents difficulties of extraordinary magnitude, and ought to be approached with caution, but they are confident that a way can be provided, consistent with justice and humanity, for the mitigation and removal of its evils.

Your Memorialists believe a provision for legal enactment for gradual abolition to be the most equitable, and only effectual remedy for the evil of Slavery. And this your Memorialists deem no idle speculation. The practicability of the plan has been proved by actual experiment in many of the States, and no evil consequences have resulted.

Your Memorialists deem it unnecessary, this day, and before an assembly of American Legislators, to show the injustice of Slavery—its unholy character is admitted, with few exceptions, by all enlightened minds that have seriously reflected upon it; nor do they consider it necessary to dwell upon its injurious effects, for these have been too sensibly felt.

Your Memorialists believe that quiet and security will be best promoted by the extension of Emancipation, while on the other hand, these will be endangered, by every provision which may be intended to rivet more firmly the fetters of Slavery. The improved condition and brightened prospects of the free black, together with the property which by their own industry has acquired, afford a guaran-

free for his orderly and peaceful demeanor, but too strongly in contrast with the danger which must ever be apprehended from the Slaves, where they are numerous, and all hope of obtaining the rights which nature itself teaches them are theirs, shall have been cut off. The awful massacre at Southampton was not the work of free blacks, nor have they been in any way implicated in its guilt—degraded and depraved slaves alone, were the brutal perpetrators.

Your Memorialists entertaining the views which they have here expressed, cannot but regard with deep solicitude the proposition now before your Honorable body, to prohibit manumission except on condition of removal to Africa, or some other place out of the state. To the friends of humanity generally, and to the friends of colonization in particular, it might be supposed the very agitation of such a measure would be unwelcome. Its adoption by giving a compulsory, and therefore an odious, character to the colonization scheme, would only increase the prejudice against it, already wide spread among the Blacks, and in all probability put an end to voluntary emigration. To those who from friendship for the Colonization Society, may advocate the prohibitory measure now before your honorable body, your Memorialists would respectfully say—Let a generation grow up on the soil of their nativity, let there be seen what time is wanting to show the example of a well ordered, well governed community there—in the meantime, let every thing be done here by facilitating emancipation, and by affording the advantages of a plain education, and all will be accomplished towards the removal of the black population that is practicable consistently with justice and humanity.

Your Memorialists believing that Slavery cannot be interminable, that the day is approaching when the light of divine truth will shine with yet brighter lustre, and men boasting of freedom will no longer enslave their fellow men, but obeying the Heavenly injunction will “undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free,” cannot but be desirous that the blessings of mental cultivation should be extended to the now neglected African. Education may make a villain more accomplished, but its almost invariable effect is to soften and humanize the character. Under its happy influence, the slave would become a better servant, and at the same time be better qualified to provide for himself when emancipated.

Your Memorialists do therefore respectfully pray, that a law may be passed by your Honorable Body, providing that all Slaves, born on or after the 4th day of July, 1782, shall be free on their attaining,—males, the age of twenty-eight years, and females, the age of twenty-one years—with a further proviso, that unless they are taught to read—males before they attain the age of twenty-one years, and females, the age of eighteen years—they shall

be free on their arriving at those ages respectively.

We are pleased to learn, by a hasty glance at the law of the State, as at last enacted, that the removal of colored persons, therein provided for, is *not confined to Africa*. The first clause in the act states that the persons authorized shall “remove from the state of Maryland the people of color now free, and such as shall hereafter become so, to the colony of Liberia in Africa, or such other place or places, out of the limits of this State, as they may approve of, and the person or persons so to be removed shall consent to go to,” &c. The law, here alluded to, possesses many very objectionable features; but we have not room to point them out at present.

SLAVE INSURRECTIONS IN JAMAICA.

It is known to our readers that the British Government, being fully satisfied of the practicability of abolishing the system of Slavery in its West India Colonies, has some time since, taken measures preparatory thereto, and demanded of the colonists the establishment of regulations in accordance. But, it appears that the demoniac spirit of oppression had too strong a foothold in their callous hearts, and that they did not comply with the requisition until the blacks, being painfully wearied, and their patience exhausted, determined to take the matter in *their own hands*, and raised a formidable rebellion against the local authorities. This was, undoubtedly, their *motive*; yet every act of insubordination was, of course, considered an offence against the General Government, and must be punished, accordingly. By the latest accounts, at the time of writing this article, the commotion had, in a great measure subsided; but, still great apprehensions were felt for the future. The *Tyrants* will not yield while a possibility exists of holding on to the *rod*, and the oppressed are determined that they *shall wield it no longer*. The following is extracted from a late newspaper. This is the “*wages*” of oppression!

“JAMAICA. We have awful details of the late proceedings of the slaves in this island. One hundred and fifty estates had been laid waste by fire—some of them the most extensive in the island—and the whole damage, from this cause, is put down at *fifteen millions of dollars*! More than *two thousand* slaves had been killed or executed—hung up by scores, and without much ceremony, or shot down at sight; and a great number had been flogged *a la militaire*.”

“A Kingston paper, of Jan. 27, says: “It is evident that the neck of the rebellion is bro-

ken; but whether the measures that have been pursued [*a compromise?*] will induce the rebels who have taken shelter in the woods to return to duty, or not, time only can show."

RETROSPECTION.

It may frequently be profitable for us to look back upon the scenes, connected with our past labors; and even to moralize a little upon their results. The editor of this work has ever steadily pursued the one grand object which first engaged his attention. More than *ten years* have elapsed, since he unfurled the broad banner, upon which was inscribed the significant motto of "*Universal Emancipation*," in the SLAVE-HOLDING SECTION of the United States. Nearly the whole of that period has been rife with difficulty and trouble. Apathy, of the most chilling character, on the one hand,—and slander, persecution, and abuse, without measure, on the other,—comprised a part of the discouragements to contend against, and the obstacles to surmount. For a long time, the public Press was comparatively silent; or, if heard at all, it was generally in a tone of condemnation of what was denominated the "enthusiastic," the "fanatical," or the "*incendiary*" course pursued! But what is the state of affairs at present? There are now *hundreds* of zealous advocates, *warmly* enlisted in the good cause. The icy barriers of unconcern are dissolved, and hearts once ossified by the unnatural congelation, are pouring forth the streams of sympathy and ardent entreaty.—The Press has burst the bonds that held it in durance, and scorning the Tyrant's control, dares to promulgate the TRUTH, in defiance of all the power and malignity of Despotism. The statesmen of the slaveholding region have caught the spirit of the times; and the halls of legislation resound with the same "enthusiastic" language—the same "fanatical" propositions—the same "*incendiary*" expression of opinion, &c., that were, *very recently*, made the basis of charges, subjecting the writer of this to the harshest denunciations, to pecuniary penalties, and to the most violent personal abuse! These things are worthy of record. They shall be treasured up for future use.

The foregoing reflections were occasioned by the perusal of a letter, very recently, from a friend in the state of New-York. From the following extract, it would appear that *some persons*, at a distance, are attentive ob-

servers of what transpires, relative to this momentous subject. It is to be hoped that they will still take an interest in the proceedings calculated to extricate us from the evils of the "accursed system," and *lend us a helping hand*, when occasion may require.

"The very doctrines thou hast promulgated for years, in the Genius of Universal Emancipation, and which would, a short time since, have cost thee thy head, in Virginia, are now proclaimed on the floor of their Capitol, by statesmen of the first talents. Too much cannot be said in praise of this nobleness of soul, exhibited by them. Slaves and Abolitionists, are, indeed, now unanimous in the opinion, that "*something must be done*"—that they are on the surface of a tremendous volcano, which ere long must swallow up all that is lovely in the 'old dominion, unless prompt measures be taken to avert the catastrophe."

"NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY."

An Institution has been lately organized at Boston, with the above title. We have not seen its Constitution—but hope it may be more successful than the *thousand and one* associations, formed for similar purposes, in various parts of the United States, within the last thirty or forty years. These have, indeed, been very useful—they have done much good—but, like other good things, they have generally been too *short-lived*. Hitherto they have, for the most part, been founded on a basis very different from that of Missionary, Temperance, and Colonization Societies. They have, in very few instances, made any permanent regulation to obtain and employ funds. It is presumed that the Society recently established, as above mentioned, will proceed more upon the principle of those just enumerated, in this respect. Should it acquire considerable funds, and establish auxiliaries, *and go to work in good earnest*, success will, no doubt, attend it. It is very desirable that the experiment should be made. But the principal branch of such an Institution should be located farther to the South—at least as far as New-York, or Philadelphia. When the "national" feeling shall be a little more enlisted in the good cause, the *seat of the general government* will be the proper place for its permanent establishment.

EMANCIPATION.

The Savannah "*Georgian*" states that Dr. J. Bradley, of Oglethorpe Co., recently emancipated 40 slaves and sent them to Liberia.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF FREE LABOR.

Could the legislatures of our slaveholding states prevailed upon to offer the sum of "\$35,000" a premium, to induce about 35 planters, in the South, to change their plan of *coercive labor*, for one more consistent with reason and the nature of man,—it would do thirty-five thousand times as much good, as to expend that sum in transporting the blacks to foreign countries. There would be more impropriety in making such an appropriation, than in adopting a *tariff of duties* on foreign merchandise, to protect our infant Manufactures. It would enable them to defray the little extra expense in changing their plan, (the destruction of their "property," &c., and the substitution of a more improved food and clothing, at first,) and, in a short time, they would find it operating vastly to their advantage. Instead of the necessity of doubling the premium, for a second year, (with the further prospect of doubling annually!) it might then be reduced at least one half—and after a certain period, the business would "protect" itself.

"FREE SUGAR AND MOLASSES."

Under this head a correspondent of the Liberator states the fact, that works are in progress at Merry, N. H., "for preparing, on a large scale, sugar and molasses from potatoes, which are worth at the spot 17 cents per bushel. It is calculated that a nett profit of 20 cents per bushel will be made. One bushel will yield 7 lbs. of sugar." The last number of Silliman's Journal gives the process of manufacturing sugar from potatoes.

Let the Slavites look out! "Diana of the Ephesians" is in great danger!

MARYLAND LEGISLATURE.

In a preceding page we briefly adverted to the proceedings in the Maryland Legislature in reference to the free people of color resident in that State. Since those remarks were in type, we had the following abstract or analysis of the laws on this question running the rounds of the Press, and for a matter of information, have laid them before our readers, until such time as our leisure (as herebefore intimated) will enable us to examine the provisions of these acts more thoroughly.

FREE NEGROES IN MARYLAND.

Since the request which we made the other day to the Editors of the Baltimore American, asking information relative to this law, (or rather these laws, for there are two of them,) a friend has shown us the Baltimore Patriot, containing them at full length. They together occupy, in that paper, about three columns and a quarter. We avail ourselves of the following abstract, which we find in the Richmond Whig:

The first is entitled An Act relating

to the people of color. It appropriates twenty thousand dollars, and authorizes a loan, not exceeding two hundred thousand dollars, and places these sums at the disposal of the Commissioners, to be applied to the removal of people of color, now free, or who may hereafter become so, to Liberia, or elsewhere, with their consent, and to provide for their support after such removal, as far as may be necessary in the opinion of the Commissioners. It requires that, in all cases of manumission, the person liberated shall be removed beyond the limits of the State, with or without the consent of such person, but the option is given to renounce the right to freedom and to remain a slave, and authority is vested in the Orphans' Court, to grant permission, from year to year, to such persons as it deems worthy of it, to remain in the State. The Commissioners are also authorised in their discretion, to hire out such manumitted slaves, until their wages shall produce a sum sufficient to defray the expenses attending their removal, and necessary support at the place of removal.

The second is entitled An Act relating to free negroes and slaves. It prohibits the removal of any free negro or mulatto into the State. It provides that, if any such shall come into, and shall remain ten days in the State, they shall be subject to a fine of fifty dollars for every week they shall remain, and authorises a sale for such time as may be necessary to pay the penalty. It prohibits, under a penalty, the employing any such free negro or mulatto, but excludes from its operation, mariners and drivers of wagons from neighboring States, or servants travelling with their masters.

It prohibits the bringing slaves into the State for sale, after the first day of June next, under the penalty of forfeiture of the slaves, and a provision is made for their removal to Liberia, or elsewhere beyond the limits of the State, with a provision reserving former rights to proprietors of islands in the Potomac, and to authorise any one owning tracts of land in Maryland and other adjoining States within ten miles of each other, to remove slaves from one tract to another, for purposes of cultivation.

There are various other provisions relating to keeping arms, attending religious worship, buying and selling, &c., which we do not consider of consequence here to specify.

Ladies' Repository.

Philanthropic and Literary.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

FEMALES IN THE UNITED STATES.

"Think of these things, and act as your feelings and judgment dictate."

In the United States and the Territories there are 6,329,545 female inhabitants. This is the amount given by the census of 1830. Of this number, 5,167,299 are protected in the possession of the rights and privileges that belong to them, both as human beings and as females. These are Free White Persons.

Another portion consists of 996,284 individuals. The following is a short description of their condition.

Their limbs and flesh are not their own property. The laws declare them to belong to other persons. They may be sold at the pleasure of their owners, either by private bargain or by public auction; or they may be seized and sold to defray the debts of their masters.

They may be purchased by regular dealers in human flesh, and hawked about the country for sale, manacled and driven in herds; or they may, without the shadow of an offence, be thrust into prison, to be released by becoming the property of some fresh purchaser.

Against this system of sale and transfer to distant parts of the country, they have no protection. The authority of the Parent is powerless to rescue his daughter from the fangs of the ruffian who has torn her shrieking from his clasp; and the power of the husband, son, or brother, is equally unavailing. They dare not offer the slightest resistance, on the peril of their lives, to the hand that would separate them. She may at any moment be torn from them for ever.

The maternal tie is of no more avail; as they themselves are not their own property, so neither are their children. They may be at all ages taken from their mother and sold to different persons. Her affection cannot shield them.

They may, whenever their master or mistress sees proper to order the infliction of that punishment, be lacerated by scourging with the horse-whip.

They must submit to be drudges of the lowest order; they may be made to toil with men, and as men, at the most laborious employments, without being themselves benefitted by their labor.

They cannot devote themselves to the duties of their household; their time is not under their own control; therefore they cannot fill properly the station of a wife.

They are compelled to remain in gross ignorance; therefore they must be incompetent to

perform a mother's duties in the education of their children.

They are not suffered to acquire the ability of reading even the doctrines of the christian religion. They are not allowed, except under very limited restrictions, even to join in public worship. They have but few opportunities for instruction of any kind. They are morally as well as mentally ignorant. Their food and clothing are of the meanest sort; and the supplies allowed them of both are sometimes exceeding scanty. We will briefly recapitulate our positions. They may be torn from all they love; sold; scourged; tasked to the utmost of their strength; driven out by the horsewhip to the labors of the field; they are ignorant; degraded; not suffered to become enlightened; they receive no compensation for their years of toil but a bare sustenance; they are classed only with the household chattel or the unreasoning brute. They are *Slaves*.

The remaining number, 165,962, are nominally free; but they do actually suffer from a species, we may so term it, of reflected slavery. The shadow of that great Upas tree falls upon them like a brandmark of scorn, deepening the darkness of their cheeks to a stain of ignominy. The prejudice of others is their tyrant, and though he may not scourge them with whips, or bind them with fetters, they suffer most severely the penalties of his unlawful ban. Their color too, in the regions of Slavery, frequently endangers them being kidnapped, torn from their families and friends, and sold into perpetual bondage.

Such are the three principal classes into which the females of the United States are divided. Those who compose the second portion, suffer under a system of oppression, of which the sketch we have drawn, is only the bare outline. Some of them are, doubtless, treated with as much lenity as the nature of their bondage will admit of. Others are doomed to drain the flowing cup of wretchedness to the last drop of its bitter dregs; to endure all the sufferings inflicted by merciless tyranny. And that all are not used with barbarous inhumanity is owing to no merit in their condition; to no protection that the laws afford them; it depends only upon the character of their possessors and is attended with no certainty of continuance. The Slave system is hideous in its fairest aspect. It sanctions or conceals the most impious injustice, and the most savage cruelty. Why does it permit to disgrace our country with its villainess? Why are so many hundred thousand female victims made to suffer beneath its oppression? Is it not because of the hardheartedness of their sisters? Because they who are free and happy themselves, take no thought for the wrongs of those who are pining in bondage? There can be no doubt that the free females in the United States, do possess sufficient moral influence, if

was properly exerted, to effect the utter destruction of Slavery in our country; or at least so to prepare the way for such an event, that it would be attended with no difficulty. But some of them, alas! are themselves guilty of numbering human limbs among their possessions; most of them are supporters of the system which authorizes that guilt. They have not endeavored to loosen the fetters of their sister. They have not expressed their abhorrence of her servitude in such a manner as to carry conviction of their sincerity. They are provided by her bondage with many of their daily comforts. They expend their money in strengthening her chains. Are they guiltless of her oppression?

INDIFFERENCE TO SLAVERY.

"When we feel a kind of partial satisfaction, (writes an esteemed correspondent,) from having in our own houses of the gain of oppression, it is almost paralyzing to behold our daily papers teeming with advertisements of cotton goods, sugar, coffee, &c., the products of slave labor, and then admit the idea that many hundreds of thousands are receiving their support from the interchange and consumption of those things."

And truly we wonder not that the heart of our friend should sink at the thought of the immense numbers who are assisting to support the system of slavery, and of the vast amount of prejudice and indifference that yet remains to be overcome, before correct views of its nature will be generally entertained, or effectual measures adopted for its extinction. Our country is far behind less civilized nations in this respect. The government of Malacca, of Mexico, and of many of the States of South America, have given orders for the extinction of slavery within their limits. But the United States will not permit even the ten miles square over which they all legislate—the court that surrounds the altar of their civil liberties—to be cleansed from the pollution of this stain. No! here where men from all nations are gathered together—that spot of all others, most sacred to American liberty, is selected as particularly suitable for a warehouse for human flesh! And the American people, jealous as they are of their superiority and excellence, are heedless of this foul blot upon the fair name of their country!

Yet though when we look forward on what yet still remains to be done, the prospect indeed presents a formidable appearance, when we call to mind what has been already accomplished, we find no need to despair. We may thank God, and take courage to pursue our labors, believing that his blessing will eventually complete the triumph of justice over oppression. The task of aiding in this important and desirable work is in our opinion, peculiarly appropriate to the female sex. Independently of their own personal inter-

est in the subject, on account of the many thousands of their own sex who are suffering under that oppression, as a work of mercy and benevolence, it is well suited to their tempers and feelings, and one in which their influence, judiciously exerted, cannot fail to be beneficially felt. Woman cannot legislate; she may not dictate what is to be done; but she may awaken the sleeping sympathies of her brethren, excite them to exertion, soothe with her gentleness and patience the angry excitement of their feelings, steal away their prejudices almost 'ere they are aware,' and instil truer and better sentiments into their bosoms. This it is in her power to do; it is her duty, and we hope she will not neglect the task.

CARDS, TRACTS, &c.

We seldom glance our eye over the anti-slavery cards, and other specimens of English female philanthropy, which are in our possession, without wishing to see similar ones distributed among the population of our own country. We are confident that they would be found valuable auxiliaries in exciting a spirit of inquiry, and interest in the cause of emancipation. From their appearance they catch the eye and the attention of a careless observer, and the few brief truths they convey, often leave a deeper impression on the mind, from being communicated unexpectedly, before it has time to gather up its prejudices, and resolve not to receive them. The presentation or exhibition of them would afford, too, an easy and natural manner of approaching a subject, that sometimes requires to be introduced with some dexterity and caution, in order to avoid an abrupt repulse, or at least to be discussed with any benefit. The people at large must be made to think more upon the evils of slavery, before energetic measures will be taken for its abolition, and they can be made to think only by presenting the subject continually before them, in every mode that will attract their notice. A few pages, or a piece of pasteboard, may be made to contain a condensed view of the most important points of the whole subject, and if presented in an inviting form, would be read with attention, where a more extended treatise, even if it should be met with, would be passed unnoticed.

THE VIRGINIA LADIES.

The following address was delivered by Mr. M'Crea, in the Legislature of Virginia, on presenting to that body the petition of 215 ladies of Augusta, for the abolition of slavery in that State.

We sympathize most sincerely with our southern sisters in their painful situation, and we can readily feel how distressing it is thus to live in perpetual terror. We rejoice to find, as well for their own sakes, as for that of those whom they wish to release from bondage, that their voice has been lifted to plead for the cause of emancipation.

Our gratification, however, would have been much increased, had the wish to render justice to those who have so long worn the yoke of an unrighteous servitude, prompted or at least formed some part of the object of their petition. Let them not in their terror learn to detest those whom they have so long wronged, nor forget how many have been found faithful. Neither let them forget that it was only long withholden justice that could thus convert men into ruthless destroying monsters. Their slaves have not, as is asserted by the above mentioned gentlemen, been "reared and sustained by their bounty," but by a scanty portion of the products of their own toil. We may however have done our sisters wrong in supposing them to be actuated only by selfish motives. They may perhaps have not deemed it politic or needful to embody such feelings in their petition. Be that as it may, we earnestly desire for them the accomplishment of their wishes, and a speedy return of security and peacefulness. We believe their appeal will not be unavailing, and we hope it will be repeated and echoed until its object is attained.

"Mr. Speaker: I feel it to be my duty as well as my privilege to bring this subject to the consideration of the House.—The number and character of the subscribers to this memorial, entitle it to attention—and I am authorised to state, from a letter which I received from a highly esteemed and much valued friend, accompanying the memorial, that if an opportunity had been afforded, it would have been much more numerous subscribed by the ladies of the county; and coming, as it does, from a county owning one-tenth of the entire slave population west of the mountains—I do hope that it will receive the respectful consideration to which it is entitled, and that it will be referred.

"The memorialists do not wish to mingle in the political transactions of the country, but they have an unquestionable right to be heard on a subject so deeply interesting to themselves and their posterity, as well as the community generally. That slavery is a curse, is conceded by all.—This evil they have long felt, and it is daily increasing in strength, and numbers. Daily and hourly exposed, even in their households, to objects of fear, reared and sustained by their bounty, they cannot longer 'sit under their own vine and fig-tree, with none to make them afraid.' The bloody tragedy of Southampton, has awakened horrors that appal the stoutest heart; but to females exposed as they are, represent horrors tenfold more terrible.

"They call upon this House, through me, as one of their Representatives,—as legislators, parents, fathers, husbands and brothers, to arrest this desolating scourge—like the locust of Egypt, threatening to devour all that is green, and all that is lovely—by providing a speedy and efficient remedy. They tell you that they love Virginia, their own native State, their mountains, their green hills and valleys. It is the land of their birth with which every tender recollection of their infancy, as well as their advancing years, are most intimately and indissolubly connected. It is the land which contains the graves of their fathers and mothers: but that all these ties must be torn asunder—and that they shall be compelled to fly to foreign lands in pursuit of happiness and safe-

ty—if something is not done to arrest this threatening evil, alike ruinous to their peace and safety, and that of the Commonwealth. They entreat you by all the tender sympathies of their nature, by the love which they bear you, and by their fervent aspirations to Almighty God, to exert your wisdom and independence, in the adoption of such measures, as in time will extirpate slavery from the State, and restore tranquillity to them and the country."

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
JOHN WOOLMAN.

Meek, humble, sinless as a very child!
Such wert thou, and though unbeheld, I seen
Oft times to gaze upon thy features mild,
Thy grave, yet gentle lip, and the soft beam
Of that kind eye, that knew not how to shed,
A glance of aught save love, on any human head.

Servant of Jesus! Christian! not alone
In name and creed, with practice differing wide
Thou didst not in thy conduct fear to own,
His self-denying precepts for thy guide.
Stern only to thyself, all others felt.
Thy strong rebuke was love, not meant to crush
but melt.

Thou who didst pour o'er all the human kind,
The gushing fervor of thy sympathy!
E'en the unreasoning brute, failed not to find,
A pleader for his happiness in thee.
Thy heart was moved for every breathing thing,
By careless man exposed to needless suffering.

But most the wrongs and sufferings of the slave,
Stirred the deep fountains of thy pitying heart
And still thy hand was stretch'd to aid and save
Until it seem'd that thou had'st taken a part
In their existence, and could'st hold no more
A separate life from them, as thou had'st done be-
fore.

How the sweet pathos of thy eloquence,
Beautiful in its simplicity, went forth
Entreating for them! that this vile offence,
So unbecoming of our country's worth,
Might be removed, before the threat'ning cloud,
Thou saw'st o'erhanging it, should burst in storm
and blood.

So may thy name be revered! thou wert one
Of those whose virtues link us to our kind,
By our best sympathies; thy day is done,
But its soft twilight lingers still behind
In thy pure memory; and we bless thee yet
For the example fair thou hast before us set.

GERTRUDE.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
OLD AND YOUNG.

It is stated by the last census, that of the female slave population of the United States, 347,566 are below the age of ten years, and 688 have attained or surpassed that of one hundred. It would be a most affecting spectacle to behold these two portions gathered together and set apart in separate groups. The hundreds over whose brows have passed the changes of so many revolving seasons, the greater part of whose many years have worn away in unalleviated servitude, and who now are lingering on the very verge of another world with their last hours em-

bittered by the thought that they have left only the mantle of their evil destiny as a legacy to their descendants; and the many thousands who are just entering upon life, as yet unconscious of the miserable doom that is already fastened upon them, but even now in their infancy, taught to con sharp lessons of scorn, and wrong, and suffering. Those aged ones are beyond our help. Their cup, bitter as it has been, bitter as the last few remaining drops yet may be, is almost drained. And whether life be hurried to its close by ungentle treatment, or be fostered till it goes gradually out, it must ere long cease to animate their bosoms. They must die as they have lived, the victims of man's injustice, and bear with them even to the sepulchre, the scorned name of slave. The toils of a life stretched far beyond the longest date allotted by the Psalmist, have not been sufficient for their ransom; and it is painful to think, that even amidst their gray hairs, they have no security against contempt, or unkindness, or cruelty. Even those forms, worn and feeble as they are, should the conscience of any one who calls himself their owner, let his hand dare to apply the lash, may be made to shrink beneath its torture.

And so too may the young and delicate ones of those many infants. The life, the toils, the various miseries from which the others are now just escaping, these are but beginning to experience. Oh, must it be that *their* lives, too, are to wear away in hopeless, benighted, miserable bondage? Must they too go down fettered to the grave? or shall the strong appeal of their sex and helplessness not be made in vain? Will not woman plead for them? Plead that they may be treated as becomes the sex; that the hand of oppression may be lifted from their necks; that the gentle virtues of her nature may be allowed to spring up in their bosoms; and instead of growing into womanhood, with characters distorted with ignorance, rudeness, and, too often, alas, depravity, they may be moulded by education into feminine usefulness and excellence. Is not this an object worth striving for? Would not its accomplishment be a rich reward to every female in our country for the exertions of half a life-time? Light for darkness—freedom for slavery—happiness for misery—smiles and comfort, instead of tears and squalid wretchedness! Who that loves their Omnipotent Creator,

and the forms that he has gifted with an imperishable spirit and the high capacities of intellect, will not join eagerly and devotedly in the task of rescuing those minds from the darkness that now enthrall them, of loosing the fetters that crush both mind and limb with the unendurable weight of their cruelty and degradation!

AGNES.

OUR COUNTRY.

Extract from the New Year's Address of the New-Hampshire Observer.—Written by a Lady.

Here freedom dwells, but inly grieves to hear
The chains of slavery clanking on her ear!
Slaves in a land of freedom?—Can there be
A part in bondage held, where all are free?
Slaves in a land of Freedom? Let us see.
We blush to own the fact—our country's shame!
A hateful blot on her illustrious name!
Yet some there are, who scarcely deem it *sin*,
Since Afric's sons are 'guilty of a skin
Not colored like their own.'—There comes a day
'When all disguises shall be rent away,'
And right and wrong appear in colors true,—
Remember—friends of slavery—to you!
Will ye not bid the woes of bondage cease?
O then to you would Conscience whisper peace:
Or if the evil *must*, as yet, remain,
Add not abuse to slavery's galling chain.
'I tremble for my country,' once declared
A patriot, whose voice no more is heard,
(In highest post of honor—once, and trust,)
'I tremble, when I think that God is just.'
Some Gabriel from heaven, yet may be
(Appalling thought!) commissioned vengefully.

The Olio.

'Canst thou, and honor'd with a Christian's name,
Buy what is woman-born, and feel no shame;
Trade in the blood of innocence, and plead
Expedience as a warrant for the deed?'

From the Village Record.

The accursed slave trade is raging; we know of no properer name for it; and thousands and tens of thousands are annually carried into the West Indies. The number who die of disease—brutality—broken-hearted, or starved, is countless.

In the last Washington paper we see the slave trade still prevails, and makes its head quarters in the District of Columbia. *Cash* and the *highest prices*, are offered publicly in the newspapers, for slaves, male and female.

FROM JAMAICA. Capt. Percival, of U. S. schr. Porpoise, arrived at Pensacola, left Jamaica Jan. 28, and informs the editors of the Pensacola Gazette that about 36,000 slaves must have been involved in the late insurrection. Property had greatly depreciated. Slaves that were formerly estimated at from 100 to 130/ have fallen to 15 and 20/.

In former days we used to hear folks talk of the *advantages* of slavery, and that Indiana was 'shortsighted,' for not admitting slaves—that they (the slaves) would 'clear off the soil and improve the state,' &c. But we will venture to say that not a man in Indiana wishes such *work* done here, as is frequently done in the slave-states.—*Indiana Times*.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY. At the late meeting of the British Conference, it was unanimously resolved 'that it be recommended to all who now are or hereafter may be possessed of the elective franchise, to give their votes and interests to such persons only as shall unite, with other qualifications for a British senator, a cordial desire and firm determination to promote the entire and early extinction of negro slavery.'

PREMIUM FOR RICE.

The sum of **TWENTY DOLLARS** will be given as a premium, over and above the market price, for *Five Casks of Fresh Rice*, of good quality, raised by *Free Labor*, and delivered in Philadelphia, to *Charles Peirce*, before the first of June next, 1832.

The gentleman above named, is well known as a very respectable Grocer in Philadelphia, who has, for several years past, made it a particular business to keep articles in his line that are exclusively the production of *free labor*.

The premium, together with the market price, will be promptly paid, on the delivery of the Rice, accompanied by proper reference and vouchers from some respectable person who is known in Philadelphia.

THE GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION. Vol. XII.

The object and character of this work are well known. It has been published ten years, and circulated in all the States of this Union, in Canada, the West Indies, Europe and Africa. It is *exclusively* devoted to the subject of the *Abolition of Slavery*, on the American Continent and Islands.

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The work will, henceforth, be issued monthly. It will be neatly printed on fine paper, and folded in the octavo form, each number making sixteen large pages.

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 James Askins—*Fayetteville do.*
 James Alexander—*Washington, Hempstead Co. Arkansas Ter.*
 Rev. Jesse Haile—*Springfield, Illinois.*
 Rev. John F. Crow, P. M.—*Hanover, Ia.*
 Smith & Bulla—*Centreville, do.*
 Rev. M. Jamieson—*Mount-Sterling, Ky.*
 Joseph Lormer—*Mount-Washington, do.*
 Joseph B. Chapman—*Waynesville, Ohio.*
 Dr. Joseph Stanton—*Springborough, do.*
 William Lewis—*Harrisville, do.*
 A. Baer, Jr.—*Osnaburg, Stark Co. do.*
 Thomas Chandler—*Adrian, Michigan Ter.*
 William P. Richards—*Wilmington, Del.*
 Joseph Sharpless,—*No. 22, N. 4th street, Philadelphia, Penn.*
 Joseph Cassey—*No. — S. 4th street, do. do.*
 A. Marshall, Esq.—*Westchester, do.*
 Dr. E. Michener—*Londongrove, do.*
 Dr. B. Fussell—*Kennett Square, do.*
 Joel Wierman—*York Springs, Adams Co. do.*
 Lindley Coates—*Gap P. O. Lan. Co. do.*
 Jehu Lewis—*Bethlehem, Wash. Co. do.*
 Richard Lundy—*Mount Holly, N. J.*
 Theodore Davisson—*Trenton, do.*
 Benjamin Acton—*Salem, do.*
 Zachariah Webster—*Plainfield, do.*
 James Wilson, Jr.—*Alamouchy P. O. Swain County, do.*
 Mahlon Day—*No. 376 Pearl-st. N. Y. City.*
 John Lockwood—*Poughkeepsie, N. Y.*
 Charles Marriott—*Hudson, do.*
 Abijah Purinton—*Troy, do.*
 Thomas Shotwell—*Marengo. do.*
 Lyman A. Spalding—*Lockport, do.*
 John I. Wells & Son—*Hartford, Conn.*
 R. T. Robinson—*Vergennes, Vt.*
 William Loyd Garrison—*Boston, Mass.*
 Samuel Rodman, Jr.—*New-Bedford, do.*
 William Dean—*Salem, do.*
 Rev. N. Paul—*London C. H. Upper Canada.*
 James Cropper—*Liverpool, England.*
 William B. Bowler—*Port au Prince, Hayti.*
 John B. Salgues—*Aux Cayes, do.*
 Jacob W. Prout—*Monrovia, Africa.*

POSTAGE.

The *postage* of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* is now the same as that of weekly newspapers. *One cent and a half*, for each paper, the highest that can be legally charged within the United States. If the distance be *less than one hundred miles*, but one cent can be demanded. Post-masters will please attend to this notice. The Post-Office in Washington forwards it under this regulation.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

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"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration of Independence, U. S.*

No. 12. VOL. II. THIRD SERIES.]

MAY, 1832.

[WHOLE NUMBER 276. VOL. XII.]

This being the last regular number of the present volume of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, the Editor wishes to inform his readers, that he must necessarily be from home a short time longer,—but that he will have proper arrangements made for the continuance of the publication. The first number of the thirteenth volume will not, however, be issued before the next month of July. In the meantime, a supplement, of four pages, will be printed, with the title-page, index, and forwarded to subscribers in the first week of the month of June.

In consequence of the Editor's absence, he has been unable to attend to many important subjects which should have been noticed. Among the rest, the proceedings of certain members of Congress, relative to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, have been but slightly touched.—The subject will lose none of its interest by a few weeks' postponement. We hope soon to be enabled to examine it fairly, and to expose the vicious and anti-republican doctrines of certain conspicuous characters, who are now looked upon as the oracles of democracy and the very glory of our country's fame. One of them has, recently, assumed the office of Conservator General of the public peace, and to show his tact at the crisis, recommends the "dough-face" system of policy, by which two millions of human beings are denominated *cattle*, and seven or eight millions more are recommended to give up their own rights, that these "cattle" may be kept in subjection to their lordly, self-styled "owners." Others have, also, acted in a manner quite reprehensible; for which they will not be for-

A handsome addition made to our subscribers within a few months past, gives the assurance that our labors will not go unrequited, and, though we may not have fully come up to the standard of our duty in many respects, the paper has now a greater circulation than at any former period; and it will be the future aim of the proprietor to make it more and more interesting, as the means are furnished, and as the work progresses to which it is, and will be, devoted.

TOUR IN UPPER CANADA.

(Concluded from page 172.)

January 17th.

After an early breakfast this morning, and after making some little arrangement relative to my

baggage, sat out, on foot, for the village of London. I had to go back, the way we came the day before, 1 1-2 miles. Here the road turns at right angles, and leads directly northwest, about two miles to the forks of the river Thames, immediately above which the village is situated. I reached that place about 8 o'clock, A. M., crossing a handsome bridge over the main branch of the Thames. Being desirous to proceed to the Wilberforce Settlement, before night, which my information led me to suppose was about sixteen miles further to the northwest, and as the weather was mild, the snow melting, and the walking unusually laborious, I made very little stay in London. A description of the place will be given hereafter. I saw several colored people, in the village; and when they learned my object in visiting that part of the country, one of them kindly volunteered to accompany me to Wilberforce. We crossed the northern branch of the river, (over which there is also a fine bridge,) a short distance from its junction with the main stream, and travelled four or five miles through a country greatly diversified by hill and dale, presenting a rich soil and fine timber, also good plantations and healthy looking inhabitants. We passed numerous water courses, on some of which mills were erected. At length the land became more level;—yet it was somewhat rolling, and well timbered. Not a stick of pine, cedar, or hemlock, is here to be seen; (except a few white pines, a little north of London;) but the prevailing growth is sugar tree, bass, hickory, elm, ash, oak, and beach, with a little poplar, cherry, walnut, &c. In some places we also see the wild plumb, thorn, elder, sumach, and other shrubbery, common to the richest soil. Several kinds of burrs and some thistles occasionally attract our attention. There are very few vines of any description. No rock or stone are to be found, except in quarries, below the surface. The snow, here, was about 20 inches deep, in the woods; but in the fields and openings it was little more than half that depth, as the weather had long been fair and moderate, and the sun had dissolved it considerably where it could act upon it.—The farms, adjoining the road, were mostly new; though a few of them had been opened several years past. The population, I understand, consists principally of Europeans and their descendants. Their style of living and improvement, is very much like that of the inhabitants on the western frontiers of the United States. The

roads, in this part of Canada, are all laid out with great precision, crossing each other, at right angles and stated equal distances, as regular as the streets of a city. When the land shall be generally cleared, and the settlements compact, the country will exhibit a beautiful appearance. We found but one tavern, in travelling twelve miles; but there were several little establishments where cakes, apples, cider, and a few goods of various descriptions, were offered for sale. At about half past 2 o'clock, in the afternoon, we reached the dwelling of Elder Benjamin Paul, thirteen miles from London. This gentleman is the regular Minister of the Baptist Church, in the Wilberforce Settlement. We had passed three or four houses, within about a mile, belonging to the members of this Settlement, and I intended going three miles farther, to the house of Austin Steward; but Elder Paul insisted upon my tarrying with him until the next morning, when he proposed to accompany me to the other parts of the settlement. The snow had been soft through the day, and the travelling was a little fatiguing; consequently the invitation was cheerfully accepted, on this account as well as that of the politeness, hospitality, and interesting sociability of himself and family.

January 18th.

The morning is warm and foggy. A light wind soon rises, however, and the sky becomes clear. At about 9 o'clock, I went to the upper or northern part of the settlement, accompanied by Elder Paul, and found our friend Austin Steward with his hands in the mud, plastering or "daubing" (as our backwoodsmen call it) a new log house. This gentleman is said to be wealthy; *but he is not ashamed to work*. The reader will bear in mind that the weather, here, is now so mild as to admit of the performance of this kind of business, *at this season of the year*. After visiting a few of the settlers, &c., Elder Paul took his leave of us, and I engaged lodgings with A. Steward.

January 19th.

I never saw a more beautiful *winter morning* than this. The sky was clear and serene; and the weather was merely cold enough to freeze a little. I did not suppose that one in fifty of the people of the United States could form any thing like an adequate idea of it. We had always heard this spoken of as the region of storms and impassable snows, and almost perpetual congelation!—but, instead thereof, we are presented with as mild, beautiful, healthful, agreeable weather, near the middle of January, as could be reasonably expected in Maryland, Virginia, or even North-Carolina, at the same season of the year! The wind was southwardly, but the weather continued clear through the day. After transacting some business, the remainder of the day was spent in visiting the settlers.

January 20th.

The weather still continues moderate and clear. I had a view this morning, (for the first time,) of a pair of "snow shoes." Three men had arrived in the settlement, late last night, from the town of Goderich, on Lake Huron, thirty miles to the northwest of this place. They had performed about twenty-four miles of this journey on those mis-shapen, unwieldy travelling vehicles, above named. A brief description of them will be diverting to many a reader. They are used nowhere but in very high latitudes, or in new countries, where the snow falls too deep to wade through without difficulty. The "snow shoe" is made of wood and raw deer skin. A long stick, like a hoop pole, is dressed four square and bent somewhat in the shape of a diamond; two pieces of the same thickness are placed across—the one a little before, and the other behind the middle—strongly tied with strings; over the whole is woven a sort of close net-work, with narrow strips of thin raw hide, presenting the appearance of a coarse wooden sieve. The shoe, when thus finished, is nearly three feet long, and two or fifteen inches wide. When used it is laid on the snow, and the foot strapped to the cross bars; and, covering such an extent of surface, it bears up the wearer, as he walks along with ease. Travelling in this way is severe, and frequently sore work. The poor fellows, above mentioned, had their feet sadly blistered.

After visiting the remainder of the settlement, Wilberforce, and attending a public meeting, where nearly all the adult males, to-day, I took leave of them, and went four miles back towards the village of London. When night approached, I stopped at the house of an Irish gentleman, where I was agreeably entertained. He was very friendly to the colored people, and warmly expressed his approbation of the object of my tour through Canada. A colored man, named Williams, whom I had been acquainted in Baltimore, was seated beside him, and is treated precisely as though he were white.

(For a minute statement of the condition, prospects, &c., &c., of the Wilberforce Settlement, see *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, No. 1, page 153, of the present volume.)

January 21st.

We have a clear and cold morning. My host insisted on my taking breakfast with him, and also proffered his aid in conveying me several miles on my road, with his sleigh, for which he *made no charge*. I could not brook the offer, and after thanking him for his kindness, the difficulty prevailed on him to accept a small gratuity in the way of compensation. Such hospitality is not always met with among strangers. The name of this gentleman is Henry O'Neal. He is one of the earliest settlers in that particu-

tion of the country, has a good farm, and appears to be in easy circumstances. One of the finest springs of water that I have ever seen, rises near his dwelling. The stream issuing from it turns a mill, a short distance from its source. My kind entertainer took me in his sleigh, about ten miles towards London, and I reached the village a little before 11 o'clock in the morning.

It has been observed, in another part of this journal that London is the seat of justice for London District, in Upper Canada. It is situated on a high bluff, immediately above the confluence of the two principal branches of the river Thames, as aforesaid; the scite is commanding and beautiful; and the town is rapidly improving. The public buildings are not yet numerous; but they have a large and elegant Court House, built of brick, and rough-cast, which is finished, also two churches for public worship, now building, both of good size. There are three Hotels in the place, one of which, particularly, is very commodious. A good deal of business appears to be doing.— They have six general mercantile stores: one apothecary; one grocery; one watchmaker; one blacksmith; one tanner and currier; one cooper; one tailor; three saddlers and harness makers; two wagonmakers; one house and sign painter; four shoemakers; two blacksmiths; one cabinet-maker; two joiners; one sash-maker; one chair-maker; a number of carpenters, bricklayers, masons, &c., &c. Of the professions, there are two physicians, and two lawyers, resident there. A weekly newspaper is issued. They have three religious congregations, and several schools. Some of the private dwellings are neat and elegant. There are several compact groups of buildings, and many new houses erecting. The whole number, at present, may be estimated at about 130—of which I counted upwards of fifty unfinished outside. More than half the others also had a new appearance. Nearly the whole are frame, wooden buildings; many of them two stories high, and some neatly painted. A considerable number of the inhabitants of this place are emigrants from the United States. Among them, I learn, there are about 25 or 30 colored people. A glance at its geographical position—the beauty and fertility of the country around it—the advantages of water power, applicable to milling and manufacturing, in its neighborhood (where several mills are now in operation)—its contiguity to the navigable waters of Lakes Erie, St. Clair, and the Ohio, &c., &c., are sufficient to convince every one, that this place must, ere long, be a seat of great wealth and importance. It is situated about 10 miles from Port Talbot, on Lake Ontario. A good road the whole distance, and a large quantity of produce, lumber, &c., may be obtained from the Thames; and indeed, with the aid of

canals, or short rail roads, it will be an easy matter for the citizens of this place to extend and facilitate their commercial intercourse in almost every direction.

Having noted whatever I conceived to be the most important, as far as my limited time would permit, I left the interesting village of London, and proceeded to the stage house of Hiram Martin, in the evening, with the view of resuming my journey towards Detroit. As the stage would not go on before morning, and having too much baggage to carry on foot, I engaged lodgings there.

January 22d.

At about 3 o'clock, in the morning, our stage officer had his riding vehicle in readiness. The accommodation was not exactly what a New-York Belle, or a Philadelphia Dandy, would look for. We had a crazy old coach box, fastened to a crazy pair of sleigh runners; and trunks, boxes, and bars of iron, were stowed in, promiscuously, with men, women, and children! But our *Jehu* was a real yankee—said he was up to anything, *in the way of trade*—and on he went. I had (as usual) taken a seat beside the driver, where I had the opportunity to see what was to be seen, as we passed along. The night was not dark, as the moon shone brightly. The weather was very cold, but the snow was nearly gone, in many places; and we had disagreeable riding. The land was rolling—in some parts well timbered, and in others cleared for farms. We crossed a number of handsome streams, from which I infer that the country, about here, is well watered.— Some time before day, we reached the village of Delaware, or Tiffanyville. Here is a pretty good tavern, and some mills. The place is intended for a village, but is scarcely entitled to the name, as yet. It is situated on the bank of the Thames, ten or twelve miles below London, where there is a considerable fall in the water. Our landlord—a fat western New-Yorker—expressed the opinion that the water power, at this place, was nearly equal in value to that at Rochester. In this, however, he must have been mistaken. There is an elegant bridge over the river, at this place.— We now crossed to the right bank, or north side, and passed through a fine rich country, bordering the river, or within a short distance of it. Five miles further on, there is a little pine timber.— We soon lose sight of this, however, and meet with a general variety of oak, sugar tree, hickory, beach, &c., &c. Daylight now presents us with a fairer view of the landscape; and in some few places the snow is so far gone, that the dark rich soil is to be seen. The country is thickly settled, with Europeans and natives of both Canada and the States. A few colored people are to be seen, but their number is small. At length, we reached Griffith's stage house, 8 miles from Tiffanyville. Here we stopped for breakfast, and changed horses.

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cœlum.

It may not be amiss to mention that, among our passengers, this morning, was an English lady, with her two small children, who had recently arrived at New-York, and was now going, *without any other attendant*, to meet her husband, at Detroit—he having come over and established himself in business there, some months before.—Perhaps there are not many *American* ladies, that would fancy such an undertaking. She appeared very genteel and respectable, and all took an interest in her situation. She did not complain of a want of attention on the part of any one.

When our breakfast was over, the stage went on again. It had been relieved of a portion of the freight, and also a few of the passengers.—But we had, in lieu thereof, other sources of vexation. They had given us a dull span of horses; and the ground was *bare* in many places. For my own part, I got along well—I did not grieve at all—as these circumstances gave me numerous opportunities to indulge my *pedestrian* propensities!—It must be confessed, however, that the idea of having paid for a ride, and still being almost necessitated to walk, was calculated to occasion a few ill-natured reflections, which required a little philosophical consideration to repress. The soil exhibited a great variety as we passed along to-day. In some places the land lies low, and occasionally it appears a little swampy; in others there are more elevated ridges, where the soil is rather light and sandy. The former is clothed with heavy timber, among which is to be seen ash, beech, &c., intermingled with white pine; the latter presents a more thin growth, principally of oak, and hickory, with a portion of chestnut. Our next stopping place is Ward's stage house, 17 miles from Griffith's. Here we changed horses—made a tolerable bargain of it, and went on somewhat better. We now soon came to an Indian Reservation, and went six miles without a half dozen houses on our road. This tract belongs to the *Moravian* tribe. In the central part of it, on the same side of the river that our road is located, was the site of the old *Moravian* Town, destroyed by the U. S. troops during the last war. This act has been justly condemned, even by warriors, as the *Moravians* were a peaceable people, and, it is believed, took no part whatever in the contest. We passed over the ground where their town formerly stood. The view of its remaining vestiges brought to mind many circumstances, relative to the unjust treatment of the native Americans, by the avaricious adventurers from Europe, and their descendants. (But I have not leisure to dwell upon this subject, now.) The Indians have, since the destruction of their town, as aforesaid, built another, on the opposite side of the river, which is in view of the ruins of the first. It makes a very handsome appearance as we pass along. It is laid out in a

beautiful level plain, on the southern bank of the river, and the land, for several miles above and below, is fenced in, for farming. There are about 70 houses in the place, mostly frame and log, with shingled roofs. Some of them are two stories high; and their village makes, upon the whole, quite as decent a show as many of ours of similar size. The number of inhabitants, I learn is nearly 300. They have two white missionaries or preachers, of the *Moravian* sect, from Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania; and also a white schoolmaster. I did not understand that they had more than one school among them. Their church, meeting house, is large, and has a high steeple. Not having been in the town, myself, I did not learn much about the business done in it; and can say nothing about that, without too great liability to err. I suppose, however, from the information that I obtained, the greater part of the inhabitants are agriculturalists. And, it is said they have wheat, corn, stock, &c., &c., in abundance. Their land is very fertile, along the river bottoms; but that more elevated, (though it is handsomely,) appears rather sandy, and consequently must be of somewhat an inferior quality. Passing through this reservation, we came to farms; and, after travelling a few miles, arrived at Howard's bridge, 20 miles from Ward's town a little before dark. Here we crossed the south side of the Thames, again. There is a store at this place, by an Englishman, who was engaged in the inland trade between St. Louis and the northern parts of Mexico. A tavern and stage house is also kept here, and we took lodgings for the night. In the course of the evening I was agreeably entertained by a conversation with the young merchant, just alluded to. I had called to see the English lady, before mentioned, but she had retired early, and he did not obtain an interview with her. The country has been long settled about here, and some valuable improvements have been made. The river is large, but of sufficient depth to float vessels of considerable burthen.

January 2.

The stage passengers were called up again the fore day; and we got on our way at about past 4 o'clock. Our "stage" now assumed the shape of an uncovered sleigh. We proceeded along the bank of the Thames, for the greater part of the time, until we came to McGraw's Mill, 10 miles from Howard's bridge. There is a store and post-office kept here. The mill is large, and does a good deal of business. The morning was cold, and we had permission to sit by a fire in a kitchen, a short time, while the mail was assorted. The owner of the establishment (if I mistake not) is a Scotchman. He is wealthy, and had a number of hired house servants. Among the rest, I observed an English French Creole. He was kind and commu-

fire; and, from the manner in which he appeared to be employed, I should judge that he was as fairly entitled to the appellation of "Lord of the Kitchen," as the proprietor was to that of "Lord of the Manor." After a few minutes' delay, we hurried into the *stage sleigh*, and went on to the little village of Chatham. It was now daylight, and we stopped again for a few minutes. There was a store, and also a tavern and stage house, kept in this place; and I was told that the country was thickly settled around. I had previously been informed that a considerable settlement of colored people is located here; but I had not leisure to stop long, and did not learn any thing very particularly about it. The country, through which we passed this morning, varies but little in appearance from that last noted. I learn that there are many French and Creole inhabitants, in these parts. The major portion of the population is composed of these and Europeans. But few "Yankees" are to be found here. A very fine mill stream flows through this place, called Chatham Creek. Its bottoms are wide and exceedingly fertile. From Chatham we went five miles, and stopped, for breakfast, at the house of L. Ross. A pretty good tavern is kept by this gentleman, on the bank of the Thames. Here our horses were changed, and the snow was so far gone that we left our road, and took the river.—The ice was sufficiently strong, and we proceeded at a rapid rate. Never was there a better "rail-road" put in order for travelling! On the way, we passed several sloops and schooners—some bound up the river, and some bound down and, to use a landsman's phrase, there was no doubt that they were all "bound" *fast*. We had the opportunity of viewing the country, as we passed along—our present *road* being regularly *excavated* some fifteen or twenty feet—but I learn that it still continues well timbered, and fertile.—The whole distance, bordering the river, exhibits a dense population, consisting of a mixture of French creoles and Europeans, with a few Americans from the U. S. as above mentioned.—The African descendants are, likewise, scattered through their settlements. As we proceeded down the river, the banks are lower, and the country around is more flat, and somewhat marshy. After travelling in this way, about six miles, we came to the estuary of the Thames, and went seven miles, southwardly, on Lake St. Lawrence. We kept along near the shore, for the greater part of the time, though we occasionally went off nearly a mile from it. The lake was seen over almost as far as the eye could reach, and the ice was firm where we went on it. But the wind was strong, the ice smooth, and our sleigh was frequently blown nearly half way around, so that we had—if not a perilous—a rather disagreeable ride of it. Our *Jehu* was an

old Yankee pioneer; he had weathered many a storm in "these here parts," when the country "was new;" and he "knowed there was no danger." I did not doubt the truth of his statement;—but I thought the English lady, with all her courage, could hardly believe him. She did not express any alarm,—yet she looked more serious, and paid more close attention to her children, than usual, while the sleigh and horses *were both galloping sideways!* Having thus travelled or *skated* 23 miles, on the river and lake, we found ourselves opposite a point where the stage road comes to the bank, and a stage house is erected. Here we had to "go ashore," and change horses. A tolerably passable tavern is kept at this place, by a creole, of the name of Reoum. The land is flat and swampy, for a considerable distance from the lake. (A small strip, only, along its margin, in many places, is susceptible of cultivation.) Consequently, the settlements are few in number. Nearly the whole population in this part of the country, bordering the river and lake, are French creoles and colored persons. The latter are not even comparatively numerous. We now were necessitated to adopt a different mode of travelling. The ice was said to be sufficiently strong about 17 miles further on our way, but below that the lake was open; and as there was no stage house near the place where we must leave the ice—and the ground, in many parts of the country, being entirely bare—we took a stage wagon, and proceeded along the margin of the lake. It should be observed, that immediately on the shores of this lake, as well as those of our western lakes, generally, considerable embankments are raised by the action of the waves, consisting, principally, of pebble stones and fine sand,—though in many places a great deal of drift wood is deposited, with the other washings of those inland oceans. And as the constant flowing of the streams deepens the channels of their various outlets, the waters gradually recede, and widen these embankments. The land thus formed, or elevated, affords not only the means of locating pretty good roads, but in many places extensive farms,—though the soil is of a very inferior quality. We now progressed rather slowly. Our stage wagon (a *coach* I should call it,—for although it was old, tottering, and ragged, it was *once* as new and spruce a stage coach as we need wish to see!) was drawn by a pair of steeds, whose sinews, one would think, were made of whalebone, and whose hides were completely *lash-proof!* Our driver had the worst of the business—but he had more philosophy about him than falls to the lot of every one—and he managed his travelling-machine quite adroitly. I had another "fine chance" *to walk*, and being fond of it, did not let a murmur escape me,—though a little grumbling was heard among the other passengers. We got along, upon the whole, tolerably

well; and after travelling 18 miles, with our spiritless donkies, we halted at another creole tavern, kept as a sort of stage house, and exchanged them for a pretty good span of horses. It was then nearly night, and we had yet twelve miles to go, before taking lodgings. The road follows the lake shore, and the bank of Detroit River, the whole distance. The sky was clear, and, of course, the evening was not very dark. As we passed on, the land became more rolling, and the farms more numerous. I was informed that the inhabitants were, still, mostly creoles. A few Europeans and Yankees have settled down among them. There were, also, a small number of colored people, in different places, but no regular settlement of them in this particular section of the country. When we came to the foot of the lake, or near it, we passed a place, where the water had previously overflowed the bank, for a considerable distance. It was now frozen solid, and presented us with a *road*, almost equal to a "M'Adamized" turnpike. Unluckily, our old stage played us a trick, that caused a little detention. While going at a good gait on this beautiful highway, one of the fore wheels broke loose and *ran off*, tilting the venerable coach much more aslant than was desirable to any of our company. *Jehu* reined up the horses, as soon as he could, and several of us scampered after the clogging wheel. It was well that this happened on the ice, as the axletree slid along, until the carriage was stopped without injury. Having repaired damages, we proceeded on our way, and soon came to more rolling land again. We now took leave of the lake; and, following the bank of the river, we reached the ferry, opposite Detroit, at about 8 o'clock in the evening. For the last few miles, we had an excellent road; and the country is well settled. The banks of the river are high; the land lies well; and I was told that the soil is of a good quality, and produces abundantly when properly cultivated. We took lodgings at a tavern, kept by a gentleman of the name of House, who likewise keeps a stage office, and a ferry. All were gratified in finding comfortable quarters, after performing a journey of sixty-nine miles, through the inclement weather, and over the kind of road, that we had to encounter to-day.

January 24th.

Although the weather had been mild, and consequently the river, at this place, had been clear of ice for a number of days,—it was now very cold, and somewhat stormy. The ice was running, early this morning; and fearing the river would soon close again, by which means I might be too long detained, I determined on crossing it, before visiting some other settlements on the Canada side, as I had previously intended. The village of Sandwich is situated about two miles

below this ferry, and is said to be a place of considerable business. There is, also, a large settlement of colored people, about 18 or 20 miles lower still, near the village of Malden, or Amherstburg, at the junction of Detroit river and Lake Erie. I was desirous to see both those places, and to investigate, particularly, the condition of the latter. I was informed that there are upwards of 300 colored settlers there—nearly all quite all from the United States—and that they are, in the general way, doing well. The land in that section of the country, is represented as being rather flat, and somewhat swampy; but in the main, it is said to be very rich and productive. We made preparations to cross the river in the early part of the forenoon; and though the ice rendered it somewhat difficult, we succeeded, and landed safely in Detroit. In a few hours afterwards, the ice covered the whole surface of the river, and completely interdicted communication with the other shore. I must not omit to mention, that among the number of those who crossed, thus opportunely, were the English lady and her children, who had travelled with the last two days. She found her husband, she expected; and they were mutually gratified to meet each other in good health and spirits.

Having now finished my tour through this part of Upper Canada, and accomplished the object of it, as far as the season of the year, the mode of travelling, and the time I could devote to it, would permit, I shall close my diary, with a few general observations.

The reader of this journal has been informed that my sole motive, in performing the tour, was to investigate the state of things, generally, in that part of the country, as far as my very limited means would allow, with the view of publishing the result thereof, for the benefit of such colored persons in the United States as may wish to remove thither. I had intended visiting the seat of government for that province, and making some inquiries of their statesmen and politicians, but found it impracticable, as the time could not be spared. Neither had I leisure to make acquaintance with those exercising the local authority, or to examine public works of any description where I went. The view I have taken is, indeed, extremely superficial;—yet I hope the investigation will not be without its use. I have carefully noted the appearance of the country through which I passed. The general character of its inhabitants has been delineated, by comparison with those of our states, from which a pretty correct idea may be formed thereof. The geographical position of several colored settlements has been stated, and that at Wilberforce particularly minutely described. And the peculiar advantages of that part of the country—its fine climate, variety of agricultural productions, convenience of market

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

&c., &c., have been adverted to. It remains for me to say that, from every investigation that I have been able to make, and all the information I could obtain, by frequent conversation and inquiry among many intelligent persons, both those who were friendly and those who were inimical to our colored people, that the country in question will be very suitable for them, particularly those north of the Carolinas, if they choose to locate themselves therein. The same rights and privileges will be guaranteed to them, as to other British subjects; and many of the white inhabitants of this republic have voluntarily exchanged their citizenship, here, for the immunities they may there enjoy. I would not urge—I would not ask a single free man to go, who is not so disposed. My business is, to give him information. If he can profit by it, I shall rejoice—if he neglects to pay attention to it, he does but exercise a perfect right, which it would be highly improper for me to question him about. Believing, however, that there are many, among the persecuted colored people of the states south of the Delaware, who are extremely desirous to change their situation, and would be glad of such information as I have here collected, I shall be amply remunerated for the hardship and expense of my cold and toilsome journey, if I can be successful in laying it, generally, before them.

B. LUNDY.

KIDNAPPING PROPENSITIES.

The editor of the Genius of Universal Emancipation recently passed through Columbia, Ohio, on his way from Upper Canada to the lower part of that state. While at one of the principal hotels, in Columbia, he became slightly acquainted with sundry persons employed in the stage office, and elsewhere, who boldly denounced the friends of emancipation, and all their measures. They were plainly dealt with; and we learn that some of them were several days afterwards engaged in seeking and examining old files of newspapers, to ascertain the terms and actual amount of the "reward," offered by Georgian despots, and others, for the apprehension and delivery into their custody of persons known to publish and circulate among them what they please to denominate "incendiary publications." That it was the intention of those heartless villains, to have kidnapped the editor, and carried him to the south, could they have assured themselves of the "reward," there is not the least doubt. Even in what are denominated "free states," the most profligate tyrants and desperadoes abound. Let the people look to it.

EMANCIPATION BY PURCHASE.

The editor of the Genius of Universal Emancipation is, not only, "sorry and surprised," but also a little indignant, at the remarks of his

friend Garrison, (in his paper of March 3d, 1832,) relative to the purchase of slaves for emancipation. Had he copied the article, upon which he comments so unceremoniously, all would have been fair. As he did not do this, his readers are left to draw the most unfavorable conclusions, when, in fact, neither he nor they have the least cause for it. The article in question was inserted in the Genius of Universal Emancipation, for January, 1832, under the head of "The Surplus Revenue." The editor of the "Liberator" is now requested to copy it, exactly as it stands in the Genius,—with just such comments as he then may please to make. But he must be careful in what he says. Our tight-built bark has weathered too many storms to be blown ashore easily. The Genius of Universal Emancipation has NEVER advocated the proposition for "buying the slaves," in the sense in which the "Liberator" here presents the subject. It could not be done without the most palpable inconsistency—the most glaring dereliction of principle.

We would not censure our friend unsparingly, nor impede, for a moment, the chivalric wing of his eagle spirit; but when he descends to the earth, his course is, sometimes, rather headlong and reckless. When mounted on his mettlesome hobby, scorning to touch the reins, and leaning forward with his cap extended in one hand, and a barbed goad in the other, (to say nothing of the rowels at his heels,) he thinks of neither rocks nor jagmires, but rides as though he would distance the winds! It is true, he may be safe in pursuing the path that others have beaten:—but should he penetrate the wilderness of despotism, where forests are dense, and mountains are high, and bridgeless streams are wide and deep,—where serpents and crocodiles abound, and even the tigers prowl at noon,—he must, at least, philosophise a little, as he goes along. We like the fearless daring of an independent spirit; and we also like the prudence of a skilful engineer, when in the neighborhood of a steam boiler, almost ready to explode with a force of more than two millions of pounds, avoirdupois! The simile may be somewhat mal-appropos,—but our friend Garrison will understand it.

KIDNAPPING.

We extract from the "Palladium," a paper published at Richmond, Indiana, a notice of a case of kidnapping, which recently occurred at that place. The statement was published about the middle of March.

A colored boy, belonging to this place, about 11 years of age, has lately disappeared, under circumstances calculated to induce the belief that he has been kidnapped, by a man of the name of Harris, who is about 26 years of age, 6 feet 2 or 3 inches high, black hair and eyes, dark complexion, and rather stoop-shouldered. Said Harris came to this neighborhood in the early part of the

winter, and has remained here until about a week since. He is said to be from Kentucky, where he has a wife and child. He is said to be a great gambler, and trades in horses and negroes. He had taken up his residence, about three miles from this place, with a Mr. Hopper, or Harper, and on Wednesday of last week the 14th inst., he was in town and went to a very respectable colored man, named Nimrod Sibley, and hired said Sibley's stepson—saying that he was about to be married, and that the boy might return in a week. On the next (Thursday) night, however, he decamped, taking the boy, and a young woman, Mr. Hopper's [Harper's] daughter, with him; and it has not yet been ascertained what course he has taken.

* * * * *

"The boy is in his 11th year, not so black as a full-blooded negro, and somewhat slow of speech—his clothing has not been described to us. Harris wore a suit of jeans, and had also a superfine blue cloth dress coat, which was made in this place. He is very genteel in his appearance and address, but a little slow of speech. * * * *

"A number of the most respectable citizens of this town and neighborhood have authorized us to say, that a REWARD OF AT LEAST ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS, will be given for the delivery of Harris and the boy in this town."

The editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* has received other information of the miscreant Harris, relative to this and other villainies perpetrated by him; and as this work circulates among the friends of our cause in all parts of the U. States, it is considered advisable to devote a little more space to the subject, in order to aid in bringing a public marauder to justice. The following extract of a letter, from a friend in Indiana, while it substantially corroborates many of the statements in the foregoing article, from the "*Palladium*," gives some further particulars.

"John Harris is said to be about 26 years of age—is upwards of 6 feet high—tolerably stout made—muscular, but not fleshy—a little stoop-shouldered—has black hair, and I think blue eyes. I do not think him dark complexioned; but from the circumstance of his face being covered with pimples, I think he was so described in the '*Richmond Palladium*.' In his manners and address he is easy and respectable, being well calculated to impose himself on the unsuspecting stranger, as quite a decent man. In Kentucky, he is said, in addition to his other acts of swindling, to be a noted gambler.

"The colored boy, whom he kidnapped, I was not personally acquainted with; but I am informed by his mother, and step-father, that he is in his eleventh year, quite black, neat in his person, rather lean than fleshy, and, as some would say, a little 'bandy-legged.' They recollect no particular marks or scars, other than the following: one on the pit of the stomach, occasioned by the application of a blister, and others near each ear, from the circumstance of the Episodic having been put under the chin, 'from ear to ear.' The boy goes by the name of 'Archy,' or 'Archibald Murphy.' They say he is intelligent, for his age, and if interrogated, would substantiate the circumstances here adverted to.

"I profess to be interested in the great business of Emancipation, and do assure you that I lament the miserable and degraded state of the colored population of the U. S.—and I would fain hope that your exertions, in this philanthropic cause, may meet the reward they are so justly entitled

to. But even were I a votary of slavery, and engaged in the degrading business of making merchandise of human blood, the welfare of society would compel me to make all the exertion in my power to bring to justice the wretch to whom I have above alluded. In short, mankind should make common cause in preventing the depredations, by a prompt and speedy punishment, of so dangerous a man."

We also learn, from this and other respectable sources, that Harris was arrested, in Kentucky, for kidnapping and selling a negro man. But having been acquitted for want of sufficient (white persons') evidence, was immediately prosecuted for passing counterfeit money, about \$500, which being found in his possession. He made his escape, and a reward is said to be now offered for him at Mount Sterling, in that state. Funds have been raised by the Friends and others, in Richmond, Ia., and a party have started in pursuit of the villain. Information has been received that they have got upon his track;—and if they take him, he may look for the reward of his demerits.

CLARKSON AND WILBERFORCE.

The following paragraph is extracted from a communication to the editors of the *National Intelligencer*, by the Rev. R. R. Gurley, dated Feb. 11th, 1832, giving some account of the mission of Elliott Cresson to England.

The venerable THOMAS CLARKSON, after listening with enthusiastic delight (such as a friend remarked he had not known him to manifest for twenty years) to the statements of Mr. Cresson, observed "that for himself he was free to confess that, of all the things that have been going on in our favor since 1787, when the abolition of the slave trade was first seriously proposed, the one which is going on in America is the most important." Mr. WILBERFORCE said, "You have gladdened my heart by convincing me that, so far as guineas had been my hopes of the happy effects to be produced by your institutions, all my anticipations were scanty and cold, compared with the reality. This may truly be deemed a pledge of the Divine favor."

We should like to know what kind of representations our friend Cresson should have made to these celebrated philanthropists, to excite their admiration, as here described. He went from the country, an almost exclusive African Colonizationist. Has he convinced them that the measures of that Association have wrought the change in public sentiment that has lately been manifested in the United States? If he thinks so, and has stated this as his belief, it is much to be regretted that such men as Clarkson and Wilberforce have been imposed on by his own delusion. The Colonization Society has done something towards stirring up the public mind, relative to the evils of slavery. But it has done very little, if anything, towards pointing out the true method of ridding the country of those evils. It opposes the only practicable means for effecting the great work;

the doctrines preached by a majority of its agents, are far more agreeable to the advocates of slavery, than to the friends of universal emancipation. Like all other institutions, founded merely upon popular whim, it has had a mushroom growth, and will have a mushroom existence. Like the celebrated "African Institution," of England, it has been exceedingly popular, and had its heralds and trumpeters, who have proclaimed its importance, when paid for so doing. And many have been astounded by their loud and incessant din of—"Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" But a change is taking place in public opinion. Some who have been among the most ardent advocates of that Institution, are beginning to see that it is not calculated, of itself, to effect the abolition of slavery; and they are patriotically extending their views to other means, for the accomplishment of the great and important object. We could mention the names of many distinguished individuals, who have thus become convinced of its impotency, though they still adhere to it, as an auxiliary that is calculated to awaken and arrest the public attention, in some degree. This is the light in which we ever have viewed it. And should the philanthropic Clarkson and Wilberforce survive the rockings of the pending reformation, a few more fleeting years, they will discover that the American Colonization Society is now based upon the self-same principle that the English African Institution formerly was,—and, unless it changes ground entirely, and keeps pace with the march of public opinion, it will, eventually, be abandoned, as that Institution has been, even by the very venerable and pious philanthropists whose feelings have been enlisted in its favor, as above mentioned.

LIBERALITY.

It is said that a gentleman, of the name of McClure, residing in Newport, Ky., made a donation to the American Colonization Society, a short time since, of *ten thousand dollars*. A good example, this, for those who are engaged in a still better cause.

THE TEXAS COUNTRY.

A young gentleman from Mississippi, now in Brazoria, Texas, writes thus:—

"The emigration of North Americans to Texas, and the introduction of black servants, [slaves,] have been prohibited by the Mexican government."

It is said that much discontent exists among the colonists, on this account; and even *resistance* is talked of! "They will, first, remonstrate," says this writer; "and if this fails, their future movement will depend upon the decision of the question: Are they able to cope with the Mexican power?"

We shall not be surprised if the Mexicans may yet be induced to drive out every slavite in Texas. The advocates of the hellish system, in this country, are watching their opportunity to make an attempt to wrest that fine territory from the Mexican Republic. But let them beware! The moment that our government enlists in the outrageous crusade, a mine is sprung beneath the seat of slavite power, that shall scatter it, with its miserable advocates, to the four winds of heaven.

At the request of the editor of the "Liberator," we copy an article addressed to the "Virginia Society," of Columbia, S. C., by Nat. Field, of Indiana. The writer holds out a bold front. His reference to "Haman" and his "gallows," is peculiarly appropriate.

From the Liberator.

VIGILANCE SOCIETY, COLUMBIA, S. C.
Jeffersonville, (Indiana,) Feb. 4, 1832.

GENTLEMEN—You have introduced into the columns of the Telescope a very unwarrantable commentary upon a letter addressed by me to that Society. Had you published my letter, all injustice and trouble would have been obviated. 'The course you have pursued, betrays you to be shallow, ignorant and enthusiastic, laboring under strong delusion.' I am satisfied now that the suspicion, which I have for some time entertained, is well founded, viz. that a *Junta* has been formed in South Carolina for the purpose of abridging the liberty of the press, and as a salvo for your unconstitutional proceeding, pronounce every rational appeal to the magnanimous and philanthropic citizens of your State, an '*incendiary publication*.' This, no doubt, will go down very well, where the people are distracted with a political delirium, with wild vagaries about '*Nullification*,' '*State rights*,' &c. I am now convinced that the presses in South Carolina are not free, but are restricted by political Juntas, whose tyrannical conduct, hypocritical pretensions to republicanism, and contempt for the Federal Constitution, have converted them into a *mere scab* upon the Confederacy. My object in addressing the Vigilance Association *was to obtain their consent to read a pamphlet of mine, and if they conceived it admissible to the public mind of their State, to inform me of it*. As you had offered a large reward for the distributors of anti-slave papers, I was disposed to treat you respectfully; and to guard against an infraction of your laws and settled policy, in relation to slavery, I wished, by a frank, legal and manly course, sanctioned by your approbation, to present an address to the enlightened Christian community of South Carolina, upon the subject of emancipation, *and not to your slaves*, who could not read it if I did. The Society well know that I disavowed any intention of exciting their slaves, or of putting any thing into their hands that I

might write. If you deny this, I request you to show the contrary by publishing my letter.

You state that I *'threatened'* to distribute my pamphlet in South Carolina: this I deny. I asked your permission to do it, which you have refused, and condemned it without ever seeing it!

You seem to think that a desire of fame is the secret spring of my conduct. How enviable the fame of being known through the South as an *'incendiary'*—to be denounced as a *'wretch,' 'deluded,' 'shallow brained ignoramus,'* &c. Great fame, truly!! The *wretch* who set fire to the *'Temple of Diana,'* perpetuated his name as an *'Incendiary:'* but now-a-days, if a freeman of this Republic writes a temperate and rational address to Christians and *philanthropists* upon a subject of the greatest magnitude, in which their character for consistency and moral justice is involved, he is forthwith stigmatized as an *'incendiary,'* lusting after fame!! and if he dare to assert the maxim of our venerable forefathers, *'that all men are created free and equal,'* and that no man has a right to trample upon the inalienable rights of another, he is branded as a traitor and *'insurgent,'* and *threatened* with the *gallows* and *divers* other punishments; and that by men who profess to be imbued with the spirit of the immortal Rutledge, Marion, Sumpter, &c. There is always catching before *'hanging,'* gentlemen; and while you are building gallowses, remember Haman; and rest assured that when you, by your plans of reward, bring a citizen of this State under a gallows (which you erect) for the exercise of a constitutional privilege, your *inquisitorial banditti* will never take hold of another in the same way.

I sincerely wish you well, gentlemen, and tender you this remark as good advice, and pray God that you may see the folly of your high-handed measures. I am now satisfied, and never expect to trouble you again. I asked you to sanction a constitutional privilege, which you have denied, and I acquiesce. In writing to you for the grant of this privilege, my language may have been too poignant for your nice sensibilities; but pardon me when I tell you that it was penned under the influence of feelings excited by reading your reward offered for the authors of papers upon slavery. In conclusion, I can assure you, gentlemen, that my pamphlet is not incendiary—that it was published in Kentucky, (Louisville) by slaveholding printers, and is well received by slaveholders in that State, and read with pleasure; and they entertain no fears of its doing any mischief; and they are men of as much intelligence as any of your honorable body. I would not thus have troubled you, had you not indulged in charges unauthorized by my letter, and rashly condemned my pamphlet without seeing it.

I am, gentlemen,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

NAT. FIELD.

SCHOOLS FOR COLORED CHILDREN.

The proceedings of the colored people of Pittsburgh, Pa., are important, and will be read with interest by the friends of the African race. Let measures of this nature be generally adopted, and we shall soon see a change in the dark aspect of public sentiment, now involved in tenfold gloom by the *ignorance of all classes,* relative to the intellectual capacity of the man of color. When knowledge *forces* the understanding, prejudice must yield; and the abominable doctrines relating to African inferiority, and the "necessity" of African degradation, will be exploded.

From the *Pittsburgh Statesman.*

COLORED CHILDREN.

We insert the proceedings of a meeting, attended by many of the respectable colored people of this city, as also the constitution adopted by them in reference to the subject of education. From the character of those who presided, and of those appointed to fill the several offices, we are satisfied that these proceedings and this movement were spontaneous and voluntary—that they have not been superinduced by any suggestions or promises of aid from the whites, and that the colored people alone, are entitled to the credit of originating for themselves a plan of education, and they alone are responsible for its progress and the fulfilment of its objects. We are aware of the prejudice that exists in the minds of many in reference to this subject, and that it would be folly to attempt to reason against the chilling effects of those invidious feelings which are habituated into a passion, and which grow out of the natural and distinctive characteristics which disseminate and divide the whites and the blacks.—But we would nevertheless hope, that for an object so laudable as that of the education of their offspring, by colored teachers, and in schools of their own, they will meet with encouragement and liberality even from a white population. It is a matter worthy, at least, of the consideration of the public, whether the establishment of a school to be opened exclusively for the children of colored people, be not an object worthy of public support? We are told it is the design of the colored people, in a limited degree, to solicit such support; and although they may expect, in some instances, to be coolly received, and to have their project looked upon with a jaundiced and suspicious eye, yet we trust, that in no instance will their reception be so cold as to wither their prospects or blast their undertaking.

AFRICAN EDUCATION SOCIETY.

At a meeting of the colored people of the city and vicinity of Pittsburgh, convened at the African Church, on the evening of the 16th Jan. 1832—J. B. Vashon was appointed Chairman, and Lewis Woodson, Secretary.

The object of the meeting being stated by the chairman—after some further deliberation, the following Preamble and Constitution were adopted:

PREAMBLE.

Whereas, ignorance in all ages has been found to debase the human mind, and to subject its votaries to the lowest vices, and most abject depravity—and it must be admitted, that ignorance is the sole cause of the present degradation and bondage of the people of color in these United States: that the intellectual capacity of the black man is equal to that of the white, and that he is equally susceptible of improvement, all ancient history makes manifest; and even modern examples put beyond a single doubt.

We, therefore, the people of color, of the city and vicinity of Pittsburgh, and State of Pennsylvania, for the purpose of dispersing the moral gloom that has so long hung around us, have, under Almighty God, associated ourselves together, which association shall be known by the name of the *Pittsburgh African Education Society*, which shall have for the direction of its government the following

CONSTITUTION.

Article 1. There shall be a President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer and Board of Managers, consisting of five, each of whom shall be elected, annually, by the members of the society, at its annual meeting, and shall continue in office until their successors are appointed.

Art. 2. It shall be the duty of the President, to preside at all meetings of the Society, and of the Board of Managers, to preserve order in its deliberations, and to put all motions when duly made and seconded, to the decision of the meeting. To sign all orders on the Treasurer for money. In the absence of the President, the Vice-President shall perform his duties.

Art. 3. The Secretary shall keep a fair record of all the proceedings of the Society, and the Board of Managers, in a book to be furnished him for that purpose, and shall file and keep all papers of importance to the Society. And at the expiration of his office, shall deliver over to

his successor, all books and papers in his care belonging to the Society.

Art. 4. The Treasurer shall keep all moneys and other property belonging to the Society, committed to his care, and shall keep a fair account thereof, in a book to be furnished him for that purpose. His books shall be open for inspection at any meeting of the Society, or of the Board of Managers. And at the expiration of his office, shall deliver over to his successor, all moneys and other property in his possession, belonging to the Society.

Art. 5. It shall be the duty of the Board of Managers to transact the business of the Society during its recess. To purchase such books and periodicals as the Society may, from time to time, direct. When the Society may deem it expedient, they shall have power to raise money by subscription or otherwise, to purchase ground, and erect thereon a suitable building or buildings for the accommodation and education of youth, and a hall for the use of the Society. They shall have power, to make, alter or abolish all by-laws and regulations necessary for their government. And to do whatever else may be conducive to the best interests of the Society.

Art. 6. The President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer shall be members of the Board of Managers, any five of whom shall constitute a quorum to do business.

Art. 7. Any person subscribing his name to this Constitution, and paying into the hands of the Treasurer the sum of two dollars, shall be a member of this Society; which sum the Society may alter from time to time, as they may see fit.

Art. 8. The Annual Meeting of the Society shall be on the third Monday in each year, and its Monthly Meeting, on the second Monday in each month.

Art. 9. No alteration shall be made in this Constitution, without the concurrence of two-thirds of its members.

The following persons were elected Officers of the Society, for the ensuing year:

President—JOHN B. VASHON.

Vice-President—JOB B. THOMPSON.

Secretary—LEWIS WOODSON.

Treasurer—ABRAHAM D. LEWIS.

Board of Managers, { RICHARD BRYANS,
SAMUEL BRUCE,
SAMUEL CLINGMAN,
WM. J. GREENLY,
MOSES HOWARD.

Ladies' Repository.

Philanthropic and Literary.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

WOMAN AND SLAVERY.

There is something heartsickening in the name of Slavery. It combines in itself so many varied forms of misery and depravity, it is a cup of such unmingled bitterness, a lot of such utter cheerlessness, that the bare mention of the word is sufficient to thrill the heart with horror. We know not how any female, when made acquainted with its appalling nature, can be induced to lend even the most indirect support to a system so heinous, or to countenance by a display of inert indifference the unmerciful oppression that crushes so many thousands of that sex. If the fine and beautiful sympathies of human nature are any thing better than mere illusory dreams, if reverence and obedience be due to the voice of conscience and the dictates of the Christian Gospel, then is it woman's imperative duty to oppose to the utmost extent of her ability, a system by which all of them are so flagrantly outraged.— Women suffer from slavery, perhaps even more severely than their brethren in bondage. In many cases their toil is not lighter, nor does the lash fall less heavily upon their shoulders. Their fare is equally coarse and scanty, nor are they more exempted from indignity and cruelty. But are they equally able with men to endure the pressure of toil and misery? Is there not a sharper pang at the mother's heart than the lash can give, when she goes forth to the labors of the field, from the hut where her children are left to wail her absence, and she knows not, but that ere her return some one of the little group may be gone for ever? And if we turn our view from the female slave to her happier sisters who are blessed with the enjoyment of freedom, still we lose not the traces of the devastation produced by that system. The hand of slavery leaves a blight upon whatever it touches, and the female heart, with all the fine chords of its tenderness and pity, is seared beneath it into callous inhumanity.— Oppression and cruelty are never so hateful as when they wear a female form, and not only do they then appear most odious, but they not unfrequently do really assume an added malignity with that garb. There are not wanting numerous instances in illustration of this, but we will pass them by: it is painful to dwell upon such pictures. But we appeal to our readers, whether that system which pours out on the one hand, to thousands of their sex, all the bitterness of scorn and oppression, and on the other teaches woman herself, too often, to be the minister of wretchedness and cruelty to her unhappy sisters, is not one in which their interference can not only never

be intrusive or presuming, but in which it is most imperatively called for by every argument of duty.

SUGAR.

This article is in the West Indies, and the most southern of the United States, the principal staple of Slavery, and the source of the most severe sufferings of the victims of that system. It is said that in the West India Islands "the sufferings of the slave are doubled on a sugar plantation;" and the waste of human life by the present system of management is enormous, being carried to an excess, that were it general, "in half a century would unpeopled the earth." "You need not wonder at that mortality, *it is the sugar that kills them,*" was the emphatic reply of a planter of Trinidad, to some remark respecting the rapid decrease of the slaves of that island. And those words should be sufficient to dash from the lips of every one of our sex, who have not already abandoned the use of it, that blood-purchased luxury. We cannot conceive how any gratification to the palate, how any sweetness, however luscious, can be a sufficient temptation to partake of it, or can stifle the natural feelings of horror that should arise, at the sight of what has occasioned so much wickedness and suffering.— A person who was for sixteen years a sugar planter in Jamaica, in a comparison afterwards made between the cultivation of East and West India sugar, says, "*the cultivation of the sugar cane destroys annually in the West, thousands of men, women and children.*" And to the consumption of that sugar, as well as of what is raised within their own borders, how largely have the people of the United States contributed! How largely have our own sex been partakers in this destruction of human life! It is painful to think of this; but though many have formerly sinned in ignorance, sure we may hope that they will not continue to support a system so terrific. Surely humane and christian females will not hesitate to resign that, which though pleasant to the taste, is death to their fellow-creatures. Yet it is not needful for them to forego altogether the use of an article to which they have been so long accustomed. Sugar, the produce of *free labor*, may be generally obtained, but when it cannot, entire abstinence is far preferable to a participation in the fruits of iniquity. We learn that the manufacture of sugar from potatoes has lately been prosecuted in New-Hampshire with success; and we hope the manufacturers may receive sufficient encouragement to induce them to persevere in their purpose, and others also to engage in the business. We cannot but think those persons without excuse, who, aware of the evils attendant upon the consumption of slave produce, yet, while the other is within their reach, continue to do so, because it is rather cheaper or rather better, than the same articles produced by free labor.

FRIENDS' SCHOOL IN AFRICA.

We were not until lately aware that the subject of Education in Africa had claimed the attention of the Society of Friends in England.—From the second Report of their “Committee on African Instruction,” we have made some extracts which we think will be interesting to our readers, and more especially so as the person who appears most deeply interested in the subject is a female. It is from her letters that our extracts are principally taken. But we should perhaps preface with such a sketch of the concern, as the report before us affords. In the year 1823, Hannah Kilham, the friend alluded to, and Ann Thomson, her brother and another friend, accompanied by two natives who had been prepared to act as teachers, set sail for Africa, with the intention of making a temporary residence there, and establishing schools. For this purpose H. Kilham had previously for several years given much of her attention to the study and translation of the Wolof (or Jaloof) and Mandingo languages, in the former of which she had prepared a set of elementary books for the use of the schools, with translations of selected portions of the scriptures, both of them accompanied by the English readings. These she had the satisfaction to find, appeared to answer their purpose extremely well, and to be well understood by the natives. In a letter dated from Bathurst, she says:

“I have the consolation to find, that the humble attempt upon which I have entered, with regard to the reduction of the African languages to a written form, appears quite likely to answer the design of presenting an intelligible picture to the natives.” “Sandame, one of the native teachers, has been reading out of the Scripture Lessons to some natives, at their request, which they appear to understand.” “I have begun to talk a little Wolof to the children, and long to teach it to them from their books.”

And again, in another letter she remarks:—

“It is evident that the book is quite intelligible to the natives. *Dongo Karry*, on hearing a few sentences, exclaimed, ‘Ah! that is Jaloof,’ translating them for himself into English; and when a few passages of scripture were read, he cried out with emphasis, ‘Great and good—great and good!’ The girls, who had any previous knowledge of letters, (acquired at Sierra Leone,) are learning very fast to read the Jaloof.” Of the school she says,—“our school for girls was opened here on the 8th inst. just four weeks after our landing. We had the first morning eight scholars, and have now twenty-two.”

The following extracts are from letters dated Gloucester, Sierra Leone. The schools alluded to are some that were previously established, and not under the direction of the Society of Friends.

“If my heart might speak from what my eye has seen, I would say, I am fully convinced that it is not any inferiority in the African mind, or natural capacity, that has kept them in so depressed a state in the scale of society; but the lack of those advantages which are, in the usual order of Providence, made use of as instru-

ments for the advancement and improvement of human beings. These disadvantages, which they in common with other uncivilized nations labor under, is with them cruelly increased, by that oppression, which, wherever exercised, has a natural tendency to fetter, to depress, and to blunt the powers of the mind; and it is very unfair, and a great aggravation of the cruelty, to reflect on the victims of it, as *lacking ability* for any other station than that which they have been suffered to fill.”

“In the school at Leopold, there was a little boy, who in the course of six months had learned to read in the Testament; and in the neighboring town of Charlotte, was a very little girl apparently not more than five or six years of age, who read to me the account of the sick of the palsy restored, very agreeably, and had only had about fifteen months instruction. These are instances of memory; yet even as to memory such instances are not frequent in these schools. The number of Bible and Testament readers is generally small in proportion to the number of scholars; and this I do believe must be attributed to the children not well understanding the English language, for they really appear very zealous and lively in their application; and I long to see that application exercised to more effect, than it can be whilst they are learning mere lists of words, but few of which convey to their mind any definite sense or meaning.

“There is one thing particularly pleasant in the schools; the children generally look clean and healthy and cheerful; and there is an air of friendly confidence in the people where we meet with them in the villages, and in their own cottages, which is pleasant to see.

“It seems very evident, from what we hear, that civilization is prevented, or has been prevented, along the coast, by the prevalence of the horrid traffic in men; and the interior, north of the line, is much more civilized than near the coast. The interior of the south appears to be little known. I wish the sceptics as to African capacity could have seen a Foulah man, of striking and intelligent countenance, who was here the other day, and have heard his melodious reading of Arabian manuscript.”

Here is a distressing picture of some of the miseries which owe their origin to the system of slavery; and let it be remembered by our readers, that in giving their support to that system they are also abetting all the horrors of the slave trade.

“J. R. says it is impossible for any but an eye-witness to conceive the wretched state in which the poor victims of slavery are brought in from the captured vessels; and indeed, in a school in this colony which has been formed since the rest, chiefly from new importations of these poor little slaves, it makes one’s heart droop to see the state of impoverishment, from sickness, in which some of them still remain. When I pointed out the healthier looking girls, and asked where they came from, they were all either found to be the children of soldiers or born in the colony. The great girls have to carry these poor sick children about on their backs for a long time: many are six months before their strength can be restored, and many die. Dr. Ritchie told me, in the Gambia, that a person seeing them landed here from the slave vessels, (he had himself resided here) would pronounce at once, from their state, that half of them *could not live*. I am told, that the distressing sick-

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

ness and wretchedness of the children who are thus brought in, is sometimes such that they do not want to live, but desire only to die."

Here is a pleasanter picture, and we think a very interesting one.

"Four of us took a walk from Regent to Leicester Mountain, one evening; and having to return to Regent, to lodge, we set out while the sun was yet shining rather strongly: we rested on an old tree on the side of a hill, as the ascent was rather steep. From a hut which was near, the people came out to speak to us, with very lively, pleasant countenances, and brought two little wooden benches for us to sit down upon, and a very fine pine-apple for our refreshment; we thought it was the finest we had tasted in Africa, and perhaps it was not merely our weariness made us think so. Most pine-apples we have seen grow wild, and this I think, was from their own little garden. They offered us a second, but the first was sufficient for us, and after staying a little while there we proceeded on our way."

We will add one more extract, expressive of H. K.'s feelings towards the country.

"I cannot but sincerely desire and hope that a Friends settlement may one day be formed at Sierra Leone. How gladly would I return to it for a season, should the way appear as plain before me as it appeared to be previous to this visit: which, although it be a time rather for silent thought and feeling, than for the accomplishment of any thing that could serve either the dear children or the people, yet I am satisfied in having moved at the season that seemed best so far as I could see; and I feel this place for the present quite like home to me: so much so, that even if I should never return, my heart will often be here, as in a scene that cannot be forgotten."

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

AN APPEAL FOR THE SLAVE.

Mother! with thine infant sleeping
Peacefully upon thy knee,
Think of one, far distant, weeping,
As she bends in love like thee,
O'er the couch of helpless infancy.

Thou while o'er thy young boy bending,
Thinking of his future years,
With thy joy and hope art blending
Sometimes even to starting tears
Anxious solicitude, and doubts, and fears.

Yet his future opens brightly,
As uncertain things may be;
Thou wilt guide his young steps rightly,
And the wise and good, with thee,
Shall be the guardians of his destiny.

But that sad one, as she hushes
Her poor infant's wailing cry,
And the gloomy future rushes
Painfully before her eye,
Sees no fair hopes illumine its clouded sky.

On his brow she gazes, knowing
That a stamp of shame is there;
That his young hopes, ere their blowing,
Shall be crush'd with toil and care,
And the rude chains his swelling pulse must wear.

The soft limbs she loads with blessings
The rude scourge may lacerate;
And her care and fond caressings,
Be exchanged for scornful hate,
And all the ills that o'er the slave await.

Even childhood's smile of gladness,
On his cheek is faint and dim;
Shame, and toil, and wrongs, and sadness,—
These are all life has for him;
A bitter cup, and flowing to the brim.

Ah! were such *his* fate, fond mother!
On whose brow thy lips are prest;
If with savage hand another,
From thine arms that boy might wrest,
Oh! think what grief would fill thy sorrowing breast.

And canst thou with her enslaver
Take a mean and cruel part?
Cast away the power to save her,
And with cold and stony heart,
Behold the tear drops of her anguish start?

No! as thou would'st hope in heaven
By thy side that boy to see!
Let thy aid to her be given,
Who is sunk in misery,
That her sad heart may yet rejoice with thee.

CONSTANCE.

The following is part of a little English book for children, called

PITY THE NEGRO,

Or, an Address to Children on the subject of Slavery.

"My dear Children—I wish to speak to you on a subject which may be, perhaps, quite new to you.

A few years ago I met with the son of a female Negro slave, who came from the W. Indies, and who had been a slave there himself. He was an intelligent man, could read well, and had learnt Dr. Watts's hymns by heart, when he was a little boy; and my mother brought him to our house to give him a Bible. It was the hearing him talk that first made me think of these things about which I wish you to be interested.

"Do you know where sugar comes from? It does not grow in England, but is brought from a country a great way off across the sea, from the very place where this man was born. But this sugar is not planted and gathered in, as wheat is here, by free people who are paid for their work: no, it is cultivated by slaves, by poor black Africans, who are bought and sold like brute beasts, who are compelled to labor without wages, under the lash of a cart whip; and who are marked with red hot irons, flogged and chained at the pleasure of their owners.

"The man I told you of had lost his right eye; it was put out when he was a little boy by his overseer, who, because the poor child stood in his way, knocked him down, and he fell into a sugar pan, in the bottom of which was a little boiling sugar. Had the pan been full he must have been killed. We asked him many questions. He told us that the severest flogging he ever received, was given him for crying when he was parted from his mother. The following is his own account of the event.

"My mother lived a slave from the fifteenth year of her age, (I suppose) till her death. She came from a part of the Gold Coast called Anamaboo, but exactly where I

cannot tell. She was a favorite with our housekeeper, and in many things was favored, which may in some measure account for the advantages I enjoyed above what falls to the common lot of slaves. My mother was one of the house cooks. I was looked upon as one of the happiest little slaves in the place; my mother could be kind to me; the housekeeper* was good to me; but as all human happiness must have an end, so it happened that the last night approached when my mother's bosom should pillow my head. A gentleman from the island of Barbadoes came to our house, and some dish at the table happening to please him, he said he would give a hundred guineas for a slave that could dress a dish like that. (Slaves were not so dear then as they have been since.) My master instantly replied, 'You shall have the slave who dressed that dish for the sum.' The bargain was concluded at table, and the next day my mother left me for ever. Black children, as well as white, will cry when either grieved or vexed; grief, like all of the African race, I felt severely; and severely was I punished;—that day I writhed beneath the lash.

"In an account which he wrote at the request of my mother, he adds, 'The smart of the wounds is gone, but the marks still remain; and as the recollection passes over my mind, not all the ice in Greenland would cool my burning brain. Let this suffice—I can say no more. Let those who have mothers, love, honor, and obey them. Father of mercies! thou knowest it, and thou alone, the agonizing thrill that pervades this heart, when I hear an affectionate child, say—Mother.'

"If you, my dear children, now understand, in some degree, what slavery is, I hope you are wishing to hear what you can do to help the poor slaves.

"As slavery is sin, we have a strict command not to be partakers of it; for in the first epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, v. 22, it is written, 'Neither be partakers of other men's sins.' Now you all, I fear, eat West India sugar, though it is cultivated at the expense of the blood and tears of your fellow-creatures; and it is by the extensive consumption of that article that slavery is chiefly maintained. But, now that you know these things, I think you will no longer be able to bear this sugar."

LINES

Supposed to be addressed by the Negro Woman to her child, on the night before she left him.

Fare thee well! my child of sorrow!
 Comfort of my dreary heart,
 Now I clasp thee, but to-morrow
 Sees me wandering far apart.

Oh! the hands that fiercely cruel,
 Tore my flesh with agony,

* It was this housekeeper, who was a Scotchman, who, unknown to her master, taught me to read.

Fiercer hands are those, my jewel,
 That shall tear me far from thee.

Day and night, long years of anguish,
 I could bear to droop and grieve:
 But if thou, my boy, should'st languish,
 Who shall watch thee?—who relieve?

Will they force me over waters?
 Shall wide hills betwixt us rise?
 Tyrants! have they sons and daughters,
 And bereave a mother's eyes?

Will thou, when long years roll o'er thee,
 Years of toil, and wo, and scorn,
 Still remember her who bore thee?
 Still when thou art most forlorn?

If thou hear'st the name of *mother*
 Springing from young lips at play,
 Thrilling start, because another
 Said what thou hast ceased to say?

Break, thou heart, whose joys are perished,
 Break ere end this last sad night;
 Ere I leave the child I've cherish'd,
 Break:—nor see to-morrow's light.

A. B.

The Ohio.

From the Liberator.

WILBERFORCE SETTLEMENT.

Mr. Garrison—I find that the Wilberforce settlement has far exceeded the expectations of many, (especially our enemies,) in its rapid growth, within the course of two years. It appears that the extensive emigration from the United States has augmented that settlement to about 2,000 souls, within this short space of time. What a vast difference between this and the colony of Liberia on the western coast of Africa! The Colonization Society has been straining to accomplish in sixteen years, what has been done in about sixteen months, besides the advantage it has had over these patriotic settlers. Hundreds of dollars have been collected and lavished, and continue to be wasted upon that colony, where, before half, or I may say two thirds, of its emigrants become naturalized to the climate, they are swept away as with a besom of destruction. Not so with the settlement of Wilberforce. They have the salubrious air of the high latitudes—they prefer going there, because they are not exposed to the danger of the seas, nor the enormous expense of transportation; and, besides, they are received there by the Canadians as brethren and fellow-subjects to his Majesty King William IV; whose laws are not so hard to them as the laws of the U. States, made and executed by about ten millions of majesties, called freemen, or free trampers upon the rights

of the red and sable race, to the blush of reason and humanity. About six thousand of us went to Hayti, assisted by that philanthropic people, but we found that a settlement there did not suit our extensive population. Thus you see that the Lord is opening a way for us to pack up and march off, without crossing the seas, to Canada, and I hope soon, to the Texas, or some neighboring province.

A Colored Citizen of Brooklyn, N. Y.

The African Repository for April, says, the ship Jupiter has been chartered, and will sail immediately from, Norfolk with from 150 to 175 emigrants.

JAMAICA.

The damages and costs of the late insurrection in this island, has been officially estimated at \$4,000,000. Slavery is dear!

PREMIUM FOR RICE.

The sum of TWENTY DOLLARS will be given as a premium, over and above the market price, for *Five Casks of Fresh Rice*, of good quality, raised by *Free Labor*, and delivered in Philadelphia, to *Charles Peirce*, before the first of June next, 1832.

The gentleman above named, is well known as a very respectable Grocer in Philadelphia, who has, for several years past, made it a particular business to keep articles in his line that are exclusively the production of *free labor*.

The premium, together with the market price, will be promptly paid, on the delivery of the Rice, accompanied by proper reference and vouchers from some respectable person who is known in Philadelphia.

THE GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION. Vol. XII.

The object and character of this work are well known. It has been published ten years, and circulated in all the States of this Union, in Canada, the West Indies, Europe and Africa. It is *exclusively* devoted to the subject of the *Abolition of Slavery*, on the American Continent and Islands.

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The work will, henceforth, be issued monthly. It will be neatly printed on fine paper, and folded in the octavo form, each number making sixteen large pages.

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D. Thompson

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"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration of Independence, U. S.*

Supplement to No. 12, Volume XII.

WILBERFORCE SETTLEMENT, U. C.

Late advices from this Settlement inform us, that Mr. Israel Lewis, the former agent of the colony, has resigned, and that the Board of Trustees have appointed the Rev. JAMES SHARPE, as agent, to fill the vacancy.

Mr. Sharpe, we are further informed, is now on our making collections in aid of this important settlement. We trust the hearts of all friends of the persecuted colored race—the heart of every philanthropist—will be opened to his appeals in favor of this effort to form a resting place, a "city of refuge," for this people, where they may till their lands, and partake of the fruits of their labor, in peace and in quietness—and where also they may enjoy every privilege which is the inalienable right of all men, whatever may be the color of their skin.

THE "UNITED STATES" TELEGRAPH.

It seems that the celebrated Duff Green has been much improved, in a moral point of view, although the screws of modern political "reform" have been applied to him. In a late number of the paper, the U. S. Telegraph, he devotes several columns to the subject of African Emancipation, in which he strenuously advocates the principle and practice of slavery. Unfortunately for the dismantled priest, and lame-duck politician, he takes up the pen, to plead for African tyranny, when his influence is waning, and "the sceptre has departed from Judas." (The quotation is not to be literal, but it reads well enough here.) When he published his pamphlet, in Missouri, *Prove the legality of slavery, FROM THE SCRIPTURES!* the sacerdotal robe had fallen from his shoulders, and if our information be correct, his minister brethren had placed another in the pulpit which he had previously occupied. So with his clerical friends at present.—They have discarded him from their councils.—None have confidence in one so unprincipled—so lost to christianity and republicanism, and even the feelings of humanity. Believing that little harm can result from his efforts to thwart our purposes, we shall devote but a small space to a notice of the stand he has taken. Indeed the slavites of this nation, of every grade—whether in the seat of power or in the ranks of it—might as well essay to blow out the light, as to extinguish the rays of moral and social reformation that are now penetrating the darkness of their despotism. *Slavery must go.*—And then shall a free and industrious

yeomanry renovate the famished soil of the "generous south," and her "desert wastes" shall exhibit the verdant bloom which the Author of Nature designed they should wear.

THE REV. GEORGE BOURNE.

We rejoice to find that this veteran in the cause of African emancipation is again in the field. His labors in Virginia, many years since, procured for him the most bitter persecutions, from the advocates of slavery, among whom were classed a large number of his Presbyterian brethren. One of the most respectable clergymen of that sect, in Ohio, recently informed the writer of this article, that he once stood alone in his favor, when Bourne was called before an ecclesiastical council, under a charge of heresy in combatting the sin of slaveholding. He was condemned; (as was the apostle of emancipation, Benjamin Lay, at an early period, by the Quakers;) and so relentless were his persecutors, that he was compelled to leave the southern states. Until very lately, he has since resided in Canada; but he is now at the editorial desk in New-York, and publishes a very spirited journal, entitled "The Protestant." We have nothing to say about his religious sentiments; but his remarks, on the subject of slavery, bear the impress of a strong and vigorous mind, and the clearest perception of reason and justice. May he be as fortunate as the patriarch, Lay, *who lived to witness the abolition of slavery by that society which almost unanimously condemned him for advocating it!* Already have the western Presbyterians taken strong ground. Some of their ablest clergymen and lay members are marshalling under the holy ensign raised by the philanthropist, Bourne. They have vowed, before high Heaven, to prosecute the sacred work to its consummation. That they will succeed is *absolutely certain.*—And may Heaven, in mercy, hasten the glorious period.

We understand that Bourne's celebrated work, entitled "*The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable,*" is about to be reprinted. It should be in the hands of every religious professor, at least, in the slaveholding section of the United States and the West Indies. It will, doubtless, be extensively patronised.

EVILS OF THE "ACCURSED SYSTEM."

We find the following pertinent article in the Boston Daily Advocate. The Florence (Al.) Gazette designates the overseer as "an upright man

and good citizen, and a member of the Presbyterian Church." What a pity 'tis that his christian principles had not inclined him to pay a little attention to the whisperings of humanity and mercy!

NATURAL EFFECTS OF SLAVERY.

An overseer in Florence, Alabama, chastised a negro woman. The husband of the woman saw the blows inflicted, and remonstrated with the overseer. The overseer struck the negro with the butt of his whip for being unable to repress his indignation at seeing his wife lacerated in his presence. The negro turned upon him, and in the struggle, inflicted several stabs with a knife.—The overseer died, and the negro will be burnt at the stake. This punishment, which is clearly unconstitutional, (all cruel and unusual punishments being prohibited) is not uncommon in many of the southern states. A pile of pine wood, finely split, is laid up in form of a cobhouse, and spirits of turpentine poured over it. The victim is placed inside chained to a tree or post, the pile is fired and he is roasted alive.

Now, what is more natural than the transaction above recorded? Change but the color of the skin, and what says law and public sentiment about it? The story would be related thus:—

Conjugal Affection.—An interesting young woman, employed as a weaver in one of the manufacturing establishments, was assaulted by the overseer for some trifling fault, and severely beaten in the presence of her husband, a young man of ardent temper and warm affections. He remonstrated, and was struck by the overseer, upon which he seized him, and in the struggle that ensued, happening to have a knife in his hand, stabbed the overseer so that he died. The young man was subsequently tried for manslaughter. An eloquent appeal was made to the jury, who immediately acquitted him.

☞ In the Liberator for July 7, we find the following. We give the article as we find it—trusting, however, that the writers may be in error, in ascribing the treatment which they received to the agency of the African Colonization Society. That this Society is laboring under a fatal delusion,—and is engaged in a cause which can be looked upon as little less than cruel and unjust,—is but too certain: Still, there are honorable men connected with it, who, we hope, would not descend to such contemptible means to aid their projects.

DISGRACEFUL.

☞ We invite the attention of our readers to the following statement of the brutal manner in which even the most respectable persons of color are treated in New-England. The gentlemen, whose names are appended to the letter, are men of piety and respectability, elders in the Methodist connexion. Comment is needless.

HARTFORD, June 28th, 1832.

MR. EDITOR—On Saturday, 22d instant, in the city of New-York, we went down to the steam-boat McDonough, to take passage for this city. No sooner than we went on board, we were asked by one of the officers, in an abrupt manner, 'where are you going?' We answered, 'to Hartford.' He asked again, 'do you know the rules?' We answered, 'No.' He said, 'we'll allow you no privilege whatever, and you must pay one dollar and a half for your passage; you must keep on the forward deck,' &c.

Mr. Editor, we see that the dog is pampered in

the parlor, at his master's feet; we behold a horse covered and fed with care on board of a steam-boat; but a colored man can have no place there to lay his head!!! We had to walk on the deck half of the night, and the other part we sheltered from the inclemency of the weather.

We believe, Mr. Editor, that all the evil, the stigma, all the bad usage that we meet with as we travel in the stages and steam-boats to preach the gospel of Christ, the Colonization society and its agents are at the bottom of the whole. We are alarmed when we find ministers of the gospel employed in this work of death and destruction. No doubt but that they are hired to curse us, as Balaam was hired by Balak, to curse Israel. But save us, kind Freedom, from the greedy jaws of hireling wolves!

Mr. Editor, what evil have our fathers done or we their children, that we should be so evil treated? Is it because our fathers fought and assisted to gain the independence of these United States in the revolution? Or is it because our people fought valiantly at the battle of New-Orleans?

Mr. Editor, ingratitude is a black crime. Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people. We pray that God may pardon the sins of our oppressors, and blot out their transgressions, and save this nation from the pestilence that walketh in darkness, and from Cholera that threatens death and destruction to-day. We remain, sir,

Your most humble and oppressed servant

HENRY DRAYTON,
HENRY JOHNSON.

JEFFERSON'S OPINION ON SLAVERY.

The opinions of this eminent statesman have been sought with avidity, by many of the people of this Union, and great deference has been paid to them. His sentiments on slavery are clearest set forth in the following Letter to his grandson T. J. Randolph. It is thus introduced by the editor of the "Liberator." The remarks are strictly just.

JEFFERSON ON SLAVERY.

During the recent discussion in the Legislature of Virginia, upon the subject of slavery, the following letter of Jefferson was read by his grandson, T. J. Randolph, as furnishing new evidence that this distinguished author contemplated and advocated the ultimate overthrow of the slave system. This letter, which we copy from the Portland Advertiser, (being communicated by an intelligent correspondent in Virginia,) has never before been published; and, of course, possesses additional interest from this circumstance.

The freedom with which Mr. Jefferson always expressed himself when interrogated on this subject, is not less remarkable than the liberality of his views. His anti-slavery sentiments, so forcibly given in his Notes on Virginia, will be quoted with impressive effect as long as slavery exists in our land. It is true, he was

slaveholder; and hence his theory was better than his practice. It is apparent, moreover, that he had clearer views of the impolicy of the slave-system, than of its guilt. But he never dishonored his judgement, or perverted his good sense, by attempting to prove the lawfulness of holding the colored race in bondage. He never, as many professors of religion have shamelessly done, arrayed texts of scripture in support of cruelty, robbery and oppression. While he seemed inclined to the vulgar opinion, that the blacks were intellectually inferior to the whites, he did not draw the impious conclusion that they were made to be hewers of wood and drawers of water to their superiors. He frankly admitted that slavery was indefensible; that its existence was disgraceful and dangerous to the nation; and that strenuous efforts ought to be made for its extirpation. On this subject, he evinced more sympathetic feeling and moral courage, than all the other Presidents of the United States have manifested collectively.

There are three capital errors in the following Letter. 1. Jefferson proposes the 'emancipation of those born after a certain day,' but evidently gives over the parents of these children to remediless bondage. But the compassion of the nation should embrace both parents and children, and break those galling fetters which bind the present generation, as well as those which are forged for the limbs of the next. 2. His plan is to expatriate as fast as we emancipate the slaves; but this must tend only to impoverish the south by withdrawing an able-bodied and really valuable population, and cannot be consummated without great injustice and expense. 3. He objects to immediate abolition, thereby disregarding the immutable principles of justice which admit of no compromise with fraud and cruelty. If, instead of urging his friend still to remain a slaveholder, he had encouraged him to follow the dictates of his conscience, and employ his slaves as free laborers, how much wiser and better would have been his advice; and if Jefferson himself had manumitted his own slaves for conscience sake, what an all-conquering influence must have ever attended his illustrious example!

MONTICELLO, Aug. 25, —14.

DEAR SIR—Your favor of July 31, was duly received, and was read with peculiar pleasure. The sentiments breathed through the whole do honor to both the

head and the heart of the writer. Mine, on the subject of the slavery of negroes, have long since been in possession of the public, and time has only served to give them stronger root. The love of justice and the love of country plead equally the cause of these people, and it is a moral reproach to us that they should have pleaded it so long in vain, and should have produced not a single effort, nay I fear not much serious willingness, to relieve them and ourselves from our present condition of moral and political reprobation. From those of a former generation, who were in the fulness of age when I came into public life, which was while our controversy with England was on paper only, I soon saw that nothing was to be hoped. Nursed and educated in the daily habit of seeing the degraded condition, both bodily and mental, of those unfortunate beings, not reflecting that that degradation was very much the work of themselves and their fathers, few minds had yet doubted but that they were as legitimate subjects of property as their horses or cattle. The quiet and monotonous course of colonial life had been disturbed by no alarm, and little reflection on the value of liberty; and when alarm was taken at an enterprize on their own, it was not easy to carry them the whole length of the principles which they invoked for themselves. In the first or second session of the Legislature, after I became a member, I drew to this subject the attention of Col. Bland, one of the oldest, ablest, and most respected members, and he undertook to move for certain moderate extensions of the protection of the laws to these people. I seconded his motion, and, as a younger member, was more spared in the debate: but he was denounced as an enemy to his country, and was treated with the grossest indecorum. From an early stage of our revolution, other and more distant duties were assigned me, so that from that time till my return from Europe in 1789, and I may say, till I returned to reside at home in 1809, I had little opportunity of knowing the progress of public sentiment here, on this subject. I had always hoped that the younger generation, receiving their early impressions after the flame of liberty had been kindled in every breast, and had become, as it were, the vital spirit of every American, that the generous temperament of youth, analogous to the motion of their blood, and above the suggestions of

avarice, would have sympathised with oppression wherever found, and proved their love of liberty beyond their own share of it. But my intercourse with them, since my return, has not been sufficient to ascertain that they had made towards this point the progress I had hoped. Your solitary but welcome voice is the first which has brought this sound to my ear; and I have considered the general silence which prevails on this subject as indicating an apathy unfavorable to every hope. Yet the hour of emancipation is advancing in the march of time. It will come; and, whether brought on by the generous energy of our own minds, or by the bloody process of St. Domingo, excited and conducted by the power of our present enemy, if once stationed permanently within our country and offering asylum and arms to the oppressed, is a leaf of our history not yet turned over.

As to the method by which this difficult work is to be effected, if permitted to be done by ourselves, I have seen no proposition so expedient on the whole, as that of emancipation of those born after a certain day, and of their education and expatriation at a proper age. This would give time for a gradual extinction of that species of labor and substitution of another, and lessen the severity of the shock which an operation so fundamental never fails to produce. The idea of emancipating the whole at once, the old as well as the young, and retaining them here, is of those only who have not the guide of either knowledge or experience of the subject. For men, probably of any color, but of this color we know, brought up from their infancy without necessity, forethought or forecast, are by their habits rendered as incapable as children of taking care of themselves, and are extinguished promptly whenever industry is necessary for raising the young. [?] In the mean time, they are pests in society by their idleness and the depredations to which this leads them. Their amalgamation with the other color produces a degradation to which no lover of his country—no lover of excellence in the human character—can innocently consent.

I am sensible of the partialities with which you have looked towards me, as the person who should undertake this salutary but arduous work. But this, my dear sir, is like bidding old Priam to buckle the armor of Hector 'tremantibus ævo humeris et inutile ferrum cingi.'—

No. I have overlived the generation with which mutual labors and perils begot mutual confidence and influence.— This enterprise is for the young; for those who can follow it up and bear it through to its consummation. It shall have all my prayers, and these are the only weapons of an old man. But in the mean time, are you right in abandoning this property, and your country with it? I think not. My opinion has ever been that, until more can be done for them, we should endeavor, with those whom fortune has thrown on our hands, to feed and clothe them well, protect them from ill usage, require such reasonable labor only as is performed voluntarily by freemen, and be led by no repugnancies to abdicate them and our duties to them. The laws do not permit us to turn them loose, if that were for their good; and to commute them for other property is to commit them to those whose usage of them we cannot control. I hope then, my dear sir, you will reconcile yourself to your country and its unfortunate condition; that you will not lessen its stock of sound disposition by withdrawing your portion from the mass; that, on the contrary, you will come forward in the public councils, insinuate and inculcate it, softly but steadily, through the medium of writing and conversation, associate others in your labors, and when the phalanx is formed bring on and press the proposition perseveringly until its accomplishment. It is an encouraging observation that no good measure was ever proposed, which, if duly pursued, failed to prevail in the end. We have proof of this in the history of the endeavors of the British Parliament to suppress that very trade, which brought this evil on us; and you will be supported by the religious precept 'be not wearied in well doing.' That your success may be as speedy and complete, as it will be of honorable and immortal consolation to yourself, I shall as fervently and sincerely pray, as I assure you of my great friendship and respect.

TH. JEFFERSON.

ERRATA. A vexatious error occurred in a part of our impression for May, through an oversight in correcting the proof. In the introductory remarks to Mr. Nat. Field's letter to certain citizens of S. Carolina, the term "Virginia Society of C.," is used for "Vigilance Society," &c. Although however, the term is afterwards correctly used, it must have been apparent to every careful reader that the title, "Virginia society," was an error in the press.


GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

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"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Dec. Ind. U. S.*

ADDENDA TO VOL. XII.—AUGUST, 1832.

THE EDITOR TO HIS PATRONS.

When the matter was prepared for the May number of this work, it was intimated that the first number of the thirteenth volume would appear in the month of July, following. I was then making an arrangement to visit the eastern parts of the Mexican Republic, and expected to return in season to superintend the printing, &c. myself. But having been detained a little longer than I had anticipated, it was necessarily delayed. And as it has not been in my power to begin it at the period that I intended, I have determined to issue another *extra half sheet*, as a gratuity to the patrons of the work. The new volume will be commenced immediately after I return to Washington, and the publication continued regularly, it is hoped, thereafter.  TWELVE SHEETS will be furnished for a year's subscription. This Extra is printed at Cincinnati, Ohio, as I shall be detained yet a few weeks from home.

I hope for the indulgence of my friends and patrons, when I inform them that, since I penned the last article for their perusal, I have travelled more than *four thousand miles*, through our slave holding states, and in Mexico,—about four hundred of which were performed *on foot, and alone*, under the fervid rays of a burning sun. During this period, I frequently reposed on the ground, at night, with no other canopy than the starry heavens and the dewy atmosphere. My object was, the investigation of matters connected with the system of slavery, and the establishment of another asylum for the maltreated and persecuted man of color. The result of my enquiries and observations will be communicated in the future pages of this publication.

MEXICO—TEXAS—COLONIZATION.

The editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* having recently paid a short visit to the eastern part of the state of Coahuila and Texas, the republic of Mexico, with the view of investigating the condition of that section of country, &c. had an opportunity of obtaining some information, and making a few casual observations, relative to the aspect of political affairs, as well as the situation and prospects of the inhabitants generally. And believing that a brief view of the state of things, there, may not be interesting to the inquisitive reader, the following hasty remarks are submitted.

It is well known that a political revolution has agitated the Mexican Republic for some months past. Few in this country, however, appear to be fully acquainted with either the true cause, or the actual progress thereof. While it is represented by many as a mere contest for power, among rival chieftains, the most absurd and contradictory statements are heralded through the newspapers, relative to the motives and proceedings of the disputants in the arena of combat.

The origin and cause of the late movements of the party, headed by Santa Anna, (who first raised the standard of opposition to the measures of government at Vera Cruz,) was the belief, generally entertained and expressed, that the Executive Officers had acted illegally and unconstitutionally; and also that they had determined to curtail the civil authority by shielding themselves with the bayonets of the soldiery. As soon as the people at large perceived that *Santa Anna had taken the same steps which he did some years before, in the case of Iturbide's usurpation*, they joined him very generally, and the executive officers, with the exception of the Vice President, resigned their seats. A cessation of hostilities then took place, for the purpose of referring the whole cause of dispute to the decision of the *ballot box*.* It may, in truth, be said that the contest is between the Democracy and the Aristocracy of the country. The latter has hitherto generally maintained the ascendancy; † but the former must inevitably, and speedily, unite the moral with the physical power, and rule the nation. The march of intelligence and intellectual and moral improvement is steady and rapid; and, at the same time, a detestation

* Since the foregoing was written, we learn that the period of the armistice between the contending parties in the South has expired, and that hostilities were renewed. The Presidential election takes place in September next, which it is to be hoped will terminate these dissensions, and restore tranquility and prosperity to the nation.

† A portion of this aristocracy is composed of the Priesthood, which yet possesses a limited and lingering influence in the political councils, and over the mass of the people. But the power of this class is fast waning, and even now is wholly deprived of its potency in some parts of the republic. In the State of Zacatecas, the clergy are rendered inelligible to legislative stations, by law. And a paper, published in Coahuila and Texas, has recently most severely criticised the conduct of the parish priest, denouncing him in no measured terms, and setting his authority at naught, with perfect impunity.

of every species of slavery or oppression universally prevails among the Mexican yeomanry.

In the state of Coahuila and Texas some unpleasant occurrences took place previous to, and about the time, that the writer of this article was there. Many exaggerated, and some fabricated accounts thereof have been published. There are several forts in the Texas country, garrisoned by Mexican soldiers. One of these is situated in the village of Anahauc, at the mouth of the Trinity river, and commands the harbor of Galvezton bay. It was given in charge to a *Colonel Bradburn*, who, upon several occasions, is said to have acted very arbitrarily and tyrannically towards the citizens, imprisoning them for alleged offences, and refusing to have them tried by the civil tribunals. Complaint was made to the government, but the distance from the capital prevented an immediate redress of the grievance. At length a body of the citizens collected, and demanded the release of sundry persons in the fort. Some skirmishing ensued, but nothing decisive resulted. A parley then took place, and Bradburn agreed to give over the prisoners to the civil authority for trial, while the insurrectionists were to remove five miles from the fort. Some of the latter complied with this arrangement, but considerable numbers staid in the town. Bradburn then refused to give up the prisoners, and, collecting his forces, drove the insurrectionists from the place. Some days after this, the latter embodied in a much larger number, hoisted the flag of Santa Anna, at Brazoria, on the river of the same name, and determined to revolutionize that part of the state. They immediately took Fort Velasco, at the mouth of the Brassos river, and proceeded directly towards Galvezton bay. In the mean time Col. Piedras, the commander of the fort at Nacogdoches, had received orders from the government, for the arrest and removal of Bradburn; and having marched at the head of 200 men, for this purpose, fell in with the revolutionists, some distance from Anahauc. A conference was held, the result of which was, that the revolutionists returned to their homes, Bradburn was displaced, and ordered before a court martial, and the prisoners in the fort were handed over to the civil authorities for trial. Thus ended the military contest in Texas; and since then we have heard of no further commotion in that quarter. Bradburn, whose conduct appears to have been the principal, if not the sole cause of the excitement in that section of country, made his escape, soon after his arrest. His successor appears to enjoy the confidence of the citizens, in a high degree.

The settlement of the differences, as above mentioned, was effected in the latter part of the month of June. On the 4th of July, the Anniversary of the independence of the United States was commemorated by all parties at Nacogdoches. At break of day, the soldiers marched in full uniform, to the public square, and fired a salute. (In the evening, this was repeated.) At 10 o'clock, the priest performed mass, in the village church. After this a collation was given by a wealthy emigrant from the United States, and in the afternoon a barbecue was prepared by several others, both of which were attended by the principal military officers, and respectable citizens and strangers.

A few remarks will now be made, relative to the colonization of the Texas country, and then the subject will be dismissed for the present.

The intelligent reader has long been acquainted with the fact, that a large tract of land was granted to Moses Austin, of Missouri, in the year 1821, by the Spanish government. This tract is situated on the rivers Brassos and Colorado, extending from the sea coast upwards of 150 miles into the interior. Since the death of the grantee, the tract has been colonized, with the permission of his son and heir; and it is estimated that the colony now contains twelve or thirteen hundred inhabitants. Several other grants of land have, at various periods, been made to other individuals and companies by the Mexican government, since the revolution, for the purpose of establishing similar colonies; but none of them have succeeded. Having failed to fulfill the stipulated conditions, the contractors have severally forfeited their charters. Very recently however, it is stated that Austin has obtained the renewal of two of them, for tracts situated to the north and west of, and adjoining his former grant. An opportunity will thus be afforded for the settlement of a number more families from this country; but a law, passed by the General government, in the year 1830, forbids the migration of citizens of the "United States of the North," further than to complete the number of families allowed to colonize the several tracts granted as aforesaid. This law was the result of Col. T. H. Benton's exertions to annex the Texas country to these States. By its provision *citizens* of this republic, only, are excluded. Some indulge the hope that, in case of the success of the revolutionary party, headed by Santa Anna, all obstruction to future colonization from this country, will be removed. Time, alone will verify or disprove the truth of this conjecture.

At the commencement of Austin's colonial

terprise, the system of African slavery was tolerated by the Mexican Government, and the colonists were mostly slaveholders. In the year 1824, this foul blot was partially erased from the national escutcheon, by a legal enactment. All children, born within the limits of the republic, after that period, are to be free; and all slaves subsequently introduced, as such, were to be immediately liberated. Yet the colonists, in many instances, evaded the provisions and penalties of the law, by taking them in *under indentures for ninety-nine years*. At the last session of the Legislature, a new colonization law was enacted, which confirms the previous regulations prohibiting the introduction of slaves, &c. and declaring all "indentures," for personal services, null and void at the expiration of ten years. This has sorely disappointed the slave holding colonists. They had petitioned the Legislature for some extension of their despotic privileges,—and were answered by this important curtailment thereof!—It is probable, therefore, that the character of the emigration, henceforth, will be greatly changed. Few slaveholders will settle there in future; and no slaves will be taken in, otherwise than clandestinely. There are now a considerable number of slaves in the country, but very few free colored people. The migration of the latter has never been encouraged by those who have superintended the business of colonization. But it is believed that the time is not far distant, when the door will be fairly opened for *their* admittance; and it may safely be asserted, that no country in the world holds out superior advantages for them, or is as well suited to their state and condition and their natural constitutions.

A particular description of part of the Texas country, the general character of the population, &c. &c. may be expected in the next number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

TEXAS INDEPENDENT.

Some wag, recently from Austin's Colony, has been quizzing the editor of the *Richmond, Va. Compiler*, (who, by the way, is no other than the "fanatical" old gentleman of the "*Richmond Enquirer*,") and filling his pericranium with truly sublime ideas of the *Independence of Texas*. He descants most logically and learnedly on the advantages of an independent government, here, and the prodigious feats of valor, which his fancy recognizes in a handful of colonists, in contest with a hundred thousand, or so, of Mexican soldiers! For convenience sake, he

omits the enumeration, as above;—but if he is not as mad as the inmate of a lunatic asylum, he must know that the odds are here under-rated. He likewise omits another important calculation; viz.—In case of a rebellion in Texas, neither the Mexicans, nor the Indians, nor the English, can for one moment, believe it proceeds from the will of the colonists, alone; but that the machinations of the slavites in the United States must be at the bottom of it: and, viewing it in this light, the last would—as the allies of Mexico—*act accordingly*, should it become necessary on any account whatever.

MORE "INDEPENDENCE."

The signs of the times would seem to indicate that two or more of the States of this Republic are resolved to throw off the *shackles of union*, and declare themselves "*independent*." Some of the most fiery politicians of South Carolina and Georgia have wrought up the slaveholders of those states to a pitch of phrenzy, that borders on open rebellion against the general government. The *ostensible* cause of this is the Tariff regulations, &c. the *true* one is a dread of the preponderating influence and power of the "Free States," and an apprehension that they themselves, will not much longer be able to *rule the nation*, as they have been wont to do.

Were it not for the direful scenes which the event would inevitably bring to our view, we would almost say to these furious madcaps: *Go on*—put your threats in execution—the sooner the better—*slavery will be abolished in your section of the country, at least, fifty years the earlier by it!* But we forbear; and would fain indulge the hope, that a returning sense of reason may yet induce them to pause in their reckless career; and thus postpone, if not wholly avoid, the calamities of *servile commotion*, added to the consequences of factious insurrectionary strife. While such inflammatory language is frequently used, however, as that contained in the paragraphs below, even in the public assemblies of the people, it will be difficult to foresee the final result of the tempestuous raging of their angry passions. A political and moral "fanaticism" propels the actors in the tragic drama forward, and some of them would even glory in their self-immolation on the altar of martial delusion. What effect must the expression of sentiments like the following have upon the *slaves*, when heard, repeated, and commented upon, by the intelligent and discerning among them? Did ever a *Walker*, or a *Nat Turner* say any thing better calculated to rouse

them, and induce them to resist the power of their oppressors?

Terrible!—One of the South Carolina orators, a Mr. R. Barnwell Smith, thus magnificently bawled on the 4th of July—who does not “feel chilling fear,” at such an outcry?

“Revolution! sir, I feel no chilling fears, no appalling terrors come over me at the sound. On the contrary, I feel my mind elate, and my spirits rise, as at the rushing gale which bears me over the waves of a stormy ocean. What, sir, has the people ever gained but by revolution? What have tyrants ever conceded but to revolution? From the beginning of time, liberty has been acquired but at the price of blood, and that shed in revolution.

“No, sir! she came into existence, like the fabled harvest of the dragon’s teeth, covered all over with the panoply of war—with her breast plate and helmet on, and her spear glittering for the destruction of tyrants.

* * * * *

“Revolution! sir, it is the dearest and the holiest word to the brave and free. Let tyrants curse it, and the fearful tremble at it. It may lift the storm, on which the proud bird of freedom loves to rock and soar; but who will not take it, with all its troubles and trials, rather than the cold, accursed living death of slavery.”—*Niles’ Register*.

PURCHASE OF SLAVES—AGAIN.

In looking over a file of the *Liberator*, since I have had an opportunity of seeing it again, I perceive that the editor has complied with my request, in copying the article relative to the purchase of slaves, upon which he had previously animadverted. He also accompanies it with a few additional remarks, in which he still expresses his regret that any proposition for the purchase of slaves should be countenanced.

Now, if my friend will look a little deeper in’o the matter, I think he will discover that he is still mistaken, with respect to my sentiments. Have I ever advocated the purchase of a slave, by the government, *strictly speaking*? *No such thing!* In expressing my satisfaction at the proposition of the editor of the New York American, I only approved it *so far as it looked to the “IRREVOCABLE” EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY, and was THEREBY calculated to awaken the public attention to the subject.* The paragraph, quoted from the New York Whig, was noticed for no other purpose, as was plainly evident, than to *place the seal of condemnation upon it.*

But let us have a fair understanding about this matter of “purchasing” slaves. Does William Lloyd Garrison object to it *under any and every circumstance*? Suppose, for instance, his father, mother, sister, or brother, were held in slavery by some “barbarian,” in the Turkish or Algerine dominions.—Would he, in the absence of all hope of obtaining their liberation by other means, consent to their “ransom,” by the payment of a sum of money? The question is a fair one; let him and every reader solve it.

I have *never*, I repeat, advocated the purchase of a slave, in such way as to sanction the principle of slavery.—Yet I would willingly incur almost any pecuniary sacrifice, (in addition to several thousand dollars which I have already sacrificed,) to rid my country of the foul reproach and the impending calamity that awaits it, in consequence of upholding that “accursed system.” In passing an “irrevocable” edict, the effect of which should totally and forever abolish slavery, and as a condition thereof to appropriate funds with the view of their distribution as donations to the citizens of a State who may have been *compelled* to give up their slaves, would be very different things from that of purchasing such only as could be obtained by the *voluntary* consent of their holders.

I do not consider it necessary to dwell upon this subject. My sentiments have ever been adverse to the principle that tolerates the monstrous anomaly in our free institutions—that *man can be viewed as the property of man.* I deny its correctness, *in toto.* I have asserted—and the assertion has been recorded, an hundred times—that **NO MAN CAN, IN JUSTICE, HOLD ANOTHER AS A SLAVE FOR A SINGLE MOMENT.** The “laws,” established by any community, to uphold a system of personal slavery, ARE FOUNDED ON NOTHING BETTER THAN THE RESOLVES OF A BAND OF HIGH-WAY ROBBERS. It is sustained, in this country, upon no other ground than what ignorance, prejudice, and despotism have denominated “*expediency.*” Could the arguments of reason and justice prevail, every slaveholder, refusing to liberate a slave, would be subject to the same, or an infinitely greater penalty than would be inflicted on a man for retaining a horse, when demanded, which he had purchased knowing the animal to have been stolen.

Some months since, the following article was put in my hands by an esteemed friend, residing at New Bedford, Massachusetts. He had just received it from a gentleman in England. Let certain strong objections to the plan here proposed, but have not room for them in this sheet.—While the attention of the reader is drawn to the subject, it may be a fit occasion to lay the proposition before him. Let all read, reflect, and judge for themselves.

PURCHASING THE FREEDOM OF, AND GIVING A CHRISTIAN EDUCATION TO SLAVE CHILDREN.

The measures hitherto either proposed or adopted by the British Government, for the amelioration or extinction of Slavery in the Colonies, appear to be merely prospective, and in anticipation of beneficial results, at some

future and indefinite period, dependent on contingencies, which many intervening circumstances may either greatly protract,* or totally annihilate.

Considering the imperfection of all human systems, and the frailties of human nature, operating on mankind variously, from the several conditions or situations of life in which they may have been placed, and that it is only about half a century that the injustice and horrors of the Slave system have so generally engaged the attention of the Public, it must be allowed much is due to the present Slave Proprietors: therefore it would be a noble act of justice for Government immediately to purchase the freedom of all the Slave Children in its colonies, both Male and Female now of the age (say) from ten to twelve years, and to continue to purchase the freedom of every other slave child, on its attaining such determined age, all at a fair relative value, to be fixed by Commissioners appointed for that special purpose, and, when so purchased, to be immediately apprenticed out by said commissioners, to *suitable* Masters and Mistresses, till they attain the age of twenty-one. Such masters and mistresses, to be required to give these apprentices a Christian Education, and to send them to a place of worship on Sabbath days.

By this plan (where no objection should appear to the Commissioners either from barbarity or any other cause) they would probably be induced to apprentice the same children to their original proprietors, which might generally be returning them back into their own families, but in a better and more protected character, and affording the original proprietor the advantage of free, over slave labor.

The Commissioners, in fixing the price of the Slave Children, should be governed by the intrinsic value of each when presented, which would make it the interest of the slave proprietors to foster and encourage their nursing mothers and care takers, to bring their children to market in the best possible condition, and thereby abate some of the severity of female labor.

By adopting this plan, we may not only anticipate, in a few years, the rearing up in our colonies of a useful and enlightened order of society, with habits of life congenial to the comforts and happiness of a Christian community, many of whom would, doubtless, manumit by purchase their relatives and friends; but also bring within human calculation the day when Slavery would be totally extinguished in those colonies.

Carrying into effect these benevolent views, would afford the Parent Slaves much consolation, from knowing that their children were to be made partakers of the blessings of free-

dom, would tend to ameliorate and improve their dispositions and in some degree reconcile them to their present unhappy condition, anticipating the possibility of their children redeeming them also.

The first years expense of purchasing the freedom of the children in the British West Indies, of two years, (say from ten to twelve years old) would not probably exceed four hundred thousand pounds; the next, and probably the four or five succeeding years, each about two hundred thousand pounds, after that period, from some of the freed females becoming mothers, the expense would annually decrease, till all slavery terminated. An additional impost duty on West India Sugar, making it equal to the duty on East India Sugar, would it is estimated, be more than ample to defray the expenses of such purchases. s.

Milford, 2 mo. 11th, 1828.

“ASYLUM FOR” TYRANTS.

Strange, indeed, will it sound in the ears of an European,—yet it is not more strange than true, that the most profligate and despotic oppressors in the known world are now looking to *this Republic*, as a government the most congenial to their principles, and which will afford them the surest protection in the exercise of their usurpation and tyranny! The proud maxim, so long inscribed on the front of our national banner—“an asylum for the oppressed of all nations”—if not superseded by, must now be coupled with, the words that stand at the head of this article!! Alas, for the inconsistency of poor human nature! A shame and a curse attends the generation that supports a system of such unparalleled hypocrisy!

We have various accounts from the island of Jamaica, and other West India colonies, which leave no doubt on the minds of intelligent persons, that the period of a general emancipation of the slave holding population is *drawing near*. Since the late rebellion in Jamaica, the urgent entreaties of the philanthropists of England, and the stubborn refusal of the colonial authorities to comply with the requisitions of the parent government, have roused the dormant energies of the British Ministry, and a determined resolution has been formed to *compel* the colonists to abandon the horrid system of cruelty so long practised by them, and to adopt a plan for the cultivation of their lands by *free labor*. As we might naturally expect, this has given great offence to the corrupt enslavers of the colored population; and they are loud in their complaints and denunciations of the British philanthropists and statesmen. Several statements have appeared in the newspapers of late, relative

*Verified by the reluctance of the colonial assemblies to adopt the recommendations of the British Government.

to the intention of many planters to remove to the United States, where, they suppose they will be able to hold their slave "property," without molestation, and pursue the same measures of grinding oppression that they have been accustomed to. A southern paper, of recent date, has this paragraph:

"We learn that a considerable number of the most wealthy inhabitants of Jamaica have determined to abandon that island, and remove to the United States. The British Colonial system, alias, the "American system" of England—and the condition of the slave population—have reduced estates to one tenth the value they once possessed."

And a New-York paper contained the following article, a short time since:—

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

"In the island of Dominica the same mode of procedure has been resorted to by the Governor, against individuals there.

"In the island of St. Lucia distraction prevailed, amounting almost to civil war. Business was entirely suspended; the merchants and shop keepers refused to open their shops; the Governor laid an embargo on all vessels in port, and caused some individuals to be arrested because they had written to Martinique that a draft on the Government in England, which he had sent thither for the purchase of provisions, would not be accepted, and in consequence of which the Governor of Martinique refused to cash the bill or suffer provisions to be shipped. The Governor then issued a proclamation commanding the inhabitants to open their shops, which they naturally disregarded. Matters, it would seem, were proceeding to extremities; for the papers say that cannon were planted in such a position as to command the town, when some orders from England induced the Governor to retract, and for the moment nothing serious ensued.

"The sole cause of all this dissatisfaction and discontent, is the orders transmitted from England, in regard to the slave population. The orders on the same subject, from France, have also caused no little discontent and distress in Martinique and Gaudaloupe."

From what we see here stated, it is easy to conjecture—that West India Slavery is nearly at an end; that a considerable accession to the number of slaveites, in this country, may soon be expected from thence; and that our "free" government will, in all probability, be *the last abode of the demon spirit of African oppression in the western hemisphere*. How long the gorgon monster shall find a resting place in this "land of light and liberty," and what oceans of innocent blood must flow to satiate his hellish thirst, is a part of the tale which remains to be told.

We have some accounts of proceedings in the British Parliament, also sundry addresses, resolutions, &c. &c., adopted by the Anti-slavery Societies, which are very interesting; but their insertion must be postponed until the publication of our next paper.

SENTIMENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA.

A few months since, an excellent Address was delivered before the youth of the University of North Carolina, by a young gentleman of the name of GASTON. The high merit of the production has elicited the warmest eulogiums even of the southern Press, although it contains the most pointed denunciations of the system of Slavery. A Charleston paper speaks of it in terms of the most unqualified praise: and the Baltimore Patriot introduces it thus:—

Mr. Gaston, in his excellent Address to the Youth of the University of North Carolina, holds this language:

"On you will devolve the duty which has been too long neglected, but which cannot with impunity be neglected much longer, of providing for the mitigation, and (is it too much to hope for in North Carolina!) for the ultimate extirpation of the worst evil that afflicts the Southern part of our confederacy.—Full well do you know to what I refer, for on this subject there is with all of us, a morbid sensitiveness which gives warning even of an approach to it. Disguise the truth as we may, and throw the blame where we will, it is *Slavery* which, more than any other cause, keeps us back in the career of improvement.—It stifles industry, and represses enterprise—it is fatal to economy and providence—it discourages skill—impairs our strength as a community, and poisons morals at the fountain head. How this evil is to be encountered, how subdued, is indeed a difficult and delicate enquiry, which this is not the time to examine, nor the occasion to discuss. I felt, however, that I could not discharge my duty without referring to this subject, as one which ought to engage the prudence, moderation, and firmness of those who, sooner or later, must act decisively upon it."

"SLAVERY AND THE PRESS."

Would that we had a few more as clear-sighted editors as the gentleman who conducts the "Vermont Telegraph." Then should we soon witness a change in public opinion that would eventually seal the death-warrant for the demon of African oppression in these states. This is his language.—Professors of Religion! read and reflect.

"A few weeks since we had the gratification of seeing in the columns of that valuable paper, the New-York Evangelist, a department especially devoted to the subject of slavery; and from the character of the pieces inserted we believed the editor to have taken a decided and Christian stand against this great national sin. This department of the paper, especially a certain article from a New Bedford, (Mass.) paper, as the proprietor informs us, has been the subject of much complaint from their southern friends and subscribers. Accordingly, instead of a "Slavery Department," we find in the last Evangelist letters from southern correspondents, arguing the expediency of *entire silence on the subject of slavery*. Silence on the subject of slavery! If ever there was a sin that made it the duty of all Christian people, and all Christian editors, to speak out, in a tone of remonstrance

that should be heard, it is the sin of holding slaves. What doctrine is this, that the people of the north must be *silent* with regard to a system of crime and guilt, the most fearfully heinous the civilized world has ever known, and in which, by our connection with the south, we are in some measure participators! "Let us at the south," says the correspondent of the Evangelist, "manage this subject. Let me beg of you to remain silent." And how do "they at the south" manage the subject! The absolute silence of all *their* papers, in reference to the criminality of slavery, answers. The extreme and increasing rigor of their slave laws answers. The degradation, and ignorance, and viciousness, and wretchedness of the suffering blacks answer. The late alarming insurrections and the horrible executions that have followed, tell how "they at the south manage the subject of slavery.

Our religious papers are indeed almost all astonishingly silent on this subject. The Indian question may be meddled with, sabbath mails may be protested against, intemperance may be denounced, the morals of the nation may be guarded with a jealous eye, but *slavery*—touch not that! We have within a few months seen a southern state trampling on some of the rights of a few Indian tribes, and sending their missionaries to prison, and the religious press is at once arrayed against the oppressors, and treats them with a severity which Garrison never exceeded in his denunciations of slavery. And yet this severity in reference to Indian oppression is all very proper, but "Garrison is a madman!" What, we would ask, is the expatriation of a few tribes, in comparison with the *perpetual bondage* of more than two millions of human beings! Instead of fixing the guilt of slavery where it ought to lie, at the door of its supporters and apologists, we often notice in our religious papers assertions that the people of the south have the curse entailed upon them, and would gladly be rid of their slaves if they could. It is all a farce. *The slave-holders, AS A BODY, do not wish to be rid of their slaves.* They make no provision for their emancipation, either now or at any future time. They express no such intention, they have no such intention. And the people of the north, by their criminal silence, are countenancing it all. Never, never, until the press can be brought to bear on the point, and fasten the charge of *guilt* upon the system of slave-holding, can there be any hope for the reformation of the evil. It is indeed mortifying to compare the apathy of American Christians on this subject with the decision and perseverance of our English brethren. They neither palliate the crime of slave holding, nor acknowledge any of its absurd claims. If we had here a few such publications as the London New Baptist Miscellany, to speak and to speak loudly on this subject, our Christian slave-holders would soon find upon what ground they stand."

MATTERS WORTHY OF RECORD.

The editor of the *New York American*, speaking of the late Southampton Slave Insurrection, very emphatically says:

"We detest slavery—we have striven, and ever shall strive, against its extension in these United States: but, where it exists, and without any fault of those who are cursed with it, we would go to the utmost length to sustain the rights and safety of those whom circumstances have placed in the relation of masters. Such too is, we are sure, the feeling of all sound thinking men in the free states; and upon the slightest intimation that they are required, arms, money, men, will be poured forth in profusion for the defence of our southern brethren.

Let them not doubt this. Would to God the infatuated beings who have thus broken out in mad revolt, that must issue in such bloody retribution upon themselves, could be made equally sensible, that in such a cause, the whole white population of the Union is banded against them.

Nothing more is here proposed than what our Constitution and laws would authorize and enjoin.—But will this editor as freely exert himself to *prevent* such acts, by the adoption of *pacific* measures, as to punish their authors, by violent means, when committed?

Will he not *reflect* a little, and see that all those who support the slave holding system (and he himself supports it) are in "fault"? That system *may* be peaceably abolished; and *this would obviate all the difficulty apprehended with respect to it.*

But how shall this be accomplished?—*Exclusively by the African Colonization plan?—Never!* Our statesmen and intelligence-mongers must, therefore, look to some other sources for the requisite means. It is the especial duty of editors to *inform themselves*, and acquaint the public with every thing that will be interesting on that point. It is sickening to hear the language now used by some of them. (We do not here allude to the "American.") The conductors of the "Boston Courier," N. York "Commercial Advertiser," and many other papers of high reputation, speak of *that* as the *only* method of effecting the object!—"Blind guides," indeed, are these!

MOVEMENTS IN VIRGINIA.

The *Wheeling Gazette*, of Aug. 25th, contains a Memorial to the Legislature, urging the abolition of slavery in that State, or, at least, *in the*

western part of it. This Memorial is well written. It shall appear in our next number.

From the Liberator.

A SONG TO THE SAD ONE.

By a Lady.

I will sing—but to whom shall my numbers be poured?

To the happy? the honored? the brave?
To the phantom of beauty, by thousands adored?
No—I'll sing to the poor, fettered slave.

Behold him in sadness and bending with toil!
He burdens the air with his sigh;
His sweat and his tears are bedewing the soil—
He has not a hope but to die.

And life is to him but a wearisome way,
In darkness and bitterness trod,
While tyranny shuts from his bosom the ray
That beams from the Volume of God.

He knows not the promise so sweetly revealed
For those who in sorrow may sow—
That he may lay open his wounds to be healed
By one who has balm for each woe.

The image of Christ is withheld from his sight;
In none does that beauty appear,
Where power and compassion and meekness unite—
The Name is blasphemed in his ear.

So, I will go out from the world and its mirth,
Whose brightness will soon become dim;
I'll sit down by him who is crushed to the earth,
And cheer up his heart with a hymn.

I'll bid him look up where his cheek may be dried
In the light of eternity's Sun;—
Where the veil of the flesh thrown forever aside,
The black and the white shall be one.

I'll tell him the stripes he is suffering here
Are marked in a record on high,
Against their rash giver, as fire, to appear
When the chains of the slave are cast by.

I'll teach him the prayer of forgiveness and love,
Of Him who in anguish below,
Foresaw the dread dealings of Justice above,
And prayed for his murderous foe.

Yes, I will go out where in sadness he gropes,
Benighted his weary life-long,
To kindle his desolate heart with new hopes,
And put in his mouth a new song.

Newburyport.

H. F. G.

CAPACITY OF BLACKS.

A number of instances are cited of celebrated black men who have distinguished themselves, notwithstanding every disadvantage. Among them are: Hannibal, an African, who rose to the rank of lieutenant-general in the Russian corps of Artillery. Francis Williams, a black, born in Jamaica, was educated in the University of Cambridge. After his return to Jamaica, he taught Latin and the Mathematics. Anthony Williams Amo, born at Guinea, took the degree of Doctor in Philosophy at the University of Wittemburg, and distinguished himself in metaphysics; he was also skilled in the learned languages. Job Ben Solomon, son of the Mahometan king of Banda, was taken in 1730, and sold in Maryland. He found his way to England, and became acquainted with Sir Hanse Sloane, for whom he translated Arabic manu-

scripts. James Eliza John Capitein, an African, was carried as a slave to Holland, where he acquired several learned languages, and took degrees in theology at the University of Leyden. He was sent out as a Calvinistic minister to Guinea. Ignatius Sancho distinguished himself as a literary character in England, died 1780.—Thomas Fuller, an African, who, although unable to read or write, performed difficult arithmetical calculations with amazing facility. Belinda, after being a slave for forty years in Massachusetts, addressed, in 1782, an eloquent petition to the Legislature of that state, for the freedom of herself and daughter. The petition has been preserved in one of the volumes of the American Museum. Othello published, in 1784, at Baltimore, an eloquent essay against the slavery of Africans.

BRIEF NOTICES.

Cuba.—An order has been issued by the Captain General of the island of Cuba, prohibiting the introduction of free persons of color. All vessels bringing such, as passengers or otherwise, will be compelled to take them away, and not only support them, but a guard also, during their stay in any of the ports of Cuba.

Introduction of Slaves.—The Georgian informs us that the laws of the state against the introduction of slaves for the purpose of speculation, are evaded by the parties closing the transaction, and transferring the bill of sale on the other side of the river, when the new purchaser of course legally introduces his purchase as his own property. This is a regular business.

¶ The Lexington, Va. "Union" of the 23th July says:—"The Hon. Gabriel S. Moore, late Governor of Alabama, Senator in Congress, &c., passed thro' this place on Monday last, returning to his residence and constituents. He travelled with great republican simplicity and equality. No glittering equipage; no show of circumstances to indicate his high estate—but rode in a common waggon, drawn by four goodly steeds and driven by a black servant. The Hon. Senator was accompanied in this vehicle by a NEGRO WOMAN and two or three mulatto children."

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION

TO THE

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The work will, henceforth, be issued monthly. It will be neatly printed on fine paper, and folded in the octavo form, each number making sixteen large pages.

The price of subscription will be One Dollar per annum, *always to be paid in advance.*

Subscribers who do not particularly specify the time they wish to receive the work, or notify the Editor of a desire to discontinue it before the expiration of each current year, will be considered as engaged for the next succeeding one, and their bills will be forwarded accordingly.

Agents will be entitled to six copies for every five dollars remitted to the Editor, in current money of the United States.

All letters and communications intended for this office, must be addressed, free of expense, to BENJAMIN LUNDY, Washington, D. C.

CONTENTS OF THIS ADDENDA.

The editor to his patrons; Mexico—Texas—Colonization, page 205, 206. Texas independent; More "Independence," 207. Purchase of slaves—Against 208. "Assylum for" Tyrants, 209. Sentiments in N. Carolina; Slavery and the press, 210. Matters worthy of Record; Movements in Virginia, 211. A song to the sad one; Capacity of blacks; Brief Notices; Terms of subscription, 212.

THE
GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION,

A
MONTHLY PERIODICAL WORK,

CONTAINING

ORIGINAL ESSAYS, DOCUMENTS AND FACTS,

RELATIVE TO THE SUBJECT OF

AFRICAN SLAVERY.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE U. S.

BENJAMIN LUNDY, EDITOR.

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INDEX TO VOL. III. THIRD SERIES.

No. I.

Editor's Address to the Public, page 1. To Patrons and Correspondents, Visit to Texas, 2. Emancipation in the British Colonies, British Slavery in the West Indies, 7. Memorial from Western Virginia, Do. to the General Assembly of Virginia, 8. Colored Settlements in Canada, A Sign, Mexican Treaty, The Horrors of the Slave Trade, 10. District of Columbia, 11. Another Female Anti-Slavery Society, Cruelties of West India Slavery, 12. Description of a West India Slave Whip, The Consumption of Slave Produce, 13. Looking at the Soldiers, Tea Table Talk, 14. The Summer Skies, 15. Prospectus of G. U. E. 16.

No. II.

Petitioning Congress, John Quincy Adams, 17. Political Affairs of Mexico, 18. Mexican Colonization, Thoughts on African Colonization, Testimony against Slavery, Stores for the Productions of Free Labor, 20. Decency, Further Description of the Texas Country, 21. The Union in danger, Canada Joint Stock Company, 23. Warner Mifflin, Letter from Canada, 25. Immediate, not Gradual, 26. Affray in New Jersey, A Pardon asked, New Anti-Slavery Paper, Brief Notices, To Readers and Correspondents, 27. Reasons for Flogging the Slaves, Rice, Free Produce Stores, 28. Female Literary Association of Philadelphia, 29. The coming Year, The Parting, 30. The Sugar Plumbs, 31. Proposals for the Abolitionist, 32.

No. III.

Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, Striking at the Root, 33. Political Affairs in Mexico, Letter from Charles Stewart, 34. Arnold Buffum, "the Hatter," and Rev. Joshua Danforth, 35. Further description of the Texas Country, 36. Winter in Mexico, Jefferson's Opinion, 38. Richmond Inquirer vs. Nullification, 40. Anthony Bennezitte, Outlines of a plan for the Abolition of Negro Slavery, 41. Publishing Avowals, 42. New Publications, Slavery in Maryland, African Colonization, Canadian Colonization, A real Virginia Slavite, 43. The Year, The District of Columbia, 44. Emigration to Mexico, 46. The Shelter, Cæsar and Ara, 47.

No. IV.

Errors of the Press, District of Columbia, Mexican Colonization, 49. The Abolitionist, J. Q. Adams, Nullification, 52. Prejudice in Pennsylvania, English Opinions of the Colonization Society, 53. Improvements in England, Slavery in the West Indies and in the United States, 55. Manual Labor School for Colored Youth, Declaration of Garrison of Mexico, 56. Production of Free Labor, 57. Colonization Society—trouble in the West, Anti-Slavery Periodicals, Wilberforce

Settlement, 58. Robert Douglass, jr., Liberal Donation, New Anti-Slavery Society, Lectures on West India Slavery, Latest Accounts from Mexico, Free Labor Dry Goods Store, 59. "What good can we do?" Wanted, Self distrust, Ladies Anti-Slavery Society, 60. The Sold, 62. Slavery, Gloom, 63. Terms of Subscription, 64.

No. V.

Another Coadjutor, Prospectus of the Emancipator, 65. More Anti-Slavery Periodicals, New England Anti-Slavery Society, 66. Review of three Lectures on British and Colonial Slavery, &c. by George Thompson, 67. Reuben Madison, 69. Slavery, 72. Richard Humphrey's last Will, 73. Highly Important from England, Town of Brazoria in Texas, Richard Brooke, 74. Mexico, The Richmond Inquirer and Louisville Public Advertiser, 76. Society at Green Plains, Ohio, Another Philanthropic Association, 77. Lament for Africa, The Tears of Woman, Sonnet, Memory, 78. Are you opposed to Slavery? Extract from the Fifth Report of the Ladies' Association for Liverpool, &c. 79. Wilberforce Colony, Mexico, 80.

No. VI.

The Rev. Gen. Buff Green, Mexico, Culture of Sugar Cane by Free Labor, Proceedings in England, 81. Sentiments of the Colored People, 82. Wholesale Free Produce Store, An Old Tar's Testimony, 83. Richard Brooke, 84. Report made to the Pennsylvania Legislature, 85. Slavery in Kentucky, Things in Richmond, Va. 88. Slave cases in Massachusetts, What would be the consequence, Antiquities of Mexico, 89. Review of three Lectures, continued, 90. Free Labor, 92. Spring, The Marquis la Fayette, 93. Evening Thoughts, Slave who has been talking, Familiar Conversation, An Extract, 94. The Humming Bird, Fragment, 95. Institution for Colored Females, New York Phoenix Society, Slavery in St. Helena, Slavery in the World, 96.

No. VII.

British Colonial Slavery, Editor's Absence, 97. The "Daily Intelligencer," 98. Convention of People of Color, 99. Address on do. 100. The Kidnapper, News from Jamaica, Hayti, 102. Free Negroes and Slaves, Philadelphia Library Company of Colored Persons, The Journal of Commerce of the Island of Cuba, 103. The Peace-maker, 104. New Troubles, 105. Nullification and Slavery, Views from the South, 106. The Canterbury Affair, 107. Do. do. Discussion on Colonization, 108. The Negroe's Prayer, Slavery, 109. Free Produce Society of Chester County, Pa., 110. Beast's hunt men in Demarara, 111.

No. VIII.

Mexican Colonization, 113. Maryland Colonization, 114. The Texas Country, 115. Convention

of colored people, 116. Letter from B. Lundy to the convention of free colored people about to assemble in Philadelphia, 118. Important to emigrants, to Texas, Anti-Slavery Meeting in London, 120. Plan for the Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies, Prospects of the Slave States, 122. The Richmond Whig—gag-laws, 124. Human happiness, Women and the Temperance Cause, Prejudice, 125. Extract, Selfishness, The skies that clouds overcast, Sugar, 126. Evening thoughts, Cruel Treatment of Free Colored People in the District of Columbia, 127. Lines addressed to Prudence Crandall, 128.

No. IX.

Free Labor, The Canterbury Affair, 129. Savage Barbarity, Solid Argument, 130. Reply to the Editor of the "Presbyterian," 131. "Do not strike our flag," Extract, 132. Reply to the "Daily Intelligencer," 133. A majority of mankind are Black, 134. Conventional Address, 135. Report of Committee on African Colonization, 137. Slavery and Liberty, 138. Procession of Colored People in Cincinnati, 139. Questions on Slavery, 140. The Productions of Slavery, The Prospect of Emancipation, The diffusion of Knowledge, 141. Third Report of the London Female Anti-Slavery Society, The Elm Tree Treaty, 142. The Captive Lion, Praiseworthy Acts, Constitution of the Free Produce Society of Chester County, Pa. 143. Slavery, 144.

No. X.

Glorious News, The Black Law of Connecticut, 145. The Converted Negro, 146. Review of "A Vindication of a Loan to the West India Planters, by James Cropper," 147. Slavery, 149. Washington Telegraph, 150. Review of the con-

duct and opinions of Thomas Jefferson, 151. Further Exposure and Reply, 153. Review of "Facts designed to exhibit the real character of the American Colonization Society, by Clericus," 154. Travelling Agencies, Evening Retrospection, 157. Questions on Slavery, 158. Storm, A Negro Woman's Lamentation, 159. Forms of Subscription, Agents, &c. 160.

No. XI.

Immediate Emancipation, Fanatics and Incendiaries, 161. Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature, 162. Petition Respecting Negro Slavery, presented to the British Parliament, 165. The Sin of Slavery, by Elizur Wright, jr. 166. The Poor African's Complaint, 169. Protest by Wilberforce and others against African Colonization, 170. Mr. Wilberforce, The African Expedition, 171. Slavery in the District of Columbia, Singular Investigation, 172. Hannah Killman, 173. A good Example, The Canterbury Persecution, The Colonization Society, Hartford Benevolent Society for Colored Children, 174. Obituary of a Colored Woman, Questions on Slavery, continued, 175. To a Crocus, 176.

No. XII.

Our own Affairs, New York Anti-Slavery Society, Garrison's Speech, 181. Letter from B. Lundy, American Slavery and American Colonization Society, from the London Patriot, 182. The sin of Slavery, by Elizur Wright, jr. 186. A Matron of Eastern Virginia, 189. To A****, To a Stranger, A Dialogue on Slavery, 190. Free Labor Products, New Publications, Use of Tobacco, 191. Prudence Crandall, Free Produce, 192.

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"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration of Independence, U. S.*

No. 1. Vol. III. Third Series.] NOVEMBER, 1832. [WHOLE NUMBER 277. VOL. XIII.

On commencing the *Thirteenth Volume* of the GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION, we have the mortification of being compelled to apologize, again, for irregularity in the publication. A more particular explanation than has yet been given, of the causes of that irregularity, is absolutely requisite to enable the numerous and respectable patrons of the work to judge of the propriety of continuing their support. When the Editor left home, in the summer of 1831, with the view of visiting the middle and southern States of this Union, as well as Canada and Mexico, he was under the necessity of issuing the work under his own direction, while on his tour. No competent person could be found, willing to superintend the business at Washington or Baltimore, in his absence. As might have been expected, and was certainly anticipated, difficulties had to be attended with, in conducting the publication under this arrangement. Yet the hope was retained, that it could be issued regularly; and during a part of the time this was done. Within a few months past, however, owing to the necessary delays in travelling through the Eastern and western States, and sundry disappointments in the mechanical execution of the work, the commencement of the new volume has been postponed much longer than was intended or expected when the last one was completed.

It is hoped that this statement will sufficiently account for the recent delay in the publication, and that the patrons of the work are again fully reminded, that they will all receive the full amount of their subscriptions, notwithstanding the delay above mentioned. They must have, at least, TWELVE SHEETS, OF SIX PAGES EACH, with Title-page and Index, for a year's subscription, the price of which is ONE DOLLAR, in advance:—and if they do not receive the same within the current year, at the date of their subscriptions, they will receive it in the year following. Those who subscribe with the first number of a volume, will receive that volume, complete, for a year's subscription; tho' subscribers may commence at any number they choose, and must have at least the same number of numbers for one dollar, as aforesaid.

The Editor wishes to assure his friends and patrons that, in summing up the amount of his labors and sacrifices, during the eleven years of

his editorial career, (the hardships and sufferings attendant he estimates not,) and in taking a retrospective view of the events of that period, he feels greatly encouraged to persevere in his exertions to promote the cause of UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION. A wonderful change in public sentiment, relative to this subject, has been effected within that time, throughout a great portion of this Republic. Of the humble part that he has taken in producing this change, it does not become him to speak; yet he is not inattentive to the various operations of that influence which has wrought so important a moral improvement in the public mind;—and he takes this occasion to renew the pledge, which he has repeatedly given, to devote his future labors to the great and holy cause. That cause will as certainly triumph, as that the Sun will rise to-morrow, if its advocates remain firm, and continue in the active discharge of their duty.

It is not to be expected that this grand reformation can be accomplished by any single system of operations. The evil of Slavery is one of immense magnitude, and will require the combined efforts of all the wise and virtuous in the nation to eradicate it. There is much diversity of sentiment among the friends of the cause, respecting the proper mode of proceeding. Hence it is desirable to encourage every honest effort, until conflicting opinions shall be merged in the knowledge arising from practical experience. Yet the one important principle must be adhered to—the one great object must be kept constantly in view—namely: Christianity requires, and Justice demands, the prompt advocacy and IMMEDIATE ADOPTION of measures, that shall break the fetters of the slave, and prepare him for the enjoyment of perfect freedom. This must be done, sooner or later, whether he remains where he is, or removes to a distant land. The doctrine of "expediency," which dooms him to a life of unconditional bondage, is the offspring of ignorance, fatuity, or sheer despotism. Reason teaches, experience ratifies, and all history confirms this. The primary object of this work has ever been to show, that justice, like charity, should begin at home—that no dependence can be placed upon a system of foreign operations, alone, in the abolition of slavery. The total failure of the "African Institution," in En-

gland, and the *waning popularity* of the "American Colonization Society," in the United States, may be adduced in proof of the correctness of this axiom. The first named of these associations, at one time, commanded the influence of the British statesmen—the second, until lately, commanded that of the most popular characters in this country. The former has given place to a patriotic congregation of *West India Emancipators*; and the latter is destined to be superseded by something of a more philanthropic nature. Prejudice against color is fast diminishing, and considerations of justice and *safety* are taking its place. The drivelling policy that would make the extension of equal rights to the descendants of Africans dependant on their removal to another continent, or even their expatriation any where, will eventually be exploded. In the mean time let every true philanthropist be up and doing.—Let all "put their shoulders to the wheel,"—"their hands to the plough"—and devote every leisure moment to the sacred cause. Let them do this, and even if they shall not themselves witness its final success, posterity will "rise up to call them blessed," and hallow their virtuous deeds in consummating the glorious work.

In conclusion, the Editor returns his grateful acknowledgments to his numerous friends and patrons for their steady support. He has unfurled the banner of *moral reform* on the soil fertilized with the tears of oppression—the land of chains and slavery:—and *there it shall wave*, while a patriot heart and an UNFETTERED ARM remains to sustain it. He is still cheered in his arduous labors by the mild and persuasive, yet powerful and effective co-operation of his Sister-Editor. And while he promises still to use his utmost endeavors to promote the good cause, he urgently solicits the further patronage of a philanthropic and enlightened public.

TO PATRONS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

The Editor's protracted absence from home, and the mode of travelling which he was frequently necessitated to adopt, (he journeyed, latterly, much *on foot*,) have prevented his attention to many important matters that had a claim upon his notice. Correspondents have, also, for the same reasons, been unavoidably neglected for some length of time. It would have been too expensive to have forwarded many letters, pamphlets, or papers, by mail, and too burthensome to have carried them along. Believing that his objects, in taking his late tour, were of great importance to the welfare

of our common country, especially to the oppressed population thereof, and hoping that some good will arise from it, he craves the forbearance and indulgence of his friends and patrons for whatever omissions or delinquencies may have occasioned.

As soon as time will permit, the favors of correspondents will be duly attended to. Whatever errors may have occurred in the business concerns of the establishment, will be promptly corrected on discovery.

VISIT TO TEXAS.

It was stated, in the Addenda to the last volume of this work, that the Editor had then, very recently, returned to the United States, from a short visit to the Texas country. The object of that tour was to investigate the state of things generally, as far as it might be convenient, with the ultimate view of preparing the way for future emigration and settlement of colored people, from these States. The time, allowed for the purpose, was by no means sufficient to make every investigation which the importance of the subject would call for; yet enough was ascertained to furnish the most conclusive evidence of the propriety and great utility of the measure contemplated; and believing that a description of certain portions of the country in question, together with a brief view of the character of its inhabitants, may be interesting to the friends of the cause, some extracts from the Editor's Journal, and the statements of several dry other persons who have also visited and resided in the country, will be inserted in the present and future numbers. The reader is referred to an editorial article in the Addenda above mentioned, for some remarks on the *political* state of the nation, &c. &c. The correct information that can be obtained on this subject, will be given from time to time.

The writer of this went into the Texas country, (now part of the State of "*Coahuila de Texas*,") by way of Natchitoches, up the River in Louisiana—proceeding thence on the St. Antonio road, and crossing the Sabine (the boundary between the Republics of the United States and Mexico) about 50 miles of that place. He reached the Sabine in the evening of the 27th of June, and took lodgings with a respectable gentleman of the name of Gaines—a North American by birth—who keeps the Ferry, on the Texas side. The following is extracted from his Journal:

"June 23th, 1841

"I rose early this morning, and after taking a view of the river, and examining the country in its vicinity, &c. I went on, westward, to the fort and village of Nacagdoches. The country bordering on the Sabine, (both sides)

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

and sandy. The bottoms are, of course, more fertile than the uplands; but there is very little, owing to the farmer or the planter, in its immediate neighborhood. The river itself, is narrow—tho' its banks are high—and in dry weather it has, comparatively, little water. It is fordable in many places, during the summer and fall seasons.

"In travelling a few miles, westward, we are still presented with sterile, sandy, pine timbered land. We cross two or three small streams, in the bottoms of which the timber is a little more diversified; but the principal growth is Pitch Pine. There is some grass over the whole, upland and bottoms, affording tolerable good pasturage for cattle, considerable numbers of which are to be seen feeding on it, as we pass along the road. The land is a little rolling, for the most part; but much of it is too level to turn the water off, as would be desirable, in wet seasons.

"About four or five miles from the Sabine, we cross a handsome mill-stream. Here is a good house and farm. The aspect of the country now changes very essentially. The land assumes a reddish appearance, and is much more fertile. Some pretty large hills, indeed, are met with. On the brows of these, and in the banks of the creeks, we perceive some rock, deeply impregnated with *iron ore*. The water is pure, and the timber is greatly diversified. A little pine grows here. The prevailing growth, in the uplands, is hickory and oak of various kinds. In the creek bottoms there are many other species of timber, common to the bottom lands in our middle and western States, with some vines and Spanish moss clinging to and dangling from the limbs of the trees. In the bottoms the timber is very tall and fine; but on the uplands it is rather scattering and dwarfish—an immense range for horses and cattle is afforded, as the whole surface is covered with a most luxuriant and thick coat of grass. Many plants and flowers are to be seen, that are quite different from those in any part of the United States of the North.

"For about sixteen miles, or thereabouts, the country has pretty much the same appearance as that just described. We meet with a number of fine farms on the road. The settlers are, mostly, from the western and southern parts of the United States, and live and transact business much in the same manner that they do in those States, &c. Large fields of corn present themselves to the view; and, what may seem curious to a *northern* farmer, some of them show in *tassel*, with good roasting ears, while the stalk is but a few inches high! They have so early commenced planting corn in the latter part of winter, in this latitude, (31 1-2 deg. north,) that they commence planting corn in the latter part of January, and finish in July. In no part of America have I seen better corn than in this section of country. Some cotton and wheat is likewise raised here, as well as most or all other vegetable productions of our middle and southern states. In some places the farmers are harvesting oats. The straw was very fine, and the grain looked well. The wheat harvest had been over some weeks.

"In the latter part of this day's journey, the country has a still better appearance. Some of the prairies present themselves; and the farms are larger and more numerous. We pass some fields of excellent cotton. The land lies most beautifully for cultivation. We now lose the

pine timber entirely. This afternoon, I passed a Methodist Camp Meeting place, where I learn the members of that society often assemble, for divine worship. I also met a wedding party—both men and women were well dressed, and mounted on good horses. Towards evening, I crossed two more small mill-streams, one of which I was obliged to wade. In the evening I took lodgings with a gentleman originally from Long Island, in the State of New York, who keeps a small store, and farms and plants on a pretty extensive scale. Being detained considerably, making enquiries, &c., I travelled but 21 miles to-day. I found good accommodation at this place; but the weather being very warm, and having travelled several days on foot, I was somewhat fatigued; and the change of water, the change of diet, (I had lately used corn bread instead of wheat or rye,) and the effects of the hot sun, altogether, made me also feel a little unwell; and I rested poorly through the night.

"This particular section of the Texas country was formerly called the "Neutral Ground." During the Mexican Revolution, the government could pay but little attention to it, on account of its distant, isolated situation; and the consequence was, that many criminals and lawless ruffians took refuge here, who had escaped from the hands of justice, in the United States and elsewhere. The settlers acknowledge that a most vicious state of society has, until lately, existed; but one of them remarked, that many of the vilest had "*killed each other off!*" and that a better state of things might now be looked for. The government, likewise, has recently extended, and more strictly enforced its laws within that portion of the republic. Many of the present settlers have a very respectable appearance; but few of them have obtained titles to their lands, as *foreigners* have always, for the most part, been prohibited, by law, from settling within 60 miles of the United States' line, since the organization of the Mexican government.

" June 29th.

"Soon after day-light I resumed my journey. Many rumors were circulated of a meditated attempt, on the part of sundry revolutionists, to take the fort at Nacogdoches; but I determined to proceed, let the result be what it might. The country has a still better appearance, as we go further westward. The prairies are larger and more numerous. The farms look still better than heretofore. The range, for cattle, is exceedingly fine. From twenty to thirty, and even as many as forty, beautiful large fat cows, with young calves, are to be seen, penned up, at the different farm houses, this morning; and yet the settlers have mostly resided but a few years in the country. The facility in raising stock is wonderful. Horses, cattle, and hogs require no feeding, winter nor summer. We now come to a branch of the river Neches, called the Ayesh Bayou. There are many settlers in the vicinity of this stream, some of whom are located a considerable distance from the road. Several mills, for grinding grain and sawing timber, are established on this Bayou. A great variety of excellent timber presents itself in the bottoms. Some cane is, likewise, to be seen occasionally. The land, generally, still preserves a reddish color; and the soil is an intermixture of loam and gravel. In some places a little sand may be seen. The roads are, for the most part, very good. Large

waggon, drawn by three or four yoke of oxen, are constantly going on them.

"The weather being very dry and warm, I travelled but seventeen miles to-day. I was detained, however, considerably, in making enquiries respecting the state of the country, &c. There are no regular taverns on the road, and I stopped for the night at a private farm house, where I found respectable people, and good accommodation.

"June 30th.

"I sat out, this morning, at daylight; and after travelling three miles, crossed a fine stream, called the Atoyac river. This is also a branch of the Neches. The country about here has much the same appearance as that last described. A ferry, and a small store, are kept at this place, by a Spanish creole, (a native Mexican,) who evinced much social kindness and hospitality. On enquiry, I found the prices of dry goods lower than I had expected. Groceries and hardware were very dear. In travelling three miles further, I found another creole. He has a fine farm, well stocked with cattle. There is a considerable number of native Mexicans in this section of the country. Few of them speak the English language; but they are kind to respectable travellers from these states, and to other foreigners. The greater portion of the population is composed of emigrants from various parts of the United States of the North, and the style of living among the whole is very much the same. I found that many of them had migrated from the slaveholding states, and taken their slaves with them. Though the Mexican government has passed laws, by virtue of which slavery will ultimately be abolished in that country, still considerable numbers are yet held in bondage. Their treatment varies but little, if any, from that of the same class of people in the United States of the North generally. Slavery will, however, be totally abolished here, no doubt, in the course of a few years.

"As I had been somewhat unwell, and the weather was exceedingly warm, I stopped at the house of the creole gentleman, above mentioned, three or four hours. During this period we had a heavy shower of rain. I then proceeded nine miles to the next house, and after taking a little rest, went two and a half miles further, and took lodgings with a gentleman who formerly resided in the state of Illinois. He had a very kind and interesting family. The country through which I travelled this afternoon was not very different from that last described. The land has a rather paler appearance, in general—the soil on the prairies and in the bottoms is, indeed, quite dark—tho' we see a little pine timber again, in detached elevations. The prairies are also larger, as we proceed westward; and in many parts thereof are several kinds of very fine grapes, growing on low vines. These grapes are said to make an excellent wine. We cross several handsome mill-streams in this section of the country, the water of which is pure and wholesome. Their beds are gravelly, with some sand and pebble stone.

"July 1st.

"I resumed my journey early this morning, and went nine miles, to the village of Nacogdoches. There were but two or three houses on the road, and one of these within half a mile of that place. In going this distance, we pass through a tract of country that has not quite so

good an appearance as that last noted. There is more pine timber, and the land is a little sandy in some places; yet I was informed that it produces good corn, &c., where it is cultivated. As I had stopped some length of time with the gentleman whose house I first came to, this morning, (who, it should be mentioned, is a very intelligent and respectable emigrant from Massachusetts,) I did not reach Nacogdoches until near the middle of the day. The rumors of an intended attack, by the revolutionists from the southern settlements, had made a deep impression upon the minds of the inhabitants; and, seeing me arrive, with my knapsack on my back, and thinking I was from the country below, many of them came to me as I passed along the street, enquiring 'the news.' But, though I had been something of a news-monger in my day, I was not then sufficiently acquainted with the 'movements' of those who delight in 'wars and rumors of wars,' to give them any satisfactory information. I found they all calculated on a little fighting; and, indeed, it was looked for hourly. Some hundreds of Indians, of the various neighboring tribes, were then in the village, armed and equipped for battle.

"Having been informed, by various persons on the road, that I would not be allowed to pass the fort at Nacogdoches, in consequence of the then unsettled state of the country, I went to the Commander, immediately after I had changed my garb and taken a little refreshment, and made the necessary enquiry. As neither of us understood each other's language, he sent for an interpreter. In the mean time, he very politely handed me a chair, and invited me to partake of a bottle of wine with himself and other officers. When the interpreter came, we entered immediately into conversation. Instead of throwing any obstacles in my way, he gave me to understand that I was at perfect liberty to go further, or tarry in the village, as I should choose. I then took leave of him, promising, at his request, to call on him again before my departure, and took lodgings at the principal tavern, where a number of travellers and adventurers from the United States of the North had made their home for a brief period.

"Nacogdoches is a rather poor looking place, though it has a good deal of trade. Several tribes of Indians reside near it, and bring in considerable quantities of fur and peltry. Five mercantile stores, and a few small shops, are kept in the village. They have, also, a variety of mechanics; two or more physicians; a Spanish and English school; a Catholic church, at which a minister regularly officiates; and one tavern, kept by a gentleman of the name of Roberts, from Virginia. The houses, (perhaps one or sixty in number, exclusive of those in the occupancy of the military,) are nearly all built of wood, in the old French and Spanish style, with large piazzas. Some of them are of good frames, and all have shingled roofs. The population is said to amount to about two hundred, exclusive of the garrison and the families of the officers and soldiers. From three to five hundred troops are generally stationed there. The town is incorporated, and has an Ayuntamiento, (board of aldermen,) an Alcalde, (magistrate,) &c. &c. Lawyers are very scarce, but the administration of justice is said to be prompt and effective, by those who have resided

there for a considerable length of time. The public market is hardly worthy of notice. Fresh beef, &c. is brought in, by the inhabitants of the adjacent country, and is plenty and cheap. It is taken to the houses of the purchasers. The people generally raise the most of the vegetables they consume, in the village. Articles produced in the country are, in general, sold at reasonable prices; but such as are imported rate high. The citizens generally are very kind, social, and hospitable.

“Having spent six days in Nacogdoches, and made an acquaintance with several intelligent and influential citizens and public officers, and having communicated to some of them the object of my visit to that country; having, also, obtained the chief information that I went in quest of, as far, at least, as it could be done without wasting more time than I could then spare, I left Nacogdoches in the afternoon of the 7th of July, and returned on foot to Louisiana, by nearly the same route that I came. I re-crossed the Sabine river in the afternoon of the 10th, having met with some detention in making further enquiries and investigations, relative to the state of the country, &c. The weather was about warm, then, as it generally is in our middle states at the same season of the year.”

We now give some extracts from the publications of two other gentlemen, as mentioned before, relative to those parts of the Texas country further to the southwest, where Austin's and Dewitt's colonies are situated. Owing to the great length of this article, they are abbreviated as much as possible. From information derived from various sources, we have no doubt of the general correctness of their statements. The first extract is from a communication lately published in a St. Louis paper, over the signature of *Philander Priestly*, who visited Austin's colony a few months since: and the second is from a letter written by a gentleman now residing in Texas, of the name of *Byrd Lockhart*, recently published in a paper at Xenia, Ohio.

Speaking of the tract of land owned by Col. Stephen F. Austin, at the mouth of the Brassos river, and the country above, Priestly remarks as follows:—

About four or five miles North East of the mouth of the Brassos river, there are plenty of oysters, on Oyster Bayou, and are of a remarkably good quality. On the South West side of the Brassos river, the land is good, and is held for many miles along the coast and the river, by Col. Stephen F. Austin, and is called Austin's reserve. The river, at its mouth, makes a bar, which I am told is common to most of the rivers of this country: the consequence of which is, that vessels are sometimes delayed for the tide, to ensure a safe entry.—Navigation for vessels drawing from five to eight feet, is good for fifty or sixty miles up the Brassos, Colorado, the La Baca, and the Guadalupe.—On the Brassos, vessels run to Marion, a newly laid town, twelve miles by land above Brazoria, where the goods for the upper country are deposited. From Brazoria to the mouth of the Brassos, on both sides of the river, the land is generally rich and productive, and sufficiently well timbered for all farming purposes. The prairies are commonly good farming lands, and the people, for the most part, both in Austin's and Dewitt's colonies, seem to prefer prairie situa-

tions for building and farming. The country generally from the mouth of the Brassos to San Felipe de Austin, and for twenty miles above, is flatter than I could wish—not swampy—badly watered, but well calculated for cotton and sugar planting; I entertain no doubt but it is equal, if not superior, to the Louisiana lands for sugar. In that portion of the country of which I have just spoken, the most of the water courses, the Big and Little Bernards, Caneey Creek, &c. are bounded on each side, for from an half to a mile, with what the settlers call Cane and Peach, the soil of which is remarkably light, productive, and easily put in cultivation, nothing having to be done but to cut away the cane and what few peach saplings are standing among it. These peach saplings, as to texture, smell, and the grain of the wood, resemble very much the peach tree which is cultivated in the United States of the North—the greatest difference seems to be that the Texas wild peach has only a small black berry, which, however, serves as a fine mast for hogs. From San Felipe de Austin, which is situated on the Brassos river, ninety miles from its mouth, South and West, for about thirty miles to the Colorado river, the country is an entire sandy prairie; but across the country, east and south east, and from Major William Robinson's on the Colorado, to the neighborhood of Col. John P. Coles' and Nestor Clay's, embracing Mill and Yegua Creeks, the land is good and well timbered. This neighborhood is forty-five miles above San Felipe de Austin. On the 28th of December, 1831, I went into the Yegua bottom in company with Nestor Clay, to look at his cattle, and found the bottom thickly set with a luxuriant green coat of winter grass, half leg high, and his cattle, comparatively, scarcely able to support their load of fat—Indeed, I think I have rarely, if ever, seen fatter beef produced in any market. For twenty miles East of San Felipe de Austin, the land is of the flat description I before mentioned; but from that to Col. Coles, the country rises gradually, and breaks off into beautifully high rolling prairie and timber; occasionally interspersed with small creeks, affording sufficient water to turn small mills—though I do not think the land quite so rich; but it is a beautiful farming country, and the prospect is a very imposing scene—the ridges rising regularly one higher than another, as far as the eye can carry you, frequently bedecked with Live Oaks and other evergreens. The description I have already given will apply, with equal correctness, to Dewitt's colony, only, that the land upon which Gonzales is situated and for many miles round, is rich and fertile, which is not the case with the lands adjacent to San Felipe de Austin;—besides, the mountains come nearer to the Sea board above Dewitt's colony than Austin's. Dewitt's colony is also better watered than the other, and I am of opinion that the air is purer and more wholesome—more mill seats and water power, to carry on machinery of every description, present themselves.

“In the colonies, owing to the scarcity of rock from which to make lime, the people are likely to succeed in procuring a substitute, by burning a kind of clay, resembling very much our lime—this clay is found in abundance, in the bottoms of and along the margins of some of the creeks, it is quite hard and firm,* and by experiment has proved to answer the purpose. Many of the prairies in both colonies, are what the inhabitants call Hog-wallow lands, and present to the eye the richest loam I ever saw. I know not what to compare the appearance of those prairies to, better than saying, they resemble the undulating waves of a gentle sea. Most kinds of timber, common to the United States of the North, are to be found in those colonies. We have but little hickory, but the Pecan supplies its place, and is very abundant; there is no Poplar here, but cypress and Cedar, and on and near the mountains, Pine of good quality. Gonzales is situated on the Rio Gaudaloupe, on a prairie bluff; it is seventy miles from the mouth of the Rio Labaca, forty miles from the mountains, has

* Rock in formation.—Ed. G. U. E.

an inexhaustible quantity of good timber convenient to it on both sides of the river. The mouth of the Labaca is the best landing place yet discovered, for persons migrating to Dewitt's colony. Gonzales is ninety miles from San Felipe de Austin, and sixty-five or seventy from Bexar, alias San Antonio.

"As regards *Agricultural pursuits*, Captain Westall made and saved, last year, (1831,) 76 bales of cotton, averaging 550 pounds each, 1420 barrels of corn, and 700 bushels of sweet potatoes, with seven hands; Robert Williams raised 60 bales of cotton, also a necessary supply of corn, potatoes, &c. with 4 hands; Thomas Cayce with his own labor and that of 4 small boys, cleared 21 acres and 17 poles of land, some 5 or 6 acres having been previously opened, made 18 bales of cotton, averaging 450 lbs., and I was of opinion that there still remained in the field from 3 to 500 pounds per acre; he also made corn, potatoes, &c. in abundance—he had $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres in cotton; Doctor Benjamin Wilkins measured a sweet potato at Munson's, its circumference was 29 inches. Mr. Hommedieu informed me that he knew several farmers who had made and saved 80 bushels of corn to the acre. While in company with Mr. Royall, he shewed me a field which he held last year, from which he gathered 50 bushels of corn per acre—he planted the corn by making a hole in the ground with the end of a handstick, and had the weeds chopped down once with a hoe. Mr. Royall also pointed out to me the field of one of his neighbors, from which was gathered 2000 pounds of cotton per acre—it was planted and cultivated in the same way that Mr. Royall planted and cultivated his corn. Mr. Win. Robinson last year made a successful experiment as regards the growing of Wheat—he saved 25 bushels per acre, of good sound grain. This year he, Col. John P. Coles and others, are sowing more extensively—I have not seen, at any time, at this season of the year, a better prospect for an abundant crop, in any portion of the United States of the North. A man with no one to assist him, on Oyster Bayou, last year, from 10 acres of ground, deposited in a warehouse in Brazoria, 700 bushels of corn, for sale; he sold thirty dollars worth to his neighbors or emigrants, and kept enough for his own use for the year—he planted and cultivated it entirely with his hoe.

"The increase of stock will appear almost incredible to any but those who visit the country and are apprised of the veracity and respectable standing of the persons from whom they derive their information.—Heifers most commonly have calves at 18 months old, often at 16 months, and frequently a Cow will bring 3 calves in 2 years. Hogs increase much faster; at one year old, hogs generally weigh from 180 to 200 pounds. Neither cattle nor hogs require any feeding. It is necessary, for the purpose of keeping your stock gentle to go among them occasionally. Sage, Indigo, Red Pepper and Onions are the natural and spontaneous productions of this country. The apple of the Prickly Pear dyes a beautiful red—it is tolerably plenty in the colonies; but in the interior it abounds, and the inhabitants build sufficient fires in the cluster to burn off the prickles, after which Oxen are very fond of eating it.

"Since writing the foregoing, I have seen the country on both sides of the Rio Guadalupe, for fifty miles below Gonzales, and also that portion of Dewitt's colony which lies above Gonzales and Bexar. The lands on the South West side of the river are very handsome, for the most part, well timbered and watered. On the North East side of the river, I am not as well pleased with the appearance of the land; neither is there so much timber and water as on the South West side, yet I think it will answer the views of farmers and stock raisers. Many persons in the United States of the North have very incorrect information as regards the Texas of the Mexican republic, and the reputation of most of the settlers of the Colonies. The colonists are a very favored people—they have all the privileges of native citizens with very few exceptions, and those exceptions embrace matters about which the Americans care little or nothing. The colonists have no taxes to pay of any kind. There is a heavy duty upon articles imported into

the country; but that operates equally on the native and the foreigner. The Catholic religion is the established religion of the Republic; and professors of religion from other countries hold family worship, and enjoy unmolested their religious tenets.

"Salt to a considerable amount is made at Matagorda and the mouth of the Brasso river. Many of the citizens of De Witt's colony procure dirt within eight miles of Gonzales, which, after boiling down yields one half the quantity of good Salt."

Lockhart is not quite so prolix as Priestly, but the extract from his letter, below, well found interesting.

"The river bottom lands on the Brasso and Colorado, are very nearly the same; and very extensive. They are covered with cane or peach, although of a reddish color, are extremely fertile. The products of cotton, sugar, corn, sweet potato and garden vegetables, they cannot be excelled. Wheat, rye, oats, flax and turnips have grown on back lands or prairies which are not quite so rich. About one hundred miles from the gulf or bay shore, those rivers, the lands are very level, thence they come a little rolling though fine for farming and raising, good water, &c. The Post oak timber lands are of a more thin soil but will produce a small grain and cotton. The Guadalupe and Marcos rivers afford lands and water far superior to these described. The lands in De Witt's Colony include the San Marcos and Guadalupe, from Antonio road to the tea border leagues from the mouth of Matagorda, a distance of nearly 120 miles. Gonzales is just below the confluence of said rivers, nearly in the center of the Colony, on the river Guadalupe. All of the lands on those rivers are in deeds to De Witt's colonists—they are not beautiful, the springs are fine, and for stock raising every other country in Texas it excels. There is no stagnant water, and the country is free of any of the Western States of the United States of the North. From an experiment made here in my neighborhood (this I can state,) that dry as the soil has been there is the best Tobacco and Cotton that I ever have known any where. I am here on the Guadalupe river, 72 miles from the bay, and in De Witt's Colony. I have lived on my farm four years in good health. They can raise more produce in this country than any other on earth, and get a market here than in any other for the same. In summer time, after eight o'clock in the morning, a sea breeze springs up that makes it a comfortable time to do business.

"In the Texas Gazette and Brazoria Commercial Advertiser, I find stated as follows:

"Mr. Neil cultivated in Cotton, with 24 hands, 100 acres, and produced 146 bales, averaging 500 lbs. each.

"Westall cultivated 71 acres, with 7 field hands, produced 76 bales of 540 lbs. each.

"Random cultivated 50 acres, 5 field hands, and produced 50 bales of 560 lbs. each.

"Munson cultivated 50 acres, 8 field hands, and produced 49 bales of 560 lbs. each.

"Besides the above products in Cotton, each of them raised a sufficient quantity of Corn, Sweet potatoes, and other vegetables for the consumption of their respective families."

"The lands here will produce any of the articles as great an abundance as can be found on the banks of the Mississippi or any part of the United States, and with one half of the labor, owing to the labor we have in planting each season. Vines of every kind are more productive here than in any other climate."

Some further observations, respecting the present state of the country generally, the laws relating to Mexican Colonization, &c. &c., are reserved for future numbers of this work. The

Fiat Justitia Ruat Caelum.

advantages offered in that republic, over all the places yet proposed, as an asylum for the persecuted people of color in these states, will be adverted to. The healthiness of the country and the congeniality of the climate; the convenience and comparatively small expense of emigrating thither; and the facility for extending agricultural and commercial enterprise, will also claim attention. And, what is still vastly more important, *the opportunities it will give the philanthropists of the present generation TO MAKE EXPERIMENTS RELATIVE TO THE VALUE OF FREE LABOR, IN PRODUCING SUGAR, COTTON, RICE, &c., by the side of our southern slaveholders; the speedy means it will afford the man of color to become wealthy, and rise above the degradation that slavery and prejudice has imposed on him, thereby FURTHER PROVING to the people of this nation, that here, in America—the land of his birth and his natural home—he may be fitted for freedom and self-government with perfect ease and safety; and the irresistible influence which all these practical considerations will have upon the question of universal emancipation in the American hemisphere, will be duly noticed and emanated on. That the door may be opened, ere long, for the migration and settlement of our colored people in the Mexican republic, we have no doubt; and that many of them ardently desire it, we know. Measures are in train for the accomplishment of this important object: and it will be our duty to acquaint the public with every thing connected therewith, that may be generally interesting.*

EMANCIPATION IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.

The great "mountain" of Christendom has, within half a century, been frequently "in labour," and produced many a *philanthropic "noise."* In England, however, its throes are now greater than ever; and something more important may, ere long, be expected. An American paper, of a recent date, in noticing the news from Europe, &c. has the following article. The first paragraph contains an error, that should not be overlooked—namely: "The prosperity of the British West India Islands has been nullified by various acts of the mother country." The writer should have looked back to the despotisms of *olden times*, before making this declaration. He might then have learned, that the oppressors of their species have, *themselves*, generally "nullified" their own prosperity, without the intervention of a "mother country." We have heard much of mismanagement, depreciation of property, and mortgaging of lands, in the British West India Colonies, before the parent State expressed

her will, by "acts," relative to the abolition of slavery. But slavites and popularity-hunters look to *any thing but the real causes* of the decline of slave countries, for lessons of instruction. They will open their eyes to the *true state of things* when the poor, the humble, and the contrite advocates of genuine republicanism obtain the majority.

BRITISH SLAVERY IN THE WEST INDIES.—The following may serve as a hint to "certain" persons, in a "certain" quarter of the United States, who have been feloniously looking for British aid in a "certain" contingency. The prosperity of the British West India islands have been nullified by various acts of the "mother country." The best managed estates hardly yield an interest of two per cent. on their capital—most of them are cultivated at an absolute loss, or worked for the benefit of persons having mortgages upon the lands and slaves; and the late insurrection in Jamaica, and disturbances in other colonies, shew the nearer and nearer approach of that period which will certainly arrive, when a black belt will be stretched from Cape Antonio, in Cuba, to the southernmost part of Trinidad—by a general "nullification."

British House of Lords, May 24.—

The lord chancellor presented an immense petition from Glasgow against the continuation of colonial slavery—a petition signed by 135,600 persons. The Earl of Harewood supported that part of the prayer of this petition which called for an inquiry into the state of the West Indies. Lord Suffield presented several petitions, also against colonial slavery; his lordship declaring that to subject our fellow creatures to a state of slavery was a crime in the sight of heaven, and that its existence in our colonies was a foul blot on the English name.—His lordship also intimated that he should resist any proposition for inquiring into the state of the slaves, when there was so loud a voice against the very existence of slavery.

In the Commons, after the presentation of a good many petitions on the subject, Mr. F. Buxton brought forward his motion, respecting colonial slavery. Since he gave his notice, he said he had altered the terms of his motion; they now were declaring, "that it is the duty of the British legislature to put an end to the existence of slavery throughout the dominions of Great Britain;" and

then moving—"that a select committee be appointed to consider and report upon the safest and speediest mode of effecting the extinction of slavery throughout the British colonies." The honorable member earnestly pressed the motion on the house, as a crisis had arrived when something must be done, and as the increase of mortality in the West India colonies showed the destructive character of the system. Mr. Macaulay supported the motion on the like ground.—Sir R. Peel and other members resisted it; contending that it was most inconvenient to call on the House to furnish an abstract proposition. The motion occupied the whole of the evening, the chancellor of the exchequer not resisting the demand for inquiry, but it will be observed that his lordship proposed an abandonment to the motion. Sir F. Burdett expressed the hope that an arrangement might be come to as to the different motions, so that the necessity of a division might be avoided. Mr. Buxton afterwards proposed an amendment, upon his own motion, to the effect that the committee be instructed to inquire into the question of compensation, but without detriment to the emancipation of the slaves. A committee, after a division, was agreed to; but, at the suggestion of the chancellor of the exchequer, the nomination of its members was postponed. [The committee has since been appointed.]

MEMORIAL FROM WESTERN VIRGINIA.

We stated, in the Addenda to the last volume of this work, that a Memorial to the Legislature of Virginia, urging the immediate adoption of measures for the abolition of slavery in that state, (or at least in the western part thereof,) had been published in the "*Wheeling Gazette*;" and we also promised the insertion of it in this number. It is with the greatest pleasure that we now redeem the pledge thus given. The Memorial will be found at the close of this article, and, no doubt, be read with deep and lively interest by every true friend of the cause of Emancipation into whose hands it may fall. It has been circulated, pretty generally, through the state, and will be numerously signed.

The editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* feels the most sincere gratification in reviewing the proceedings of the citizens of Wheeling, in this case; and he truly congratulates them upon the occasion. He takes the greater interest in the matter, as *that* was the

place where his youthful eye first caught a view of the "cursed whip" and the "hellish manacle"—where he first saw the slaves in chains, forced along like brutes to the southern markets for human flesh and blood! Then did his young heart bound within his bosom, and his heated blood boil in his veins, on seeing droves of a dozen or twenty ragged men, chained together and driven through the streets, *bare-headed and bare-footed, in mud and snow*, by the remorseless "SOUL SELLERS," with horsewhips and bludgeons in their hands!! It was the frequent repetition of such scenes as these, *in the town of WHEELING, Virginia*, that made those durable impressions on his mind relative to the horrors of the slave system, which have induced him to devote himself to the cause of *Universal Emancipation*. During an apprenticeship with a respectable mechanic of that place, he was, by these and other means, made acquainted with the cruelties and the despotism of slavery, as tolerated in this land; and he *made a solemn vow to Almighty God*, that, if favored with health and strength, he would break at least one link of that ponderous chain of oppression, when he should become a man. He has already lived to witness an important change in public sentiment. The banner of African emancipation has been reared on that very spot, then trodden by the victims of insatiate rapine, and crimsoned with their life-current through the agency of the blood-extorting lash. Thousands are flocking to this glorious standard, in other places;—and thousands will flock to it there. Go ye, ye philanthropists of Wheeling—be valiant in this pacific and holy warfare; hold up the Christian ensign to your brethren afar;—and the "eternal dominion" will, ere long, be purified from the sin and the abomination of slavery. Your cause is second to none for justice and sacred importance; and, applying the language of your own great statesman (the sage and patriot Jefferson) to your opponents, be assured "*the Almighty has no attribute that can take side with them in such a contest.*" Persevere, with undaunted firmness, and you cannot possibly fail of eventual success.

From the *Wheeling Gazette*, of Aug. 25th, 1832.
MEMORIAL TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF
VIRGINIA.

The undersigned, citizens of the county of _____, profoundly sensible of the great and inappreciable blessings which, under the merciful dispensations of an overruling Providence, they are permitted to enjoy—devotedly attached to the principles of the government under which they live, and actuated by an ardent de-

sire to promote the prosperity of this, their native state, and to protect themselves and their posterity from every evil against which human wisdom can provide—beg leave respectfully to call the attention of your honorable body to a subject deeply interesting to the community, and requiring your immediate and serious consideration. Your memorialists are fully aware of the extreme sensibility of many of their fellow citizens upon all questions concerning our slave population, and that by expressing their opinions in favor of abolition, they will subject themselves to severe animadversion, and a gross misconstruction of their motives. But they would feel that they were undeserving the privileges they enjoy, and unworthy of the name of freemen, if any consideration short of utter ruin and annihilation, could deter them from an unreserved avowal of their sentiments in support of a measure, in the success of which every humane, generous, noble, and patriotic feeling of their hearts is deeply enlisted. Whilst, however, they are resolved to exercise the rights which belong to them as citizens of this commonwealth without restraint or reserve, they will not be unmindful of the respect which is due to you as the representatives of the people; nor are they disposed to trample on the rights, disregard the interests and wishes, or even to contemn the prejudices of the rest of their fellow citizens. They will neither suffer their own privileges to be curtailed, nor infringe upon the rights of others.

Acting in pursuance of this determination, they will not stop to consider, nor will they be so forgetful of what is due to themselves, as to attempt to refute by argument, the absurd opinion which has been expressed, (probably without reflection,) that the people of Western Virginia have no right to agitate the question of abolition, because they have fewer slaves than the people east of the Blue Ridge. Neither will they enter into any discussion as to the rights which they, in common with the rest of their fellow citizens, have, to express their sentiments freely and without reserve upon all questions which may, directly or indirectly, affect the prosperity and welfare of the commonwealth. That is a right not to be questioned, and which they will not suffer to be controlled or withheld from them, without a sacrifice of their lives,

and every thing they hold dear upon earth.

Your memorialists have heard with surprise that an objection has been made to any attempt to discuss the question of abolition, on the ground that it is calculated to excite insurrections among the slaves. This objection carries its own refutation on its face; for if insurrections are so much to be dreaded, and so easily excited, it is conclusive proof that slavery ought immediately to be abolished. If the danger of insurrections is so great, does it not become prudent, wise, and brave men, to meet and overcome it at once, rather than wait till the disproportionate increase between the slaves and the whites, shall render the result of such a contest doubtful. Are the people of Virginia such *dastards* and *inhuman monsters*, that they will shrink from present danger, in order to defer it to a future time, that it may fall with ten-fold violence upon the heads of their posterity? Heaven forbid that they should ever subject themselves to such disgrace and infamy.

Such objections your memorialists regard as extremely frivolous, and they feel assured that they can have no weight with persons capable of much reflection. And they deem it unnecessary to notice many other objections of the same character which have been urged against the public investigation of the question of slavery. They therefore proceed to state some of the reasons why they wish to see the great work of abolition immediately commenced—of which the most prominent are the following.

Slavery is in itself unjust, and contrary to that great fundamental principle of republican government which asserts “that all men are by nature equally free and independent”—an axiom which no intelligent and moral people will ever be disposed to forget, and which they cannot *conscientiously* disregard.

It cannot exist except in violation of the golden rule which prescribes “that we should do unto others as we would have others do unto us”—a rule of action worthy of its divine origin, and which will never cease to be held in the highest veneration, as long as the principles of justice and humanity shall continue to influence the conduct of men.

It has an obvious and irresistible tendency to destroy the virtue and morality

of our citizens, and to lead them into idle and dissolute habits.

It retards the growth of our population. Virginia has a territory nearly one-third greater than any of the old thirteen states; is blessed with a delightful climate, fruitful soil, and many of the finest harbors and navigable streams in the world, and had once the largest population of any of the states; her whole population is now less than that of Pennsylvania or New York, and she has fewer white inhabitants than other states which have not one fourth as much territory. In 1789 she had ten representatives in Congress; Pennsylvania had eight, and New York had six;—she will now be entitled to twenty-one, Pennsylvania to twenty-eight, and New York to forty-two.

It impairs our national strength—for no state can be powerful which is full of internal enemies.

It is inconsistent with the true spirit of the Christian religion, which teaches us that all men are equal in the eye of God.

It is degrading to our character as a nation. It is degrading to our national character not only because it is inconsistent with the principles of liberty and equality, by which we profess to be governed, but because thousands of our citizens are engaged in a traffic, at the bare mention of which humanity must blush—a traffic in human beings.

It must ultimately lead to the most ruinous and destructive servile wars. In many counties our white population is rapidly decreasing, whilst the slaves are every where increasing. In that part of the state lying east of the Blue Ridge the colored has gained upon the white population more than one hundred thousand in the last forty years; and it is susceptible of the clearest demonstration that that gain must be much more rapid hereafter than it has been in times past, until at last the disproportion will become so great, we must expect that the horrid scenes of St. Domingo, or such as took place in the island of Jamaica during the last year, will be acted over again in this country.

Your memorialists, deeply impressed by these and various other considerations, earnestly entreat your honorable body to adopt such measures as will insure the gradual and certain abolition of slavery throughout this commonwealth.

And they have the fullest confidence in the wisdom and ability of your honorable body to devise such measures as will effect that desirable object, without any greater interference with the rights of individuals than every patriot will be willing to submit to for the good of his country. If, however, you shall not feel yourselves authorized to adopt such measures in relation to the whole state then your memorialists pray that you will pass an act prohibiting any slaves from being brought into that portion of the state lying west of the Blue Ridge, after the first day of June next—and providing for the gradual abolition of slaves in that portion of the state. And your memorialists will ever pray, &c.

COLORED SETTLEMENTS IN CANADA.

We have received from Wilberforce, Canada a communication relative to the formation of a new *Joint Stock Company*, for the purchase of land, &c. Further notice will be taken of next month.

An article has been published in some of our newspapers, recommending the "*Colborne Settlement*," near the head of Lake Ontario, to colored emigrants. This, also, will claim attention hereafter.

A SIGN!

The following order was recently sent from the British Government to the Governor of Bahamas,—This is "glorious news," truly.

"CIRCULAR.

Downing Street, 29th May, 1833.

Sir,—I am to signify to you the King's commands, that in future grants of land made by the Crown, a condition be inserted for the forfeiture of the grant, on proof of the land having been at any time (subsequent to the date of grant) cultivated by the labor of slaves.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

GODERIC

Governor, Sir J. C. Smyth, Bahamas."

MEXICAN TREATY, &c.

We have seen a late letter, from Brazoria, Texas, which states that emigrants from that country are entitled, on settlement, to naturalization by virtue of the late treaty. This is, evidently, a mistake. Let our citizens beware.

Selected for the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

THE HORRORS OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

Go then with me to this long-abyss continent, where the first act of this infernal tragedy is acted over every morning and you will have some faint idea of the atrocities which it unfolds. In

thicket crouches a human tiger, and just beyond it you hear the cries of children at their sports. The next moment he springs upon his terrified prey—nor sister nor mother shall ever see them more. On the right hand you hear the moans of the captive, as he goes bleeding to his doom; and on the left a peaceful village flashes horror upon the face of midnight; and as you approach the scene of conflagration, you behold the sick, the aged, and the infant, either writhing in the fire where they lay peacefully down, or attempting to escape. You see them forced back into the flames, as not worth the trouble of driving to market. And then, O what shrieks from the bursting hearts of the more unhappy survivors! what agonies in the rending of every tie! what lacerations, what fainting, what despair, wait on every step, and afflict the heaven which lights them on their way to bondage! How many would die, if they could, before they have been an hour in the hands of those incarnate demons who are hurrying them away!

Shall I attempt to describe the horrors of the *middle passage*—the miseries which await these wretched beings in crossing the ocean? I have no pencil or colours for such a picture. But I see them literally packed alive, by hundreds, in a floating and pestilential dungeon—manacled to the very bone, under a treacherous iron hatchway—tormented with thirst and devoured with hunger—suffocated in their own breath—chained to corpses, and maddened by despair, to the rending of all their heart-strings. See mothers and young girls, and even little children, seeking refuge in the caverns of the deep from the power of their tormentors; and not to be diverted from their purpose by the hanging and shooting of such as have failed in their attempts. Behold the sick and the blind struggling amidst the waves into which avarice has cast them, and shrieking, in the jaws of the shark, for the unpardonable crime of having sunk under their tortures, and lost their marketable value on the voyage. See them headed up in water casks and thrown into the sea, lest they should be found and liberated by the merciful cruiser.

The foregoing is a mere extract from the blood-stained records of the Slave Trade. Who then will undertake to sum up the amount of human misery which

is wafted by the reluctant and wailing winds upon the complaining waters, to be chained and scourged, to pine and die, in the great western house of bondage?

—

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The following petition has been prepared for circulation by the New England Anti-Slavery Society. If the British people can collect (as they have done) a *hundred and fifty thousand* signatures on a single petition, praying for the liberation of the slaves in the Colonies, ought not the American people to be equally zealous for the overthrow of slavery in the District of Columbia, over which Congress has entire control.

Liberator.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:

The undersigned citizens of this Republic would, in the most respectful manner, approach the appointed law-givers our land, as the delegated guardians of the prosperity and welfare of our beloved country. We approach your honorable body as humble supplicants in the cause of justice and the equal rights of men. We implore you to extend the shield of your protection over upwards of six thousand of our fellow citizens, who groan in the bondage of slavery in the District over which you especially preside, and in which you are constitutionally clothed with exclusive legislative power. We believe the time has fully come when this Christian nation should wipe the foul blot of slavery from our national character; when, as a nation, we should be delivered from the reproach of upholding a system which tolerates the buying and selling of innocent men, women, and children, born in our land. That any portion of the people of this country should be regarded as mere cattle—should like cattle be subjects of sale and purchase—and should, with their posterity, be doomed to interminable bondage, we can but regard as an offence against Him who created man in his own image; seeing He hath “made of *one blood* all nations of men that dwell on the face of the earth.” We therefore humbly pray your honorable body, that a law may be passed forthwith, declaring all persons in the District of Columbia free, and equally under the protection of the laws of the Union.

Ladies' Repository.

Philanthropic and Literary.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

ANOTHER FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

It is with very great pleasure that we notice the formation of a Female Anti-Slavery Society in New-England. May it be the forerunner of similar ones in every city and village throughout the Eastern States. Such associations ought long since to have been established in every state and territory in the Union. It appears to us that the females of this land are without excuse for their heartless indifference to the miserable condition of so many of their countrymen. It seems perfectly incredible that they can so far forego their natures as to know of the existence of slavery—and such a fearful slavery—within the limits of their dearly loved country—that they can know, too, that so many hundreds of thousands of their own sex are among its victims, and make no more efforts than they have done, to advance the cause of its abolition. They behold thousands of their sisters degraded, and terribly wretched, exposed to all the cruelties of capricious tyranny—the groans of their agony comes, ever and anon, wafted to their ears, as some heart-string breaks with its exceeding anguish—their brethren, who are labouring in the cause of those oppressed ones, call for their aid,—yet still so many of them remain passive and indolent spectators, and, painful as it is, we fear we must add, *abettors* of this cruel oppression. Amidst the gloomy reflections excited by such a prospect of wide spread apathy, it is delightful indeed to meet with an evidence that the cause of the slaves is not wholly forgotten in the hearts of our sex; that there are yet some who cannot hearken heedlessly to the cry of human woe, nor selfishly pursue their own gratification, at the expense of misery to others.

From the Liberator.

The Providence Female Anti-Slavery Society was organized in this city the 1st of the seventh month, when the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted :

PREAMBLE.

Being sensible that all great and public undertakings are best carried into effect by the united efforts of individuals, and as man, above all creatures, appears formed by his Creator for society, and for the help and protection of his fellow men, and also for the promotion of peace

and righteousness in the world :—whereas the present is a time when justice and equity have in a pre-eminent manner fallen to the earth, which groans for the violence, iniquities and oppression with which it is filled; and as slavery stands at the greatest distance from that love which is the fulfilling of God's law, and being an evil existing among us of such a nature as requires our united exertions in breaking every yoke and letting the oppressed go free :—Therefore we, the undersigned, being sensible that the purchase and consumption of the productions of slave labour are the greatest support to the existence of slavery will endeavor to do the best that circumstances will admit, in renouncing the productions of slavery from our use; and also that we will endeavor by all other means agreeable with law and gospel, to effect the abolition of slavery, and also to inform and correct public opinion on this important subject, as truth may open the way.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That this Society adopt the Boston Liberator as its official organ and that we use our utmost influence to extend its circulation.

Resolved, That the funds of this society be appropriated to the purpose of procuring any Anti-Slavery publication within its limits, and circulating the same.

Resolved, That this Society procure and circulate all possible information with regard to free goods.

Resolved, That we gratefully accept any advice which the publishers of the Liberator may favor us with.

Resolved, That this Society admit any member or members who may feel the necessity of joining.

Resolved, That this Society meet the first second day eve, in every month when each member contribute the stipulated sum.

CRUELITIES OF WEST INDIA SLAVERY.

By an Eye Witness.

We doubt not but our readers will shudder as we have done, in reading the paragraph below, to reflect how often female limbs have been tortured by "this dreadful engine," as it is most aptly termed by the author. Will they reflect, too, for what cause a large portion of their sex are subjected to such inhuman treatment, and driven out daily to their toil with this terrible instrument? Oh thankful, indeed

may those feel, who can turn inward to their hearts, and say, it is not for us; it is not to supply our tables with a *cruel sweetness!*

“Think, ye ladies, iron hearted,
Smiling at your happy boards;
Think how many backs have smarted,
For the sweets the cane affords!”

Let it be remembered that it is to supply female lips with their wonted luxuries, that this tremendous scourge “unfolds its torturing bill” over thousands of sinking and helpless female forms. That it is because woman shares with the man-stealer in his blood-purchased toils, and refuses to give heed to the agony of her unhappy sisters! Oh how can one christian—one female heart know of all the misery, or a hundredth part of the misery endured by the victims of British and American slavery, without instantly and forever renouncing the use of the articles for the sake of whose cultivation they are kept in bondage, and devoting herself with unwearied energy to the cause of their emancipation!

Description of a West India Slave Whip.—It consists of a short handle with a thick and strongly platted whip, about three yards long, formed either of wood as hard as iron, or a strip of dried hide, the lash of it being made of the fibers of a poisonous plant named penance, in appearance like the finest flax; when twisted up and knotted it becomes as hard as steel, and will cut equal to a sword, and instils a portion of its poison into the wound. Those drivers being themselves naturally harsh and unfeeling brutes, from the cruel treatment they receive in their time experienced, become, from long training, most expert in the use of the whip, and they well know how to direct and how to aggravate or mitigate the inflictions at will. They have a kind emulation in the loudness of the reprobation which they produce from this instrument of torture, and the noise is so dreadful that I assure you when I first came here, I have jumped out of bed at twelve o'clock in the morning, supposing I had been a pistol discharged under my window. No wonder that it makes the strongest of its male patients, not to speak of the females, tremble, for even mules and oxen tremble at the sound it sends forth. The drivers, however, can, when they please, in inflicting punishment, produce, from the bitterness with which they use it, a loud report without proportionate severity of strokes, whilst on the other hand, when they are to cut, as the phrase is, they can in-

flict a gash at every stroke, so as to make a few lashes a tremendous punishment. It is not an uncommon thing for them to lay open the flank of a mule or ox, when driven, cutting fairly through their tough hides at a single stroke. But you must observe that *cutting* does not mean merely drawing blood and fleecing off the skin—for these are the effects of almost every lash on the naked body, with this instrument, however leniently applied; but it means cutting into the very muscles and flesh below.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

OH PRESS ME NOT TO TASTE AGAIN.

Oh press me not to taste again,
Of those luxuriant banquet-sweets!
Or hide from view the dark red stain,
That still my shuddering vision meets.
Away! 'tis loathsome! bear me hence!
I cannot feed on human sighs,
Or feast with sweets my palate's sense,
While blood is 'neath the fair disguise.

No, never let me taste again
Of aught beside the coarsest fare,
Far rather, than my conscience stain,
With the polluted luxuries there!

ELA.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE CONSUMPTION OF SLAVE PRODUCE.

It is often asked, What benefit can result to the slaves from the disuse of the product of their labor, or what injury from the continuance of its consumption? To this it may be replied: That as their labor is only valuable to their proprietors on account of the profits arising from the sale of its products, the want of a market for these would tend directly to emancipation; since even the most prejudiced of the planters cannot be supposed to be so attached to the system, as to retain their slaves in bondage at so manifest a disadvantage. It would also, until a general emancipation took place, have a tendency to secure them better and milder treatment, both in order to ward off, as much as possible, the odium attached to the system, and by removing the inducement to exact from them an extraordinary amount of labor. Further, as consumers are so evidently the supporters of the system, abstinence from slave produce, even if it was productive of no benefit to the slave, is a sacrifice which all, who profess themselves enemies of slavery, owe to their own consistency. With what face can they declare they detest oppression and tyranny, who are doing the best that lies

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

in their power to support both? How, too, can such persons be innocent? Would an accomplice in robbery or a purchaser of stolen goods, knowing them to be such, be innocent because they detested the crime of theft, or because they had no other means of obtaining any thing more than the bare necessities of life? It would be evident that such persons did not hate the guilt so much as they loved the advantages of it; and if it were not for the misleading influence of habit, I believe many now really upright minded people would readily view the consumption of slave produce in the same light; they would feel that to consume the fruits of slave labor, is to become a partaker in the spoils of robbery; to sanction oppression and cruelty; to join hands with the man-stealer, and to share the profits of the dealer in human flesh.

CORA.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

LOOKING AT THE SOLDIERS.

Mother, the trumpets are sounding to-day,
And the soldiers go by in their gallant array!
Their horses prance gaily, their banners float
free,
Come, come to the window, dear mother, with me!
Do you see how their bayonets gleam in the sun,
And their soldier-plumes nod, as they slowly
march on?
And look to the regular tread of their feet!
Keeping time to the sound of the kettle-drum's
beat.

This, mother, you know, is a glorious day,
And Americans all should be joyous and gay;
For the Fourth of July saw our country set free:
But you look not delighted, dear mother, like
me!

No, love; for that shining and brilliant display,
'To me, only tells of war's fearful array;
And I know that those bayonets, flashing so
bright,
Were made in man's blood to be spoiled of their
light.

And the music that swells up so sweet to the ear,
In a long gush of melody, joyous and clear,
Just as freely would pour out its wild, thrilling
flood,
To stir up men's hearts to the shedding of blood!

Our country, my boy, as you tell me, is free,
But even that thought brings a sadness to me;
For less guilt would be her's, were her own fet-
tered hand
Unable to loosen her slaves from their band.

We joy that our country's light bonds have been
broke,
But her sons wear, by thousands, a life-crushing
yoke;
And yon bayonets, dear, would be sheathed in
their breast,
Should they fling off the shackles that round
them are prest.

Even 'midst these triumphant rejoicings to-day,
The slave-mother weeps for her babes torn away,
'Midst the echoing burst of these shouts to be sold,
Human forms as they are, for a pittance of gold.

Can you wonder, then, love, that your mother
is sad,

Though you show is so gay, and the crowd
so glad?

Or will not my boy turn with me from the sight
To think of those slaves sunk in sorrow and
night?

MARGARET.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

TEA-TABLE TALK.

Helen and Maria.

"Dear me, Helen, I cannot conceive why you think that taking a lump sugar in your tea, or eating a piece of cake, or a preserve, can do any harm to the slaves. And when you are in company it must be so disagreeable, and so singular, to decline eating almost every thing that is offered you! I think you must almost starve sometimes!"

"I have never yet been driven to such an extremity," answered her friend smiling; "but I will acknowledge that it is certainly very disagreeable to be obliged so frequently to disappoint the kindness of my friends; neither is it all pleasant to appear singular in our notions, which however is not now generally to be feared, since abstinence from slave articles has become lately quite common. But even if that was not the case, my reasons are, I believe, sufficiently strong to render singularity in this respect entirely proper, and to enable me to bear the imputation of it patiently."

"But you have eaten of such things all your life, till lately, and never thought it wrong; and all the rest of your family make use of them, so that, begging your pardon, cousin Helen, I cannot think otherwise than very silly for you to make such a fuss about it now."

"In telling me that I have made use of slave produce through the whole of my life until lately, you have mentioned an excellent reason, my dear Maria. I should patiently and cheerfully endure any privations that an abstinence from it may impose upon me now. But because I have done wrong ignorantly, because those whom I most love do not share the same views with myself in respect, shall I continue to sin against my conscience?"

"I suppose you should not, if the consumption of slave produce really were wrong, could be done without altogether;

other people do not think it wrong, and why should you be more particular?"

"Shall I tell you why I think it wrong, Maria?"

"Oh! now, you want to tell me some horrid story about the treatment of the slaves. I do not know how you can bear to think and talk about such things."

"How, then, dear Maria, can you wonder that I should refuse to assist in creating them. It is indeed very painful to think upon the vast amount of suffering produced by slavery, but not half so painful, cousin, as to assist in producing it. Do not imagine that I think I deserve credit for my abstinence from slave luxuries, or what I suppose you would call necessary articles. I claim none—no partake of them: would be to me far the greater punishment. There are times when I almost shudder at the thought, and when I feel as if I could almost as easily endure the taste of human blood, as of the sweetness of the slave-grown cane! It is wonderful to see how any female, who has even a partial knowledge of the horrors of slavery, can be willing to support such a system, or can receive the least enjoyment from the indulgence in comforts and luxuries which are purchased by the sacrifice of so many lives. We shudder to think of the mutilation of human beings by savage nations, at the altars of their gods; but when our own gratification is in question, we become careless of the poured-out blood of thousands!"

"Now you are severe, Helen! Do you think I would continue to use slave produce, especially when I could avoid doing so by any means, if I thought all I made use of would occasion the loss of life to any human being?"

"Yet you must acknowledge, Maria, that I believe you are aware of the fact, that, even excluding those who have sunk under the pressure of long continued toil and hardships, the number of the wretched beings who have been deprived of their lives by actual violence is immense. And the cause of slavery, and all attendant ills, can only be found in the profits of its extorted labor."

"But, cousin, all the slave produce I could use in the whole course of my life would make no difference in the number of slaves. Abstinence would only punish myself, without any benefit to those you are so compassionate."

"The articles you make use of cannot

be produced without *some* time and labor, be the quantity what it may. Allowing the labor of a slave for six or twelve years to produce all the various slave-grown products which you may use during the course of your life, would not he who was so occupied be in effect *your* slave, during the time he was thus employed? Do you not receive as much benefit from his oppression as the individual who is his nominal owner, but in fact, for that length of time, only your agent? Nor will the circumstances of this portion of labor, being divided among many persons, create any difference. You must excuse me for considering that for the time that is necessary to produce the articles you consume, you are a slave-holder; or that you are doing worse, by paying another for the commission of a crime which you would not dare to commit yourself!"

"You speak very plainly, Helen; but I will not be offended, for I know you feel strongly—nay, I will even acknowledge that I have taken my last cup of tea without sugar, and that it was not so very disagreeable. But I will talk no more upon the subject now, only to say that if I was fairly convinced you were right, I believe I would give up the use at least of slave sugar."

AGNES.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE SUMMER SKIES.

These summer skies, these summer skies!
They mind me of the happy eyes
When we have watched you moon arise,
Behind the pear-tree's screen of leaves.

The earth grew glad beneath her light,
But our own hearts were lighter still,
As, 'midst the hush of coming night,
We slowly climbed the tree-crowned hill.

But now, as on yon moon I gaze,
I turn my thoughts from thee away,
To think how bright her radiance plays
O'er hearts that weep beneath her ray.

The mother, on the vacant couch
Where yester-eve her infants lay,
While phantoms now but mock her touch,
And those she loves are far away!

The daughter weeping for her sire;
Forever from his household torn,
The wife, whose anguish tyrant ire
Hath still'd with stripes, to sighs forlorn.

Such saddened ideas sometimes wile,
Annette! my thoughts from even thee;
Yet still it wakes a latent smile
To think upon our days of glee.

GERTRUDE.

PROSPECTUS

OF THE

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

VOLUME XIII.

Eleven years have transpired since this work took its station among the periodicals of the day—and we enter upon the twelfth with renewed hopes and cheering prospects. To a casual or superficial observer, the “signs of the times” exhibit nothing of momentous import—nothing very propitious to our cause. But the discerning and the reflecting, on comparing the past with the present state of things, will find much to encourage its advocates, and even to stimulate them with high anticipations, in their onward career. The “cloud of thick darkness,” which lately extended from the zenith to the southern horizon, in a deep, continuous, and apparently impervious gloom, has been so far dispelled as to admit the broad scintillations of ethereal light. The electrical vapors occasionally clash in their hurried movements; but the radiations of truth’s bright orb frequently gleam amid their gatherings and vanishings.

The labors of philanthropists have accomplished much, within a few years, well calculated to promote the cause of African emancipation. The doctrine which sanctions the diabolical system of slavery has been boldly interro-

gated in the public arena of controversy—even in the southern halls of polemics and legislation. The champions of rational Universal Liberty have unfurled her glorious pacific banner there. Thousands are flocking to the sacred standard, as enlisted volunteers, and tens of thousands are gazing upon it with rapture.

The present is not, therefore, a time to relax our efforts for the regeneration of our moral and political system: neither are we disposed to relinquish the ground we have taken, as humble advocates of the reformation so urgently called for by every humane principle, and by every consideration of justice, propriety, and safety. We shall still pursue, with undiminished ardor, the grand object we have constantly had in view; and we shall not be diverted from the straight forward course that appears most likely to lead to its attainment.

Thus pledged to the cause of humanity and philanthropy, we hope the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* will still find favor in the eyes of an intelligent community; and the advocates of that cause are generally and respectfully solicited to lend their assistance in extending its circulation.

B. LUNDY.

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GENEUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, WASHINGTON, D.C. AT \$1 PER ANNUM.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration of Independence.*

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PETITIONING CONGRESS.

We have received returns of the following Memorial, with good lists of names, from Kentucky and Tennessee. The phraseology was merely altered to suit the different places, where it was signed. Three or four hundred names are also attached to it in the District of Columbia; and it is now circulating for further signatures. It will soon be presented to Congress. This subject must not, *shall not* sleep. Let our friends, every where, attend to it.—

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled.

The Memorial of the undersigned, citizens of the District of Columbia, respectfully sheweth:

That your memorialists, in common with a large portion of the people of this Union, view the existence of slavery as one of the greatest evils that afflict our country; but more especially, do we consider its continuance in this District, under the immediate jurisdiction of the General Government, as inconsistent with those principles of republicanism, set forth in the excellent constitution which we have adopted as the Magna Charta of our civil rights and privileges.

Comparing those sections of our country in which slavery is tolerated, with those where it is not permitted to exist, we are strongly impressed with the belief that, both in a pecuniary and moral point of view, the advancement of our future prosperity measurably depends on the abolition of that system. This is not a mere hypothesis, founded on an imaginary basis; but we have the light of experience, derived from the practical operation of known causes, to guide us in forming this conclusion.

We deem it unnecessary to adduce facts or arguments, at this time, to prove the correctness of the opinion here advanced; for we think it must, in general, be obvious to reflecting minds. And we believe it will be perfectly practicable to eradicate the growing evil of slavery within this District, at no very distant period, in a manner consistent with the safety and welfare of all concerned.

Your memorialists, therefore, suggest to your Honorable body the propriety of adopting measures, at as early a day as may be convenient, for the accomplishment of this object. Trusting to your wisdom, for devising an efficient plan of proceeding, we shall not presume, at present, to point out a detailed system of operations. We beg leave, however, to premise, that it would be proper to prohibit the traffic in slaves, and to name a period, after which all children, born in the District of Columbia, shall be free, at a suitable age.

Your Memorialists conclude, in the hope that your honorable body may duly consider the importance of the subject here presented to your view, and be enabled, through the favor of Divine Providence, to provide a safe and effect-

tual remedy for the evil to which we have alluded.

And your Memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

We had intended, the first moment that leisure would permit, to ask the attention of this gentleman to some further questions relative to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. We believed that his conduct, upon a late occasion, justly merited reprehension; and however exalted his political character might be, in the public estimation, he should not be spared on that account. The writer of this had an interview with him while the Pennsylvania Memorials were in his possession; and he then made no objection to their presentation to Congress. We were, therefore, astonished at his remarks in the House of Representatives. Since that period we find that he has, in an interview with Evan Lewis, of Philadelphia, given some explanation of the views he entertained,—to the benefit of which he is fully entitled. Yet, what must we say to the *solidity of his argument*, when the fact is stated, THAT A PETITION TO THE SAME PURPORT HAD, A SHORT TIME PREVIOUSLY, BEEN PRESENTED TO CONGRESS, FROM THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, SIGNED BY MORE THAN ONE THOUSAND OF ITS INHABITANTS!

We forbear to make further comment now,—as another Memorial will shortly be presented to the National Legislature, *from this District*; and we shall then see what course the Honorable gentleman will think proper to pursue. We do not consider any other subject, lately brought before Congress, more "*important*" than that of the *abolition of slavery*. There is no "*fanaticism*" in this opinion.

The following are the remarks of Evan Lewis, upon the subject before us, as published in the "*Friend or Advocate of Truth*," soon after his interview with J. Q. Adams, as above mentioned. It appears that he was, himself, somewhat *in the dark*, relative to our proceedings; and it is to be hoped that he will pay further attention thereto.

"In our first number we made some remarks on the conduct of John Q. Adams, in relation to the memorials presented by him in the House of Representatives, for the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia. Since that time, we have had an opportunity of conversing with

him on the subject, and hearing his own explanation of the remarks made by him in the House, on presenting these memorials.—After expressing disapprobation of his conduct on that occasion, justice requires that we should give his explanation. He expressed, very explicitly, his abhorrence of slavery, and his willingness to use all his talents and influence for its abolition, whenever he conceived he had a right to do so. But he did not think he had a right to legislate for the district, on any subject, at the suggestion of the citizens of Pennsylvania, or any other state. The concerns of the district interested only the inhabitants of the district. And whenever *they* petitioned for the abolition of slavery, he would go as far to accomplish their wishes as any man in the House.

Besides, he did not wish to have a subject, calculated to produce so much excitement and angry debate, as that of slavery, discussed at a time when so many great and *important* questions of national policy would require the attention of Congress. Such a discussion would, in his opinion, unfit the members for proceeding dispassionately with the important business of the session, and could not, possibly, at this time, result in the attainment of the object desired. One fact which he related is worthy of being recorded. His son married a woman in the district who held slaves. He consented to the marriage only on condition that they should all be made free, and they were freed accordingly. She does not now hold a slave. From observations made, and information received while at Washington last winter, we are inclined to believe that Adams' views respecting the right of interference in the affairs of the district, are in accordance with the opinions of the citizens of the district generally, as well as many influential members of Congress. The inhabitants of the district have it in their power to procure the abolition of slavery; but it is doubtful whether it can be accomplished at all without them."

Further to show the importance of petitioning Congress, *from this District*, it may not be amiss to state, that our friends, in every part of the country, reason very much as the Hon. J. Q. Adams does. Like him they have either not been informed, or not been induced to reflect, upon what we *have done* in this way. Our "sovereigns," and their delegates, are blinded by apathy, or the popularity-hunting mania. They will open their eyes, if we *beset them* steadily; and they will do us justice, when they perceive we have roused the *popular* feeling, and they hear the *popular* voice in our favor. It is astonishing to witness the *ignorance* that prevails throughout the land, relative to his subject. Tens of thousands believe that we vote for representatives in Congress!—and hundreds of thousands more suppose we have the same influence, over our law-makers, that is exercised by *those who elect them*!!

The following paragraph is extracted from a letter, lately received from a gentleman in Kentucky, who has forwarded a petition for the abolition of slavery in the District of Colum-

bia, signed by more than 400 citizens of that State. How many might have been induced to sign it, if they had generally understood that we had petitioned for the same purpose ourselves!—

"Some object to it, [signing the petition,] because they say they have no right to meddle with the affairs of the District. * * * If the memorial had called upon the people of the United States to assist them [the people of the District] in petitioning Congress to liberate their slaves,* they would have subscribed, almost to a man. The people of the United States seem to be so ignorant of the evils of slavery, that many of them care but little about it. They have not the necessary means of information upon the subject."

POLITICAL AFFAIRS IN MEXICO.

We have neither leisure nor room, at present, to enter upon a general review of the political controversy which now agitates the Mexican Republic; nor yet to dwell on the probable future prospects of that very interesting country. The causes of the present revolution in the government, have been briefly assigned in previous numbers of this work: yet it may be advisable to enter a little more in detail, than we hitherto have done, although we cannot go as far as we could wish, at this time.

The best account that we have seen in print, relative to the commencement of the revolution, is contained in a letter received at the Department of State, some months since, and was published in the *Washington Globe*. The writer says:

"The disturbance appears to be nearly general, and to have been excited by the apathy of the central government with regard to a most flagrant outrage committed by Inclan, the military commandant of Guadalajara. The facts, as related, are simply these: Bishops are becoming almost as unpopular in Mexico as they are in England, but General Inclan is a staunch adherent to their cause; so when the revered head of the diocese of Guadalajara made his entry into that city, the military were called out and other unusual honors were paid him, which produced some remarks in the official journal of the next day. The General instantly ordered the editor, Brambila, to be seized by a file of soldiers and executed within three hours. The permanent commission of the State Legislature interposed; Inclan replied, that he was answerable for his acts to the central government alone; the commission then issued a decree by which they declared

* Petitioning Congress, from the District, would be the same thing.—G. U. E.

themselves in bodily fear, and suspended their session until the 4th of December, when it was to be continued at Lagos, a city distant one hundred miles. Inelan considered that they had no right to remove, and laid an embargo on the Treasury; but finding that the whole city of 70,000 inhabitants, was in commotion, he thought proper to pardon the Editor, as he says, at the intercession principally of his worthy friend the Bishop.

Much excitement was created wherever the facts were made known; the Legislature of the State in which they occurred, and of the adjoining State of Zacatecas,* sent memorials to the federal government, praying for the punishment of the General; but no attention was paid to them, and the outrage was excused, if not defended in the ministerial prints of the Capital. Recourse was had to arms, and insurrections took place in every quarter. A meeting of the citizens and officers of the garrison of Vera Cruz took place on the night of the 2d inst. and resolutions were passed, the substance of which is, that the present ministry should be removed, as being opposed to the independence of the State, and as guilty of abetting the late attack upon the liberty of an individual; and that the 4th article of the *Plan of Jalapa* should be sustained, to the fullest extent; this article provides for the protection of all who choose to write or publish their ideas on political subjects. In order to attain these ends, they propose that General Santa Anna be requested to take the command, as best fitted, by his military experience and patriotism, to direct their operations.

This celebrated chief has been living for the last two years in retirement, at his estate in Vera Cruz. He instantly accepted the office, and made his entry into the city on the evening of the 3d.

The unpopularity of the bishops arises from the belief that they are in favor of a return to the dominion of Spain; and the State Legislatures are every where protesting against the bull lately issued by the Pope, confirming, in their Episcopal stations, many of the most notorious adherents to the cause of Ferdinand, and appointing others equally obnoxious.—A repeal of the present intolerant acts against protestants and heretics is de-

*The Legislature of this State has since enacted a law, by virtue of which clergymen are totally disqualified to hold seats, either in that body or the general Congress.—G. U. E.

manded, so as to leave absolute liberty of conscience to all;† and an entire abolition of the monastic orders is strongly recommended, and ably supported, in the public prints. The bishops wish only to reform these latter institutions, and may be readily supposed to be unfavorable to any act of toleration.”

The foregoing statement is in strict accordance with the information obtained by the writer of this article, while in the republic of Mexico, a short time since. The revolution has progressed upon the principle here recognized; and it is believed that, let the issue of the contest be as it may—whether one of the parties shall triumph, or a compromise take place—the cause of religious liberty and moral improvement will, in the end, be sustained.

Subsequently to the period of the events above narrated, a notice was published at Jalapa, containing the five articles of agreement, entered into on the 11th day of September last, at the city of Los Bravos, between Gen. Bravo and others associated with him, and Col. Juan Alvarez, commander of the forces of Acapulco and the coast of Tecpam. These articles were signed with the view of preventing further commotion, and were in substance as follows: “That the people of the South, together with the armed forces, unite for the purpose of defending their rights and the liberties of their country, against the attempts of designing and ambitious men. They recognize, until the expiration of the constitutional term, Don Melchor Musquiz as President, and General Bravo as General-in-Chief of all the forces, and Colonel Alvarez will be at his disposal, with all those under his command. They pledge themselves that, hereafter, the South shall never be disunited, and that when the opinions of the people differ, commissioners shall be appointed to conciliate parties; and that in no case shall hostilities be commenced, until this measure shall have been resorted to. They doom to oblivion all past, private, and political animosities, and agree to acquaint the government with those resolutions, in order to obtain their approbation.”

This plan, although devised with the best intentions, did not, it seems, prevent an appeal to arms; and the contending parties met with alternate, and varied success. At length, an invitation was given to General Pedraza, who had been some months in this country, to return, and resume the office of President of

†It is said that a favorite motto of Santa Anna is: “No established religion—no slavery.”—He also adds: “Let us maintain these principles, and we shall be ahead of our northern neighbors.”

the Republic, to which he had once been elected.

Our limits will not permit us to proceed further upon this subject, at present. Next month it will be resumed, and probably the narration brought down to the latest dates, at which intelligence from that country shall have been received.

MEXICAN COLONIZATION.

A long article, on this subject, is unavoidably deferred to our next number. The question begins to assume a high degree of interest among the true friends of universal emancipation, in this country; and it will speedily be attended to.

“THOUGHTS ON AFRICAN COLONIZATION.”

A book, of 76 large octavo pages, has recently been published by Wm. Loyd Garrison, at Boston, with this title: “Thoughts on African Colonization. or an impartial exhibition of the doctrines, principles, and purposes of the American Colonization Society, together with the Resolutions, Addresses, and Remonstrances of the Free People of Color.”

We have not yet had the opportunity to prepare for our readers a review of this work; but we recommend the true friends of African Emancipation to examine it with a careful eye. It contains a mass of testimony, adverse to the claims of that Institution to the title of an *Anti-Slavery Association*, which must shake the faith of every supporter of its scheme, that looks to it, alone, for the eradication of slavery, upon the principles of justice and humanity. We have never, for one moment, believed that that Society could accomplish the thousandth part of the good anticipated by its *honest* advocates.— Yet we were willing that they should make an effort, in some way, to rouse the public mind from the *dead stupor* of apathy in which it was so long involved. *Nothing was so much to be dreaded as this APATHY.* The doctrines, promulgated by some of the agents and advocates of that Society, though of the most outrageous nature, are not more to be deprecated than the *practices* very generally prevailing among slave holders. These doctrines were measurably concealed, until the efforts of this Association have furnished the *occasion* to bring them to the light. We now have a full assurance of the despotic principles of slavites, from their own lips; and we also know the length, and breadth, and depth, of the horrible prejudice that prevails, even in the free States, against the descendants of Africans. Philanthropists have thus been induced to examine the subject; discussion has been

produced; light has been elicited; thousands have been roused; both white and coloured are wielding the tongue and the pen; and the great Babel of ignorance and cruel oppression is partially undermined. This subject will be resumed anon.

TESTIMONY AGAINST SLAVERY.

The “Discipline” of the Society of “Friends” requires that a number of “Queries” shall be answered, at stated periods, in the meetings for business. Among these queries, one requires the bearing of a *testimony against slavery.*— Since the abolition of that system, as far as the Society was directly concerned, the answers to this query have generally been merely affirmative. But we are informed that, at one of the late Yearly Meetings in Ohio, some of the answers were affirmative, with this remarkable exception:—“*except an abstinence from the use of the productions of slave labor.*” These may not be precisely the words used, but the import is the same.

STORES FOR THE PRODUCTIONS OF FREE LABOR.

In the Ladies’ Department, of this month’s paper, will be found an interesting statement, relative to the Stores for the productions of free labor, at Philadelphia and Wilmington.— In addition to the information, there given, we would observe, that Charles Collins, of New York, still continues his Free Grocery Store, in Franklin Square, as usual. Isaac Peirce also keeps a supply of similar articles, at 403, Pearl-street, N. Y.—A Store, of the same kind is likewise about to be established in Boston,— and several others, in the State of Ohio, and elsewhere. This concern is rapidly extending throughout a great portion of the country; and we may soon hope to hear of experiments being made, in the slave-holding States, that shall prove the *superior advantages of free labor*, in the cultivation of sugar, cotton, and rice, as well as in the productions of the northern and middle States. A *practical experiment*, of this nature, in some Southern State, would be worth more, at this moment, than all the theory and all the argument yet brought to bear upon the question of slavery. It is extremely gratifying to learn, that the disposition to encourage the making of such experiments is increasing in many parts of the United States.

Before concluding, we must further observe, that a Society has recently been organized at a place called *Green Plains*, in the state of Ohio, for the purpose above mentioned. May such associations multiply in every direction, until the demand for “free produce” shall be heard.

from every quarter, and be born on every breeze!

DECENCY!

Some "whole hog" *slavite*, at Staunton, Virginia, has returned a copy of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, addressed to Chapman Johnson, Esq. with the following *decent* expression, written on the margin: "Any man that would publish such a thing as this ought to be d—d."

This poor wretch is entitled to pity; yet we should not consider him worthy of our notice, were it not to be presumed that he resides in the vicinity of the distinguished gentleman to whom the paper was directed, as aforesaid. In what relation may we suppose that he stands to that gentleman, or the public?—Is he in the pay of the United States?

FURTHER DESCRIPTION OF THE TEXAS COUNTRY.

The following is extracted from a letter, written in November, 1830, by David G. Burnet, formerly of Cincinnati, Ohio, and directed to Anthony Dey, Wm. H. Sumner, and George Curtis, of New York. Several grants of land had been made to various individuals, for the purpose of colonization, of whom Burnet was one. From the information received, while in other parts of Texas, the writer of this believes the statement to be substantially correct. Much of the country, here described, is located *between* the districts, alluded to in the last number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

"Having spent two years in Texas, part of the time in Austin's colony, and the rest of it in traversing the country, to which I am about returning for my permanent residence, in compliance with your request to furnish a brief account of it, and more particularly of the grants of Messrs. Zavala, Vehlem and Burnet, I remark, that Texas, in its usual and most extensive acceptation, comprises the whole territory lying between the southwestern boundary of the United States and the Rio Grande, alias, the Rio Bravo del Norte, the Gulf of Mexico on the South, and the Arkansas and Mississippi Territories of the United States on the north. This definition, however, is not in strict accordance with the political organization of the country, as the state of Tamaulipas and the department of Cuahuila both cross the Rio Grande, making the Nueces strictly the western limit. Anterior to the independence of

Mexico in 1821, under the vice regal government, Texas was almost an unknown wilderness. Foreigners of all nations were prohibited under the penalty of an indefinite imprisonment, at the caprice of a petty military despot, from tresspassing on its soil; and the few native subjects that had sufficient enterprise to encounter the hazards and privations of a new settlement, were constrained, by their habitual indolence and timidity, to restrict themselves to compact habitations. Under these circumstances the villages of St. Antonio de Bexar, La Bahia del Espiritu Santo, and Nacogdoches, were commenced, and small parcels of ground in the vicinity of each were brought into cultivation; and under similar discouragements they have lingered along in almost total abstraction from the world, for near a century. The country at large was left to its primitive condition; and remained so, without an effort on the part of the government to reclaim it, until the final subversion of the regal power, and the emancipation of Mexico from the improvident dominion of Spain. Soon after the institution of the present federal republican government, the settlement of Texas became a favorite point of national policy, and laws of colonization were enacted, expressly to effectuate that object, guaranteeing protection to the persons and property of foreigners, and inviting them to settle on its fertile lands. Under those laws a large portion of the country has been granted, in districts of various dimensions, to *Empresarios*, or Founders of Colonies, for settlement. The colonies so conceded, comprehend nearly all the land that is desirable for present occupation.*

"There are few regions of the globe on which the bounties of nature have been more profusely dispensed, than on this delightful country, that is just emerging from obscurity. The fertility of its soil—the amenity of its climate—its contiguity to the ocean—the numerous rivers which empty into it, affording the cheapest transportation to the highest markets in the world, for the principal products, of its soil,—are such advantages as are seldom concentrated in an equal degree, and which will enable the enterprising population which is now

* Several of these grants have since been forfeited, and will probably be re-granted to others, with some modifications in the terms.

pouring into it to render Texas the most favored portion of the earth. The territory between the Sabine and the Rio Grande includes a sea coast of about 500 miles extent. In that distance there are but three harbors of considerable importance, to wit: Galveston, Matagorda, and the Brasos St. Iago, the haven of the Rio Grande. That of Galveston is decidedly preferable to the others, and is probably the best harbor between Pensacola in Florida, and Vera Cruz in Mexico.* The bay of Galveston is about thirty miles in length, and varies from twelve to eighteen in width. It receives the river Trinity, the San Jacinto, and some smaller streams; and it may, at very little labor or expense, be connected by canals, so as to receive the produce of the Sabine on one side, and the outlet of the Brasos on the other—both of these places being without a depth of water sufficient for any considerable maritime navigation.

“The Trinity is supposed to be navigable during five or six months of the year, ordinarily from January to June, by steam-boats of 100 tons, for about 200 miles above its mouth. If there are any obstructions to its navigation, I am not aware of them. The river Neches also rises near Red river, and traversing Burnet’s and part of Vchlein’s, it enters Zavala’s grant, and discharges into the Sabine bay. The Neches is navigable by the smaller class of steam-boats for about 75 miles, and by keel-boats some 30 or 40 miles further. Both these rivers, and indeed all the rivers of Texas, as of the west generally, are liable, occasionally, and at some points, to overflow their banks. But these periodical inundations are nothing like as extensive as are those of the Mississippi, and its prodigious tributaries. The beds of the Trinity and Neches are remarkably deep, and the waters usually recede within the banks early in the spring, and are never productive of the deleterious exhalations which so fatally infect the atmosphere of Louisiana.

“The crops most congenial to the soil and climate in the grants of Zavala and Vchlein, which bound on the gulf, in latitude 29 degrees and 30 minutes, are

Sugar, Cotton, Indigo, Rice, Tobacco, and all the fruits common to the temperate zone, as Oranges, Lemons, Grapes, Olives, Prunes, Figs, &c. &c. Burnet’s grant, which adjoins the latter on the north, will yield Cotton and Tobacco, together with Wheat, Rye, Oats, Barley, and all the small grains, and the fruits and vegetables common to the United States. Indian corn grows luxuriantly all over the country; and with the same carefulness of tillage, will yield as plentifully as in Kentucky or Ohio. The surface generally is woodland, but it is frequently variegated by small prairies, or natural meadows, containing from 100 to 1000 acres. Many of these primordial *clearings* present very eligible and picturesque sites for buildings, and render a bountiful harvest to the plough of the cultivator. Unlike the pioneer settlers in the western wilds of the United States, emigrants to Texas will not have to encounter years of arduous labor in subduing heavy and obstinate forests; but they will be able, in almost every instance, to procure a portion of good prairie, for present cultivation, without any preparatory labor but that of burning the grass with which they are thickly carpeted. The face of the country in these grants is generally undulatory, with few, if any, *dead levels*, on which the water rests and stagnates, and has no broken or precipitous hills, or arid plains, that may not be profitably ploughed and planted.

“The native Grapes are found growing luxuriantly in all quarters, and many of them are of exquisite flavor; while those of Arkansas and Louisiana, owing to the greater humidity of the atmosphere in those regions, are comparatively acrid, and liable to untimely blights. For the same and other analogous reasons, Cotton and the Sugar-cane flourish better, and arrive at greater perfection in Texas, than in either of those countries. The Cotton is of a finer texture, a longer staple, more silky, and is confessedly worth 25 per cent. more in New Orleans: and in respect to productiveness, Texas has at least 25 per cent. the advantage. The Sugar-cane grows larger and taller in the stalk, and possesses the saccharine matter in larger proportions and greater purity.

The timber, in these grants, includes many varieties, among which are several kinds of Oak, Hickory, Black Walnut, Ash, Wild Cherry, Mulberry, Elm,

* The writer is probably in an error here. We learn that the bay of Aransaso, west of the St. Antonio river, and but 20 miles south of La Bahia, affords an excellent harbor for vessels drawing from 12 to 16 feet water.—G. V. F.

Hackberry, Pecan, Linn, Gum, Yellow Pine, &c. &c. Cypress is found on the Neches, but whether in large quantities I am not informed. Live Oak abounds in some parts of Texas, and grows to a large size, and will constitute a valuable article of merchandise. Red Cedar is found on some of the uplands, and like the Live Oak, furnishes an excellent material in naval architecture. The Pine grows large and lofty, and will be immensely valuable for lumber. It is most frequently found interspersed with other varieties of timber, as Hickory, Oak, &c. which indicate a good soil.

“One distinctive characteristic of this beautiful country, is its exemption from swamps and stagnant pools. The land invariably ascends from the water courses, and rising to moderate eminences, precludes the formation of swamps or putrid ponds to any injurious extent. This probably is one efficient cause of the singular purity, elasticity, and equality of the atmosphere. While the midsummer air of Louisiana is encumbered with moisture and surcharged with noxious miasma, the pure atmosphere of Texas is renewed and refreshed by lively breezes, fresh from the ocean, rolling over a dry, verdant, waving surface, and imparting health and vigor to all that inhale them. [Conclusion next month.]

THE UNION IN DANGER.

We have never believed that the union of these states will long continue, if the SYSTEM OF SLAVERY be perpetuated. There is too much diversity of sentiment—too much dissimilarity of principle—among the politicians of the slaveholding, and the non-slave-holding states, for cordial attachment. This idea we have frequently expressed. While foreign aggression threatened their peace and their liberty, they were ready to make common cause for their mutual protection; but now, when they consider themselves strong enough to hold the powers of Europe at bay, with less difficulty than formerly, they are disposed to indulge their peculiar feelings, and enforce their particular sectional doctrines.

The “signs of the times” are sufficiently ominous to bear us out in the opinion here advanced. Every statesman and politician is familiar with the present proceedings of the people of South Carolina, Georgia, &c. respecting the exercise of authority by the Federal Government. The “Tariff” is only the ostensible, the pretended cause of all the difficulty relating

to this subject. The real cause is, A DETERMINATION ON THE PART OF THE SLAVEHOLDERS, TO PREVENT, IF POSSIBLE, BY PERMANENT REGULATIONS, THE INFLUENCE OF NORTHERN OPINIONS ON THE NATIONAL LEGISLATION, RELATIVE TO SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

The southern politicians do not wish to secede from the Union, but they are resolved to uphold the slave system, at all hazards: and if they cannot coerce the opponents of that system into their measures, they will “throw themselves upon their sovereignty,” and endeavor to establish a separate government.

We are decidedly opposed to every thing like war.—Civil commotion is no part of our business.—But it does not comport with the character of a fearless advocate of justice, to disguise the truth,—nor with that of a true Christian, to “hold his peace” at the bidding of corruption and tyranny. We therefore candidly state what we believe will be the ultimate fate of this nation, if the system of oppression continues; and we call upon all to examine the subject, seriously and dispassionately, and then to act as the best wisdom shall direct.

We should strongly deprecate a dissolution of our political union—as much on account of the colored population, as of the white. Slavery will as certainly be abolished in this country, at some future period, as that the human race shall continue to inhabit it. If the different States remain under one general government, it may, and probably will, be effected by pacific means—if not, the chain of the oppressor will be sundered by violence. We forbear to dwell upon the awful scenes which the contemplation of this subject presents. May heaven, in mercy, ever avert them from our eyes!

CANADA JOINT STOCK COMPANY.

In our last number, mention was made of the contemplated formation of a new association, at Wilberforce, Canada, upon the principle of a Joint Stock Company, for the purchase of lands, &c. We also promised a further notice of this subject. Recent advices from that settlement, lead to the belief, however, that this attempt will not succeed. It is, therefore, considered unnecessary to publish the plan, as requested.—And it is, indeed, extremely doubtful whether the expected good would result from such an undertaking. The present Board of Managers of the Wilberforce Settlement, is composed of men of worth,—and they have now agents out, collecting funds for the same purpose that the new proposed association has in view.

DEFERRED COMMUNICATION.

The following was received at this office, a month since, from a worthy clergyman.
To the Editor of the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

The good cause in which you are laboring with so much commendable ardor, will, I trust, excite increasing interest in the community. We have deeply to lament the selfishness and palpable inconsistency of some of our most influential political men, who, with the professions and praises of liberty, and the rights of man, on their lips, have not virtue enough in their hearts to stimulate them to adopt some more efficient means to deliver their country from the foul stain of violating perpetually her own boasted principles of equal rights, and for delivering their fellow men from oppression and misery. The merited and long delayed judgments of the Lord of Sabaoth, into whose ears the cry of the oppressed Africans hath entered, may, sooner than many are aware, convince us that righteousness alone truly exalteth a nation, and that iniquity is our ruin. O! that we may awake from our delusion and repent, as a people, before it is too late. We have already cause to tremble, and if we will not, the judgments of the Almighty avenger, who hath declared, "I will repay," will make us. If it is worthy of a great nation to concentrate its talents, its wealth and power, to remove *national* impediments to its advancement in prosperity, must it not be far more worthy of such a nation to remove those which are of a *moral* nature? While large appropriations of the nation's wealth are made, to preserve the citizens of the states in general from the aggressions of foreign nations, which, at present, are only *probable*, and scarcely feared, shall no appropriation be made to deliver a numerous portion of our countrymen from *real oppression, actual aggression, and positive misery*? Doth not charity cry aloud, and wisdom put forth her voice to the favored nation, immediately to sit in council, by her benevolent delegates who can feel for the woes of their fellow men, and devise a grand scheme for pouring the oil of joy and gladness into the bosoms of millions of our fellowmen, who would be capacitated to relish the draughts of the delicious cup of liberty equally with ourselves, were they once elevated by education from that degradation into which our own selfishness plunged them?

O! that there were virtue and humanity enough in the nation to demand Congress to make such an appropriation of the public funds, as is consistent with sustaining objects of minor importance, for the glorious purpose of immediately emancipating a portion of the slaves,* and for educating them for useful service and rational enjoyment, as fellow citizens in a free and happy country. Indeed a plan of education, embracing manual labor, may be adopted, which would, in a pecuniary respect, support itself. Such appropriations might be continued, until not a single slave could be found, as an example of our political hypocrisy, to clank his chains amid a nation of free men.

Would not such a glorious victory over our own inhumanity, covetousness, and pride, be a second era of our nation's independence?—Rather, would it not be the *first*? How can our nation be considered *independent and free*, while so large a portion of our countrymen whom God hath made of the same blood, and endowed with the same rational powers, are groaning under the oppressor's rod, and have not yet once tasted the blessings and privileges of freemen? Would not such an enterprise of benevolence, by bringing into exercise and useful operation an immense amount of intellectual and moral power, which would otherwise have never been developed, be a real and great accession to our nation's true prosperity? Would it not be an accomplishment of glorious memory, and continue to spread a halo of glory around our historic page, when all the false honor of military achievement and political intrigue shall be duly estimated and abhorred by the sons of wisdom and virtue?

Giving all the commendation to the American Colonization Society which is due, and anticipating all the happy results which can be rationally expected from its measures, is it not in fact, and must it not be, at least for a long period, *taking but a drop out of the bucket of African misery*? Let us be thankful for

* The writer does not here distinctly state what course of proceeding he would approve in relation to the "purchase" of slaves, for the purpose of education. We believe that, to educate those voluntarily freed, and those still in bondage wherever permitted, would answer the views of the writer, as far as we comprehend them.—And, further, no plan of partial purchase should, in our opinion, be listened to for a moment.—G. U. E.

that drop. Far be it, however, that we should be so intent on that, as to forget what remains in the bucket. Humanism—religion—our political professions—the voice of the civilised world—and our own present and everlasting interests—all unite in demanding means **MORE EFFICIENT and of more speedy operation.** The demand is imperative. We have no excuse that righteousness will accept. One thing only is needful, and that is HONESTY. We are robbing millions of our fellow men of their liberty, because the Almighty has been pleased to send their equally intelligent minds into this world in a body of a darker figure than our own! Will God allow this, in the judgment, to be a sufficient plea against the execution of his righteous threatenings in respect to robbing the stranger or our brother of their right? Is the Saviour's command—"therefore whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do even so unto them"—applicable only to white men?

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

SKETCHES OF CHARACTER.

WARNER MIFFLIN.

was a youth, and life looked fair to him; the honors of the world seemed pleasant things, and proud Ambition strove to stir his heart, with her bright lures, to serve her; and the hand of liberal wealth seemed offering him its stores, he would sue for them. But there had passed the breathing of a spirit o'er his breast that purified its worldliness, and lit a holy love for all the human race, reaching to his hearts core, and gushing up healing tears of mercy; and he spurned the voice of selfishness, that bade him seek his own advancement by his brothers wrongs. As a morn of summer; and he stood, in his little parlour, looking forth at the rich circling landscape, with an eye full of delicious feelings, and his heart swelling with prayerful gladness.

One by one, his servants came to him. They were his slaves, yet never had they known within their vile and bitter thralldom, that weighs down many human hearts in our fair land, when and desolate, to sheltering graves; and with stern contempt, and wounding scorn, he entreated them; but with a grave and gentle shadow of authority, like an elder brother 'midst the band of a dead father's household. Yet their bonds on his heart laid heavily and sad, so they came into his presence now, and he might burst their chains, and bid them go forth to the world as freemen.

There was one who stood before him. His dark cheek was wet

With a free gush of tears, and his ear hung on every cadence of his master's voice, As it were witching music; till at last, When its low, gentle cadence died away, The crowd of his conflicting feelings brake forth into passionate words.

Oh how can I Depart from thee? 'tis sweet, most sweet, to be No more to man a mark for obloquy, And the proud scorn of the contemptuous eye! Yet even freedom cannot soothe my heart, If only with the name of Slave I part, By going hence from thee!

I ne'er have been A slave within thy house—hast thou not wrought Beside me in the field?—and kindly taught My darkened spirit of the world unseen:— And tended in my sickness by my bed, While, as thine own loved hand my wan lip fed, I blessed thee in my heart!

Oh tell me not That I must leave thee! sure I cannot be Happier in aught than I have been with thee! Then let my world be only in this spot— And yet how I have longed to lift my brow Tow'rs the pure heavens, as thou bidst me now, Unstained, and clear, and free!

Ha! says't thou then That thine own James shall 'midst thine household be, My master, and my friend! and yet be free? Then bless thee for the boon, thou best of men! Oh let me press thy hand upon my heart, Whose grateful love, with life alone, shall part, And weep my thanks to thee!

E. M. C.

LETTER FROM CANADA.

"Wilberforce, Dec. 7th, 1832.

RESPECTED FRIEND: I received your letter of the second of Nov. ult. with great pleasure, and was very glad to hear of your arrival again in the United States. It gives me pleasure to hear of your prospects in the Republic of Mexico; and I would offer up my prayers to Almighty God, for your success; for I am sensible that if you succeed in establishing a settlement, or colony, to the South, many more of my countrymen, who now are groaning in slavery, and probably would continue to do so until death, may yet taste the sweets of liberty, and sing the song of redemption. And should you thus be the means of redeeming but a few more of our brethren, who are doomed to slavery and degradation, what joy will you experience! how consoling to the Christian must such a reflection be, when time is drawing to a close with him! what sweet consolation to hear the language: "I was naked and you clothed me; I was an hungered, and you fed me," &c.

Our settlement is very healthy, and

people are industrious, and clearing up their farms as fast they can. We have not had a great addition to our numbers, since you were here; but our coloured friends are settling in the neighborhood of Wilberforce, and we are in hopes as soon as our Agent, Mr. N. Paul, returns from England, to obtain what land we want;*—and then settlers will come in faster."

—

"IMMEDIATE, NOT GRADUAL."

The motives and objects of the advocates of Universal Emancipation, in this country, are not generally understood. It must be confessed that many of its friends have not always been sufficiently particular, in explaining their views.—Ours have been frequently and fairly stated.—There may, indeed, be some "fanatics" among us, who would recommend ill advised measures; but few if any entertain the idea of turning all the slaves loose, *with no restriction whatever*, as some have believed we have designed to do. Even the zealous and "enthusiastic" GARRISON indulges no such wild, imprudent notions. Below, we give his sentiments relative to this subject, in an extract from his prospectus for the third volume of the "Liberator." (Its great length forbids an insertion of the whole.) He urges nothing impracticable, nor, in the least degree, dangerous to the peace and welfare of the community at large. The utility and safety of measures, such as are here proposed, have been often tested and fully sustained.

"By immediate emancipation we do not mean—

That the slaves shall be turned loose upon the nation, to roam as vagabonds or aliens—nor

That they shall be instantly invested with all political rights and privileges—nor

That they shall be expelled from their native land to a foreign clime, as the price and condition of their freedom.

But we mean—

That instead of being under the unlimited control of a few irresponsible mas-

*We have seen a late letter, from this gentleman, in which he states that he has met with much encouragement from persons of the first standing, in England. May great success attend him! and may the worthy bands of the "Pilgrim" pioneers, who have established the coloured settlements in Canada, be recompensed a thousand fold for their sacrifices and privations—the consequences of their noble enterprise—in founding asylums there, for the oppressed and persecuted, in this "land of liberty," and of slavery!—C. V. F.

ters, they shall really receive the protection of law:

That the power which is now vested in every slaveholder to rob them of their just dues, to drive them into the fields like beasts, to lacerate their bodies, to sell the husband from his wife, the wife from her husband, and children from their parents shall instantly cease:

That the slaves shall be employed as free laborers, fairly compensated, and protected in their earnings:

That they shall be placed under a benevolent and disinterested supervision which shall secure to them the right to obtain secular and religious knowledge, worship God, according to the dictates of their consciences, to accumulate wealth &c.

To say that this transformation is impracticable at present, is nothing to the purpose: it is impracticable only because of obstinacy, hatred, pride, ambition, and lust, on the part of the oppressors. The duty is clear and imperious—to break every yoke, undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free, in obedience to the command of God. Because they refuse to do justly and love mercy, it does not vacate their obligation to fulfil the royal law, instantly.

We hope to be successful in our attempts to abolish slavery—

Not by exciting and encouraging slaves to rebel, for that would be pernicious and wicked:

Not by a physical interposition on the part of the free states, for that would be productive of war and anarchy:

Not by an unlawful exercise of political supremacy, for that would be despotism:

But by pricking the consciences of planters—by faithfully showing them their guilt, infatuation and danger—appealing to their selfishness, on a score of pecuniary interest—by persuasion—by concentrating public sentiment against slavery—by inducing the pulpit and the press to plead for the poor and needy, and bound in fetters—by constitutional authority, getting out of constitutional guilt and alliance—by the prodigal dissemination of slavery tracts, pamphlets and petitions—by the formation of anti-slavery societies, uniting and co-operating together—by temperance societies have done—by constant presentation of motives, touching every chord of the human heart

by the use of those spiritual weapons which are mighty, through God, to the pulling down of the strong holds of Satan."

AFFRAY IN NEW JERSEY.

Three slaves escaped from Maryland, a few days since, and were pursued to the vicinity of Camden, New Jersey. They were employed in cutting wood, but armed with guns, &c. to defend themselves. On the approach of the pursuers, they were joined by a number of other slaves, black and white, when an attack was made on the former, and they were nearly killed. It is said the number on the side of the fugitives amounted to about fifty. The ringleaders were subsequently taken, and imprisoned.

A PARDON ASKED.

Of our enemies, are we soliciting favors; do we crave the indulgence of friends, who have been vexatiously neglected. While the editor was out on his late western tour, many names were added to the subscription list for the work, more than three hundred of which were obtained in the states of Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana. With extreme mortification, he learns, that a considerable number of these were not supplied until the Advertisement for the last volume was issued. The apology that can be offered is this: During the absence of the editor, the publication was attended to by a number of friends; and it appears that a list of subscriptions from Springborough, Ohio, Richmond and Garden, Indiana, and several other places, had been forwarded to the office, were lost and forgotten, until the editor's return. It is hoped that all of these should have commenced with the 10th number of the eleventh volume; but as the paper was not then forwarded, the date of beginning will be changed to the 11th number of the present volume.

The editor hopes that these explanations and arrangements will be acceptable to his friends who have been so unintentionally neglected. The case, it is obvious, was entirely out of his control.—And seeing that his own labor, and pecuniary means, are wholly devoted to the cause of the suffering, bleeding, and oppressed, he hopes for the indulgence of those who, in the enjoyment of a happier lot, may sometimes, as in the present instance, meet with small disappointments, in co-operating with him.

NEW ANTI-SLAVERY PAPER.

A new paper, (with an anti-slavery department) has recently been established, by Reuben

Chambers, at Bethania, Pennsylvania. Success to it! We shall have more such—in fact, a variety of new publications—to notice next month.

If friend Chambers will examine the last number of the G. U. E. (now forwarded,) he will see the "reasons" why he has not before had an exchange with us.

BRIEF NOTICES.

Late accounts from Monrovia, are rather unfavourable. The colonial agent, in a letter to the Rev. R. R. Gurley, dated September —, 1832, remonstrates in severe terms, against the sending of "vagrants" thither, to people the colony. He objects to receiving such as have "never, when in the United States, voluntarily labored for their own support, and now, when the stimulus of the overseer's lash is removed, cannot be induced to exert themselves sufficiently to procure even a scanty subsistence," &c. We fear that too many of the "slaves, liberated on condition of going to Liberia," were old and confirmed in their degraded habits. There is much of that kind of philanthropy in vogue, that would dispense with the services of such persons as these, for such a worthy purpose!

The British cruizers in the West Indies, appear to be actively and successfully engaged in watching the slave traders. The schooner Speedwell lately captured one bound to Cuba with 616 slaves on board, after an action of half an hour. She has also taken another with 134 slaves.

The "Society of Christian Morals," in France, has petitioned the government for the melioration of the condition of the slave population in its colonies, with a view to ultimate emancipation. The good cause is gaining friends, throughout the Christian world.

PRICE OF SLAVES.—For a man, 9 ounces, (doubloons,) or 216 yards of cloth, or 9 rolls of tobacco, or 36 gallons of spirits, or 139 handkerchiefs. For a woman 8 ounces, or 192 yds. or 8 rolls, or 32 gallons, or 128 handkerchiefs. For a child, 6 ounces, or 144 yards, or 6 rolls, or 24 gallons, or 96 handkerchiefs.—Actual state of the slave trade on the coast of Africa.

In St. Christopher's, and Dominica, the Free People of Colour have been invested with political privileges.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

An interesting letter from Charles Stuart, of London, will appear in our next.

A Fourth of July Address, by Jabez D. Hammond Esq. at Cherry Valley, N. Y. is on file, and will be reviewed.

A communication from the Secretary of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, will be attended to, very soon.

Our correspondent at Annapolis, is informed that the absence of the editor, alone, prevented the insertion of his communication. It will yet appear.

The "Appeal" of our friend, Matthew Carey, of Philadelphia, shall have a response, ere long.

A friend or two, in Alexandria, will be remembered.

Ladies' Repository.

Philanthropic and Literary.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

REASONS FOR FLOGGING THE SLAVES.

To those whose humane feelings have not been utterly debased, the afflictions of suffering nature, when the heart is bereaved of the dearest objects of its affection, appeal with an irresistible claim for compassion and sympathy. Who will not say that the heart must be dead to even the most common feelings of humanity, ere it can witness without some softening, the grief of an affectionate child for the loss of a beloved parent? Who would not shudder to make the sorrows of a bereaved wife the object of ridicule, still less to convert the natural exhibition of her woe into an offence demanding the infliction of a barbarous punishment? What mother, bending over the cold and pale brow of her beautiful and loved, would not feel it an inhuman cruelty to be denied the privilege of pouring out her grief in tears and lamentations? And how still more barbarous would such a restriction seem to her, if instead of resigning her darling in his unspotted innocence into the arms of God, he had been wrested from her by the hand of violence, and forced far and forever from her sheltering arms, to struggle alone beneath all the bitterness of life, and die at last on the bosom of ignominy? Yet such is the lot of the slave. Not only are all the dearest and strongest ties of her heart wantonly rent asunder, but the gushing forth of the natural feelings of her affection and tenderness, are arrested with cruel punishment. It is criminal in a slave to sink, heart-broken, under oppression. The possession of the best and holiest feelings with which the merciful God has enriched the human heart, is assigned as a reason why they must be ranked with the stubborn brutes, and, even more unmercifully than they, lacerated with the horse whip! A female writer, on the subject of slavery in the West Indies, says, that a naval officer, who had been in the East Indies, was trying to prove to her, "that the negroes must be flogged; and his proof was this: that when they lose a father, or mother, or perhaps a lover, they sulk, (that is they are broken hearted,) and then *nothing will do but flogging them, and flogging them severely.*"

Nor is it only in the West India Islands, that the lash is thus used to silence the affecting bursts of filial or maternal sorrow. The forms of a million females in our own country may be made to bleed and writhe beneath the barba-

rous thong. A million female hearts are lacerated, at the will of tyrant man, by wrenched from the objects of their fondest Oh, how can their happier sisters lie down rise up with the knowledge of these things on their souls, and strive not to release from the grasp of such a thralldom!

RICE.

This is an article, of which the use should be carefully avoided, by all who do not purchase the gratification of their palate at the expense of the extreme sufferings and of their fellow creatures. So laborious and destructive to human life, is the manner of cultivation, that it is characterized by T. Jefferson, as "a plant which sows life and with almost equal hand."

Adams, in his geography, gives the following short description of the mode of its cultivation. "The cultivation is wholly by negroes. The work can be imagined more laborious, and more injudicial to the health. They are obliged to stand in the water oftentimes midleg high, exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, and breathing an atmosphere poisoned by the miasma and the wholesome effluvia of an oozy bottom and stagnant water."

All the arguments which have been advanced forward against the use of slave cultivation, apply equally well to this article. It is that, it is a staple product of slavery; and that, a source of severest suffering to the slave. So that even if the disuse of it did not promote their emancipation, they would at least be benefited by having their labor directed to some other less fatal and oppressive employment.

FREE PRODUCE STORES.

We are pleased to learn that several establishments continue to prosper. The Goods Store, kept by Lydia White, at North Fourth Street, Philadelphia, carries a great variety of articles, of superior quality. This enterprising and truly philanthropic lady has, within a few months past, purchased and caused to be manufactured, a number of bales of cotton—the production of free labor in North Carolina. She has politely furnished with the following statement of Colton, now on hand, with the prices of the various articles annexed. For durability, and for texture and finish, these goods are excelled by none perhaps of either American or European manufacture. She expects a still larger supply, in a short time.

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

the Goods, manufactured of Cotton cultivated by free labor, and for sale at the store of Ly-White, No. 42, North Fourth street, Philadelphia.

bleached, unbleached, and colored Muslins— (per yard) from 9 to 15 3-4 cents.

do. do. Cotton Flannels, 12 1-2 to 20 cts.

do. do. men's, women's and children's (per pair) 18 3-4 to 75 cents.

muslin and apron Checks, (per yd.) 12 1-2 cts.

solid and striped Domestics, 12 1-2 to 14 cts.

bleached and unbleached Diaper, 18 3-4 to 25 cents.

Woolen Cotton, (per pound) 56 to 75 cents.

Ticking, Cotton Laps, Wadding, Cord, Twine, Book, Mull, and Nansook Muslins—

Shawls, Bengals, &c. &c.

At Wilmington Delaware, we also learn

of a *Free Grocery Store*, kept by Jane Webb,

in a prosperous condition. The following

description of this establishment is copied from the

Free Press.

PRODUCE.—The grocery store, for the

goods free from the polluting touch of

is removed to Market street, nearly op-

posite basin, or water works.

The establishment commenced in 1825. It

struggled in its infancy with the difficul-

ties attendant on a new business, undertaken with-

out knowledge or experience; the consequence

was, a small pecuniary loss to the

proprietors, for several years after it was es-

tablished. During all this period there never

was public or private solicitations for sup-

ported its way by the quiet and silent

perseverance, that the cause of emancipation, ei-

ther moral or physical, was a just and a right

cause.

It remunerates the expences of conduct-

on a small scale, and is carried on by

individuals, who, from several years' expe-

rience, are qualified to judge of the value of the

goods, and the genuineness of their character."

—

How many individuals are there, of the vast

number of those who habitually consume slave

produce, who would frequent the shop of a

man of avowed dishonesty? yet, small as

the number comparatively is, we fear it is

greater than that of those who scruple to pur-

chase the distorted fruits of that worst sort of

trade, which deprives so many human beings

of the things which make life valuable!—which

is the loss of a few pieces of coin, out of

the pockets of persons, of their children, of their

liberties, of all the fruits of

the earth, almost of their very intellectual

faculties, and which to all these wrongs, adds

the personal cruelty!!

—

With much regret that our limits will

not permit the insertion, this month, of a num-

ber of interesting articles, already prepared,

among which are: one from the *Liberia Herald*, relative to the decease of Hannah Kilham, the celebrated philanthropist, who recently visited the colonies of Africa; one on the subject of Mexican emigration, by a colored lady of Philadelphia; and various others, selected from a large parcel, lately received from our highly valued correspondent, Lucy Townsend, Secretary of the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, at Birmingham in England. These shall severally be attended to in our next number.

"FEMALE LITERARY ASSOCIATION OF PHILADELPHIA."

In the 10th number of the last volume of this work, we adverted to the organization of a society, with the above title, by the colored females of the city of Philadelphia. The Constitution of said society was forwarded to this office in due season, by an esteemed female friend; but unfortunately, in consequence of the editor's absence, it was mislaid, and has not been inserted. We truly beg the pardon of our correspondent, for the omission, and now present the Constitution, &c. to our readers. Such societies, of either sex, will do far more for the cause of emancipation, than all the foreign colonization schemes that were ever yet invented.

FEMALE LITERARY ASSOCIATION.

Pursuant to adjournment, the Society met, Sept. 20th, 1831; when the following Preamble and Constitution were read, and unanimously adopted.

PREAMBLE.

Conscious, that among the various pursuits, that have engaged the attention of mankind, in the different eras of the world, none have ever been considered, by persons of judgment and penetration, as superior to the cultivation of the intellectual powers bestowed upon us by the God of nature, it becomes a duty incumbent upon us, as women—as daughters of a despised race—to use our utmost endeavours to enlighten the understanding, and to cultivate the talents entrusted to our keeping; that, by so doing, we may in a great measure, break down the strong barrier of prejudice, and raise ourselves to an equality with those of our fellow beings who differ from us in complexion, but who are, with ourselves, children of one Eternal Parent; and by his immutable law, we are entitled to the same rights and privileges:—Therefore, we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do agree to form ourselves into a Society, for the promotion of this great object, to be called the "*Female Literary Association of Philadelphia.*"

Conscious also, that rules and regulations, when properly enacted and administered, are for the well being of every community, we adopt the following Constitution for its government.

CONSTITUTION.—Section 1st.

Article 1st.—The officers of this Association, shall consist of a President, Vice President, Secretary, Treasurer, Agent, Librarian, a Committee of Investigation, and a Purchasing Committee, to be chosen annually.

Art. 2d. The election shall be by ballot; and no officer can be elected without a majority of all the votes given.

Art. 3d. It shall be the duty of the President to open and preside at all meetings of the Association, preserve order, propose all motions properly made and seconded, sign all orders upon the treasurer and such proceedings as are considered necessary, and give the casting vote in case of a tie.

Art. 4th. The Vice President shall preside in the absence of the President.

Art. 5th. It shall be the duty of the Secretary to keep correct minutes of the proceedings of the Association, sign all orders drawn upon the Treasurer and such proceedings as are deemed requisite, and file such papers as it may be necessary to preserve.

Art. 6th. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer, to collect and hold the funds of the Association, pay all orders signed by the President and Secretary, and render annually to the Association an account of her receipts and expenditures, and the state of the funds.

Art. 7th. The Agent shall be authorized to subscribe for and receive such periodicals, &c. as the Association may direct, see that they be carefully filed for preservation, and draw upon the Treasurer to defray the expenses thereof.

Art. 8th. The Librarian shall have charge of all books belonging to the Association, and after each meeting, take care that they be placed in the library,

Art. 9th. It shall be the duty of the Committee of Examination, to inspect and read to the Association such papers as may be placed in box, and file such as the meeting may direct.

Art. 10th. The duty of the Purchasing Committee shall be, to procure suitable books, &c. for the Association, and present their bills, properly signed, to the Treasurer for payment.

Section 2d.

Article 1st. All applicants for membership shall be ballotted for, and those elected, who shall have a majority of the votes of the members present.

Art. 2d. The annual subscription shall be \$1 50; to be paid at once, or in different payments, as the Association may deem expedient.

Art. 3d. The stated meetings of the Association, for transacting business, shall be held on the last Tuesday in every month.—Those devoted to reading and recitation, shall be held once in every week.

Art. 4th. No alterations or amendments shall be made to this Constitution, unless they be proposed at stated meetings, and receive the votes of two thirds of the members present at the succeeding one.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE COMING NEW YEAR.

Where is the PAST? With HIM who mark'd
its deeds!

Oppressor!—tremble! The bright eye of heaven
Was fix'd on thy dark works!

Poor child of toil!

Poor weary, weeping slave!—in patience wait—
The Almighty God watcheth thy sighs—thy
wrongs!

Another year begins its course sublime.
Man's heart beats high with hope; & earthly bliss,
And proud ambition, urge their vot'ries on

To many a splendid scene, and deed of fame
For man forgets that DEATH—fell enemy
Hath found an entrance to this citadel
Of mortal life. How many now on earth—
The busy and the fam'd—the man of wealth
The child of pleasure—ere the year shall close
Will lay their heads in dust! Who are the
times

Destin'd, this year, to fall before the foe?
What daring hand shall draw the imper-
veil

Which hides the FUTURE from man's see-
eye?

No voice of heaven, nor earth, reveals the
Of thousands, entering now the shades of
Blind to the gathering gloom. Enough to
That man is posting to the grave!—the
Passage to unknown worlds!—enough to
Death will this year arrest the steps of
And crush his proud designs his tow'ring
This very year, the hand of DEATH will
The curtain of the future!—aye! and give
The IMMORTAL SPIRIT to ETERNITY.

Washington, Dec. 25, 1832.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation
THE PARTING.

It has been well and beautiful
that there is no medicine for a we-
heart, like the sweet influences of
ture. The broad, still, beautiful ex-
sion of a summer landscape—the
ing in of the sunlight by glimpses
the trees—the unexpected meeting
a favorite blossom, half hidden
the luxuriant verdure—the sudden
ing of a wild bird, almost from
your feet—the play of light and
upon the surface of the gliding
and the ceaseless, glad, musical
its waters—the gushing melody
from a thousand throats, or the ra-
solitary warble, breaking out sudden
the stillness, and withdrawn again
as soon as heard—the soft, hy-
murmur of the honey bees—and
all, the majesty of the blue, clear
ing sky!—from all these steals forth
it of calm enjoyment, that ming-
lently with the darker thoughts
heart, and removes their bitterness

“If thou art worn and hard beset
With sorrows that though would'st
If thou would'st read a lesson that will
The heart from fainting, and the soul
Go to the woods and hills!—no tears
Dim the sweet look that Nature

Yet there are moods of the soul
even the ministering tenderness
ture cannot brighten. There are
which she cannot soothe, and, alas!
alas! darker passions, which all
and balmy influences cannot bring
tranquillity. When the human
foul with avarice, and the unble-
ses of tyranny, the eloquence

Weak beauty is breathed in vain. The most sublime and lovely scenes of nature have been made the theatre of wrong and violence; and the stony heart of the oppressor, though surrounded by the broad evidences of omnipotent love, has persisted, unrelenting, in the selfishness of its contrivance.

There was all the gloriousness of summer beauty round the little bay, in whose sleeping waters rested a small vessel, almost freighted for her departure. A few human beings, only, were to be added to her cargo, and as her spiry masts caught the first rays of the beaming sunlight, the frequent hoarse and brief command, and the ready response of the seamen, told that they were about to weigh anchor and depart. Among those who approached the shore, was a household group, a mother and her babes, the price of whose souls lay heaped in the coffers of one who called himself a christian, and who was now about to be torn from the husband and the father forever. It was a christian land; and perchance, if the deck of the departing vessel had not muffled its murmur, the voice of praise and prayer to the merciful and just God, might have been dimly heard floating off the still waters. But there was no way to save those unhappy beings from the grasp of unrighteous tyranny. The father had been upon the beach since the break, pacing the sands with a trudging step, or lying in moody anguish by the water's edge, covering his face from the breaking in of the glorious sunlight, and leading at times with the omnipotent God, whom, slave as he was, he had vowed to worship, for strength to subdue his passionate grief and indignation to his heart, and for humility patiently to endure his many wrongs.

His little fond arm was twined about his child, and the soft lip of a young child, breathing loving, but half sorrowful words, all over his burning forehead.

"Father! dear father! we are going! you not come with us? look where your mother and my sisters and brothers are waiting for you."

A shuddering and convulsive shudder the unhappy man arose, and lifted the wretched child to his bosom.

"You not go with us, father? remember the boy, but the slave made him remember, except by straining him to the water with a short bitter laugh, and pressing one of his sobbing kisses upon

his cheek. With a convulsive effort for the mastery, he subdued the workings of his features, and with a seemingly calm voice and countenance, approached his children. One by one he folded them in his arms, and breathing over them a prayer and a blessing, gave them up forever. Then once more he strove to nerve his heart for its severest trial.— There was one more parting;—one more sad embrace to be given and returned.— There stood the mother of his children— his own fond and gentle wife, who had been for so many years his heart's dearest blessing; and who, ere one short hour had passed, was to be to him as if the sea had swallowed her up in its waves, or the dark gloomy earth had hidden her beneath its bosom! A thousand recollections and agonizing feelings came rushing at once upon his heart, and he stood gazing on her, seemingly bewildered and stupified, motionless as a statue, and with features to which the very intensity of his passion gave the immobility of marble; till suddenly flinging up his arms with a wild cry, he dropped at once senseless to the earth, with the blood gushing in torrents from his mouth and nostrils. And the miserable wife, amid the shrieks of her despair, was hurried on board the vessel, and borne away from him, over the calm, sleeping, and beautiful sea, forever.*

ELA.

*A fact.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation

THE SUGARPLUMBS.

No, no, pretty sugarplumbs! stay where you are! Though my grandmother sent you to me from so far.

You look very nice, you would taste very sweet, And I love you right well, yet not one will I eat.

For the poor slaves have laboured, far down in the south,

To make you so sweet, and so nice for my mouth. But I want no slaves toiling for me in the sun, Driven on with the whip, till the long day is done.

Perhaps some poor slave-child that hoed up the ground,

Round the cane in whose rich juice your sweetness was found,

Was flogged till his mother cried sadly to see, And I'm sure I want nobody beaten for me.

So grandma, I thank you for being so kind, But your present to-day is not much to my mind; Tho' I love you so dearly, I choose not to eat Even what you have sent me by slavery made sweet.

Thus said little Fanny, and skipped off to play, Leaving all her nice sugarplumbs just where they lay,

As merry as if they had gone in her mouth, And she had not cared for the slaves of the south.

MARGARET.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

SONNET.

God's works are very beautiful! The sky,
Blue, vast, and cloudless in its broad expanse,
Or fleeced with golden vapours: the bright
glance
Of waters, flashing 'neath the sun's warm eye;
Meadows, & vine-hung crags, & towering high,
The forest foliage, shadowed like a dream
In its rich moulding, with the sunset gleam—
The sheen of moon beams, sleeping quietly
Upon the earth, and swift wings glancing by
In the gay sunshine;—but too oft more fair
To man is sordid Mammon's yellow glare,
Albeit purchased with the torturing sigh
Of his poor victim brother! Wretched slave!
Earth's fairest spot for thee, too often, is the
grave.
E. M. C.

From the Genius of Temperance.

SLAVERY.—The subject of slavery be-
gins to receive a share of the attention
its great importance demands. There is
evidently a waking up—an engagedness
of feeling, which will grow more and
more intense, until it may be said of our
own country, as it has been of England—
“as soon as the slave touches it, his
chains fall off.”

Slavery has been allowed too long al-
ready. Its evils are constantly accumu-
lating—and the rod of Justice has been
suspended over us long and fearfully.—
It is time to look to it, and press the
importance of “letting the oppressed go
free.” It is time the subject was agi-
tated in every circle—in every paper—
in every pulpit. The press should speak
out—and do it *now*. We have not the
power to control the slave-holding states
through the medium of the ballot boxes;
but we may demand, in the name of im-
mutable justice, and in the name of hu-
manity, that slavery be forever abolished.
Nay, more. We may *petition* to have
the foul stain wiped away, so far as our
general government stands chargeable
with it. The District of Columbia may
be purged from its abominations—and
should be at once; and the buildings
and prison-houses of the United States
be no longer used as a means of oppres-
sion—as depositaries of those whose only
crime is a *colored skin*—as helps and se-
curities for the man-stealer.

Let the people awake! Let those who
can feel for *their own* rights and privile-
ges—those who delight to dwell on the
beauty and excellence of our govern-
ment, and our free institutions—sympa-
thize with the slave, and arouse to the
important work of emancipation! To
delay, is to sleep over injustice—to trifle
over human suffering!

PROPOSALS

FOR PUBLISHING A MONTHLY PERIODICAL
AS THE ORGAN OF THE NEW ENGLAND
ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, ENTITLED
THE ABOLITIONIST.

Two millions of the American people, with
one sixth part of the children born in the U-
ted States, are by the existing order of things
the subjects of a cruel and degrading des-
pism. Their cries have ascended to heaven
for a redress of their wrongs, and the Father
mercies has heard their prayer, and com-
missioned many of his servants to plead the
cause. As the friends of the colored people
and the advocates of their rights and welfare,
the New England Anti-Slavery Society pro-
poses to issue a monthly publication of
pages, royal octavo, to be called the ABO-
LITIONIST. It will be exclusively devoted
to subjects connected with the rights and hap-
piness of the colored people, and will contain
the most important intelligence, both foreign
and domestic on these subjects. Its design will
be to present to the community, the true cha-
racter of Slavery and the American Slave Trade,
to urge upon Patriots, Philanthropists,
Christians, the obligations they are under
to their country, their fellow men, and their
God, to break off every yoke and set the oppres-
sed free.

The Abolitionist will be published in Boston
under the direction of the Board of Managers
of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, on
good paper and handsome type, and ornate-
ly bound with a beautiful copperplate frontispiece,
making an annual volume of 288 pages,
which an Index will be furnished at the end
of the year. The work will be forwarded to
subscribers at \$1 00 per annum, payable on
the delivery of the first number, which it is pro-
posed to issue on the first of January, 1833.

Letters and communications (post paid)
may be directed in the following manner:
The Corresponding Secretary of the New Eng-
land Anti-Slavery Society, Boston, Mass.

THE
GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION
Vol. XIII.

This work will henceforth be issued monthly
in the CITY OF WASHINGTON. It will be
neatly printed, on fine paper, and folded
in octavo form, each number making sixteen
pages. A title page, and index, will accompany
each volume.

The price of subscription will be ONE
DOLLAR per annum, always to be paid in advance.

Subscribers who do not particularly specify
the time they wish to receive the work, will
notify the editor (through the medium of their
master, or in some other way,) of a desire to
continue it before the expiration of the
year, will be considered as engaged for the
succeeding one, and their bills will be for-
warded accordingly.

Any person, remitting Five Dollars to the
Editor, in current money of the United States,
will be entitled to Six Copies, for one year.

All letters, communications, papers, &c.,
intended for this office, must be addressed
usual, to BENJAMIN LUNDY, Washington,
D. C.—and forwarded free of expense.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, WASHINGTON, D.C. AT \$1 PER ANNUM.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration of Independence.*

No. 3. VOL. III. THIRD SERIES.] JANUARY, 1833. [WHOLE NUMBER 279. VOL. XIII.

EXCHANGE PAPERS.

The Editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* requests the proprietors of periodicals, with whom he exchanges, to direct, hereafter, to *Washington, D. C.* The office is now removed from Baltimore, located in this place.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Petitions, urging this very important measure, have been placed in the hands of several delegates to Congress, within the present month. A distinguished member of the House of Representatives, from Pennsylvania, has presented the one from this District, which was signed by many of our most respectable citizens. One from Tennessee has also been presented. What will be done upon this subject is not yet known. That much will be effected, at least now, can hardly be anticipated. Yet the friends of the cause should not, for a moment ease their importunities. The idea that the citizens of the several States have "no right to meddle with the matter," is fallacious in the extreme. To whom does the representative feel himself amenable, but to the power that elected him to the station which he occupies? and being we have no votes to offer him, what cares for our wishes? Let us look at human nature as it is. Were it proper to use the comparison, we would say, the representative stands much the same relation to his constituents, as man does to his Maker. In either case, he wields the sovereign power, *if he sin not!* We demand, what can we expect from our law-makers, if those from whom they derive their authority raise not their voice in our favor? About eleven months since, while the editor of this work was absent, the following memorial was forwarded by an esteemed friend from Bedford, Massachusetts. It was accompanied by a recommendatory circular letter, signed by William Rotch, J. Ricketson, S. Thew, Abraham Shearman, James Arnold, Samuel Rodman, Jr. men of the first standing in that section of country. The memorial is well written; and as it is equally well adapted to the present period, as when first issued, we here present it to our readers.—

MEMORIAL

of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled.
The undersigned, inhabitants of _____ in the County of _____ of Massachusetts, respectfully represent,—

That they are among the citizens of our common country, who from an early period have deprecated the existence of slavery therein:— We believe the system to have originated in the violation of the fundamental principles of the Christian Religion, and that it equally militates with the well being of individuals, of communities, and nations.

We rejoice to witness the extension of just views on this subject throughout the civilized world, and that the amelioration of the condition of man, and his advancement in the scale of intellectual and accountable beings, is among the duties the performance of which is expected of every Government claiming an enlightened character.

We are not insensible to the supposed delicacy of the subject to which we refer, and the extreme sensibility of many of our fellow-citizens in relation to it. We hope our views will not be mistaken. Whilst we deem the existence of Slavery an evil of the greatest magnitude, we will not indulge the thought that it is an evil peculiarly chargeable upon our fellow-citizens amongst whom it more immediately exists, or that by them it is *willingly* entailed, with all its increasing power, upon our country. On the contrary, we are conscious that they, who have its evils daily before them, cannot be insensible to their consequences, and that with them indeed must originate any successful attempt to seek a remedy.

We are aware of the many difficulties which must present themselves in the way of emancipation, but we would banish the thought that because the evil is so extensive and difficult of remedy, or because much time and patient perseverance will be required in applying that remedy, which if prudently administered, must be slow in its operation, that therefore the Philanthropist and Statesman may turn from it in despair.

We believe that Slavery justly deserves the character of a national evil, and calls for national as well as individual efforts, for its removal.

The time having already arrived when the citizens of the District of Columbia, as well for their own benefit as for the honor and consistency of our Government, ask of you to take measures to eradicate the growing evil in that District,—we therefore especially pray, that your honorable body will consider and give due weight to the Memorial of those citizens, and that in your wisdom you will use and apply all practicable measures whereby an evil so inconsistent with the benign influence of Christianity, and with every characteristic of a free government, shall at least be banished from the seat of Government of these United States.

STRIKING AT THE ROOT.

Some of the northern editors, of late, have undertaken to "put the saddle on the right horse." They insist that the Anti-Tariff mania, the doctrines of nullification, &c. &c. are the

spontaneous productions of the hot bed of SLAVERY. When the smoke of the late party strife shall be faintly cleared away, it will be found that that was the fiery crater, from which the most of it arose.

True to his purpose, as a *genuine advocate of slavery*, the editor of the United States Telegraph," in this city, first takes up the cudgels to defend the *slave party* from this new mode of attack. He avers that, the moment party lines are drawn, upon this principle, *the Union is dissolved*. For once we give credence to his clerical sagacity—he is a "true prophet."—Yet he would have been entitled to more credit, if his prediction had been uttered before it was in the course of fulfilment! Those "party lines" have long been drawn; and the "Union" is upon the very eve of dissolution! *If the slave MINORITY cannot longer RULE, they are ripe for REBELLION AND SECESSION*; and we might, consistently, add: *RIPE FOR THEIR OWN DESTRUCTION!!* We advise them to beware how they further irritate the *Lion of Justice*. He is beginning to "SHAKE HIS MANE?"

POLITICAL AFFAIRS IN MEXICO.

The accounts from this country, by the last arrivals, are of the most cheering nature. It is now believed that all the differences, relating to political matters, are either settled, or in a proper train of adjustment.

It is stated that the chiefs of the contending parties have wholly abandoned hostile operations, and agreed that former disputes shall be "covered with the mantle of the nation"—that is, all commotion is hushed; no previous laws are abrogated; no one to be executed for rebellion; nor yet are charges of high crime or misdemeanor to be further pressed against those who lately exercised the supreme authority.—But, at the same time, an arrangement is made, by which Gen. Pedraza, of whom we made mention in our last, is to exercise the functions of President of the Republic, until the expiration of the present Constitutional term; and then a new election will of course take place. It will be held in the ensuing spring.

Santa Anna is said to have retired to his farm, and resigned all authority into the hands of the civil officers. If this be true, it is the second time that he has acted the part of a *Cincinnatus*. One account states that he will probably be called to the Presidency, by the votes of the people. He may yet prove himself a *second Washington*.

The turn of affairs, as above mentioned, renders it unnecessary for us to dwell upon this

subject now. We shall, however, keep our readers advised, from time to time, of future proceedings among the political authorities, &c of that interesting country.

Owing to the length of the extract from Burnett's letter, describing a portion of the State of Coahuila and Texas, inserted in this number of the *Genius*, together with the press of other important matters, we again omit our remarks on Mexican Colonization, alluded to in last month's paper. We have some interesting items, relating to this particular subject, which will be laid before our readers very soon.

LETTER FROM CHARLES STEWART.

The following letter was received at the office of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* about a year since, in the absence of the editor. We are greatly mortified at the circumstance of not being able to attend to it sooner. The former article which is referred to in this communication was reviewed in our last February number. The sentiments of the editor of this work, relative to African Colonization, have been too often expressed, to be misunderstood. Many of the members of the A. C. Society are genuine philanthropists at heart. Some of them are blinded and deceived, as other reformers have been by the *God* of popularity; but, like Sharp and Clarkson, and Wilberforce, and Brougham, and Buxton, and a host of other reformers, in England, they will ere long, open their eyes to the true state of things, if the humble and the honest persevere in their labors.

LONDON, 30th July, 1831.

To the Editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

SIR.—The question of the American Colonization Society, having been lately presented to my attention in this city, I have felt it my duty to publish the letter lately transmitted to you, and I wish you to use it, as you may please, in the righteous cause of "Universal Emancipation."

When I view the American Colonization Society, under its aspect of a benignant effort to add a new point, to the points previously existing on the shores of Africa, whence gentleness, Christianity and civilization might radiate through that most wronged and bleeding land, I admire and love it; nor could I commend with its sister efforts, the blessed mission of the gems of modern times, too highly. In this respect, it is the handmaid of Emancipation—the friend of man—the servant of God!

But it has another and a totally different aspect. It looks abroad over its own country, it finds a mass of its brethren, whom God has been pleased to clothe with a darker skin, and finds one portion of these, *free*—another enslaved! It finds a cruel prejudice, as dark and as sin can make it, reigning with a most tyrannical sway, against both. It finds this prejudice respecting the *free*, declaring without a bias

"We are too wicked ever to love them, as God commands us to do—we are so resolute in our wickedness, as not even to desire to do so—and we are so proud in iniquity, that we will hate and revile whoever disturbs us in it.—We want, like the devils of old, to be let alone in our sin—we are unalterably determined—and neither God or man shall move us from this resolution—that our free coloured men never shall be happy in their native land." The A. C. Society, I say, finds this most base and cruel prejudice, and *lets it alone*—nay more, it directly and powerfully supports it.

The A. C. Society finds 2,000,000 of its fellow men most iniquitously enslaved; and it finds a resolution as proud and wicked as the very spirit of the Pit can make it, against obeying God, and letting them go free in their native land. It lets this perfectly internal resolution alone, or, rather efficiently supports it, for it in fact says, as a fond and feeble father might say to some overgrown baby before whose obstinate wickedness he quailed, "never mind my dear—I don't want to prevent your beating and abusing your brothers and sisters—let that be—but here is a box of sugar-plums—do pray give them one or two now and then." The A. C. Society says, practically, to the slave holders, and the slave party in the United States: "We don't want to prevent your plundering 2,000,000 of our fellow men of their liberty, and of the fruits of their toil; although we know by every principle of law, which does not utterly disgrace us by assimilating us to Pirates, that they have as good and as true a right to the equal protection of the Law as we have; and although we ourselves stand prepared to die, rather than submit even to a fragment of the intolerable load of oppression to which we are subjecting them, yet never mind—let that be—they have grown old in suffering, and we in iniquity—and we have nothing to do now, but to speak *peace*, *peace*, to one another in our sins. But if any of their masters, whether from benevolence, an awakened conscience, or political or personal fear, should emancipate any, let us send them to Liberia:—that is, in fact, let us give a sugar-plum, here and there to a few, while the many are living and dying unredressed,—and while we are thus countenancing the atrocious iniquity beneath which they are perishing."

In this aspect I find the A. C. Society declaring itself a substitute for emancipation:—and it is in this aspect that I contend with it, and that I proclaim it, *as far as it has this character, and no further*, a bane to the colored people, whether enslaved or free, and a snare and disgrace to its country.

If you can lawfully publish this letter, I wish to avail myself of the opportunity, most solemnly and affectionately, to call upon *all* who bear the name of Christ in America, to depart instantly from the deadly iniquity of Negro Slavery. And as they pretend to be either the children or ministers of God, to remember that His name is *Love*—that the very object of his coming, in the flesh, was "to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound."—Isa. 61. 1. That if He so loved us, we ought also, to love one another."—John. 4. 11. That he declares, that "he that loveth not his brother, abideth in death."—1. 3. 14. That his first and great commandment is, "To love the Lord our God, &c. and that the man who says "I love God, and loveth his brother, is a Liar."

And what, beloved, is hatred, if it be not *hatred*, to keep my brother man in the vilest bondage, without a crime, for my own will or my own emolument, merely because he is poor and weak, and has a darker skin than ours, the colour which God has given him!!!

Think, oh think, how more deadly than any other wounds, are the wounds with which Christ is wounded, in the house of his friends.

G. STEWART.

ARNOLD BUFFUM—"THE HATTER"—AND
REV. JOSHUA N. DANFORTH.

The first named of these gentlemen, is the President of the New England Anti-Slavery Society—the last is an agent of the African Colonization Society. Both have been traveling, of late, in the New England States, lecturing on the subjects of emancipation and colonization. Buffum is a member of the Society of Friends, and a *Hatter*. Danforth is said to be a Presbyterian and by trade a *Preacher*. Further, we know little of him. The former was long an influential member of the Rhode Island "Abolition Society;" and he occupied a seat, as a delegate from said Society, in the "American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery," &c. at its session of 1824, in the City of Philadelphia. At that place, the writer of this article became acquainted with him, and cheerfully bears testimony to his superior talents, moral worth, and devotedness to the cause of philanthropy.

It appears that, in urging the claims of their respective Associations to the consideration of the public, these gentlemen have become involved in a spirited controversy. Buffum challenged Danforth to a public discussion; but this, it appears, the latter declined, while (in the plenitude of his "philanthropy" perhaps) he undertook to cast odium upon his opponent, by ridiculing his *professional* business!—he represented him as A HATTER!!! The Colonization Society has been very unfortunate, in selecting such a tool as this. He has rendered *himself* extremely ridiculous, while his conduct reflects no credit upon his employers, Buffum did not fail to retort upon his assailant the pointed shaft of satire. Alluding to the grave and *weighty* "charge" of being "a Hatter," he makes, among others, the following cutting remarks:

"Must I record it? Well then, here it is!—'The Agent of the New England Anti-Slavery Society is—A HATTER!!' What! a Hatter, and he presume to know any thing about the rights of man? Monstrous absurdity! He undertake to put his *felt* upon our *blockheads*? We'll teach him better than all that. He bring great men, like us, into his *hot water*? That will never do. He ought to be bound with all the *bits* of his old broken *bow-strings*, and thrown into his own *dye-kettle* till he is black enough to be colonized, and then, to complete the climax of his punishment, be sent to Liberia."

FURTHER DESCRIPTION OF THE TEXAS COUNTRY.

(Burnett's Letter Concluded.)

"I do not design to portray Texas as a paradise of immortality. Man is mortal by the tenure of his existence, and must die there, as elsewhere. But that it is blessed with a climate of uncommon salubrity and delightfulness, is an opinion warranted by the observations of all travellers, and obviously accounted for by its locality and configuration. That some parts of it will be more or less sickly, is quite probable. Indeed, it would be strange were it not so. Bilious and intermittent fevers are incident to all southern latitudes, and *very few* northern ones are exempt from them. But there are few regions, either north or south, where bilious fevers are of a milder type, or more within the control of medicine, than are those which occur in Texas; and but few, if any, chronic diseases originate there. Lest I should be supposed to exaggerate, which I certainly do not intend, I will quote the authority of the late General Pike, who travelled through Texas in 1807, and who, in his journal, under the head of Texas, says, "It is one of the most delightful temperatures in the world. The province is well timbered for 100 miles from the coast, and has some small prairies interspersed through its timbered lands: but *take it generally, it is one of the richest and most prolific and best watered countries in North America.*"

"The rivers are well furnished with fish of different sorts. The Red-fish abound in Galveston Bay, insomuch that a bar, which intersects it, takes its name from them. They ascend the streams for some distance, but I believe are not found above tide-water. It is a fish of excellent flavor, weighing from five to twelve pounds, and takes the hook with all the voracity of the pike. Oyster beds are frequent along the coast, and at most of the inlets. The oysters are fine, and sometimes large, and may be conveniently gathered. In the winter season, the waters near the coast are literally covered with wild fowl, such as Ducks, Geese, Brant, and Swan. Geese and Ducks resort in great numbers to the interior waters. Deer and Wild Turkeys are common every where. The black bear is frequently found in the forests and cane brakes. Wolves, of several varieties, infest the country, and will for some

time be troublesome visitants; but they soon retire from the haunts of man. The Pecari, or wild hog, is occasionally met with in small gangs. They are of no value and will soon disappear. Some Panthers and wild Cats skulk in the thickets. They are not numerous, however, and will soon be exterminated.—Buffalo are seldom seen near the sea-coast. They descend in large herds from the Arkansas and Missouri, and furnish the principal sustenance of the Indians of the interior of Texas. Wild horses roam over the country; they abound particularly on the river Nueces, and far in the interior. Within the organized settlements they are not numerous, and are rapidly diminishing. They are often caught in droves by being driven into pens constructed for that purpose: and when taken young, under four years old, are easily subdued and domesticated.—Many of them are animals of fine figure, but they are generally inferior in size to the blood horses of this country. They are of all colours, are hardy and active, and better adapted to the saddle than to harness.* Mingled with the herds of *Mustangs*, or wild Horses, are frequently seen Jacks, Jennies, and Mules. Mules and Horses were formerly raised in great abundance, and made a principal part of the exports of the country, and will soon again become a lucrative branch of business, as it is attended with little labor and trifling expense. Good Jacks can be purchased in the neighborhood of the Rio Grande for about \$20, and good unbroken Mares, which are equally valuable as broken ones, can be had at two to five dollars per head, and driven into Texas, at an expense, including all risks, estimated at about 50 per cent. on the first cost. A capital stock once obtained, and the subsequent expenses are trifling; the increase sure and valuable. The whole face of the country, woodland and

*The herds of wild horses present a beautiful spectacle when they are alarmed in their native wilds by the intrusion of an army. Instead of flying, as the deer and other timid animals, they gallop round in compact masses of many thousands, apparently for the purpose of reconnoitring the strangers; and frequently advance boldly to within a few yards of the line of march, where they halt to gaze at the troops, snorting and showing every sign of astonishment and displeasure, especially at sight of the cavalry. These droves are always headed by some fine looking old bashaws, whose flowing manes and tails plainly show that they have never been subject to man's control; and in the rear the mares and colts follow.—*Literary Gaz.*

prairie, upland and bottom, is verdant with grass; and throughout the winter season, the bottom-lands and cane brake, afford a fresh and apparently inexhaustible pasturage for black cattle, to the raising of which, some of the emigrants have lately turned their attention. The stock will seldom require even the slight trouble of salting, as licks are common, and their instinctive propensities will soon find them out. Where they are confined to cane-brakes, it will be advisable to use salt occasionally, on account of the constipative quality of that food; but when they feed alternately on grass and cane it is less necessary. It has been said, and not without reason, that it will cost more to raise a brood of chickens in Texas, than an equal number of cattle. The one is feeble and dependent and confined to the precincts of the house, where its natural means of sustenance are soon exhausted, and it must be fed and protected. The others range abroad; are nourished and defended by their respective dams, who, feeding on the untilled and ungarnered harvest of nature, are very soon competent to protect and support themselves.

"The horses, mules, black cattle, hogs, and sheep of Texas will always find good markets in the West India Islands and Louisiana. At present the beef cattle and hogs are slaughtered at St. Antonio de Bexar; but that market is limited and precarious. In many parts of Texas hogs may be raised in great numbers, on the native mass. Acorns, pecans, hickory nuts, &c. with the several varieties of grass and many kinds of roots, afford them ample sustenance throughout the year. But these advantages are incidental and peculiar to a new country, and will of course gradually disappear as the settlements become compact and the ground is occupied. They nevertheless contribute much to the comfort and prosperity of early settlers, and will, for years to come, be measurably enjoyed in the territory under consideration. There are not few sheep at present in the southern part of Texas. They are raised in large herds on the Prairies of the northern part near the Rio Grande; but the wool is not of the best kind. In all the middle and maritime districts, the herbage is generally too luxuriant, and the temperature is too high for that delicate and fashionable animal, but the interior and hilly regions are susceptible of being convert-

ed into as ample and well provisioned sheep-walks, as any country in the world, and I should judge the climate to be happily adapted to the merino breed.

"Texas is not only an agricultural and a stock producing country; but it abounds in valuable metals and other fossils.— Many rich specimens of silver ore have been found, and there is no question that this metal exists in large quantities. Tradition speaks of gold. The master metal, iron, has been discovered in many places,* and not remote from navigable water.— Lead has been found, without being sought for; and whether it occurs frequently, or in large quantities, I am not informed. I have seen samples of copper ore, taken from the head waters of the Brasos, that were almost pure. Indications of stone coal have been casually observed. Salt springs have been discovered in several places, and salt lagoons are spread over much of the country on the sea board between the river Nueces and the Rio Grande. The water of the Brasos is sometimes perceptibly impregnated with salt, which proceeds from an immense depository of that mineral, near its source. In Burnett's grant, on the waters of the Netches, there is a copious salt spring, the water of which is said to be so strong that common salt is not soluble in it. It spreads over a surface of several hundred yards, and the ground is thickly incrustated with it by natural evaporation. Salt is made in considerable quantities at the mouth of the Brasos. The water is extracted from a well about 20 feet deep, in the salt marshes which line the coast in that quarter. In short, Texas is abundantly furnished with this indispensable article. Many years will not elapse, before the Minerals of Texas will attract the attention of mineralogists whose researches will probably lead to developements of yet unexplored and incalculable riches. It was a part of the colonial policy of the ancient government, induced by the proximity of the country to the United States, to prohibit all such investigations within this frontier Province.

"Among the inducements to emigration presented by this interesting coun-

*From the neighborhood of the Saline, thirty or forty miles west, the country contains vast beds of iron ore. On some of the eminences the road is, literally, "M'Adamised" with iron gravel! The level land, and the bottoms are, at the same time, exceedingly productive.

try, the facility and cheapness of access to it, are by no means inconsiderable.— A passage from New York to Galveston may be effected as soon, as cheaply, and as pleasantly, as to New Orleans; and vessels of any size that can reach the one place, may have easy access to the other. Indeed, Galveston, as a harbor, is much superior to New Orleans. The depth of water on the respective bars is about equal; but Galveston has an immense advantage in lying directly on the Gulf, and not requiring the costly aid of steam tow boats to conduct shipping to its destined haven. The situation of Galveston for foreign commerce is very felicitous. The Gulf of Mexico is spread out before it. Cuba is near at hand, and all the Islands of the West Indies are within a few day's sail, as is also the entire coast of Central America, of Venezuela and of Colombia. The current of the Gulf Stream, the great River of the Ocean, is at hand to sweep her vessels, with accelerated rapidity, to the eastern Atlantic. The ports of Matamoros, Tampico, Alvarado, Vera Cruz, and Campeachy, all within the government of Mexico, are open to her commerce, free of charges; and will always afford rich and extensive markets for the lumber, the provisions, and to some extent, for the cotton of Texas. Indian corn is never worth less than one dollar, and often commands from two to three dollars per bushel, at either of those ports.— Beans, peas, potatoes, and other culinary vegetables are always in demand, and may be produced in any desirable quantity. No country promises a more ample remuneration to the industry of its inhabitants than this, and the laws of none hold forth stronger protection to the labor of respectable emigrants. Population she wants—sober, industrious, virtuous, republican population. With that, she will compete with the choicest sections of the globe, in all that is requisite to secure the happiness and prosperity of man.”

WINTER IN MEXICO.

The following brief descriptive account of a *winter scene*, at the capital of the Mexican Republic, with the reflections appended to it, are interesting. It is copied from a late letter, written by a gentleman in the western country. In Texas, as well as further south, little or no winter is known. The inhabitants begin to plant corn in the latter part of January.

“You are aware that the winter in

Mexico is short and mild, nearly as warm as our summer. It is considered over by the first of January. On the 20th of last January, spring was rapidly advancing. My correspondent writes, that the trees were putting forth their leaves; the flowers were in bloom; the birds singing round him, and the farmers ploughing and sowing. All the fashion of the city of Mexico were promenading the streets, gaily dressed, without any covering on their heads, till late at night, enjoying the mild and refreshing air, under the light of the brightest moon he had ever seen. The atmosphere was so pure, and cloudless, that the moon gave a light superior to that of the sun in countries where vapors and clouds intercept its rays. A Mexican might say, that “the moon is twice as big in his country as it is in England.”

My heart bounds at the idea, that a country, thus delightful in its seasons, is destined to perpetual freedom. Faction, anarchy, and war, for a time, obscure the rays of well regulated liberty; but its general light must, in the lapse of a few years, attain its full radiance and glory, and gladden the hearts, and shed blessings on the heads of the improving inhabitants of our sister republic.”

JEFFERSON'S OPINION.

The sentiments of this justly celebrated statesman are looked up to with a kind of reverence, by the people of this country. It may, therefore, be proper to ask the public attention to the following letter to his grandson, T. J. Randolph, which we copy from a newspaper. It was read in the Legislature of Virginia at its late session.

We do not precisely agree with the venerable writer in every particular, relative to this subject; but we forbear making any comment now. Towards the close we have emphasized a few words, to which we specially invite the attention of the Philanthropist.

MONTICELLO, Aug. 25,—'14.

DEAR SIR—Your favor of July 31, was duly received, and was read with peculiar pleasure. The sentiments breathed through the whole do honor to both the head and the heart of the writer.— Mine, on the subject of the slavery of negroes, have long since been in possession of the public, and time has only served to give them stronger root. The love of justice, and the love of country, plead equally the cause of these people,

and it is a moral reproach to us that they should have pleaded it so long in vain, and should have produced not a single effort, nay I fear not much serious willingness, to relieve them and ourselves from our present condition of moral and political reprobation. From those of a former generation, who were in the fullness of age when I came into public life, which was while our controversy with England was on paper only, I soon saw that nothing was to be hoped. Nursed and educated in the daily habit of seeing the degraded condition, both bodily and mental, of those unfortunate beings, not reflecting that that degradation was very much the work of themselves and their fathers, few minds had yet doubted but that they were as legitimate subjects of property as their horses or cattle.—The quiet and monotonous course of colonial life, had been disturbed by no alarm, and little reflection on the value of liberty; and when alarm was taken at an enterprise on their own, it was not easy to carry them the whole length of the principles which they invoked for themselves. In the first or second session of the Legislature, after I became a member, I drew to this subject the attention of Col. Bland, one of the oldest, ablest, and most respected members, and he undertook to move for certain moderate extensions of the protection of the laws to these people. I seconded his motion, and, as a younger member, was more spared in the debate; but he was denounced as an enemy to his country, and was treated with the grossest indecorum. From an early stage of the revolution, other and more distant duties were assigned me, so that from that time till my return from Europe in 1789, and I may say, till I returned to reside at home in 1809, I had little opportunity of knowing the progress of public sentiment here, on this subject. I had always hoped that the younger generation, receiving their early impressions after the flame of liberty had been kindled in every breast, and had become, as it were, the vital spirit of every American, that the generous temperament of youth, analagous to the motion of their blood, and above the suggestions of avarice, would have sympathised with oppression wherever found, and proved their love of liberty beyond their own share of it. But my intercourse with them, since my return, has not been sufficient to ascertain that they

had made towards this point the progress I had hoped. Your solitary but welcome voice is the first which has brought this sound to my ear; and I have considered the general silence which prevails on this subject as indicating an apathy unfavorable to every hope. Yet the hour of emancipation is advancing in the march of time. It will come; and whether brought on by the generous energy of our own minds, or by the bloody process of St. Domingo, excited and conducted by the power of our present enemy, if once stationed permanently within our country, and offering asylum and arms to the oppressed, is a leaf of our history not yet turned over.

As to the method by which this difficult work is to be effected, if permitted to be done by ourselves, I have seen no proposition so expedient on the whole, as that of emancipation of those born after a certain day, and of their education and expatriation at a proper age.—This would give time for the gradual extinction of that species of labor and substitution of another, and lessen the severity of the shock which an operation so fundamental never fails to produce. The idea of emancipating the whole at once, the old as well as the young, and retaining them here, is of those only who have not the guide of either knowledge or experience of the subject. For men, probably of any color, but of this color we know, brought up from their infancy without necessity, forethought or forecast, are by their habits rendered as incapable as children of taking care of themselves, and are extinguished promptly whenever industry is necessary for raising the young. In the mean time, they are pests in society by their idleness, and the depredations to which this leads them. Their amalgamation with the other color produces a degradation to which no lover of his country—no lover of excellence in the human character—can innocently consent.

I am sensible of the partialities with which you have looked towards me, as the person who should undertake this salutary but arduous work. But this, my dear sir, is like bidding old Priam to buckle the armor of Hector '*tremetibus ævo humeris et inutile ferrum cingi.*'—No. I have overlived the generation with which mutual labors and perils begot mutual confidence and influence.—This enterprise is for the young; for

those who can follow it up and bear it through to its consummation. It shall have all my prayers, and these are the only weapons of an old man. But in the meantime, are you right in abandoning this property, and your country with it? I think not. My opinion has ever been that, until more can be done for them, we should endeavour, with those whom fortune has thrown on our hands, to feed and clothe them well, protect them from ill usage, require such reasonable labor only as is performed voluntarily by free-men, and be led by no repugnancies to abdicate them, and our duties to them. The laws do not permit us to turn them loose, if that were for their good; and to commute them for other property, is to commit them to those whose usage of them we cannot control. I hope then, my dear sir, you will reconcile yourself to your country and its unfortunate condition; that you will not lessen its stock of sound disposition by withdrawing your portion from the mass; that, on the contrary, you will come forward in the public councils, insinuate and inculcate it, softly but steadily, through the medium of writing and conversation, associate others in your labors, *and when the phalanx is formed, bring on and press the proposition perseveringly, until its accomplishment.* IT IS AN ENCOURAGING OBSERVATION THAT NO GOOD MEASURE WAS EVER PROPOSED, WHICH, IF DULY PURSUED, FAILED TO PREVAIL IN THE END. We have proof of this in the history of the endeavors of the British parliament to suppress that very trade, which brought this evil on us; and you will be supported by the religious precept 'be not wearied in well doing.' That your success may be as speedy and complete, as it will be of honorable and immortal consolation to yourself, I shall as fervently and sincerely pray, as I assure you of my great friendship and respect.

TH. JEFFERSON.

"RICHMOND ENQUIRER," VS. NULLIFICATION.

The time *was*, when the editor of the "Richmond Enquirer" could brand as "fanatics" every one that lifted up his voice in favor of the abolition of slavery. Latterly, the course of this gentleman has been quite different. He has even publicly *advocated* the same thing which he so unceremoniously condemned when proposed by others. For this he is entitled to great credit; as it reflects the highest honor upon a man, to retract an important error, when he

discovers it. The influence of the "Enquirer" is powerful in Virginia; and if it proves faithful to the cause of Emancipation, its aid will be highly valuable and efficient. In a late number of this paper, we find the following appropriate and *significant* caution to the Nullifiers of South Carolina. Whether those mad-caps will listen to the *admonition*, remains to be seen.

"*Quick Time!*—It seems that the Legislature of South Carolina is to call the Convention during the last week—that the members of the Convention are to be elected on the 12th and 13th November—the Convention to meet on the 19th, and the Legislature to meet again on the 26th, to consummate Nullification. Thus "the issue with the General Government" is to be made up, as the Governor says, "*before the meeting of Congress*"—This is quick work for carrying through such an *extreme* measure, by the agency of a *single State* out of 24, and where the population of that single State is so *much divided*—as the last elections prove, in the ratio 25,913 to 17,159—not quite 9,000 majority! Is there not need of a little *more deliberation*, in such a great emergency?"

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.—We have received the prospectus of the thirteenth volume of this work, which we shall take the earliest opportunity of laying before our readers. It gives us much pleasure to learn that, after a tour through the S. W. States, Texas, &c. Mr Lundy returns to his labors as editor of almost the only *fearless* press in the United States, with renewed and increased confidence in his prospect of ultimate success.—May heaven smile upon his indefatigable labours.—*Greensboro', (N. C.) Patriot.*

Thankee, for the *compliment*, friend Swaim. Not quite so fast, however, in giving undue praise. A couple of "chaps" the one, a *North Carolinian*, the other a "Yankee," (can't guess who they were?) performed, each, a brief *apprenticeship* with me, at different periods, a few years since, in this *business* of directing a "*fearless Press.*" They were fine lads. Stripplings, as they were, they had clear heads, stout hearts, and brawney arms. In assisting to wield the mental *lever*, particularly of that appropriate machine for *tyrant scourging*, their *fears* seldom appeared to disturb them. These philanthropic ex-"apprentices" of mine are now full grown men. Each stands at the helm-editorial of a "*fearless*" Press of his own. And they are severally entitled to great praise, for the abilities with which they perform the duties *of the station*. It is to be hoped that they will *hold on* to both the mental and mechanical "*levers*" of that potent engine, until the crimsoned escutcheon of their *native country's* fame shall rival the whiteness of the editorial quill, and the gorgon monster of Despotism shall be "*pressed*" to the dust!

—A list of anti-slavery periodicals is omitted for want of room.

EXTRACT

From the Memoir of John Frederic Oberlin.

"No sooner did they," (himself and wife) learn that there were pious Christians who left their country on this errand, the sending forth messengers to the wretched slaves,) than by common consent, they parted with all their plate, to contribute the proceeds of the sale to so noble an undertaking, regretting that they were not able to send more. His imagination having been powerfully impressed with the description of the unhappy condition of the negro slaves employed in the cultivation of sugar and coffee, Oberlin resolved never again to taste either; and he adhered to this resolution, although he had great difficulty in turning his stomach, accustomed to the use of these articles from infancy, to submit to these privations."

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

SKETCHES OF CHARACTER.

ANTHONY BENEZET.

Friend of the Afric! friend of the oppressed!
 Thou who wert cradled in a far off clime,
 Where bigotry and tyranny unblest,
 With gory hands defaced the page of time;
 'Tis thou forth-driven by their stern control,
 An infant fugitive, across the deep,
 Reach in after years thy pitying soul,
 For all the Afric's causeless wrongs to weep,
 Where slavery's bitter tears the flag of freedom steep?

Thou did'st nobly plead for them; thy heart,
 Willing to all the holy sympathies,
 For natural brotherhood, wept, to see the mart
 Of commerce, with its human merchandize
 Crowded and polluted;—and thy voice
 In the clear trumpet-tones of God's own
 Word,
 Through the guilty crowd, until no choice
 Was left them but to tremble as they heard,
 And with treble steel the feelings thou hadst
 Stirred.

Princes of princes heard thee; and the wise,
 Moved by the mastery of thy earnestness,
 Their trained spirits for a while to rise
 In their profound research, and learn to
 Bless
 Thy generous efforts, and with kindred zeal,
 Moved on by thee in duty's path to move;
 Inspired by thy sacred ardour, feel,
 O thee, that overflowing gush of love,
 How its man's selfish heart, all narrow thoughts
 Above.

Chains of the slave are still unbroken,
 Ere there will come, perchance ere long; a
 Day,
 By their lips who wronged him shall be
 Spoken
 That of his freedom;—and the ray
 Of intellectual light shall radiance pour,
 O'er minds o'er which the gloom of darkness
 Hung
 Like folds impervious before,
 And panting hands around them rudely flung,

To bind the chains that round both limb and
 spirit clung.

Then shall their children learn to speak thy
 name

With the full heart of gratitude, and know
 What thou hast done for them; and while they
 frame

That history for their infants' ears, may grow,
 Perchance in their own hearts the likeness
 strong,

Of thy bright virtues; so thou still shalt be
 Even in thy sepulchre their friend:—and long

Shall those who love mankind remember thee,
 Thou noble friend of those who pined in slavery.

E. M. C.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

The following lines were suggested by a pa-
 ragraph from a southern newspaper, couched
 in these words:—

"Necessity, it has been argued, imperiously
 dictates abolition and deportation. On the
 contrary, we lie under an invincible necessity
 to keep them here, and to hold them in subjec-
 tion; a necessity imposed upon us by Providence.
 For I firmly believe it was a dispensation of
 Providence which sent them hither; it is a dis-
 pensation of Providence that here they shall
 remain; and Providence in its own good time,
 will dispose of them and us according to its
 wisdom."

Oh blasphemy! to charge the Holy God
 With man's iniquity! What! hath He laid
 Upon the creatures whom his potent arm
 Hath fashioned for his glory, the stern need
 Of disobedience to his own commands?
 Of mocking him, insulting him,
 And with an unabashed, rebellious brow,
 Dividing his known will? Hath he sent forth
 The vile man-stealer on his murderous way,
 Bidding him drench with blood the ravaged
 plains,

Light up for midnight torches, peaceful huts,
 And when the shrieking habitants rush forth,
 Fling back the aged, and the helpless babe
 Into the flames, and hewing to the earth
 All who may dare to struggle for their lives,
 Bear off the residue to sell for gold?

For Christians' gold! Hath he commanded this:
 Hath he commanded man to persecute
 And wrong his brother, lacerate his flesh
 With the inhuman scourge, and chain his mind
 Forever in its darkness? No! 'Twas man's
 Insatiate graspings after wealth, his vile
 Ungoverned avarice, his selfishness,
 And flinty hearted luxury, that wrenched his
 slaves.

From the Christian Reformer, for December, 1830.

OUTLINES OF A PLAN FOR THE ABOLI-
 TION OF NEGRO SLAVERY.

I am for a total abolition of slavery in
 our colonies, at the earliest period the
 welfare of the slave will allow.

We can make pecuniary compensation
 for pecuniary injury received by this
 measure, should any accrue from it; and
 as a nation we are bound to do it, if not
 by the strict claims of justice. (though it

appears to me that we are,) yet by a wise and equitable policy. But we have no right, with a view to protection from such pecuniary injury, to protract the system of slavery. The slave has a right to freedom; and it ought not to be withheld from any one, except so far as is necessary for the welfare of the slave population generally.

The abolition of slavery is required for the welfare of the planter himself.—I shall never forget the noble earnestness with which a planter, (who has resided much in the West Indies,) lately said to me, “The slave system of our colonies is baneful to master as well as to slave.” Many of similar sentiments, and of like earnestness with himself, that the slave system should be terminated, will be found among his fellow planters.

But, in the general order of divine Providence, the greatest evils are most commonly eradicated *by degrees*; and I believe that the past evils of the slave system would be fearfully augmented by an immediate general emancipation.—Nevertheless, with the great bulk of my countrymen, I shall rejoice, most thankfully, when the decree of man has gone forth, by which the *complete annihilation* of that system will be made part of the *law of the land*; to be carried into full effect as soon as the welfare of the slave population will permit.

With a view to the effectual accomplishment of this work of wisdom, justice, and benevolence, some things will, I hope, be speedily required by the law of Great Britain, and made the law of our colonies, as a condition of the continuance of protecting duties of their produce. If so sanctioned, and *faithfully* and *promptly* carried into effect by the resident planters, the emancipation of the slaves will be going on with accelerating rapidity, without evil to any.

1. The devotement of one *working* day every week absolutely to the slave; that he may have the sabbath for rest and religion; together with the encouragement of all practicable means of religious improvement.

2. The maintenance *inviolable* of domestic ties, both conjugal and parental.

3. The legal right of the slave to purchase *single* days, at a fixed moderate price.

4. The full reception of slave evidence, where the obligation of an oath is understood.

5. Education for freedom. (There is reason to fear that in many cases oral instruction is all the young slaves receive.)

6. The complete liberty of all now under seven years of age, when they attain the age of twenty-one.

7. All henceforth born in marriage, (or whose parents will maintain them) to be free from their birth: but their education made an essential condition for their freedom.

8. Provision for the aged and infirm. Such requirements faithfully carried into effect, would probably bring about the annihilation of the slave system, as speedily as the well-being of the slave population in general would allow.

UNBLUSHING AVOWALS.

The following is extracted from an article which appeared in a paper, published, at Edgefield, S. C. (the residence of the Hon. George M'Duffie,) in the month of January last. To use a hackneyed phrase, this is “going the whole hog,” decidedly. The man should have credit, at least, for his *candor*! Yet a more corrupt creature, perhaps, never existed. How dare he slip the terms, “*Christians and Patriots?*”

“Certain measures, for the removal of this class of population [the free colored people] beyond her limits, are now under discussion in the Legislature of Virginia; and in the speeches of several of the members, and even in the editorial columns of the Richmond Enquirer and Lynchburgh Jeffersonian, the necessity is strongly urged of making provision for the gradual abolition of slavery within the State. The recommendation of this new system of policy so contrary to the true interests of the State and of all the Southern States springs either from the feverish alarm which has been occasioned by the Southampton massacre, or from very unsound views of policy and morality. Slaveholders must be vigilant and alert, if they would preserve their peculiar property. We think, there is too much disposition even among ourselves to blink the question of slavery, and that our adversaries acquire strength from our squeamishness or our fears. If we have a right to our slaves, and are determined to maintain it, let us say so like men. Northern philanthropists openly denounce slavery as inconsistent with the rights of man and the political institutions of

country, and some Southern masters seem to cover under this denunciation, and in apologetical whine they admit that slavery is an evil, but insist that it was entailed upon us without our consent, and that it is ineradicable without producing greater evils. This is not the manner or the spirit in which the question should be met. We should say boldly, as we may say with perfect truth, that slavery, so far from being an evil, is one of the most useful of our civil institutions—

THAT IT IS CONSISTENT WITH THE LAW OF GOD—that it has existed in all ages, and rarely if ever in a shape more benignant to the subjects of it than it now assumes in the Southern States—that without it, there could be no successful prosecution of agriculture in the maritime portion of the Southern country, and the culture of tobacco, rice, cotton and sugar must be abandoned as unprofitable—that it produces the happiest influence upon the intelligence, the spirit of liberty, and the morals of the white population—and finally, that it is exclusively a matter for the municipal regulation of the respective States, in which no interference of the General Government will be permitted.—

For ourselves we have neither scruple or apprehension on this subject, and are prepared to maintain these opinions in any way that becomes Christians and Patriots.”

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Narrative of the Life of Thomas Cooper, p.p. T. Hopper, 386, Pearl street, New York—an interesting little pamphlet, with engravings.

Essay on Moral and Religious Education in Domestic Life: By the author of Resignation, &c. This is a valuable work, from the pen of a distinguished female writer, of the City of Washington. It is worthy of patronage.

The Common School Arithmetic, by P. E. Botham, p. p. H. Benton, Hartford, Connecticut. We are indebted to the politeness of the author for a copy of this work, but have not yet had leisure to examine it fully. From a cursory perusal, we think it a handsome addition to our stock of School books. We will probably, notice this work further at another time.

EDITORIAL CHANGE.—C. W. Dennison, former editor of the “World,” has closed his columns in that paper, with a view to connect himself with a forthcoming publication in the City of New York, which is to take a decided stand against intemperance, Lottery Gambling, the Anti-Slavery Cause, the Magdalen reform, and the entire and immediate emancipation of the Slaves.

A Temperance society has been formed by the blacks, and other persons of color, in Lexington, Ky. It consists of 94 members.

SLAVERY IN MARYLAND.

In the Maryland House of Delegates, on the 16th inst. we learn that it was, “on motion of Mr. Johnson,”

“Ordered, that the Committee on the colored population, be instructed to inquire into the propriety and practicability of designating some future day, beyond which all slaves who may be born in this State after that period, shall be free at a given age, and upon condition not to be permitted to remain in this State; but shall be removed to Africa or some other place of safety beyond the limits of the United States, as may be provided for by law, and make report to this House.”

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

The number of the African Repository for December, contains information from various correspondents in Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, &c. that about one hundred or more slaves are offered their freedom, on condition of removing to Africa.

Query:—Would those generous persons offer the victims of oppression their liberty, on any other condition? If nay,—what species of philanthropy is it that actuate them?

CANADIAN COLONIZATION.

It appears that a portion of the colored emigrants from the U. S. to Canada, are still making efforts to form their proposed new *Joint Stock Company*. A friend has kindly furnished us with the Montreal “Vindicator,” of the 4th inst. containing the proceedings of a public meeting of colored persons, at York, relative to this subject. We hope to have room for something further on the same subject, next month.

A REAL VIRGINIA SLAVITE!

Professor Thomas R. Dew, of William and Mary College, Virginia, has recently issued a pamphlet of 133 pages, entitled a “Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature, of 1831 and 1832.” It is, rather, an *Essay* on the present American System of Slavery. The author possesses the singular merit of marching boldly up to his object, and advocating slavery like a man. He indulges in no “snivelling”—he “goes the whole hog!” Unfortunately, however, like other theorists, of corrupt and despotic principles, he bases his arguments on false premises and perjured testimony. He has probably read the “West Indian Reporter,” and accepts the lies uttered by one of Sir Joshua Steele’s discarded overseers as true history!—We cannot, at this moment, further notice this extraordinary production; but, it shall, speedily, receive due attention.

Ladies' Repository.

Philanthropic and Literary.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

THE YEAR.

"The hours have lain to rest
The pale dead year."

Another year has descended to the dark chambers of the grave, and the flowers which garlanded its young brow with beauty and fragrance, lie withered upon its sepulchre. Another year has departed, and still the heavy clank of the fetter and the wail of the oppressed in our land go up, with their tale of man's iniquity to heaven. Thousands, and tens of thousands, have awakened into being beneath the broad shadow of the eagle wing of liberty, to feel only the stern vigour of the most vile bondage.—So too have crumbled with the dust, thousands of human hearts, round which the hands of freemen had bound the life-wearing cords of merciless tyranny. Death has broken the scourge and loosened the fetter, the grave has rescued them from further wrong—

"But what beyond that gulf may be,
What portion in eternity,
For those who live to curse their breath,
And die without a hope in death,
I know not, and I dare not think."—

But well may they, who, in the midst of light have heaped thick darkness upon their souls, shudder to think that those souls are immortal as their own, and the forms which their vile chains have crushed, those of their brethren.

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Although the following Address was written and published more than two years since, it is equally applicable at the present period.

To the Females convened at Philadelphia, 11th mo. 12th, 1831, to take into consideration the propriety of their memorializing Congress on behalf of the Slaves in the District of Columbia.

The novelty of the occasion, on which we have convened, is surpassed only, by the vast importance of the object, to which we earnestly solicit your unbiassed attention. True, the step we are about to take, is unprecedented in this country; the female citizens of a monarchical government are far ahead of us, in this respect: yet we need not despair of success, or want a precedent, if we look back to Rome; the manner in which that mighty empire was saved by female influence, is so well known, that it need not be repeated here; they deemed it no departure from true dignity, to supplicate for the safety of themselves, their relatives, their city—the language of *Veturia* was not, my son, spare my family, my friends; but sheath thy vengeful sword, spare the citizens of Rome, (his enemies;) we learn their prayers and entreaties prevailed, and the mistress of the world was saved from destruction, by the timely inter-

ference of females; we certainly have a right to expect more of our southern neighbours, than the Roman woman had of an enemy—it is well known that the petitions poured into parliament, by the females of Great Britain, have been attended with the most happy results; the voice of the nation is raised, and will not be silenced, until slavery is entirely abolished in all her colonies; until every British subject can, in verity, call himself a freeman,—and shall we, citizens of this enlightened republic, females of a city famed as the abode of charity and benevolence, and more particularly the professed followers of the immaculate Jesus, who enjoined, that whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them—shall we refuse to stand forth first in this country, to intercede for the removal of this foul stain from our national escutcheon? we ask not our enemies to withhold the arm of retributive justice; we ask those who are vested with the government of the nation, to release a portion of the citizens of these U. States, from the most disgraceful thralldom ever tolerated; their, and our vital interests demand it. The great political importance of the question in agitation, required that we should be unremitting in our exertions to obtain the end proposed, independent of our moral obligations, and our imperative duty as Christians—morality, reason, justice impel us onward—we hold the memorializing of Congress, to be the undeniable right of every citizen of this republic; and as the female portion of the community feel in common with the men, deem such a measure, not only expedient, but very necessary, in order to effect the entire emancipation of our oppressed brethren in the South—it is our imperative, incumbent duty to plead for the oppressed; and by every means in our power, endeavor to ameliorate their unhappy condition. It has been suggested by some, that the mode contemplated is unfeminine; that females are not entitled to a vote, and therefore need not trouble themselves about it; but with due deference to the opinion of others, we must assert that while the female heart is susceptible of feeling, while a principle reigns there, enabling them to discern between right and wrong, between justice and oppression, it is within their province to exercise the talent they possess, in whatever manner they may think the most feasible, and must continue, until the breast of every female cease—to feel for the afflicted, shall become callous to the deep heart-rending anguish of a brother, a sister until she shall turn a deaf ear to the plaintive woe; but we stop, such a state of things surely never can arrive; then it must remain, that it is within the circle of female activity to pursue the course she may consider proper. Is there one here who would assert, that the memorializing of Congress, and our state legislature, belongs exclusively to men? that it is inconsistent with female delicacy, at variance with the female character, thus publicly to plead for the oppressed, thus to demand a redress of grievances, afflicting in the extreme? if so, let her look to the south; let her mark the tears, silently coursing their way down the furrowed cheek of the father (the man lost in the parent) who is suddenly deprived of all he holds most dear forever separated from those, whose participation in suffering, made affliction less poignant and if ever a ray of comfort gleamed across the mind, that ray was brightened for their sake perhaps scarcely awakened from a dream

ideal happiness, when forced asunder by the mandate of a fellow mortal—let her behold the indescribable anguish of that mother thus torn from her home, thus compelled to leave her family, or worse, doomed to see them sold to different masters, in violation of every social, every sacred tie; torn forever from her clinging grasp—let her for one moment imagine the distress of the little group thus dispersed; and lastly, let her take a view of the whole mass of wretchedness and misery, which ever attend the victims of oppression, and then ask herself if the sensitive feelings of the female heart can be excited in a better cause? if female talent can be more properly employed, than in devising means for improving the condition of her fellow-beings? we anticipate the answer of every mind, not entirely estranged from every principle of justice, every feeling of humanity; but we trust that among the present company, there will be none of this description found: we hope you entertain more correct ideas, more exalted views—we would not harrow up your feelings, by recounting the horrors attendant on slavery; you know, that oppression, ignorance, and excruciating suffering are ever its concomitants. Before we pass from this part of the subject, it may be proper to re-iterate to you of the importance of abstaining from the produce of slave labour. An intelligent writer on this subject says, "If you knowingly and wilfully use the produce of slave labour, you are no less guilty than he who traffics in human blood. This charge is of a serious nature, and we would gladly persuade ourselves that our convictions are delusive; but on mature reflection, a view of the subject on different bearings, the awful truth has become too manifest to admit of a moment's doubt. The gloomy picture is presented to our unflinching sight. The terrific monster is placed before us—we know his nature, and we are the object of his rage, yet we nurture his strength, and nurse his wrath;" we "profess to approve his depredations, yet furnish him with power to commit them. Shame to our inconsistency!" We "condemn him for his cruelty, yet willingly partake with him of his prey;" we "even assist him in counting his den, and in defending him from the attacks of the creatures he has destined to be his victims. With these facts before our eyes, can we remain ignorant of the awful relation in which we stand with this fell destroyer? Can we persuade ourselves of our innocence? Can we even excuse our conduct? You will surely answer, No." This, however, is precisely the relation we are in regard to the slave holders of the country; we see them with the slaves in their possession; we know their object in keeping them in bondage; we know it is to produce articles of traffic, which articles we purchase, and in return furnish them with commodities which nourish their physical strength, by which they retain their power. We likewise assist them by our political connexion to hold their slaves in security. If situated, are we not participants with the slave holders in their system of oppression? and if participants in their acts, are we not in their guilt? Their guilt of what! Guilty of violating the fundamental law of God! a direct insult to the majesty of Heaven, by debasing the human race, by violating the order, and destroying the harmony of His divine government. Oh then, we entreat you, incur not this

load of guilt. "Touch not, taste not, handle not" those articles that are obtained through injustice, fraud, and oppression, by the degradation, by the mental debasement of more than two millions of our fellow beings, of thousands of our own countrymen, and many hundreds of our own sex. Better far is the most simple food, and plain attire, with the reflection, that the labourer is compensated for his toil, than the choicest dainties, and richest apparel, wrung from the hands of our fellows, and stained with their blood, whose tears have fertilized the soil. We shall here borrow the language of a female cotemporary, who continues earnestly to plead the cause of suffering humanity. "What, are we to see our fellow creatures thus suffering and oppressed? Must we see, as it were, tears of blood, wrung out drop by drop, from the crushed hearts of our sisters, and yet stifle the indignant agony of our own bosoms, and fear to lift up our voices in their behalf, because" many senators wish not to "hear the harrowing tale of their anguish? Shall we smother the convictions of conscience, and silence the promptings of humanity, rather than intrude so disagreeable a theme upon their ears? and turning to the helpless beings, whose cause, our God and our religion commands us to plead, as earnestly as if it were our own, shall we tell them, as the dim eye is raised in passionate supplication, that we are conscious our united efforts would release them from their soul-destroying bondage, but that" our rulers are averse to "the subject, and we like not to press it upon their attention? Would you not condemn, as a heartless wretch, the individual who could act thus by one single sufferer? How much less, then, may we thus betray the cause of thousands." What then remains to be done? What! why memorialize Congress in their behalf.—Are any fearful that it might not be accepted? We are not certain of that, and never can be, until we make the trial; and supposing it should be rejected, that ought not to discourage us; we have the privilege of petitioning succeeding sessions of Congress. It is the situation of the country that calls for a voice of the people, and we, participating in the calamity that slavery has produced, feel the evil ourselves, and can we silently see the situation of our brethren?—Can we silently behold the heart rending pangs when the infant is torn from the arms of the mother? Can we silently view the anguish of the parents when their children are separated from them forever? Can we silently see our white brethren placed in jeopardy? Their sufferings are sufficient already; our object is to soothe, and not irritate, but we cannot remain inactive; when we reflect on the subject we are invigorated and nerved anew, we ask your aid; we would move in a body; our banner is peace; we have the shield of an approving conscience and implore the favour of Heaven, and the protection of the laws of our nation that her citizens may be preserved from the desolating effects of slavery. Were we the actual sufferers, what opinion should we form of the silence of others? We desire you to canvass the subject before you engage in it, that none may have occasion to look back after they have taken hold of the plough. We shall conclude with recommending that, as presenting petitions appears one of the most effectual methods of removing this national sin, a petition be forwarded to Congress, requesting the immediate emancipation of our brethren.

The great length of two or three articles, laid off for insertion this month, which had been long on hands, again excludes several others heretofore promised. In our next number we hope to give our usual variety.

From the Liberator.

EMIGRATION TO MEXICO.

MR. EDITOR,—I am happy to learn that the sentiments of some of my Trenton brethren are in accordance with my own, in regard to our locating in Mexico and Upper Canada; for, in my humble opinion, one thing is needful for us as a people, even emigration; but not to Africa; nor to place ourselves as a distinct people any where; but to attach ourselves to a nation already established.—The government of these United States is not the only one in this hemisphere that offers equal rights to men; but there are others, under whose protection we may safely reside, where it is no disgrace to wear a sable complexion, and where our rights will not be continually trampled upon on that account. We profess to be republicans, and such I hope we are; but wherein do we show our republican spirit, by sitting still and sighing for that liberty our white brethren tell us we never shall obtain; or in hoping that in some fifty or a hundred years hence, our children's children will be made free? I think we do not evince republicanism by this conduct, but verily believe that the time has arrived, when we too ought to manifest that spirit of independence which shines so conspicuously in the character of the Europeans, by leaving the land of oppression, and emigrating where we may be received and treated as brothers; where our worth will be felt and acknowledged; and where we may acquire education, wealth, and respectability, together with a knowledge of the arts and sciences; all of which may be in our power—of the enjoyment of which, the government of the separate states in the union is adopting means to deprive us.

The author of this article is aware, that the subject is not popular, and perhaps will not be kindly received; but it is one that I hope will be deeply pondered in the mind of every colored citizen of this country, before he passes sentence against it.

Some of your readers may inquire, where is that country to which we may remove, and thus become free and equal?

I believe that country to be Mexico.—There is an independent nation, where indeed 'all men are born free and equal' possessing those inalienable rights which our constitution guarantees. The climate is healthy and warm, and of course adapted to our nature; the soil is rich and fertile, which will contribute to our wealth; and there we may become a people of worth and respectability; whereas in this country we are kept poor, and of course cannot aspire to any thing more than what we always have been. I have been waiting to hear of some way being pointed out, that will tend to better the present generation; but, as yet, have heard of nothing that appears to be permanent. I would not wish to be thought pleading the cause of colonization, for no one detests it more than I do. I would not be taken to Africa, were the society to make me queen of the country; and were I to move to Canada, would not settle in the colony, but take up my abode in some of the cities where a distinction is not known; for I do not approve of our drawing off into a separate body any where. But I confess I can see no just reason why we should not cultivate the spirit of enterprise well as the whites. They are found every quarter of the globe, in search of situations to better their condition; and why may we not 'go and do likewise.'

I am informed that the population of Mexico is eight millions of colored, and one million of whites; and by the rapid growth of amalgamation amongst them there is every probability that it will long become one entire colored nation. I am of opinion that Mexico would afford us a large field for speculation, were we to remove thither; and who can doubt that the day will not soon arrive, when the flag of our colored American merchants' ships from the Mexican ports shall be seen proudly waving in the breeze of the American harbors? And shall our sons feel proud to enlist under the Mexican banner, and support her government? Surely they will.

There is one objection, however, that may arise in the minds of some; that the religion of that nation being Papal, but we can take with us the Holy Bible, which is able to make us wise unto salvation; and perhaps we may be made honored instruments in the hands of all-wise God, in establishing the holy religion of the Protestant Church in

country; and that alone might be a sufficient inducement for the truly pious.

A COLORED FEMALE OF PHILADELPHIA.

Philadelphia, January 2, 1832.

From the Friend.

THE SHELTER.*

When parents, fond and kind, depart,
And fortune lowers upon the child,
Oh! who shall cheer the orphan's heart,
Or gild life's dark and desert wild?

How many bosoms, torn with care,
And wrung with heaviness and grief,
Sink 'neath the burthen of despair,
And find, but in the grave, relief?

Yet here in this secluded spot,
The dark child's heart is calm'd and blest;
Its earlier sorrows are forgot,
And hope is kindled in the breast.

Yes,—kindly bosoms wake the flame,
And bid its lustre fill the eye,
And grateful tongues to many a name
In lisping homage make reply.

Peace to this haunt! and may the love
Which makes it such a scene of bliss,
Be crowned at last, in realms above,
With Heaven's immortal happiness! S. J.

Phila. 11mo. 25th, 1832.

CÆSAR AND CLARA.

One morning, as Mr. Edwards was walking in that part of his plantation which joined to Mr. Jefferies' estate, he thought he heard the voice of distress, at some distance. The lamentations grew louder and louder as he approached a cottage, which stood upon the borders of Jefferies' plantation.

This cottage belonged to a slave of the name of Cæsar, the best negro in all Mr. Jefferies' possession, such had been his industry and exertions that, notwithstanding the severe tasks imposed by Durant, the overseer, Cæsar found means to cultivate his provision ground to a degree of perfection, no where else to be seen on this estate. Mr. Edwards had often admired this poor fellow's industry; and now hastened to enquire what misfortune had befallen him.

When he came to the cottage, he found Cæsar standing with his arms folded, and his eyes fixed on the ground. A young and beautiful female negro was weeping bitterly, as she knelt at the feet of Durant, the overseer, who, regarding her with a sullen aspect, repeated, 'he must go.' 'I tell you woman he must go, what signifies all this nonsense?'

An interesting little establishment in this way thus denominated, under the patronage of individuals, members of the Society of Friends, for the benefit of coloured orphans.

At the sight of Mr. Edwards, the overseer's countenance suddenly changed, and assumed an air of obsequious civility. The poor woman retired to the farther corner of the cottage and continued to weep. Cæsar never moved. 'Nothing is the matter, Sir,' said Durant, 'but that Cæsar is going to be sold.' That is what the woman is crying for. They were to be married; but we'll find Clara another husband, I tell her; and she'll get the better of her grief, you know, Sir, as I tell her, in time.'

'Never! never!' said Clara.

'To whom is Cæsar going to be sold; and for what sum?'

'For what can he got for him,' replied Durant, laughing; and to whoever will buy him. The sheriff's officer is here, who has seized him for debt, and must make the most of him at market.'

'Poor fellow!' said Mr. Edwards; 'and must he leave this cottage which he has built, and those bananas which he has planted?'

Cæsar now, for the first time, looked up, and fixing his eyes upon Mr. Edwards for a moment, advanced with an intrepid rather than an imploring countenance, and said—'Will you be my master? Will you be her master? Buy both of us. You shall not repent of it.—Cæsar will serve you faithfully.'

On hearing these words, Clara sprang forwards; and clasping her hands together, repeated, 'Cæsar will serve you faithfully.'

Mr. Edwards was moved by their entreaties, but he left them without declaring his intentions. He went immediately to Mr. Jefferies, whom he found stretched on a sofa drinking coffee. As soon as Mr. Edwards mentioned the occasion of his visit, and expressed his sorrow for Cæsar, Jefferies exclaimed,—'Yes poor devil! I pity him from the bottom of my soul. But what can I do? I leave all those things to Durant. He says the sheriff's officer has seized him; and there's an end of the matter. You know money must be had. Besides Cæsar is not worse off than any other slave sold for debt.—What signifies talking about the matter, as if it was something that never happened before! Is not it a case that occurs every day in Jamaica?'

'So much the worse,' replied Mr. Edwards.

'The worse for them, to be sure,' said

Jefferies. But, after all, they are slaves, and used to be treated as such; and they tell me the negroes are a thousand times happier here, with us, than they ever were in their own country.'

'Did the negroes tell you so themselves?'

'No; but people better informed than the negroes have told me so; and, after all, slaves there must be, for indigo, and rum, and sugar, we must have.'

'Granting it to be physically impossible that the world should exist, without rum, and sugar, and indigo, why could they not be produced by freemen as well as by slaves? If we hired negroes for laborers, instead of purchasing them for slaves, do you think they would not work as well as now? Does any negro, under the fear of the overseer, work harder than a Birmingham journeyman, or a Newcastle collier; who toil for themselves and their families?'

'Of that I don't pretend to judge.—All I know is that the West India planters would be ruined, if they had no slaves, and I am a West India planter.'

'So am I: Yet I do not think they are the only people whose interest ought to be considered in this business.'

'Their interest, luckily, are protected by the law of the land; and, though they are rich men, and white men, and freemen, they have as good a claim to their rights as the poorest black slave on any of our plantations.'

'The law, in our case, seems to make the right; and the very reverse ought to be done; the right should make the law.'

* * * * *

To these common-place, desultory observations, Mr. Edwards made no reply; but returned to poor Cæsar, and offered to purchase both him and Clara, at the highest price the sheriff's officer could obtain for them at market. Mr. Jefferies, with the utmost politeness to his neighbor, but with the most perfect indifference to the happiness of those whom he considered a different species from himself, acceded to this proposal. 'Nothing could be more reasonable' he said, 'and he was happy to have it in his power to oblige a gentleman, for whom he had such a high esteem.'

The bargain was quickly concluded with the sheriff's officer; for Mr. Edwards willingly paid several dollars more than the market price for the two slaves. When Cæsar and Clara heard that they

were not to be separated, their joy and gratitude were expressed with all the ardour and tenderness peculiar to their different characters. Clara was an Eboe Cæsar a Koromantyn Negro. The Eboe are soft languishing, and timid. The Koromantyns are frank, fearless, martial and heroic.

Mr. Edwards carried his new slave home with him, desired Bayley, his overseer, to make out a provision ground for Cæsar, and to give him a cottage, which happened at this time to be vacant.

'Now, my good friend,' said he to Cæsar, you may work for yourself, without fear that what you earn may be taken from you; or, that you should ever be sold to pay your master's debts. If he does not understand what I am saying continued Mr. Edwards, turning to his overseer, 'you will explain it to him.'

Cæsar perfectly understood all that Mr. Edwards said; but his feelings were at this instant so strong that he could not find expression for his gratitude; he stood like one stupified! Kindness was new to him; it overpowered his manly heart, and, at hearing the word, "my good friend," the tears gushed from his eyes. Tears which no torture could have extorted! Gratitude swelled in his bosom, and he longed to be alone, that he might freely yield to his emotions.

Maria Edgworth.

The editor of the Bethania Palladium informed that the circumstance of the case embraced in his query, is forgotten.

THE

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION

VOL. XIII.

This work will henceforth be issued monthly in the CITY OF WASHINGTON. It will be neatly printed, on fine paper, and folded in the octavo form, each number making sixteen large pages. A title page, and index, will accompany each volume.

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GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, WASHINGTON, D. C. AT \$1.00 PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE.

*We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.—Declaration of Independence, U. S.

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ERRORS OF THE PRESS.

The last number of this work went to the press while the Editor was upon a visit to a neighboring State. He was vexed to perceive that many typographical errors escaped the notice of his proof reader. Few of them, however, were of a nature as to be misunderstood by readers in general. It is hoped that we shall not soon find an apology of this kind to be necessary.

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

It appears that the "servants of the people," by special authority act as the rulers of the District of Columbia, are not yet disposed to listen to our prayers. Whether they will ever do so, depends upon the WILL OF THEIR CONSTITUENTS. Many petitions, for the abolition of slavery in the District, in addition to those last mentioned, have recently been presented to Congress. Among them was one from Bullitt county, Kentucky, signed upwards of four hundred of its citizens. We anticipated, this question will, no doubt, go the "go by," at the present session: yet we hope the friends of the measure will be induced by this very circumstance, to "buckle on armor," and renew their application at the next session. We shall assuredly succeed, in time, if we persevere; and who so recreant as to abandon the cause in the hour of trial? We have gained the support of thousands to this important subject; we shall soon gain that of thousands more, if we only and actively persevere. Let none be discouraged. Truth and justice must eventually prevail, if their advocates and agents perform their duty.

To ensure success in this undertaking, THE PEOPLE MUST INSTRUCT THEIR REPRESENTATIVES: in order to accomplish this, (or, at least, to begin,) let memorials and petitions be forwarded to both houses of Congress, from every section of the Union.—Let the tables, the benches, and the very aisles of their halls be strewed with petitions.—Let the majesty of the people—the sovereign, and independent people,—proclaim a voice of thunder that the hellish system of man-enslaving, and man-merchandizing, shall no longer be tolerated at the capital of the United States.—Let no longer blast the fair fame and disfigure the most "free government" upon the face of the earth!

MEXICAN COLONIZATION.

Enough has been said respecting the climate, soil, productions, &c. of the Texas country, to enable the intelligent reader to form a tolerably correct opinion of the advantages it holds out to the farmer and the planter. When we consider the fact that many of the best markets for our flour, pork, &c. &c. (where those articles are taken under heavy duties, in some cases more than two thousand miles,) are within a very few days sail of the Texas ports; and when we consider, also, that such articles may be produced in that country, as well as in this, and taken to those markets without the payment of any duties whatever, some idea may be likewise formed of its commercial advantages.

But we are desirous of furnishing the reader with a general view of the policy of the government in its broadest and most extensive features, as it is connected with the settlement of the territory in question. For this purpose, we avail ourselves of the information contained in a pamphlet, published in the year 1831, and circulated in our eastern states. It begins with an address to the public, from which we make the following extract:—

"The country now called Texas, situated on the Gulf of Mexico, between the United States and the Rio Grande,* and lying principally between the 28th and 35th degrees of north latitude, was first made an object of public attention by the discussions relating to the purchase of Florida. It was by the treaty of cession of that country, that the boundaries of Louisiana were fixed; and by many acquainted with its advantages, it was thought that the most healthy and fertile tract of land in North America was sacrificed to the acquisition of Florida,—the great political object of Mr. Monroe's administration. In 1819, however, the relinquishment of Texas, considered at that time as an integral part of Louisiana, was comparatively no loss to those who already possessed more land than they could settle, and who had then but little knowledge of its intrinsic and local advantages, as they have been laid open by the republican government of Mexico, since its emancipation from the enthralling yoke of Spanish despotism. The influence of free constitutions and of wise laws has seldom been more perfectly illustrated than in the sudden development of the resources and advantages which this fertile country now exhibits.

"The Spanish government, so long as it maintained its sovereignty in America, not only abso-

*This river was, probably, once viewed as the western limit of Texas; but, for a long time, the Mexicans have considered the river Nueces the boundary. The State of Tamaulipas borders on it.

lutely prohibited the settlement of foreigners upon the frontier provinces of its possessions, but even discouraged its own subjects from occupying the lands which now present such great temptations to farmers, mechanics, and manufacturers.

"Immediately after the dissolution of its connexion with Spain, Mexico began to follow the bright example set by their northern neighbors of the United States, who, from a liberal course of policy in granting the public lands to enterprising settlers, in the short space of twenty years have erected several states and territories, of the most industrious population, out of the region which would still have been called the wilderness of Louisiana, if it had remained under the Spanish yoke."

The object of Mexico is, to populate her uninhabited territory; and, with this view, she has adopted the most liberal system, relative to colonization, known in modern times. We again quote the author of the pamphlet, above mentioned:

"To show the desire of the government and spirit of its laws, it will be useful to call the attention of the reader to the first article of the National Colonization law of the 18th August, 1824, wherein 'the Mexican nation offers to foreigners, who come to establish themselves within its territory, security for their persons and property, provided they subject themselves to the laws of the country;' to the 7th article, in which the congress interdicts its own authority to prohibit the entrance of any foreigner as a colonist, unless imperious circumstances should require it, with respect to the individuals of a particular nation; to the 14th which guarantees the contract the Empresarios make with their colonists; and to the 15th, which prohibits any person from holding lands acquired under this law, who does not live within the limits of the republic.

"On the 6th of April last, another national law was passed, relating, in some of its articles, to the colonization of the lands of the republic. It inhibits the entrance of foreigners by the northern frontier without passports; requires the states strictly to observe the laws of colonization, and to prevent the introduction of slaves. It contains a prohibition of the citizens of foreign countries, lying adjacent to the Mexican territory, from settling, as colonists, in the states or territories of the republic, adjoining such countries, and suspends the terms of those contracts which are opposed to this article, so far as the same are not complied with. It opens the coasting trade to foreign vessels, for transporting the produce of the colonies to Matamoros, Tampico, and Vera Cruz, for four years, and admits the importation of frame houses, and every kind of foreign provisions, into the ports of Galveston and Matagorda, free of duty for two years. This law appears from the terms of it, to be occasional and temporary; and while it inhibits foreigners of one particular nation, from becoming settlers, leaves the choice of colonists from all others, open to the contractors.*

"The principles of the permanent national colonization law of 1824, many of the important principles of which are herein before alluded to, the

* The reasons, assigned for the enactment of this law, have been heretofore stated, viz. the belief that the government of the "United States of America" was determined to possess itself of the Texas country, (by fraud or force, if it could not otherwise be done,) with the view of adding several more slave States to this Union.--G. U. E.

reader will perceive are fully met by the legislature of Coahuila and Texas; and such inducements are held out to settlers and contractors, in the state law of the 24th of March, 1825, as it was thought would have the effect of inducing the immediate emigration of foreigners into its territories; and such was the effect, as far as the law was known, which was not however extensive.

"The preamble and first section of this law, set forth the desire of the government, in language calculated to induce the highest confidence; the interest of the state guarantees its design, and both are reassured by the Castilian honor of nation, which uses the terms in which it is couched. The words are, 'the constituent Congress of the free, independent, and sovereign state of Coahuila and Texas, desiring by every possible means to augment the population of its territory; promote the cultivation of its fertile lands; the raising and multiplication of stock, and the progress of arts and commerce; and being governed by a constitutional act, the federal constitution, and on a basis established by the national decree of the general Congress, No. 72, have thought proper to decree the following law of colonization.

"Art. 1. All foreigners, who, in virtue of a general law of the 15th of August, 1821, are guaranteed the security of the persons and property, in the territory of the Mexican nation, who remove to any of the settlements of the states of Coahuila and Texas, are at liberty so to do, if the said state invites and calls them.' The second article assures those who do so, that they shall not be incommoded, (referring probably to the inconvenience settlers suffered when the state was under the Spanish dominion,) they should be fully permitted to follow any branch of industry they think proper. The 3d and 4th articles permit a foreigner, then in the state, to domiciliate himself by making a declaration to that effect to the municipal authority, and gives him liberty to acquire any vacant land for his residence.

"Articles 8 and 9 authorize the making of contracts for colonization, and repeats the guarantee of the national government, regarding the contracts made by the empresarios [contractors], the families brought on at their own expense. The 32nd article makes the following extremely liberal and encouraging provision.

"During the first ten years, counting from the day on which the new settlement may have been established, they shall be free from all contributions, of whatever denomination, with the exception of those which, in case of invasion by an enemy, or to prevent it, are generally imposed. All the produce of agriculture or industry of the new settlers shall be free from excise duty, (except tithes, or other duties, throughout every part of the state, (with the exception of the duties for the mines.) After the termination of that term, the new settlements shall be on the same footing as to taxes, with the old ones; and the same shall also, in this particular, be on the same footing with the other inhabitants of the state.

"The laws go further, and besides granting an exemption to the settlers for ten years, of all duties upon articles imported for their use, in the 42nd article allows the exercise of the freeman's privilege to foreigners, by making them eligible to elect the members of their municipal authorities, and to be elected to the same.

"In addition to the provisions contained in these laws, the land commissioner's instructions prepared under the direction of the legislature

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

side, that it shall be the duty of the commissioner, keeping in view the contract of the empresarios with the government, and the colonization laws, to examine the recommendations which the new settlers shall produce from the local authorities of the place they shall have removed from, accrediting their Christianity, morality, and steady habits; and then goes on and points out the mode in which lands are to be obtained by the settlers, as follows:—

“The commissioner shall issue, in the name of the state, the titles for land, in conformity with the law, and put the new colonists in possession of their lands with all legal formalities, and the previous citation of adjoining proprietors, should there be any.”

His other duties are, to lay out towns, survey tracts by base lines of north and south and east and west lines, establish ferries, preside at popular elections, &c. &c.

It will be expected, perhaps, that some information should be given of the form and powers of government, which exercises jurisdiction over the territory in question. Of this, to citizens of the United States, it would perhaps be enough to say that it is modelled on their own; but to Europeans it may be necessary to add, that Mexico consists of eighteen separate states and five territories, united under one general government, or central head. Its form is republican representative.

It consists of an executive called the president, chosen for four years, and not re-eligible until the expiration of four years more; of an independent judiciary, and a legislature of two chambers.

The faculties of the general Congress are to maintain the national independence, and provide for national security and preservation of its extensions; to preserve the federal union of the states, and the peace and public order of the interior of the federation; to maintain the independence of the states among themselves, and to sustain their proportional equality of obligations and rights; and, generally, it has power to conduct and manage all the exterior relations of the country.

The powers of the state government of Coahuila and Texas are vested in a governor, legislative and judiciary, similar to those of the United States of North America, and arise among others from the following preliminary dispositions.

Every man who inhabits the territory of the state, although he be in transit, shall enjoy the inalienable rights of liberty, security, property, and equality; and it is the duty of the state to conserve and protect, by wise and equitable laws, the sacred rights of mankind.

It is also an obligation on the state to protect its inhabitants in the right which they have to print, and publish freely their thoughts and opinions, without the necessity of examination or revision or censure, anterior to their publication.

In this state no person shall be born a slave, nor will the introduction of slaves be permitted under any pretext.*

Foreigners who are actually and legally do-

miners of the settlers in Austin's colony, subsequent to the enactment of this law, adopted the practice of taking in slaves under indentures for the term of ninety-nine years. But the legislature, at its session, passed an act, declaring that no indenture should be binding, under any circumstances, for a longer period than ten years.—G. U. E.

miciliated in the state, are citizens, whatever may have been the country of their nativity.

“Provision is made in the constitution, ‘that every inhabitant of the state can terminate his differences, be the state of the case what it may, by the medium of arbitrators, or in any other extra-judicial manner, and all agreements to arbitrate shall be religiously observed.’ In most cases, ‘no suit in writing can be maintained until an amicable settlement shall first be attempted in the form prescribed by law.’

“Public instruction is predicated upon the following basis: ‘In all the towns of the state, there shall be established a competent number of common schools, in which there shall be taught reading, writing, and cyphering: the catechism of the Christian religion, a short and simple explanation of the constitution, and the general one of the republic; the rights and duties of man in society, and that which can conduce to the better education of youth.’

“The method of instruction shall be uniform throughout the state, and in those places where it may be necessary, there shall be institutions of learning more suitable for disseminating public instruction in the *useful arts and sciences.*”

We close our review of this pamphlet, with one more extract, relative to the future prospect of the political condition of the Texas country. And we shall, hereafter, endeavor to show the *reciprocal advantages*, to both the Mexican government and that of the United States, which would be likely to result from the establishment therein of colonies, or settlements, of the colored people, who may be desirous of emigrating from this country. The writer proceeds:

“It was said, in the first part of this address, that, until it was otherwise conceded by the treaty of Florida, it was always supposed that Texas was an integral part of Louisiana, by which it is bounded on the east and on the north. Its numerous rivers rising in the United States and emptying into the Gulf of Mexico, the fertility of its soil, capable of supporting millions of inhabitants; its harbors, and particularly the bay of Galveston, nearly as large as Narraganset bay, in which there is a great depth of water, but which has a fixed bar of twelve feet water at low tide, which might be easily removed, so as to make it a most healthy and commanding naval station, are local inducements of sufficient importance to make this territory a desirable acquisition to the United States. But its importance to this country, more than all, arises from the commanding power it would give to another, should it fall into her hands. Should Great Britain, to whom Mexico is indebted in something like seventy millions of dollars, acquire it, circumstances, in the political relations of the two countries, may easily be imagined, which would make the possession of that territory by her a matter of immense importance to us. With New Brunswick and Nova Scotia on the east, Canada on the north and northwest, (excepting a few degrees of the Rocky Mountains,) and Texas on the west, she would as completely environ the United States, as the natives of the east do her East Indian possessions, and would require us to keep up, at least, as large a force for our own defence against her, as she does against them. She would even more completely encompass us, if the ocean were now her own, as she used once to call it.

"As it was the fear that Louisiana would fall into the hands of his great maritime enemy, that induced Bonaparte to offer it to the United States, which it was his policy to strengthen as the commercial rival of Britain; so it should be our policy to prevent the Texas becoming one of her provinces.—It was probably with these views in part, that the ministers to Mexico, of both the last and present administrations of the United States, have been instructed to negotiate on the subject of the purchase of Texas, should Mexico be willing to sell it. The disposition to cede this territory to us, it seems *the government of Mexico does not possess*; but in case a cession of it should become necessary to attain funds for its exhausted treasury, Great Britain would most probably be favored with the offer of it in preference to the United States; and there are many reasons for supposing she is now negotiating for it.

"While the stability of the government of either of these powers, as it might seem to some, would give a greater value to local possessions in Texas, yet it can hardly be supposed that the jealousy of either power will permit a quiet cession of it to the other; and such is our view of the policy of Texas itself, if that is to govern, (and surely the voice of the people should have some influence upon the decision,) *the colonist of Texas should not desire it*. The reasons are few and simple upon which this opinion is founded. In the first place, were Texas to become British, it would be like her other American possessions, a colony instead of a state. It would be dependent on her for rulers and laws, and would be governed by the political policy and commercial monopoly of its step-mother, instead of its own. *Should the United States acquire it, all the advantages it now possesses by the liberal settlement laws and tariff protecting policy of Mexico, would be lost to it*; the progress of population would be impeded by placing the minimum price of its lands on a footing with those of the United States, and all the produce of its soil and manufactures, which have now the markets of Mexico open to it, *duty free*, would be subject to the payment of the same duties in those markets as those of any other foreign country. The effect of this would be to turn the produce of Texas from the markets of Matamoros, Tampico, and Vera Cruz, where corn sells at \$5 a barrel, to New Orleans, where it fetches less than one, and to cause a reduction in the value of other articles of export in the same proportion. They must be blind indeed, who wish a change attended with such consequences.

"Another reason why a cession of Texas is not desirable to its inhabitants, arises from their condition under its present government. They are perfectly contented with it; they desire no better—it is a free republic like that of the United States; the people choose their own rulers and make their own laws, and those laws exempt them from duties upon all goods imported for their own use, and from all taxes for the support of government, for ten years from their settlement. What more can they desire? and if they did, we know not to what government they can look with a prospect of attaining it."

"THE ABOLITIONIST."

We have received the first and second numbers of this publication, for January and February. It is edited by a committee of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, and issued from the press of

Garrison & Knapp, in Boston. The size of the work is somewhat less than was originally contemplated, each number containing sixteen pages not quite so large as those of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. It has a handsome cover and is well edited, and neatly printed. The first number is accompanied by a beautiful copperplate engraving, representing a female missionary, instructing a native African. This engraving, itself, is worth the price demanded for the volume. The friends of universal emancipation may assist materially in promoting the good cause, by extending the circulation of this valuable work.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS—NULLIFICATION

This gentleman continues to pursue an extraordinary course. We have not had leisure to attend the sittings of the House of Representatives, but we learn that, on the morning of the 4th he indirectly opposed any *action* of Congress to the proposal to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; (it will be remembered, too, that the *people of the District* have again petitioned for enactment of a law to that effect;) yet, on the same day, he delivered a speech replete with appropriate rebuke against the spirit of nullification in the south, and threatened the slave holders with "action" of the northern States, (*in their State capacity*), relative to the system of slavery.

But we shall attempt no criticism of his conduct, in this case. The reader will make his own comment. We give, below, in as brief a compass as possible, a view of the speech just alluded to from one of the newspapers.

"Mr. Adams, yesterday, appeared in the House of representatives, in odd positions. In the morning, he was opposing indirectly, any action of Congress upon the proposal to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. In the afternoon he delivered, in favor of the protecting system, one of the most forcible speeches ever made here in support of the protecting system—not over twenty minutes in length—but pithy, cogent, convincing, overwhelming. In this he argued, that "protection" was the end and aim of all government. To protect the interests as well as the civil rights of the individual was the duty of government. "Protection" pervaded every principle and section of our confederacy. The slave interest of the south, he termed 'the machinery of the south,' was protected with a representation in Congress of twenty members. The machinery of the northern states had no such representation. This representation of southern machinery had controlled nearly all the important measures of our government, in opposition to the votes and wishes of the free states. Again, the standing army of soldiers was for the protection of this machinery. What interest had the spindles of the north, the shepherds of the north, in this standing army? Or what interest had the backwoodsman, the navy, intended for the protection of commerce and navigation, if government was to be considered a mere selfish affair, intended only for individual

not for the good of the whole. If protection was unconstitutional, it was so in other instances than in that of the tariff. Mr. Adams here remarked in reference to the representation of slaves, that if this power was not granted in the compact, and the question was to come up anew, he never would concede it. But grant, he remarked, the power to abolish the protection extended to the north, will not the north soon exclaim against the protection extended to the south! The standing army instructed to keep slaves in obedience will soon be abolished. Slave representation will be struck out next. The navy voted down next. Mr. A. then adverted to the position of South Carolina, questioned whether she had now a republican form of government as guaranteed in the constitution, argued that the question of nullification must be met, and now was the best time; for if evaded now, it would soon spring up under a more dangerous form—and with all due respect to South Carolina, he would add, there were other states who could put on a much more imposing front."

He concluded with the following allusion to the bill, for the modification of the tariff, introduced by Mr. Verplanck:

"The notion held out in favor of the bill was, that it was to allay discontents.—And the chairman of the committee of ways and means had delivered a very pathetic and very eloquent eulogium upon fear. Mr. A. had listened to it with great delight, but as he knew that gentleman to be an accomplished classic scholar, he would venture to remind him that there were other virtues besides fear, suitable for the exercise of a patriot and a statesman, on which as just and eloquent eulogiums might be pronounced. Among these was the virtue of fortitude—a virtue, which he was under a solemn conviction that every member of this house, and every intelligent citizen of this community, would at no distant day be called upon to exercise. In commendation of which he would refer the gentleman to a classic authority, which no one better understood, or was more qualified to appreciate. He alluded to the sentiment eloquently expressed by the great Roman poet:

Justum et tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis Tyranni,
Mente quatit solida."

PREJUDICE IN PENNSYLVANIA.

It is stated that a bill, having for its object the exclusion of colored people, migrating from other states, is before the legislature of Pennsylvania. We cannot, as yet, believe that the lawgivers of this enlightened commonwealth will adopt a measure so cruel in its operations, as this would necessarily be.

The statesmen of Pennsylvania, we are informed, quote the acts of Ohio, and thence conclude that wisdom dictates the pursuit of a course similar to theirs.

We shall not, at present, discuss the immorality resulting from legislative enactments which the public sentiment generally condemns.—But we will draw the attention of the Pennsylvanians to this important fact, viz. *Notwithstanding all that has been said and printed, relative to the laws of Ohio,*

NOT A SINGLE COLORED MAN HAS YET BEEN COMPELLED TO LEAVE THE STATE, in consequence of those laws. It is true that some efforts were made, by malicious or prejudiced men, to expel them; and a few were frightened away; but the advocates of their expulsion have never been able to induce the people at large to join in their unholy crusade. They have not, and it is believed they will not enforce the odious laws in question. The editor of the Genius of Universal Emancipation has lately travelled much in Ohio, and the above is the result of his inquiries.—The citizens, generally, do not perceive the least necessity for the exclusion of the colored people, and will not expel them.

Then it may be well for the legislators of Pennsylvania to consider, first, whether their constituents are more prejudiced than the people of Ohio; and, secondly, whether they will approve such an oppressive measure as that in contemplation, as above mentioned.

ENGLISH OPINIONS OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The attempt of Elliott Cresson, to enlist the people of Great Britain in the cause of African Colonization, by representing the society, organized in this country for the promotion of that object, as an *Anti-Slavery Institution*, has roused a spirit of inquiry relative to its true character and bearing. For a while he was successful in making proselytes, and obtaining money; but a powerful re-action has taken place, that will throw some insurmountable obstacles in his path.

It will also be recollected that a memorial from certain persons in England, favourable to the Colonization Society, was presented to the Congress of the United States, at its last session. It was also stated that the venerable Clarkson, Wilberforce, and other distinguished English philanthropists, were friendly to the proceedings of the society. A letter from Clarkson, to Cresson, approving of the establishment of the colony in Africa, &c. was published in the "African Repository," some months since. This letter scouted the idea of depending on such measures, for the abolition of slavery in this country. Yet it was considered objectionable, by many of the advocates of African Emancipation, on that side of the Atlantic, and drew forth the following communication from James Cropper, of Liverpool, one of the most active, clear sighted emancipators in England. We bespeak the attention of the reader to the arguments which he advances.

Liverpool, 10th month 2d, 1832.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

It has caused me deep regret to see thy name amongst those of many long-tried friends of humanity as supporters of the American Colonization Society. Though I am not surprised that many, under the mask of a voluntary and prosperous

settlement of free blacks on the coast of Africa—a measure in which every friend of humanity must rejoice—have been led to support a scheme the nature and effects of which are of a very different character.

In judging of this scheme we ought never to lose sight of two facts with respect to the enslaved Africans in the United States, in which the enormities of that free country have exceeded those of any other. The first is, the slaves are regularly bred for sale. The second, that in many of the States the laws affecting free blacks are of so violently persecuting a character as to compel those who obtain their liberty to leave those States. From the former of these causes, instances must often occur (from the state of morals in slave countries) of fathers selling their own children!! From the latter has originated the Colonization Society; it arose out of these prejudices against colour, and is a direct attempt to extend the same principle to transportation.

Why are slave-holders so anxious to send away free people of colour? Because their slave institutions would be endangered by the competition of respectable free black labourers; and they dread still more their education and advancement in science. If they were desirous to serve the free blacks they would instruct them at home, (not a few of them, but every one that they send,) and not send them in ignorance to a barbarous country.

To this real scheme of transporting the people of colour a professed one is attached, for the ultimate extinction of slavery, by the transportation of the whole black population to the coast of Africa; and we are gravely told that one hundred thousand slaves are ready to be given up, it means can be found of sending them to Africa! A most extraordinary statement, and one for which I believe there is no foundation, in either fact or probability. Can it be believed that the slave-holders of the United States are ready to give up their property, worth at least FIVE MILLIONS STERLING? a liberality unheard of since the foundation of the world. In all the rest of the United States, enough to pay the expense of their emigration cannot be raised, and hence it is sought for in England. If there was any truth in this wonderful statement, we must all of us have been sadly deceived about the debasing effects of slave-holding on the minds of those engaged in it. No other occupation ever produced such extraordinary liberality.

It would be interesting to know to what class these men belong. Is it the practice of selling their own children which has produced this extraordinary effect? Or are these men among the slave-buyers, who purchase them for no other purpose than to give them their freedom as soon as the means of sending them to Liberia can be found? Is it not strange indeed, that any man can be bold enough to make assertions so obviously at variance with truth.

To whatever extent this transportation of slaves was carried, the slave-holders know that the price of those slaves which remained would be enhanced, and their condition embittered, by the removal of all hopes of liberty, so precious to the human soul. The free coloured people being kept few and poor, will be prevented from rising, by fair competition, to the equal rank and honour to which that competition naturally conducts, when not marred in its progress by some such scheme as the American Colonization Society. No wonder that with the exception of some who do not understand the plan,

the planters are friendly to the colonization scheme. But the free people of colour are opposed to this scheme. They have committed no crime, and do not like to be transported and to suffer the highest penalty of the law next to death.

To whatever extent the United States expatriate their cotton cultivators they destroy one of the chief sinews of their own prosperity, and increase the temptation to other states to renew the slave trade by fresh importations. The whole revenue of the United States, for fully thirty years to come would be required to purchase the slaves and transport them and the free blacks to Africa. Such an idea as the extinction of slavery by means of the Colonization Society can never have been seriously contemplated. No! *perpetuation* and not *extinction of slavery*, is its object!

The first command ever given to man was, "fruitful and multiply." Who can doubt that it is for his interest to obey this and every other command of God? but in no case is it so manifest when in a state of slavery. The value of men, of every other commodity, is governed by its plenty or scarcity; where they are so abundant that parishes are willing to pay the expenses of emigration to get rid of them, there must be the end of slavery. Every increase of numbers testifies whilst it is a proof of better treatment, to promote the mitigation and final extinction of slavery; and it must be admitted that the Americans even this proof of good treatment.

The slaves in the United States have rapidly increased, and this increase has been beneficial to the cause of humanity. It is estimated that they have increased since 1808, (the time of both their importation and their abolition of the slave trade,) from 1,130,000 to 2,610,000; and they have more than trebled the growth of cotton since the peace of 1814, and have reduced its price to one-third what it was then, though the Brazils, with their slave trading, have only added one-fourth part to their growth of cotton in the same time. Hence it is plain, that if there has been any increase in the cotton cultivators of Brazils, for no slaves can have been imported for its cultivation. May we not then say that the increase of the slave population of the United States has cost more than all our enormous expenditure for suppression of the African slave trade!

It cannot but be interesting to thee to know what would have been the effect of a similar increase in the English West Indian slaves. If they increased in the same proportion as those of the United States (since the abolition of the slave trade) their numbers would have been 750,000 more than they now are, which, if employed in the cultivation of sugar, would have been sufficient to have produced an increase of 240,000 tons annually, whilst all the slave trading of the Brazils and Cuba and the French colonies have only added 115,000 tons to their growth. Such an increase of sugar would have greatly reduced the price, and consequently the price of slaves, thereby have destroyed the slave trade for the growth of sugar, as it has long since extinguished that for the cultivation of indigo, and more especially for the growth of cotton.

The disguise is now removing, and the tendency of the society is becoming apparent. A bill was reported to the House of Delegates of Virginia for sending the free blacks away by sea; but though this compulsory clause was rejected, it is added that several other motions were proposed and decided by majorities which amply

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

the determination of the House to adopt some measure for the removal of the free blacks. These legislators admit that the free blacks will not leave the land without some sort of force; which may either be absolute, or by rendering their situation absolutely intolerable.

Great injury has been done to the cause of negro emancipation by the encouragement which the agent of this most *diabolical* scheme has received from the sanction of thy name. The term *diabolical* is not too severe; for never did Satan, in more success, transform himself into an angel of light than in the gloss which has covered his deformities.

These persecuted free blacks view the whole with the abhorrence which is justly due to it, with which we should view a plan of general transportation from the land of our nativity. The slave-owners are its advocates and supporters. Only the name of Clarkson will be withdrawn from the ranks of the oppressors, and will be found, it has ever yet been, amongst the friends of the oppressed African race.

Let us repair the injury which has been done on both sides of the water by this unholy connection between slave-holders and philanthropists; for this scheme has been on foot its deadening influence on the energies of the friends of humanity in the United States has been most manifest.

Let there no longer be any doubt which side is on by the philanthropists of England. Let us declare their deep feeling of sympathy with the sorely-persecuted and oppressed people; and an example will be followed in the United States, where the friends of humanity will hasten to the ranks of the oppressors, and the cause of justice will again flourish.

I particularly request thy attentive perusal of the following twenty pages, written by my friend Charles Stuart, one of the most devoted friends I have ever known, and an unwearied advocate of the oppressed Africans.

Thine, with great regard, thy sincere friend,
JAMES CROPPER.

MOVEMENTS IN ENGLAND.

Though we have occupied a large portion of the genius of Universal Emancipation, with material relating to the proceedings of our friends in England, we cannot resist the inclination to copy following, from the *Boston Christian Register*, how far the monarchists of Europe are in possession of the high professing "*republicans*" of our country, in their *practical* advocacy of the principle of general liberty, or, at least, the "*equal*" of man. Shame! shame!—a burning shame to the "*democrats*" of America!! What but the wilful ignorance, the most glaring inconsistency, the most rank hypocrisy, or the most *conspicuous* despotism, can account for this?

From the *Christian Register*.

OPPOSITION IN THE WEST INDIES, AND IN THE UNITED STATES.

Opposition in Great Britain to the slavery which exists in her colonies has recently increased rapidly, as to have created serious alarm in those who conceive themselves interested in supporting this system of oppression. One of the strongest proofs of this alarm, is an address to

the people of Great Britain and Ireland, signed by more than forty persons who own property in the West Indies, in which they deprecate the plans of the abolitionists. To this address they have appended what purports to be an abstract of the slave laws of the West India colonies. This document has been circulated very extensively, by having copies of it attached to the most popular magazines of Great Britain. Most of these laws have been very recently passed. And though there can be no doubt that the measure of amelioration adopted by the chartered colonies, have been forced upon them by a fear of the interference of parliament, yet it is but justice to add that they apparently exhibit some important improvements upon their old systems. We have thought that some notice of these provisions which seem most favorable to slaves and people of color, might not be uninteresting to many of our readers, especially if brought into comparison with the negro codes of our southern states on the same points.

In almost all the British islands, the working of slaves on Sunday, except upon domestic affairs, is prohibited. In almost all the slave states of this country the negro has no legal protection against compulsory labor on Sunday.

The marriage of slaves is legalised and even encouraged by law in most of the islands. In the slave states, slaves are incapable by law of entering into the marriage contract.

In Jamaica, and our impression is, in all the crown colonies also, free persons of color are now placed in all respects on the same footing with, and enjoy all the civil rights and privileges of the white inhabitants. In no part of the United States are free persons of color placed by law on an equality with the whites; for even in the few states in which the *state* laws make no discrimination of color, this unfortunate class are subject to the disabling laws of the United States. Thus no colored person can be naturalized, or can be employed in conveying the mail in any part of our country.

In Barbadoes, when a person imprisoned as a slave, claims to be free, if he cannot prove his freedom, the provost marshal is to advertise for proof; in default of which, after three months, such person shall be set at liberty, as free. This liberal proceeding is just the reverse of that adopted in some of our slave states, where the unfortunate prisoner who cannot establish his right to freedom, is sold to pay the prison charges.

In Grenada and St. Christopher, in cases of disputed freedom, the proof of slavery lies upon the person alleging it.—This equitable principle is just the reverse of that adopted in the slave states, where the law barbarously presumes, that every negro is a slave; so that if a negro claim his liberty, the burden of proof lies upon him to establish his freedom. Thus, in America, the very sanctuary of freedom, slavery is preferred to liberty.

In Grenada, Tobago, and Demerara, slaves are admitted as witnesses in all cases, civil and criminal, precisely like free persons; and in the other islands the testimony of slaves is admitted against persons of every color in criminal cases, though with considerable restrictions. In the slave states, on the contrary, the testimony of slaves and mulattoes, whether slave or free, cannot be admitted against a white person.

In almost all the islands, slaves are now allowed by law, to hold and convey personal property, and in Tobago and the Bahamas, even real pro-

erty, and in some of the islands can prosecute and defend suits in regard to their property in their own names. On the contrary, in the slave states, the rigid principle "that slaves have no legal rights of property in things real or personal, and that whatever property they may acquire belongs, in point of law, to their masters," is still maintained in unrelaxed severity.

Many other particulars might be pointed out, in which the recent laws of the British West India colonies have mitigated the rigor of their slave codes, and which breathe a spirit of justice and humanity which is unknown in the slave laws of our southern states. We have already alluded to the cause which is changing the spirit of these codes in the British colonies, we mean the loud, long continued, and incessant attacks which the friends of freedom have made upon the system of slavery. The exertion of the same moral power of reason and justice, will, without doubt, at no very distant period, abolish slavery in the British islands forever.

Can nothing, we are naturally led to inquire, be done in the United States to free our country from the sin and shame of slavery? The answer is obvious. Let all who are opposed to the system express their opinions in regard to it, freely; let them call to their aid the powers of the pulpit and the press; let them unite in associations for the abolition of slavery; let them be active and constant in their exertions for this great object, never appalled by opposition, and never discouraged by defeat. In one word, let them use the same efforts which have been made in Great Britain to make the public understand the true nature of slavery, and they cannot fail to produce effects as glorious as those which have been already obtained in Great Britain, or those more glorious ones which are now in prospect.

MANUAL LABOR SCHOOL FOR COLORED YOUTH.

The New England Anti-Slavery Society has resolved to establish a school upon the principle indicated in the above title. The following articles show something of the proposed plan of operations. We learn that more than five thousand dollars have been already subscribed. This is one of the best plans, for the establishment of schools, that have ever been presented to the public.—May it be eminently successful.

"To promote the virtuous and guarded education of the free colored youth in the United States, to form in them habits of industry, economy, and morality, as well as to extend to them the benefits of literature and science,—we, the subscribers, agree to pay to the Trustees to be chosen as hereinafter expressed, the sums affixed to our respective names, for the purpose of establishing a school in some part of New England, for the education of colored youth on the Manual Labour System, on the following terms:

Article 1. Such part of the sums subscribed, as may be necessary, shall be invested in lands, buildings, and farming and mechanical stock and apparatus, and other things requisite for the establishment and support of the proposed institution, and shall remain forever a fund for the support of an institution for promoting an economical and judicious system of education for young persons of African descent, having especial reference to

their qualifications to become extensively useful as teachers and examples and benefactors to their brethren.

Art. 2. The Trustees may invest such part of the funds as to them shall seem advisable in permanent stocks, the income to be appropriated to defray the expense of educating such pupils as may be otherwise unable to enjoy the benefits of the institution.

Art. 3. While virtue and piety are to be regarded as essential parts of the education to be given in the proposed institution, and while Christianity will form the basis of the system, young persons of all sects and denominations shall be equally admitted to the school, and shall enjoy equal rights and privileges therein; there shall be no infringement of the liberty of conscience in any manner whatever; and no measures shall ever be adopted tending to give any denomination the ascendancy in the government of the proposed seminary. In order to preserve these fundamental principles from violation, a majority of the Trustees shall never consist of persons of the same denomination christians. This article is to be unalterable.

Art. 4. As soon as it shall be ascertained that ten thousand dollars or upwards have been subscribed, the President of the New England Anti-Slavery Society shall call a meeting of the contributors, by giving notice in at least three newspapers published in Boston, and one or more in Providence, New-Haven, New York, Philadelphia and Washington, and by giving notice by mail to every person who may have subscribed to the amount of one hundred dollars or upwards, to assemble in Boston at such time and place as he may designate, then and there, in conjunction with the Board of Managers of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, to elect twenty Trustees, who with their successors, shall have the perpetual government of the institution and management of funds. If practicable, the Trustees thus chosen shall obtain an act of incorporation from the Legislature of the State in which the seminary may be situated, for the better security of the funds and interests of the institution, and embracing the principles of these articles as far as possible.

Art. 5. After the first election, the Trustees shall be chosen annually, by joint ballot of the existing Trustees and the Board of Managers of the New England Anti-Slavery Society.

Art. 6. No subscription shall be called for until the amount of *ten thousand dollars* has been subscribed; while such sums as may have been paid will be invested in stocks by the Treasurer of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, to remain until Trustees are chosen, when it shall be paid to them."

DECLARATION OF THE GARRISON OF MEXICO.

The following is extracted from an article, received subsequently to the publication of our number. It shews the basis upon which the present pacification rests, and is considered of sufficient importance to notice at this time.

In the city of Mexico, December 27th, 1832, chiefs, officers, and troops of the garrison, strongly desirous to terminate the disasters of civil war which the nation is involved, and convinced of the project of pacification, sent to the government for their approbation, on the 11th instant, by excellency Anastasio Bustamante, and which the

have taken into consideration, is not to take effect—the military composing the garrison of Mexico have agreed, that although they consider it their duty to sustain the established government, while it was not disavowed by the majority of the nation; now, since the entire nation has declared in favor of the legitimacy of that of his excellency Manuel Gomez Pedraza in the supreme command, because he was elected in the year 1828; and since Gen. Bustamente also recognises it, the garrison, resting on these honorable principles, and acquiescing in the general wish of their fellow citizens, declare that they will not in any manner oppose it, and will not in any way contribute to produce the misfortunes which would flow upon the people from a fruitless and criminal resistance. We therefore agree on the following articles:—

Art. 1. The garrison recognises his excellency Manuel Gomez Pedraza, as legitimate President of the United Mexican states, according to the 8th article, 4th chapter, 1st section, of the general constitution.

Art. 2. The garrison adopts, in all its parts, the plan of pacification proposed by their excellencies Pedraza and Santa Anna, and adopted by his excellency gen. Bustamente, and the division under his command; and also offers to enter into all further engagements and restrictions since agreed to by both generals, relating to the aforesaid plan.

Art. 3. The garrison offers to preserve public tranquillity, and promises the security of life and property to all the inhabitants of this capital, by yielding to the political authorities such aid as they may need for this important object.

Art. 4. The garrison respects the opinions of all, whatever may have been their divergencies, unless they shall demand an overthrow of the public peace.

Art. 5. The garrison hopes that all the authorities entrusted with the preservation of public order, and chiefly the governor of the district, will take such measures as will effectually secure it.

Art. 6. Persons who may be chargeable with exciting the least disorder, or exciting a revolution, or aiding it, in any manner, shall be responsible for the consequences to the competent tribunals and judges, and immediately arrested.

PRODUCTION OF FREE LABOR.

The following address, on the subject of giving preference to the production of free labor, over that of the unrewarded toil of slaves, was communicated for publication in this work, some months since, by a friend in Philadelphia. It was written by a colored man, and spoken by a young lad, named JOHN E. BURR, at a public meeting in that city, in the early part of last summer. We hope to be excused for keeping it on hand so long. We have room for but a small portion of the interesting matter which the *growing importance* of the subject of emancipation presents to our view.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS:

There is no subject upon which I could address you, on the present occasion, more interesting to every descendant of the sons of Africa, than slavery. The existence of it has been a source of regret to every feeling and benevolent mind, since the system was first established. But the frequent appeals to humanity, to reason, and the

rights of man, have been overpowered by those erroneous and fatal views that have so generally prevailed, and which have been the means of keeping nearly three millions of our brethren in the most cruel and disgraceful servitude, and many of them subject to the most brutal treatment that human barbarity has been capable of inflicting. Which of us could bear the idea of seeing our father, mother, our brother, or our sister, torn from the domestic fireside by some ruthless invader; stowed in the narrow cells of a dark and filthy prison-ship, carried with others similarly situated thousands of miles across the mighty ocean, to a climate that is not congenial to their natures; and such of them as survive the cruel hardships of the voyage exposed for sale, destitute of clothing, like beasts of burthen? Does not humanity shudder at this idea! But however revolting the idea may be to our minds, the facts are too notorious to be disputed. Our fathers were thus brought from the land of their nativity; and although we enjoy a portion of their freedom, which is the right of all the rational creation, thousands and millions of our brethren are still laboring under that grievous oppression, which is a disgrace to this land of boasted liberty and independence. They are compelled to labor under the lash of the whip, with their bodies frequently covered with clotted gore, when their strength will not permit their performing the task assigned them.—Food and clothing are scantily furnished them. Instead of having comfortable beds whereon to repose their wearied limbs, after the toil and fatigue of the day are ended, the cold damp earth, the hard and knotted floor, or at least a few handfuls of straw, supply the place of the soft and downy pillow; and they are destitute of the warm and comfortable clothing which we enjoy. Shall we, then, ask why this outrage upon humanity, this violation of the social and endearing ties of our nature, is permitted to exist? The cause is *avarice!* 'Tis avarice that cherishes the love of ill-gotten booty, and impels the human pirate to cross the seas with murder and rapine; bear off the helpless and unprotected inhabitants, and to convey them to such places as offer a market for them. 'Tis avarice that induces the unjust dealer in human flesh to speculate upon the lives and fortunes of his fellow men. 'Tis avarice that causes the cruel and extortionate planter to stand by his almost naked and half famished slave and inflict upon him those stripes which dispirit and render him unfit for the performance of the required labor. 'Tis the deep rooted avarice, lurking in the human breast, and producing a desire of this world's goods, by whatsoever means they can be obtained, whether lust or otherwise, that causes and presents to view those heart rending scenes. And shall we next ask, who so brutal or so lost to all those virtuous and ennobling feelings of the mind, as to encourage and support such a system of cruelty and oppression? I fear that if we properly examine our own conduct, we shall find there are but few of us that are clear; for if we consider why this labor is exacted from the slave, thus inhumanly held in bondage, we shall find it to be in order to produce articles for our use. Are not the sugar and coffee that we consume, and the cotton that we wear, principally produced by slave labor? Can we not perceive that, as long as we use these goods, we encourage the holder of the slave to continue him in bondage; in order that by his labor he may be enabled to supply our wants? And can we not perceive, on the other

hand, that if we discontinue the use of them, the demand will be lessened; that should the practice generally prevail, the slave holder would not be able to sell his goods; and consequently that the same feelings of avarice would induce him to manumit his slaves, to give them their liberty, and hire them as free men? This would indeed be a desirable result.

Perhaps some of you will reply: That having so long been accustomed to the use of these articles, you cannot now do without them!—and I am happy to say that it is not necessary you should. Almost every article of convenience, and even many of the luxuries of life, can be obtained free from the pollution of slavery. You can (if you choose,) have the satisfaction of drinking your tea without the embittering thought, that a tear of anguish, or a drop of blood, extracted by the lash of a cruel tyrant from a fellow creature, is mixed with every spoonfull of sugar with which it is sweetened. You can take measures that will enable you to look upon the apparel with which your bodies are clothed, and mentally exclaim, that no unrighteous gain of oppression, accrued through them. You can then lay your hand upon your heart, and with feelings of gratitude and satisfaction, which would be envied you by the ungodly oppressor, declare that you are clear of the blood of your fellow men. Happy, yea thrice happy, will be the day when this corrupt system—this stain upon the American character—this violation of the sacred rights of man, shall be done away! The work of reformation is now progressing with rapid strides. We have friends among the white people, who are using vigorous exertions to consummate it. Let us render them our utmost assistance, and in the course of a few years, we may experience the truth of the fundamental principle of the constitution of the United States, that "all men are born free and equal."

COLONIZATION SOCIETY—TROUBLE IN THE WIGWAM.

It would seem that some of the members of this Association have become *too liberal*, of late, to suit the tastes of our *philanthropic* slavites. If common report speaks truly, an eruption has recently occurred, that will not speedily receive its quietus. We learn that a new board of managers was chosen, at the last annual meeting; and it is said that some "abolitionists" have crept in among them. This has offended the slavites, sorely. Some of the agents, (particularly *Gurley* and *Finley*,) are also charged with being *too friendly to the cause of emancipation*. The new board of managers have been requested to resign, by what has been called a "forced vote."—But this, it is stated, they have refused to do, as it is alleged that the "vote" was not fairly taken.

What will be the result of these proceedings, time alone can determine. We learn, however, that three young colored men, whom the society were educating as physicians, and one that was learning the business of an apothecary, under its auspices, with the view of settlement in Liberia, have suspended their studies.—Whether this suspension is to be merely temporary or not, we do

not know. We also learn that the Secretary has taken down the sign of the office, but have not been informed for what purpose.

If it will not be considered as meddling with our neighbor's concerns, we may again advert to this subject, when further information will warrant it.

ANTI-SLAVERY PERIODICALS.

It is exceedingly gratifying to perceive, that the number of periodicals, devoted (wholly or in part,) to the sacred cause of universal emancipation, are multiplying in various parts of the United States. The *Press* is the mighty "lever" which shall be successfully employed in overturning that "mountain" of corruption, the system of slavery.

Since the commencement of the "*Genius of Universal Emancipation*," on the "Fourth of July," in the year 1821, several others have been established, with the view of advocating the same cause. Some of them have failed; but among those, now in existence, may be enumerated the following.—They are set down in the order of their commencement.

Genius of Universal Emancipation, Washington, D. C.

Greensborough Patriot—Greensborough, N. C.

Western Luminary—Lexington, Ky.

Miscellaneous Repository—Mt. Pleasant, Ohio.

Friend—Philadelphia, Pa.

Friend or Advocate of Truth—Do. Do.

Genius of Temperance—New York city.

Liberator—Boston, Mass.

Abolitionist—Do. Do.

Moral Daily Advertiser—New York city.

Bethania Palladium—Bethania, Pa.

It will be perceived, (from its title,) that one of the above is a *daily* publication. Of the others, six are weekly; one semi-monthly; and three monthly. Many of the newspapers of the day, likewise, frequently advert to the subject of slavery; and the number of editors who begin to see the evils of that system, are rapidly increasing. May they further increase—a thousand fold!

WILBERFORCE SETTLEMENT.

It is with pain we perceive that dissensions have taken place among the members of this settlement, which appear to assume a serious cast. We shall not pretend to take sides with either of the contending parties; but, having some knowledge of the causes of these dissensions, we shall present the readers of this work with a statement relative thereto, in, perhaps, the next number.

We deem it proper, however, to observe, that we believe the whole is attributable to the annulment of the agency of Israel Lewis. This took place a little more than a year since. It was effected by almost the unanimous voice of the

settlers; and the *Rev. James Sharpe*, of the village of London, near the Wilberforce settlement, was duly appointed in his stead. The latter is a gentleman of excellent standing in the community.

The friends of the Wilberforce colony, generally, believe that the conduct of Lewis will not bear the test of scrutiny.—Yet, we should be sorry to do him the slightest injury, by prejudging his case. We dismiss the subject, for the present.

ROBERT DOUGLASS, JR.

This young man, the son of a very respectable colored gentleman, in Philadelphia, has, for several years, carried on the business of *sign and ornamental painting*. His establishment is located at the corner of Arch and Front streets. Few persons in our country, if any, have made greater proficiency in this line, than he has done for the time he has been engaged in the business. If one of our southern *sham philanthropists*, who insist on a transportation to *Africa*, to develop the faculties of genius in a colored man, will visit the "city of brotherly love"—where true merit is recognised, whatever may be the *garb* it wears—and examine his performances, they may profit by the information they can thus obtain. If they are unwilling to go in his "shop," they can see a specimen of his workmanship on a tavern sign, with a portrait of *Napoleon*, opposite thereto; and in many other parts of the city they may, upon inquiry, see the evidence of his skill.

He has latterly turned his attention to *portrait painting*, in addition to his other employment. In this, too, he has been eminently successful. We have seen several of his paintings, that would greatly suffer in comparison with those of many who are considered among the first artists of our country.

If genius and merit are *deserving* of reward, we trust we shall be held excused for asking the public attention to the performances of this warlike and skilful young artist.

LIBERAL DONATION.

We copy the following from the second number of the "*Abolitionist*." The gentleman named, has long been known for his liberality, and ardent devotion to the cause of African Emancipation.—If we a few more wealthy, public spirited men like him, to aid us, something might soon be done for the purpose.

JOHN KENRICK, Esq. of Newton, the veteran advocate of universal emancipation, has recently given over to the New-England Anti-Slavery Society the sum of ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS, as a part of a fund about to be raised by the Society for the establishment of a Manual Labor School for the instruction of Colored Youth. This esteemed friend, a few months since, made a donation to the Society of ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY DOLLARS, to promote its benevolent objects.

We have an interesting account of the will of Richard Humphreys, deceased, in "*The Friend*," of Philadelphia. It was laid off for insertion in this number of the G. U. E. but is necessarily postponed to a future period. This gentleman has, also, made a handsome bequest for the purpose of encouraging the education of colored persons.

NEW ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

An anti-slavery association has lately been organised at *Hudson, Ohio*. The principal active members are understood to be among the professors of the Western Reserve College.

LECTURES ON WEST INDIA SLAVERY.

To the politeness of a friend, in Philadelphia, we are indebted for three lectures, on this subject, recently delivered in Liverpool, England, by *Geo. Thompson*. They are very interesting, and will be reviewed in this work. An article, embracing a portion of them, was prepared for the present number, but necessarily deferred to the next.

LATEST ACCOUNTS FROM MEXICO.

Several arrivals from the different Mexican ports, within a few weeks, have brought us the cheering news, that all internal commotion is at an end, and the constitutional government is in full operation. Santa Anna, (the *Cincinnatus* of the new world,) it appears, has again sheathed his sword, and *retired to his farm*.

By the following statement, from the "*New York Daily Advertiser*," it will be seen that the foregoing conclusion is fully sustained.—This account was received just as the paper was going to Press.

"We have it now in our power to state, on the authority of private letters from the most respectable sources, written at Vera Cruz on the 26th of January, that the only remaining opponents to the new order of things have now quietly submitted. Generals Bravo and Alvarez, with their troops in the South, have recognized the government of Pedraza, and the South is all quiet. Santa Anna was to retire immediately to his estate near Vera Cruz. Every thing promised tranquillity to the Republic."

FREE LABOUR DRY GOODS STORE.

INDIA WHITE, No. 42 North Fourth Street, fourth door below Arch Street, Philadelphia, continues to give her attention to the sale of such goods, only, as are exempt from *slave labor*.

She has a supply of domestic fabrics, recently manufactured from Cotton, cultivated by *remunerated labor*;—viz. bleached, unbleached, and colored Muslins, Canton Flannel, Table Diaper, Apron and Furniture Check, Plaid, Red Ticking, Hosiery, Knitting Cotton, Cords, Wadding, Laps, &c. &c. which she has the satisfaction to offer at lower prices than has heretofore been practicable.

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Ladies' Repository.

Philanthropic and Literary.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

"WHAT GOOD CAN WE DO?"

Try. You certainly will never benefit the cause of Emancipation by doing nothing; and the result of an experiment at exertion would, we are confident, give a satisfactory answer to the question. Are you mothers, wives, sisters? In all of these stations you must be conscious of possessing some influence over the minds of others. This influence extends, too, in some measure to your more distant relations, your friends and acquaintances, and through them to a still wider circle of society. You must not expect to work miracles, in raising up helpers to the cause of the Slave, but steady perseverance will do much, and even though you should seem to effect scarcely any thing, your efforts will be rewarded by the consciousness of at least having done your duty—of having done what you could towards rescuing thousands of miserable fellow creatures from the grasp of tyranny. If there is a female Anti-Slavery Association within your reach, join it; if there is not, endeavour to get one established in your neighborhood as soon as possible. No matter if there are not more than half a dozen members, at the commencement—if persevered in it will increase and do good. Renounce the use of slave wrought articles. *Act individually as if the whole decision of the fate of the slaves rested on your exertions and your self-denial*, and in six months you will have no need to repeat the question, what good can we do?

WANTED,

A number of Female Anti-Slavery Associations, in all parts of the Union. Any female who is desirous that the sum of human misery and iniquity may be lessened, has it in her power to promote that desirable object, at a very small expense of time, exertion, and talents, by engaging in the cause of the Abolition of Slavery. Should any one doubt the magnitude of the claims of their enslaved fellow creatures on their benevolence, or their own ability of serving them, we entreat their attention to the few following paragraphs.

Is it right—is it in accordance with the law of God, that human beings should be bought and sold, scourged and manacled, robbed of the reward of their labours, and crushed beneath a weight of ignorance from which they are allowed no means of escaping? The two millions of slaves in the United States are exactly in this situation. One million of these are females. Contrast their situation with your own—remember that they dwell in the same land and under the same gov-

ernment with yourselves,—that they are immortal beings like yourselves, with all the fine and keen sympathies of a human nature thronging round their bosoms—and then say if there is any misery on the wide earth, that more needs female interference and female exertion, or that has stronger claim on *your* benevolence?

Can you aid those unhappy beings?—Can you doubt it? Will the influence, the example, the pleadings, that in all other cases are universally acknowledged to be so powerful, here alone fail of their effect?

Further; Slavery is not self-supported. It is not the mere love of sin and injustice, that induces christian hands to clench, with so firm and unhesitating a grasp, the "inalienable rights" of their fellow creatures. The lure is self-interest—gold—the profit arising from the sale of their extorted produce. Can they who offer them the bait, by purchasing that produce, be innocent of their offence!

SELF DISTRUST.

Were we to judge of the general opinion people entertain of themselves, by their own idea of their capability of advancing the enfranchisement of the slaves, we might suppose we lived in a world where self conceit was totally out of fashion. We seldom meet with an individual of our own country who does not, when the subject is mentioned, express a sympathetic feeling for the slaves, and wish for their emancipation; while at the same time the greater portion seemingly rest perfectly satisfied on the credit of these feelings, and shield themselves against all arguments to active exertion, behind the plea of their alleged insignificance. That one false sentiment, 'I can do no good', does, we doubt not, more injury to the cause of emancipation, and tends more to secure the fetters of the slave, than all the arguments and open opposition of those who find their interest in supporting the oppression of their fellow creatures.

LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY IN ENGLAND.

We give, below, some extracts from the Seventh Report of the "Ladies' Negro's Friend Society for Birmingham," &c. Its great length forbids the insertion of the whole. We are pleased to observe that Hannah Williams, of Philadelphia, is one of the appointed Correspondents of the Society. We have not room for further remarks at present.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT.

The present year has opened upon us with tidings from Jamaica of the rebellion of Slaves, and what two words can more naturally be placed in conjunction than "slaves" and "rebellion"? The slave (so called) vindicates his right to his own body. "Rebel, it is mine," says the woman, and the title is traced up to an act of the foulest piracy;* to an act, now punishable by

* See the Examiner.

laws of Great Britain with an ignominious death. The enslaved Negroes are said to have broken out into rebellion, under a mistaken notion that the liberty which they believed was granted by the King to them all, and not to those only who were held to be the property of the Crown, was illegally withheld from them by their masters. And yet the destruction of the King's subjects, supposed to be so deluded, is described in the Colonial Papers with a savage satisfaction, which few on this side the Atlantic can note without a thrill of horror. Mr. Macdonald, the magistrate of Trelawney, writing at this time from Jamaica, says, that his advice was *to take as few prisoners as possible*; obviously meaning, that *no quarter should be given*; and yet this very gentleman admits, that the insurgent Negroes have had *provocation for their violence*; for he alludes to certain individuals, against whom vengeance had been particularly directed, and couples it with an observation, that the insurrection would have been avoided by *kindness*, such as was shown to the Negroes on the estates under his charge. Sir Willoughby Cotton, commander in chief, requires instant examples of "the infamous wretches." And "British Officers, Soldiers, and Seamen, who would not hesitate a moment to take the life of any man who should attempt to reduce them to slavery, or to treat their sisters, daughters, wives, and mothers, with indignity, are employed in the horrible task of putting not men only, but *women to death!*" What more cruel results could have happened from the immediate emancipation of the enslaved negroes? Yet we fear that many are still bewildered by timid and imaginary doubts and fears, and are continually closing their eyes to the *real difficulties* of the case. In viewing the Negro, as he stands chained and fettered before them, the *only* question arising in their mind is, whether he be "*fit*" for emancipation, or not; and speedily deciding in the negative, they then propose, as their best recipe for making him "*fit*" for it, to keep him an indefinite length of time in the demoralizing bondage of British slavery. During the term of his pupilage, it is considered that the fittest persons to be entrusted with the care of him, are the Slaveholder, and his Attorney, Manager, and Driver. From them he is to learn the laws of God, and especially the "new commandment" of Christ, "that we should love one another." May his "new commandment" of the Lord Jesus constrain us still to use every proper exertion to obtain a bloodless triumph over this most cruel and sanguinary of all despotisms.

After the frightful scenes of devastation and of slaughter which have recently occurred in Jamaica, will any one be found still bold enough to plead for the *slow* and *gradual* relinquishment of sin? in other words, for continued rebellion against God, and continued wrong to man? We earnestly desire, that the Slaveholder may learn, even in this his eleventh hour, from the events now passing around him, that his interests here are best promoted by his "letting the oppressed go free."

We rejoice to state, that since our last meeting, an excellent young woman has been ransomed from Slavery,* and some preliminary measures

* The deed of Manumission was read to the Annual Meeting, and we had the pleasure of learning that fourteen Slaves had been ransomed by a fund raised by Mr. and Mrs. * * * * to which this Society has now added 10l. to aid in continuing their benevolent exertions.

have been taken to rescue several more. Their names and residences may be learnt by those interested in their welfare, from the Treasurer or Secretary of this Society. For many reasons they cannot be mentioned in this Report; neither the names of the kind friends in the Colonies, who are so good as to aid us in this work of mercy, and whose labours and assistance have given us the greatest satisfaction. Some of these interesting and virtuous young women have been delivered from situations of dangerous temptation. A young enslaved woman was to be ransomed, together with her infant, (whom she would then be able to press, not as a slave, but as *free*, to her bosom.) It is intended to employ her as a teacher, where probably she will have thirty or forty young children under her care; and there is no doubt, from her ability and piety, that she will be a credit to those who engage her services.

A long and interesting correspondence has been published from various parts of England, which shews that a great interest can be taken in this cause. Where the Agents have pleaded for the oppressed, some use their utmost exertions that no one connected with, or influenced by, Slaveholders, should be Members of Parliament. Some form Societies and disperse information in their own localities; whilst others forward assistance to the Parent Society in London, whose exertions have been much impeded for want of funds; some try to ransom an innocent fellow creature from Slavery; and others pledge themselves no longer to pay what has been well called "*a poll tax to oppression*,"* and believe that the *peaceable* liberation of the Negroes may be effected by increased abstinence from Slave-cultivated Sugar.

Since we first endeavoured to draw attention to the fact, that the consumers of West India Sugar are the *real* supporters of West India Slavery, many who aided us greatly have been called from suffering *below*, to triumph *above*. To one of these, who, in the past year, has entered into her rest, may be applied, as singularly and strictly appropriate, the words in which Sir James Mackintosh bears testimony to the worth of the female character, when exerting its energies in the cause of the abolition of Slavery; he says,—"he had more than once congratulated the friends of this cause, on the exertions made by females to advance its success. In several parts of England he had witnessed their zeal, and he had uniformly observed, that in proportion as they possessed the retiring virtues of *delicacy* and *modesty*, those chief ornaments of woman, in that proportion had they come forward to defend the still higher objects of humanity and justice." And never perhaps by any pen, certainly never by the pen of any female, were those objects ever more strongly, more clearly, and more righteously defended, than by the writer of the "Letters on the Prompt Extinction of British Slavery."†

The following statement, relative to the philanthropic efforts of Hannah Kilham, is inserted in

* See the Westminster Review, No. 28, which contains most spirited comments on the supporters of British Slavery: the wit of these remarks can only be equalled by their justice.

† Printed by Hatchard. Supposed for some time to have been written by the talented Robert Hall, who never saw the publication till after it was out of the press.

[We much regret that the name of this lady is not mentioned. Can it, possibly, be the celebrated, the philanthropic Elizabeth Heyrich?—G. V. F.]

an appendix to the above Report. This excellent lady died last summer, on her voyage from Liberia to Sierra Leone. To make room for this notice, we omit an article, relating to her decease, from the *Liberia Herald*. Long will the Africans have cause to mourn the loss of one so heartily devoted to their cause.

At a committee of the London Female Anti-Slavery Society, held the 21st of November, 1831, it was resolved to send to each of the lady's associations a copy of the following statement, trusting that the claim will be deemed by them legitimate and desirable as a collateral one, and that an appeal for a few pounds annually may be met without weakening their interest in the primary object of anti-slavery associations.

For some years past, Hannah Kilham has assiduously directed her attention to the importance of attempting to instruct the natives of Africa, through the medium of their own languages; and for this purpose she has successfully prepared vocabularies, and in some instances, elementary books in various dialects spoken on the western coast, chiefly comprising those nations who are the victims of the slave trade.

This devoted Christian philanthropist is now in Sierra Leone, paying her third visit to that colony, having left England in the autumn of 1830. In this, as in her former visits, her attention has been peculiarly directed to promoting education, and applying the lessons she had prepared. Soon after her arrival at Sierra Leone, the way opened in a manner she had not previously anticipated, for her settling down in one of the liberated African villages, called Charlotte, and taking charge of about twenty-two girls, chiefly such as had been rescued from slave ships, speaking one or two different languages; but on the arrival at Free Town of another captured slave ship, which contained a number of children, she was induced to apply to the governor for an addition, and eventually increased her charge by upwards of seventy girls. The government provide a dwelling, and also the food and clothing of these children, and pay for a part of the superintendence; and by funds placed at Hannah Kilham's disposal, by some benevolent friends, the other charges, including the salary of a Matron, are at present defrayed.

The enlarged establishment had existed six months, when the last accounts were received, the whole family had been brought into order, they were receiving instruction in their own language, and already exhibiting the effect of that care which it is so earnestly the wish of Hannah Kilham to bestow. It is Hannah Kilham's intention, should life and health be spared, to remain at Sierra Leone till the approach of the rainy season, in 1832; and it is her anxious desire, that, in order to give her arrangements a fair trial, she should have it in her power to engage suitable superintendence for the school on her withdrawing from it. The expense of such superintendence, together with some other incidental charges, not defrayed by government, it is calculated would amount to from £80 to £100 per annum. To meet this expense, the present statement is addressed to lady's associations, soliciting them to give a small annual quota each, for the term of three years, if required; the first payment of which to be made on or before the 1st of the 4th month, (April) next.

An establishment on a plan likely to prove so peculiarly useful, it is hoped will meet with the

cordial support of the lady's anti-slavery associations.

Any contributions may be forwarded either to ELIZABETH DUDLEY, Peckham, or RACHEL STACEY, Tottenham.

We learn that a meeting of Ladies was held at Philadelphia, on the 23rd inst. at which resolutions were adopted to memorialize the Legislature of Pennsylvania, against the passage of a bill, now before that body, to prohibit the migration of free coloured persons, from the slave-holding states. We can scarcely credit the supposition that the Legislature of that enlightened commonwealth can be induced to enact a law which would be so cruel and unjust in its operations; yet it would be well for the public sentiment to be expressed in every section of it, relative to this subject.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE SOLD.

I'll to the dance! what boots it thus,
To brood o'er ills I cannot quell?
Amid the revel shout of mirth,
My bitter laugh shall mingle well.

I've toiled beside my mates to-day,
To-night we'll join in seeming glee,
But when we part with morning's light,
For aye that parting glance will be.

I will not go! this fire within,
Would choke me with its smothered flames!
How could I tell the dear ones there,
Of that detested tyrant's claims?

I could endure the fetter's weight,
That I have borne with them so long,
But not to wear a stranger's chain,
And crouch beneath a stranger's thong.

Yet this must be my morrow's fate!
To part from all that gave my doom,
Dark as it was and desolate,
A ray of light amidst its gloom.

To bear the scourge, to wear the chain,
To toil with wearied heart and limb,
'Till death should end my lengthened pain,
Or worn old age my senses dim;—

This I have borne, and looked to bear,
All bitter as such lot may be;
But drearier still my life must wear,
Beneath a stranger's tyranny.

Alas! 'twould be a happier lot,
If ere to-morrow's doom shall come,
My woes and wrongs were all forgot,
Amid the darkness of the tomb!

GERTRUDE

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

Religion is at all times, and in all seasons, consolatory, but peculiarly so when we are afflicted. It imparts heavenly peace and comfort to the dying-christian; it enables him to bid a final farewell to his weeping wife and children, not only with composure, but with "joy unspeakable;" and "full of glory," he commits them with confidence to him, who will not lie—who has said, leave thy fatherless children, I will preserve them alive, and

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

let thy widows trust in me. It supports the widow, when death has deprived her of him who was her earthly all—on whom she leaned with the deep trust and tenderness of woman, with whom she took sweet counsel, and accompanied to the house of God—yes, when she follows, in the sable garments of woe, his cold remains to the silent home of all, the benignant rays of Religion shed light upon her night of sorrow. She hears the voice of her Redeemer, in accents ineffably sweet, calling upon her: "Dry up thy falling tears, poor mourner; thy Maker is now thy husband; the Lord of hosts is his name;" and she returns from the grave of her departed friend, tranquil, satisfied that her heavenly husband is able and willing to protect her, and though she may not have one friend on earth, she can look up in heaven to a friend whom misfortune cannot alter; who sticketh closer than a brother."

But there is a portion of our sex, from whom these precious privileges, these glorious consolations, are withheld. The poor slave is not permitted to attend the dying couch of her husband, to perform for him the many nameless offices of affection, to direct his fainting spirit to the sinner's need. Alas! alas! for my country's guilt—alas! for the guilt of Christians, living in a land of Bibles—she is unacquainted with her Maker; and if she thinks at all of a future state, blindly imagines that the spirit of her husband will await her arrival on the shores of her native land. We who are by faith look to Heaven as a place of reunion with our departed friends; we who are favoured to know that there is a reality in religion; we who have seen its holy influence, subduing the pride-like nature of man, and leaving in its stead the meekness of the dove, should bear on our hearts the sorrows, the ignorance, the degradation of our native sisters; we should make them the subject of our daily conversations, our daily prayers. It is my privilege (yea, I count it a great privilege) sometimes to visit an aged female, who lives in a miserable old garret, the air at this inclement season pouring through many a crevice. She is lame, and altogether dependent on charity for her daily bread. Notwithstanding all this, she is contented and happy. Religion is her support. The holy scriptures are as meat and drink to her. With reverence and astonishment I have listened to her while reciting hymns, with a beauty and propriety of intonation that would have done credit to a scholar. Her life is, indeed, a life of praise. I was sitting by her one day, when a friend sent her some provisions. She clasped her hands together, raised her eyes to heaven, and said: "Oh Lord! Oh Lord! help me to praise thee, help me to praise thee for all thy goodness to me a poor miserable creature." Then, turning to me, she said, "when I look around and see how one kind friend after another comes in to see me and read to me, I am lost in astonishment; but, (speaking softly and laying her hand on my arm) it is the power of God, my child, it is the power of God—fear him, love him, praise him." I would rather be that woman, in her deep poverty, than an eastern princess.

I have frequently wished, when sitting by her, that I might take some lady who leans to African Colonization by the hand and lead her to the humble door of that old garret. I would say: "Look, Lady, at that poor woman, bowed with a weight of years and infirmities—a pensioner on the world's charity—the tenant of a wretched garret; and it is her home, and therefore it is dear to her;

and if thou couldst offer her youth, health, and fortune, in Liberia, she would not make the exchange. Oh then, when our enemies would fain persuade thee that we have no love of country—no attachment to our home—and ask thy aid to drive us hence, may fancy bring before thee this scene; and may the voice of *old Mary*, in mournful accents, speak in thy ear, saying: "Put not thy hand I pray thee to this unrighteous work;" so shall the blessings of the poor and the oppressed rest on thee and thine forever.

Philada. Feb. 1833.

SOPHANISBA.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

SLAVERY.

"Eternal Nature! when thy giant hand
Had heaved the floods, and fixed the trembling land,
When life sprung startling at thy plastic call,
Endless her forms, and Man the lord of all;
Say, was that lordly form inspired by thee,
To wear eternal chains and bend the knee?
Was man ordained the slave of man to toil,
Yoked with the brutes, and fettered to the soil;
Weighed in a tyrant's balance with his gold?
No!—Nature stamped us in a heavenly mould;
She bade no wretch his thankless labor urge,
Nor, trembling, take the pittance and the scourge;
No homeless Libyan, on the stormy deep,
To call upon his country's name, and weep."

Campbell.

Strange! that the human heart should ever become so depraved, the human intellect so darkened, as to hold a fellow man unrelentingly in the most cruel bondage, and submit to the disgrace of pleading aught in its excuse! Amidst the flood of light radiating from the christian gospel, and even at the moment they affect to exult in the influence of its purifying beams, men fearlessly oppress those who have been created equal with themselves, and boldly seek to justify the wrong, with arguments that might disgrace the rudest savage. How will future ages look with amazement and indignation on American injustice! will not its authors themselves, amidst the eternity of another existence, look back with grief and shame upon their own conduct? will the sophistry that now falls so smoothly on their ears, serve them to warp, to suit their own purposes, the immutable principles of justice? If it will not, let them turn now, while there is yet time for repentance, and break the fetters from the limbs of their brethren. CORA.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

GLOOM.

Do you feel sorrowful? I sometimes do,
When busy thought tells me the sufferings
Of some in our south land. Their brows are not
So fair as thine, by much, but yet they are
Our sisters, for the mighty God hath given
To them the boon of an immortal soul.
Yet are they made through life's long years to toil,
Scourge-driven like the brute; and with the fine,
And delicate pulses of a human heart,
Stirring to anguish in their bosoms, sold!
Aye like the meanest household chattel sold!
Vended from hand to hand, while with each wrench
Their torn hearts bleed at every throbbing pore.
Alas! how can I but feel sorrowful
To think upon their woes?

ELA.

Better to wear the coarsest garb, and eat of the simplest fare, than to partake the fruits of Slavery.

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VOL. XIII.

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We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.—Declaration of Independence, U. S.

No. 5. Vol. III. THIRD SERIES.]

MARCH, 1833.

[WHOLE NUMBER 281. VOL. XIII.

ANOTHER COADJUTOR!

It is with the greatest satisfaction, that we hail the appearance of another periodical, of high promise, devoted to the *Anti-Slavery Cause*. CHAS. DENISON, a gentleman of talents and literary attainments, and (what is still more important,) of fine anti-slavery principles, has commenced the publication of a *weekly paper*, in New York, called "THE EMANCIPATOR." This work is neat, printed, on a super-royal sheet, in the newspaper form. The first number, which has just reached us, is well stored with valuable matter, and makes a handsome appearance. At the head of the first page is an engraving, representing "Africa, stretching out her hands unto God." To give the reader a correct idea of the plan of the work, we here insert the prospectus, in full. We most heartily recommend it to the patronage of our friends of emancipation; and will cheerfully do what we can to encourage its circulation.

PROSPECTUS.

Attention is asked to the following principles: The MORAL GOVERNOR OF THE UNIVERSE has made known his will respecting the crimes which are committed among the family of man. It becomes erring creatures to regulate their passions of things, and their every action, by the decisions of an unerring will.

The record of that will declares that the Lord "hath made of one blood all nations of the earth, to dwell on all the face of the earth:"

All men, of every color, and of every clime, are brethren, accountable to the same power which has created them and us.

All men, of every color, and of every clime, are to be treated as our equals, as it respects their participation in those inherent attributes which God "neither give nor take away"—to wit: liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

No one, under the broad heavens, has any authority whatever to tamper with the undying work-ship of Almighty God, by chaining an unerring fellow-creature to perpetual servitude, and degradation of soul: hence, that God has commanded—"break every yoke, undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free."

SLAVERY, all over the world, MUST BE OVER-THROWN, or the millennial period promised in the sacred scriptures, will never take place.

SLAVERY, ALL OVER THE WORLD, MUST BE OVER-THROWN, EITHER BY THE MORAL STRENGTH OF THE FREE, or by the physical force of the oppressed.

It is our duty, since "the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof;" and, since the knowledge of God is to cover the globe, as the sun; to use, with faithfulness, all the talents which we possess, in breaking every yoke, and preventing the preaching of the gospel, "to EVERY creature." This is a pressing and danger-

ous, to countenance, in any way, a system which has for its base a direct violation of the Divine Law—"Thou shalt not steal;" which inevitably tends to violate all the commands of Him who made us; which breeds mutual enmity between its author and its subject; which multiplies crime, like the drops of the morning, which weakens, to a fearful extent, the sacred ties of social life; which denies the right of God's creatures to read His word, and shuts out the light of education from immortal minds; which throws into continual jeopardy the existence of nations, and the peace and prosperity of individuals.

11. No crime can be adequately conceived of, until it is brought to the light of truth, and all its bearings examined; nor can any evil be driven from the enclosures of human intercourse, unless it is arraigned, tried and condemned, by the best laws which can be brought to operate for the regulation of duty.

12. THE UNITED EFFORT OF ALL WHO THUS DESIRE TO REGULATE THEMSELVES, is all that is required, under God, to banish SLAVERY, with its kindred crimes, from this country, and from the world.

On these principles, THE EMANCIPATOR is put in operation. Speaking from them, and from their various relevancies, this paper will advocate THE ENTIRE AND IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION OF ALL SLAVES.

Such a course will be advocated, because it is the only just, wise, safe, and advantageous course which can be pursued. Facts will be adduced to support appeals. Appeals will be made in the spirit of kindness. Kindness will be sustained by the force of conviction. Conviction will be grounded on the power of truth. Truth will be persevered in, until labor shall cease.

"THE EMANCIPATOR" will be printed with fair, small type, on a super royal sheet, and published in New York, every Saturday. Besides original and selected articles on the subject of slavery, religious, literary, miscellaneous, and news items, of a valuable character will find places.

The conditions of publication are \$2 00 per annum, [three copies for \$5 00,] PAYABLE IN ADVANCE—on the receipt of the first number.

CHARLES W. DENISON.

Below, we also give an extract from the editor's introductory address.—We shall notice the publication further, at another time.

"I need no introduction. The cause speaks for itself.—My humble efforts on its behalf must speak for me.

It appears my solemn duty, as avowed in the Prospectus of this paper, to advocate the entire and immediate emancipation of all slaves. I take this course, in common with many pious and philanthropic men, because it is honestly deemed the most just, wise, safe and advantageous one which can be pursued.

I. It is just, because a just God has commanded it. I have already cited several scriptures, in this impression, proving the existence and binding force of this divine command. These are some among many: "BREAK EVERY YOKE." "UNDO THE HEAVY BURDENS." "LET THE OPPRESSED GO FREE." "I have made the earth, and created man upon it: * * * and I will direct all his ways: * * *

he shall let go my captives, not for price nor reward saith the Lord of Hosts." "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

It is *just*, because, in the very constitution of things, MAN CANNOT BE THE PROPERTY OF MAN. He is alone the property of God. He has no moral right to sell, or to regard himself as property—therefore none to buy, sell, or thus to regard his brother.

II. It is *wise*, because the highest evidence of wisdom is obedience to God.

III. It is *safe*, because flowing from considerations immutably just and wise.

Not only the word of God, but the history of the past assure us, that the path of duty is the path of safety. It is duty to emancipate all slaves, or to use all proper means to secure their emancipation: therefore it will be *safe* to emancipate them, because they are the immortal creatures of God. He who provides for the sparrows, will provide for them. It is *safe*, because slaves, being men, love that liberty to which they are by nature entitled, and which they will obtain, either by moral or physical force.

It is *safe*, because if emancipation is effected, the emancipated will be grateful rather than vengeful.

IV. It is *advantageous*, because true exaltation will ever flow from doing righteously.

It is *advantageous*, because men will do more and better when free, than they will when enslaved. Let the whole subject of emancipation be grounded here, and the history of the world proves it worthy."

MORE ANTI-SLAVERY PERIODICALS.

We are indebted to the "*Emancipator*," for the following list of anti-slavery publications, in addition to those mentioned in the last number of this work:—

The "*Christian Monitor*"—*Brooklyn, Connecticut*; the "*Courier*"—*Northampton, Massachusetts*; the "*Telegraph*," and the "*Christian Soldier*"—*Boston*. The "*Telegraph*," at *Brandon, Vermont*, and the "*Christian Mirror*," at *Portland, Maine*, are also, decided advocates of universal emancipation.

Our friend, Denison, is mistaken respecting the particular location of the "*Patriot*," in North Carolina. That spirited and *useful* work is published in *Greensborough, N. C.* instead of Newbern.

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The following extracts from the proceedings of the "Annual meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Society," will be found interesting and instructive. They are taken from the second number of the "*Abolitionist*."

The annual meeting of this Society was held at Boylston Hall, in Boston, on Wednesday evening, January 9th. A numerous audience was assembled.

Mr. Garrison, the Corresponding Secretary, then read the annual report of the Managers. This paper explained at some length the objects of the Society, and vindicated its principles from

the unjust reproaches which have been often heaped upon them. It strenuously supported immediate abolition, by showing the true nature of the measure, and its safety and necessity.

Samuel E. Sewall, Esq. proposed the following resolution:

Resolved, That slavery and the traffic in slaves in the District of Columbia, ought to be abolished by the government of the United States; and every citizen of every state in which slavery is not tolerated, is bound to use the same exertions to put an end to it in that District, which would be if it existed in his own State.

Mr. Sewall spoke for a few minutes in support of his resolution. He adverted to the history of the District of Columbia, the cession of its parts to the United States by Maryland and Virginia, for a seat of government, by means of which it became subject to the exclusive legislation of Congress. He alluded to the wretched system of slave laws which prevailed in the District, and how negligent Congress had been of the interests of slaves and other persons of color there. He stated that this District had become one of the greatest slave markets in the country—that thousands were brought into it from the neighboring States, chained in droves, then confined in the public and private jails, and finally shipped to the foreign ports. He pointed out some of the cruel and oppressive measures to which free people of color were subjected, being kidnapped and sold for slaves, in consequence of the toleration of the slave trade in the District; and concluded by exhorting the people to exert themselves to put an end to this atrocious system, tolerated by the American government at the seat of its government.

The Rev. E. M. P. Wells seconded the resolution, and supported it by appropriate remarks.

The resolution passed unanimously.

January 16. The Society met, pursuant to adjournment. The spacious hall was crowded with a highly respectable assemblage, which were a large number of members of the Legislature, from various parts of the Commonwealth.

David L. Child, Esq. then proposed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the free people of color in this land of liberty and law, are less protected by law, than the slaves in any other part of the world.

The resolution passed without opposition.

The Rev. Mr. Russell, of Watertown, proposed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the plan of colonizing the free people of color in Africa, as explained by its friends, is preposterous in the extreme, and every attempt to put its principles into operation, is an unrighteous and unchristianlike execution, levelled against the free people of color, to secure and perpetuate slavery in our country, and, therefore, calls upon us to counteract its policy and effects.

The resolution was adopted.

PRESIDENT.

JOHN KENDRICK, *Newton*.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Arnold Buffum, *Boston*.

Rev. E. M. P. Wells, *Boston*.

Rev. Simeon S. Jocelyn, *New-Haven*.

Rev. Samuel J. May, *Brooklyn, Ct.*

Ebenezer Dole, *Hallowell, Me.*

Rev. Moses Thatcher, *North Wrentham*.

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Samuel E. Sewall, *Boston.*

RECORDING SECRETARY.

Oliver Johnson, *Boston.*

TREASURER.

James C. Odiorne, *Boston.*

COUNSELLORS.

James D. Yates,	Benjamin C. Bacon,
Ed L. Child,	Ellis G. Loring,
Wm H. Simpson,	Abner Forbes,
H. Appleton, M.D.	Frederick Hughes,
Samuel Snowden,	Isaac Knapp.

REVIEW.

Lectures on British Colonial Slavery, delivered in the Royal Amphitheatre, Liverpool, the 25th and 30th of August, and 6th September last, by George Thompson."

We are indebted to a highly esteemed friend, Philadelphia, for these interesting lectures; but we have not room, at this time, to present them with a general view of them. We can now give a few extracts from the first of them, and shall return to the subject and take an extended view of the whole hereafter. The noble and masterly appeal made by the speaker to the understandings and christian sympathies of the British auditory, must have carried conviction to every hearer capable of comprehending sound argument, and appreciating the obligations of morality and religion.

The lecturer was the agent of the Anti-Slavery Society; and he was followed by a gentleman of the name of Barthwick, who had been engaged by the West India party to reply to him. At the appointed hour the house was crowded, and many persons who were desirous of obtaining seats were excluded for want of room. The following part of his introductory remarks:

"I am not here to canvass a question connected with literature, science, or the arts, upon which a variety of opinions may be entertained and expressed, and publicly promulgated, without moral consequences—and without responsibility; but to maintain, and to vindicate before the world, the long-stifled, long-resisted, long-evaded claims, of nearly a million of my fellow-men and fellow-subjects, whose rights are sacred, and should be as inviolable, as those of the best, the fairest, the best in this assembly; whose wrongs and woes, whose suffering and degradation should, ere this, have made an irrepressible appeal to the honor and humanity, the piety, the justice, and the patriotism of the British nation."

After declaring and proving that the cause he espoused was the cause of man—of all men—of every human being, he proceeds:

"I hold it to be the law of Heaven that we should 'love one another;' that our sympathies and charities should not be bounded by the neighborhood in which we dwell, or by the country in which we reside, or by the empire of which we are subjects, or be limited to those of the same race and color as ourselves; but that taking a

wider range, they should be as diffusive; yea, more diffusive than the rays of the bright orb of day, that they should embrace and warm both hemispheres at once; that we should make the world our neighborhood, and see in every man a brother and a friend, no matter whether he inhabits the kraal of the Hottentot, the hut of the negro, the palace of the prince, or the cellar of the beggar. Wherever we find a being endowed with faculties like our own, created for an immortal destiny, and capable, like us, of knowing, serving, worshipping, and loving God; who may with us be nurtured for the skies; antedate with us the bliss beyond the grave, and rise at last to glory, and honor, and eternal life; wherever we find a being like this, we find one whom we should recognise as our brother, yea, *our brother*; however degraded beneath the hand of oppression; however untutored in the arts of civilized life; however unprotected by the unequal laws of man,—our brother still; whom we shall be compelled to own, and own perhaps to our shame and confusion, in that dread day when God shall bring his "sons from afar, and his daughters from the ends of the earth." I know that the common attributes and destinies of humanity have been denied to the negro. I know that in this, my native town, hundreds could once be found who calmly argued that the negro was not an immortal being; that he was not born to discharge the same duties, to entertain the same hopes, or to share the same salvation with themselves, and by such means they justified their treatment of him as an irrational beast.

"Not only has the negro been denied the enjoyment of civil rights—not only has he been doomed to 'hew wood and draw water' for the white man; but the benefits of religion have been denied—his teachers have been persecuted and banished—the house in which he worshipped his God, and in which he is taught to lift his eyes in hope and confidence to one common Father—that house has been razed to its foundation; thus particularly, *even in the present day*, has his right to hope for immortality been denied, and he has been consigned to ignorance and vice, to the labor and treatment of a brute on earth, and the destiny of a brute hereafter. Yet his pale oppressor has proudly claimed immortality for himself, and has contemplated that immortality without dread of the judgment awaiting him for his ruthless conduct towards his sable victim."

He does not stand among them to calumniate any class of individuals—not to make an attack upon persons or character—but to claim for the negro, upon christian principles, an equality of rights with himself, and every free born subject of the British realm.

"I am not here, as it has been insinuated in some quarters, to answer a party purpose. I seek to be identified with no section of the religious world, with no division of the political one; not to advance any particular doctrine or creed, but to discuss upon the broad and immutable principles of justice and mercy, truth and love, the great question whether there is courage enough in the bosoms of Britons, and confidence enough in the arm of the Almighty, to open the prison doors and let the oppressed go free; and thus to vindicate their love of liberty, and free themselves from the guilt of fostering the foulest system that ever desolated and defiled the earth, or insulted the majesty of Heaven.

"I am here to demand *immediate and total emancipation for the negro*; not the destruction of property, not the endangering of life, not the dissolution of the frame-work of society; but the liberation of 800,000 fellow-subjects from the operations of a system which degrades the body, brutalizes the mind, produces ignorance and vice in the slave; pride, arrogance, and demoralization in the master; which, in a word, debases and dehumanizes both. Emancipation from law? No. Heaven forbid! Emancipation from restraint? No. Are we free from law, or from restraint? Yet we have no whip behind us to keep us at our work; to be our daily, our only stimulus to exertion. *Ours* is the restraint of *will*, and *equitable laws* our incentives to labor, the influence of motives which have ever been found sufficient from the foundation of the world. I ask that the slave should henceforth be controlled by such laws, should be influenced by such motives. Emancipation from labor? No. We are told this; but it is not so. The destruction of property? No. Its preservation and security. I plead for a *legislative enactment annihilating an odious and impious right of property in the bodies and souls of British subjects, and immortal men, and the immediate substitution of public, judicial, and responsible authority, for private, arbitrary, and irresponsible control*. I ask that the negro should be made free from fetters, from chains, from whips, and from uncompensated toil, whilst, at the same time, there should be all needful arrangements to ensure the safety of the master, promote the cultivation of the soil, and advance the real and true interests of all parties concerned. This, my friends, is all I ask: if I am wrong, 'this is the very head and front of my offending, no more.'"

He shows that the slave trade and slavery had their origin in fraud, violence and hypocrisy. The bold and fearless manner in which he speaks before a mixed assembly of Englishmen, would be pronounced, by the fastidious and *dough faced* gentry of this free republic as declamatory and abusive.

Our ears are too delicate and refined to bear the plain, undisguised truth on this *very delicate* subject. No. We must be *very careful* not to offend slave holders. If they scold us we must ask pardon—if they threaten us, we must submit, and offend no more. But we will not detain the reader from the lecture.

"It was in the reign of Elizabeth that Sir John Hawkins, an Englishman, first dishonored our country by engaging in the African slave trade. It had before been commenced and carried on by the Spaniards and Portuguese. And what did Sir John Hawkins do? Having commenced these bloody proceedings, he, with the most consummate deception, represented to the Queen that they were *voluntary slaves*; that it was pure mercy which had induced him to carry them from their homes, their friends, and their country, to the Isles of the West; that their souls (mark the wily hypocrite,) their souls were precious in his sight; their conversion to christianity was the object at which he aimed. Notwithstanding this representation, the Queen had her misgivings, and said, 'If you force them to leave their country,—if you drag them from their homes *without their consent*, you will draw down the vengeance

of Heaven upon the land, and fearful will be the consequences of your crime.' So much for commencement of the traffic. Here we find fraud, violence, and hypocrisy at the threshold. How much good may it do those who seek a justification of the continuance of slavery in the early history of the slave trade! The time would fail me to tell of all the crimes perpetrated along the shores of Africa during the progress of the traffic; the smoking towns, the ravaged villages, the desolated plains, the pathways through the deserts lined with troops of human beings, bleeding, and groaning, and dying by the way. Neither have I time to describe the structure of that floating hell, the slave ship, whence continually proceeded 'weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth.' I have no time to describe the soul-sickening scenes of the annual slave market, the passing of money hand to hand, and then the transfer of human beings, branded like dogs, and fettered like felons, from master to master. I have not time to speak of all the ravages of disease and death during the period of *seasoning* it was called; nor to recount, if human language could recount them, and if human patience and human compassion could listen to the details of the accumulation of insults, and of wrongs, toils and woes, that have been heaped upon successive generations of the slave population from that time even until now. I say, for these purposes the time would utterly fail me. I proceed, therefore, to that portion of the subject with which we have more immediately to do, namely, to enumerate the evils which flow from the system as we find it now existing in the British colonies. A word, however, may be said in reference to the abolition of the slave trade.

"It is now about 150 years ago since a certain man of the Church of England, of the name Godwin, first roused the attention of the people of this country to the subject of negro slavery, by writing a treatise upon the topic, which he dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Mr. Godwin, many eminent men publicly and fearlessly reprobated negro slavery. We name Richard Baxter, the eminent nonconformist; Dr. Hayter, Bishop of Norwich, Bishop Watson, and Dr. Samuel Johnson. Nor ought we to forget, in our retrospect of this question, how brief, the unceasing labors, for a long series of years, of the members of the Society of Friends. Among the first of these were John Woolman and Anthony Benezet, the former of whom travelled through the United States on foot, with a benevolent view of persuading the planters to liberate their slaves, while the latter kept a school for the blacks at Philadelphia. A very much, is due to the persevering exertions of that estimable portion of the religious community who would to Heaven that all denominations of christians had imitated their holy and praiseworthy example! It would not then have been my duty, in the year 1832, to make an appeal to British christians to dissolve the fetters of 800,000 groaning in worse than Egyptian bondage, beneath the sceptre of an English monarch. Would it have been necessary for others to have been necessary for others to have been an advocate to gloss over the horrors of the system, and follow me from place to place like an 'evil genius,' to thwart my endeavors in the name of freedom, and show that my christianity was not the christianity of the Bible. But, Sirs, permit me to say: have I libelled christianity?"

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

state its principles, its genius, its tendency, its maxims, its precepts, its examples, when I say they all conspire to teach me that I should love my neighbor as myself,—that I should feel kindness of charity toward all mankind,—and that I should do unto others as I would that others should do unto me? I ask myself, should I like to be a slave? I look upon the thousands around me, and I ask, is there one here who would wish to be a slave? And the answer which comes to me from every heart and every tongue is, No. Then, if liberty be good for me,—if it be good for you,—if it be good for our brothers, our sisters, our wives, our children, our neighbors, our countrymen;—if it be the wholesome atmosphere we breathe,—if without it we should be diseased, and wretched, and despised,—if it is good for every man; and I claim it for the negro. If you say he knows not his own value, the value of liberty, I answer, he can learn their worth in slavery. Freedom can restore him to the full dignity of his nature. Charge not his present degradation upon his creator; say not he is the descendant of Ham, therefore debased. Give him liberty, give him kindness,—give him education; treat him with love, and own him as a brother, and he springs at once from the earth, and grows into the stature of a rational, accountable, and immortal being.”

(Subject to be continued.)

REUBEN MADDISON:

True Story, with a few Anecdotes and Reflections.

Forget her not! Forget her not!
 Her wrongs are your country's foulest blot!
 When ye list your children's shouts of play,
 When ye soothe their transient griefs away,
 When ye bend above the couch of pain,
 Or watch where the dying head is lain,
 But most of all, when you kneel in prayer,
 To seek your Father's daily care,
 Never should Africa be forgot,
 Nor your land be cleansed from its foulest blot.

Verses from America.

This is an interesting pamphlet, of forty-eight pages, for which we are indebted to the worthy Secretary of the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, at Birmingham, England. We extract as largely as our limits will permit. It is gratifying to receive that the labors of our friends, here, attract the attention of our coadjutors in England; and may we not hope that the efforts of all may be happily combined, to effect the great purpose to which they are directed.

The story of "Reuben Maddison" is merely a collection of facts; and the scenes of his trials and sufferings having been located at our own doors, it is the more interesting to us.—And the extracts from the "Christian Record," particularly, are heart-rending! How many, alas! in our own country, are treated with equal cruelty to those victims of tyranny in Jamaica? We know something about this, that would make the ears of our readers tingle!

Should a tale unfold, whose lightest word
 Would harrow up thy soul—freeze thy young
 Blood—

Make thy two eyes, like stars, start from their spheres,
 And each particular hair to stand on end,
 Like quills upon the fretful porcupine.”

Shakspeare.

REUBEN MADDISON.

About five years ago one of the religious newspapers of New York called the attention of its readers to a distressed family of pious colored people. Captain Stuart, by following the direction given in the paper, easily discovered this family, and found it to consist of a Negro of a most frank and pleasant deportment, his wife confined to her bed by severe rheumatic fever, but exceedingly happy through the comforts which religion afforded her, and a female companion, suffering from rheumatic pains, but able to go about the work of the house.

At different times Captain Stuart learnt from this Negro man, whose name was Reuben Maddison, the following particulars of his history. Reuben was born a slave in Kentucky; his master being a cruel and artful man, but his mistress kind and good. He was allowed the privilege of seeking his employment where he would, being only required to bring his master yearly the sum of 120 dollars, reserved from what he might be able to earn. The kindness of Reuben's heart prompted such willing and obliging behaviour, that every one in whose way he came was pleased to be served by him, and he found plenty of work, especially at * * *, a neighboring watering place, and lived very happily with his wife, and their family of young children.

One evening Reuben was returning from some work at a distance, when he met a fellow slave, whose unusually sad look occasioned him alarm, and who asked him where he was going. Reuben answered, he was going home to his wife and children. To this the other replied, "Going home to your wife and children! Don't you know that you have no more a wife or children? They are all gone; sent off by massa to be sold."

Poor Reuben hastened to the cottage that had been his happy home, and finding that it was indeed as his companion had said, he flew, half-distracted, to Frankfort, the capital of the State, whence he knew they would be embarked on the Ohio, to go down it, and the Mississippi, to New Orleans, the capital of Louisiana, and the principal United States' mart for slaves. He hoped to be in time to see his treasures once more; but they were already gone, and he returned in hopeless despair.

After a dark and dreadful period, however, the thought came suddenly into his mind, "Reuben do you love your wife and children? And if you do, is this the way to act? Instead of wandering about mourning, and doing nothing, why don't you set to work, and work harder than ever, that you may get enough to buy your freedom, and go and seek after your wife and children, and perhaps buy their freedom too?"

The hopes inspired by these thoughts revived his spirits; he set to work with redoubled vigor; and soon after, as he was passing along the streets of * * *, a Quaker, who knew his history, stopped him, and said that he could tell him something much for his advantage. The Friend then informed him, that a gentleman in the neighborhood was about to establish some paper-mills, and that as the trade of rag-gathering was new in the country, if he, who had so many kind friends and acquaintances about, were to furnish a hawk-

er's box, and undertake the collecting of rags, he would be sure to find it a very lucrative concern.

After consulting with some of his friends, who were lawyers and merchants, Reuben made up his mind, and did as the Quaker advised him; and God, whose child he had before this time become, blessed him, so that he made money very fast.

About 400 dollars were laid by, when Reuben's mistress, who knew how anxious he was to be free, one day told him that his master had at last consented to treat with him respecting his freedom, and that if he would go to him while he was in the humor, he would most likely obtain favorable terms.

Reuben went accordingly, and being asked by his master whether it was true that he wished to be free, he answered that he desired it above every thing else on earth. Upon this he was informed that he might, if he pleased, be freed for 700 dollars, half to be paid at one time, and the remaining half at the end of eighteen months; and the poor man, exceedingly delighted to find that what he had so ardently desired, was put, apparently, within his reach, exclaimed immediately, that he could pay all the 350 that very day.*

The master looked well pleased at hearing this, and desired that they might be fetched, which Reuben went to do. While on his way, he thought to himself that he should not be wise to part with his money without witnesses, and on his return he begged that he might be allowed to procure some. His master's countenance fell upon hearing his request, but he gave his consent, and the four most faithful friends Reuben had in the village were summoned by him, and allowed to be witnesses to a paper of agreement and receipt drawn up by the master, read aloud to them all for their approval, and then signed by him, and delivered to the poor overjoyed Negro.

Reuben continued to get money so fast that he would soon have offered the remaining 350 dollars, had not his friends dissuaded him from doing so, by telling him that he had better take care of his master, or he would be over-reached at last; and that he should by no means pay any thing more till the appointed time came, and he should receive a legal deed of manumission. Reuben then, conceiving it would be a good and safe plan to use his money as he got it, only taking care that the right sum should be in readiness at the end of the eighteen months, bought a lot of ground, on which he built a brick cottage, and sunk a well: he also laid out a pretty garden, delighted the while in the idea that before so very long he might have his wife and family back to live there with him.

About six months before the time when Reuben was, as he thought, to be made free, he was roused from his dream of happiness by his master's sending for him, and saying, that as he could afford to build brick houses, sink wells, and lay out gardens, he could certainly afford to pay the 350 dollars, and that he must do so immediately, or he should never be free at all.

This was a frightful threat, for Reuben had not above 25 dollars in hand, and he gently remonstrated and ventured to hint at the written agreement he had received.

"I gave you that, because I saw you were in a suspicious humor," said his master, with a malignant smile; "but as to its being of any use, your

* Reuben at this time had laid up 400, but the first payment was only 350.

friends the lawyers will fast enough tell you choose to take the trouble to ask them, your body is mine, and your house is mine, your garden, and all that you have, and thus one can force me to part with you."

Reuben would in all probability, have continued in the hopeless condition of a slave to the end of his death, had not the odium cast upon his character, as the story became known, caused him at last to retract his cruel threat: though still he refused to release his bondsman, unless he should receive from him, instead of the 350 dollars, his house, well, and garden, which had perhaps been worth 1000.

Reuben prized his freedom too highly to waste a moment about parting with his all to obtain it, and as soon as he received his manumission papers, he set off to New Orleans, feeling as if he had escaped from the grasp of a demon. After making diligent inquiry about his wife and children, he found that the former was dead, and his children equally lost to him, being sold and sent away, and he could never gain any intelligence of them.

After some time, Reuben married a pious and beloved woman. It was soon after this event, as they were one day passing together by the slave market, they found their sympathy strongly excited by the appearance of a female slave sitting dejectedly on the ground, exhibited for sale. Maria, so she was called, belonged to a Virginia planter, who was a determined persecutor of such of his slaves as desired to be free. These poor creatures were accustomed to meet every Wednesday night, when their day of work were over, in a hut on the plantation, to speak to each other of Jesus, and to pray and sing hymns together. When this was found out by the overseer, and reported to their master, he ordered that the drivers should be placed at the door of the hut, and that when the meeting was up, they should follow the slaves with their whips, and send them lacerated and bleeding to their homes. This did not induce the poor negroes to forsake the assembling of themselves together, though it was regularly continued every Wednesday night. Maria was one of these persecuted people, and on each succeeding Thursday morning she was taunted with such questions as the following:—"Well, Maria, you were at meeting last night, and you mean to go again next Wednesday night, do you?"—"Yes, Massa."—"And you go there to forsake the love of your Saviour, and your children, that he will one day give you a crown of glory?"—"Yes, Massa."—"And he was crowned with thorns, and scourged, and crucified for your sins, was not he?"—"Yes, Massa."—"Well, we will take care that, if you share the crown of glory, you shall share the thorns too."

At last, in anger, and probably in despair, determining the determination of his negroes, his master sent them to New Orleans, to be sold as beasts, and there Reuben and his wife, meeting with poor Maria, and finding her to be a sister in Jesus, formed the resolution of purchasing her freedom, which they accomplished by uniting their savings each had made previous to their marriage, and they then took her home to live with them.

In New Orleans they might have settled comfortably, had not the unhappy prejudice which exists there against their color, caused them a perpetual uneasiness. When they walked in the streets, they were cursed and pushed out of the way by white people passing along. Even

assembled together, in their own house, or that of some of their christian friends, for religious worship, they could have no peace at all from the annoyances of the white men.

It was chiefly in the hope of enjoying religious liberty in a free State that they resolved upon returning to New York. Reuben engaged two vessels on board a vessel bound there, commanded by Capt. Russell, and having paid 70 dollars for passage, he, with his wife, and Maria, soon bid adieu to the land of slavery; but not, as they soon found, to the sorrow which the wicked pride of the white man makes so frequent an attendant on a colored man.

When Reuben, after enjoying the fine day on deck, rose to go to his berth in the steerage, the captain, with oaths and curses, told him that a colored fellow should never be allowed to go near the white people's berth in his ship: and to all Reuben's remonstrances, he only replied that they might push aside the wood in the long boat, and sleep among the pigs to sleep, if they liked.

At the entreaty of some ladies on board, the beds which Reuben had provided for his family, were fetched from them; and, wrapped in blankets, the oppressed family sheltered as well as they could each night in the long boat. But the voyage proved a tempestuous one, cold, and with almost constant heavy rain; so that they reached New York in a most pitiable condition, though they had all been in good health at the commencement of the voyage.

Maria in time recovered, but the illness of poor Reuben's wife ended in her death.

Captain Russell was put on his trial in New York, for his injustice and cruelty; but though he was found guilty, and fined 40 dollars, yet he chose to pay the fine imposed, saying he had no objection to go to prison, if any one should care to take the trouble to send him there. At the death of Reuben's wife, Maria went into service—and when Capt. Stuart was last in New York, in 1828, Reuben was in very favorable circumstances, laboring diligently, and evidently blessed of God.

Extract from the *Christian Record of Jamaica*, published in that Island, Oct. 1830, in further illustration of the wretched condition of the slaves in the British Colonies.

The principal object of our publication is to draw the attention of our fellow colonists themselves to the debasing nature of these evils, to the effect that seeing them in their true light, they may be induced to adopt measures for their redress. We allude to the right, which the owner of a slave has, to inflict corporal punishment upon him at his own sovereign will and pleasure: a right held upon the Consolidated Slave Law, passed in 1816, still in force, and which would have been confirmed by the slave enactments of the Legislature in 1826 and 1829, had they received royal sanction. That this cruel and unjust right is generally, nay, almost universally, exercised, no one, well acquainted with the state of things in our Island, will venture to deny. For our part, we firmly believe that there are very few estates, on which the slave is not in daily dread of the lash, and that in many families, corporal punishment is commonly inflicted. The power of punishing is vested in the slave-owner, his representative, who, by the same law, is constituted the judge of what offences require corporal punishment, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes.

Be it understood, too, that the law stipulates for the exemption of no age nor sex. It merely prescribes the number of stripes, and provides that no second punishment shall take place in the same day, nor until the effects of the first are recovered from. Nay, the pregnant female is not by law exempted. One would have thought that our legislators, moved by the common feelings of our common nature, would have interposed the protecting arm of the law to shield the female when thus situated, from the brutal power of ferocious man. But no—even she can be laid down—exposed, and flogged, in the presence of the assembled population of the estate! It is true that public feeling, in this case more humane and merciful in its restrictions than the law—has, in a great measure, shielded the pregnant woman, known to be such, from so shocking an outrage; but still, instances of such barbarity we believe too often occur; ruining the unfortunate woman's health, and destroying her unborn child.

The evil of corporal punishment is also shewn in a way truly painful to every friend to the spread of christianity. We allude to the effect it produces, in respect to the ordinance of marriage. It consists with our knowledge, that slaves have preferred concubinage to marriage, on the ground, that *their wives* might be indecently exposed and cruelly flogged. And here it is to be observed, in explanation and support of this statement, that slaves, however licentious they may be, regard the marriage tie with a reverence and respect approaching to superstition. With whatever indifference they regard the degradation of a concubine, we know that they look with horror on the degradation of *a wife*! Again, what kind of feeling can be expected to exist in the mind of a child, who witnesses the shameless punishment of a parent? Filial respect must be weakened, if not altogether destroyed.

And must not the feelings of the parent, who is constrained to witness the miserable sufferings of a child, if not hardened in criminal indifference, be exquisitely painful. While we are upon this part of the subject, we cannot avoid recounting, as a proof that these things are not the chimeras of a distempered imagination, but sad realities of truth and experience, the particulars of an instance of corporal punishment, recently inflicted in one of our workhouses by order of the magistrates. It has been communicated to us by an eye-witness, on whose veracity we can stake our own credit, and truly, it reflects indelible disgrace upon the community. Be it understood, however, that we introduce this statement, not in illustration of the main subject of the present article, viz. the dangerous power of inflicting corporal punishment entrusted by the law to private individuals; but in proof that the shameless, the unnatural exposure of the parent's nakedness to the child, and vice versa, are no uncommon occurrences in our Island. A memorandum was taken by our informant, soon after witnessing the scene which he described, of which the following is nearly a verbatim copy. We omit names, but our informant has authorised us to supply them if required. * * *, a female, apparently about twenty-two years of age, was then laid down, with her face downwards; her wrists were secured by cords, run into nooses; her ankles were brought together, and placed in another noose; the cord composing this last one, passed through a block, connected with a post. The cord was tighten-

ed, and the young woman was thus stretched, to her utmost length. A female then advanced, and raised her clothes towards her head, leaving the person indecently exposed. The boat-swain of the workhouse, a tall athletic man, flourished his whip four or five times round his head, and proceeded with the punishment. The instrument of punishment was a cat, formed of knotted cords. The blood sprang from the wounds it inflicted. The poor creature shrieked in agony, and exclaimed, 'I don't deserve this!' She became hysterical, and continued so until the punishment was completed. Four other delinquents were successively treated in the same way. One was a woman about thirty-six years of age—another, a girl of fifteen—another, a boy of the same age; and lastly, an old woman about sixty, who really appeared scarcely to have strength to express her agonies by cries. The boy of fifteen, as our informant subsequently ascertained, was the son of the woman of thirty-six! She was indecently exposed, and cruelly flogged, in the presence of her son! and then had the additional pain, to see him also exposed, and made to writhe under the lash!

It is to be observed, to complete the hideous, but faithful picture, of the system of Slave Government, presented to us by the narrative of this transaction, that these unfortunates received this punishment, for an offence which their owner, it was strongly suspected, had compelled them to commit; and that too, under the terror of the lash—a circumstance accounting for the cry—'I don't deserve this.'

Painful and melancholy as is the above detail, we know it to be but too faithful a picture of what is transacted, from week to week, by order of the magistrates, within those abodes of misery and degradation—the workhouses of our Island.

But let us revert to the especial subject of the present article. The most appalling evil, resulting from the power, entrusted by the law to individuals, of inflicting the severest corporal punishment upon the slave, is unquestionably the extensive and systematic destruction of unborn children! The helpless pregnant woman, as we have said, may, under the sanction of the law, be subjected to the lash! We are enabled to state, from respectable medical testimony, that in nine cases out of ten, such inflictions are followed by the destruction of the unborn child."

Extract from the Evening Mail, August 19, 1831. House of Commons, Wednesday, August 17, 1831.

SLAVERY.

"MR. BURGE asked the noble Under Secretary for the Colonies, whether Government had taken proper measures for the regulation and maintenance of the Crown Slaves, who had been emancipated in the West India Islands."

"LORD HOWICK said, that Government had not issued orders for the emancipation of Crown Slaves, until they had taken all necessary precautions, to guard against unfortunate consequences. It was, however, gratifying to find that these precautions were unnecessary. He had received a despatch from the Governor of Antigua, which stated, that during the five months which had elapsed since the emancipation of the Crown Slaves, they had been occupied industriously in providing for their own support, and that although

their number was three hundred and seventy-one, no case of crime had occurred amongst them, nor were there any complaints of poverty."

Here, then, we have irrefragable proof, that large numbers of slaves, de facto, who have undergone no previous process of preparation, may be liberated at once, without detriment either to the public or themselves. After this, it is to be hoped the Codrington Trustees will no longer persist in believing, that to enfranchise the bondsmen at once "would be followed by more suffering and crime than have ever yet been witnessed under the most galling bondage." If to make assurance double sure, they would wish before they liberate their three hundred captives to take the same precautions which Government took before they emancipated the three hundred and seventy-one Crown Slaves in Antigua, I doubt Lord Howick would be most happy to inform them what those precautions were, though in the event they proved unnecessary. It is hardly to be supposed, that the negroes under the care of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel are in a more unprepared state for the enjoyment of freedom than were the negroes who were held to belong to the Crown. If, therefore, the latter could safely and beneficially be put in possession of the rights they had so long been robbed of, no reasonable man will say, that any injurious consequences could be apprehended from the Society's doing the same act of justice to the unhappy beings, whom, by the law of the strongest, they have held, from the hour of their birth to this very day, in a miserable, unchristian, and degrading bondage.

Shall it be said now in the broad blaze of Gospel light, what the prophet Micah said so long ago, "They build up Zion with blood and Jerusalem with iniquity." Let the apostle James address them, "Behold, the hire of the laborer who have reaped down your fields, which is kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them which reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth." James v. 4. But our Lord's words are the most remarkable, and are best adapted to the case of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.—"thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." Matt. v. 23, 24.

In conclusion, the following interesting lines are presented to the readers of Reuben Maddison from the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," edited and published by Benjamin Lundy, Baltimore, the 4th No. of the 1st Vol. of the 3d Series, July, 1830, and shew, together with the practice of the primitive Presbyterian Churches, that right views on the subject of slavery are spreading in America. May they be increased in Great Britain, especially among those who should be examples to the flock!

"OUR FATHER."

"—As the little fellow walked by the side of my horse, I asked him if there was any Church that the slaves attended on Sunday. He said no, there was none near enough, and he had never seen one. I asked him if he knew where people went to when they died, and was much affected by the simple, earnest look with which he pointed to the sky, and said, 'to Fader dere.'"

Adam Hodgson.

Fiat Justitia Runt Cælum.

That dearest name! ay even thou, poor Slave,
 mayst lift thine eye,
 Nor dread a chilling glance of scorn will meet thee
 from the sky:
 Go bend the knee, and raise the soul, and lift thy
 hopes above,
 The God of Heaven is even to thee, a Father in
 his love,
 The earth-worn man, may crush thee down to
 slavery and shame,
 And in his puny pride, usurp a *Master's* haughty
 name,
 But He, Lord God, Omnipotent! disdaineth not
 to bear,
 A parent's cherished name to thee, to yield a pa-
 rent's care.
 And thou, with child-like confidence, may'st spring
 to his embrace,
 Nor shrink in shame before the glance of that pa-
 ternal face;
 Thou art not yet an ingratitude—thou hast not in
 thy pride
 Returned him falsehood for his love, his holiest laws
 defied.
 Thou never like a thief hast spoiled the nurslings
 of his fold,
 Thou ne'er hast given thy brother's form to be en-
 slaved and sold;
 No wrathful thunders seem to thee to clothe his
 vengeful arm,
 Nor fearful lightnings in his eye, awake thy wild
 alarm.
 O Father! oh how deeply dear that holy name
 should be—
 How should we love the meanest one who thus may
 call on Thee!
 And yet,—Thou just and righteous God! if Thou
 wert not our sire,
 How long since we had been swept away by thy con-
 suming ire.

MARGARET.

RICHARD HUMPHREYS.

We adverted to the Will of this philanthropist,
 in the last number of the Genius of Universal
 Emancipation. Below, we give an extract, which
 shows the benevolence and purity of his object.
 Such noble examples as this are deserving of imi-
 tation by every true christian patriot. May we
 indeed, hope that the time is approaching,
 when those who are blessed with an "abundance"
 of this world's treasures, will be more and more
 disposed to appropriate them to objects of this na-
 ture!

From the "Friend."

Extract from the Last Will of Richard Hum-
 phreys, deceased—

I give and bequeath unto my friends,
 John Yarnall, Thomas Wistar, Thomas Steward,
 Philip Garrett, Roberts Vaux, Thomas Ship-
 Daniel B. Smith, Lindsey Nicholson, Tho-
 Evans, Jasper Cope, John Paul, Charles Ro-
 and Samuel Mason, Jr. all of the city of
 Philadelphia, the survivors, and survivor of them,
 the executors and administrators of such sur-
 vivor, the sum of ten thousand dollars, lawful
 money of the United States of America, in trust,
 nevertheless, that they or he shall pay over the
 same to such benevolent society or institution, by
 whatever name it may be called, as shall then

be, or hereafter may be established, having for its
 object the benevolent design of instructing the
 descendants of the African race in school learn-
 ing, in the various branches of the mechanic arts
 and trade, and in agriculture, in order to prepare
 and fit and qualify them to act as teachers in such
 of those branches of useful business as in the
 judgment of the said society they may appear best
 qualified for; the said institution to be located not
 far distant from the city of Philadelphia, and to be
 under the care, management, and control of such
 persons only as are, or may be, members of the
 yearly meeting of the religious Society of Friends,
 commonly called Quakers, which has for many
 years past held, and still continues to hold its
 meetings, and transact its business in the Friends'
 Meeting-house, on Mulberry street, between
 Third and Fourth streets, in the said city; and I
 hereby direct the said Trustees to pay over the
 said legacy to the Treasurer for the time being
 of such society as aforesaid to be by such society
 applied to, and for the objects, uses, and purposes
 herein before specified: provided always never-
 theless, and upon this further trust and special
 confidence, that if no such society or institution
 as aforesaid under such care, management, and
 control as aforesaid, be established at the time of
 my decease, then I will and direct that the said
 trustees, or the survivors or survivor of them shall
 hold the said legacy in trust, and from time to
 time place the same out on interest, or invest the
 whole thereof in such productive stock, as they
 may think proper, for such term or terms as may
 appear to them best, during the period of seven
 years from the day of my decease, and if at the
 expiration of the said period of seven years from
 the day of my decease, no such society or institu-
 tion as aforesaid under such care, management,
 and control as aforesaid be established, then it is
 my will and earnest desire that they, the said
 trustees, or the survivors, or survivor of them,
 shall expend from time to time, or at one time,
 the whole of the aforesaid legacy, together with
 the interest that may have accrued thereon, (their
 reasonable charges attending the execution of the
 said trust being first deducted,) and in such way
 and manner as they in their discretion shall judge
 to be most beneficial and useful to the aforesaid
 description of persons, namely, the descendants of
 the African race, keeping in view my fervent
 wish and desire that so far as the said legacy and
 interest will go to attain those objects, such of that
 race as my said trustees may think proper may
 be so trained and educated, as to become fitted
 and qualified to become teachers and instructors
 in school learning, in the various branches of the
 mechanic arts and trades, and in agriculture, any
 thing herein before contained to the contrary
 thereof notwithstanding.

The donor, Richard Humphreys, was for many
 years an elder in the Friends' Society, in Phila-
 delphia. The legacy, for the education of color-
 ed people, is left in good hands, who will apply
 it judiciously, according to the intentions of the tes-
 tator; and we have no doubt but it will lead to
 the establishment of a Seminary for Colored
 Youth, in the vicinity of Philadelphia. May
 others, who have large estates to dispose of by
 will, "do likewise," and much good to the color-
 ed people, and to society at large, will grow out of
 it. We think that the neighborhood of Philadel-

phia would be a very eligible location for a Seminary for Colored Youth, on the Manual Labor System, and cannot but hope the liberal donation of Richard Humphreys will be the foundation of such an institution.

HIGHLY IMPORTANT FROM ENGLAND!

We have the most gratifying news from Great Britain. EIGHT HUNDRED THOUSAND WEST INDIA SLAVES are upon the eve of UNCONDITIONAL EMANCIPATION!!! The *vox populi* demands it. The *fiat* has, in effect, gone forth. "Glory to God in the highest—on earth peace—and good will to ALL men"—of whatever kindred, nation, or color.

We have barely room to state, that the latest arrivals from England bring the interesting information that the British Ministry have resolved to introduce a proposition in the new Parliament (now in session) for the total and unconditional abolition of slavery throughout the colonies of the empire, to be completed in *three years*. Next month we hope to have something further upon this very important subject.

The migration of colored people to Pennsylvania, it is believed, *will not be prohibited*. A committee in the Legislature have made a Report, touching that subject, which we shall notice in our next number.

TOWN OF BRAZORIA, LN TEXAS.

This town is situated on the Brazos river, which runs through the centre of Austin's Colony, not far from its mouth. It is a port of entry; and has now a good deal of trade with New Orleans, and other northern ports. Believing that a view of the present condition and future prospects of this village and the circumjacent country, would be acceptable to the reader, we insert the following extract from the "*Texas Gazette and Brazoria Commercial Advertiser*," a paper established there in April last, by G. B. M. Cotton. After a suitable introduction, the editor remarks:

"In January, 1829, this town was surveyed and laid off in forty-six squares, containing three hundred and ninety-six building lots, besides a number of out-lots, containing from three to ten acres each, nearly all of which are now cleared and fenced. There are now erected in different parts of the town, upwards of fifty dwelling houses and stores, and preparations are making, we believe, for adding very considerably to the number. A comfortable school-house has also been recently built, and is now under the charge of a gentleman, every way qualified by education and disposition to fill, with advantage, a situation so responsible and important. The number of permanent inhabitants now amount to about two hundred, and is steadily augmenting. Our commerce continues, also, to increase in a proportionable ratio with the growing prosperity of the country. Within the last six months fourteen vessels have arrived from

the United States of the north, mostly with full freights—and the produce of the neighboring plantations has generally been sufficient to lade them on their return. Cotton, hides, and peltries, form, as yet, our staple articles of export—but we trust the day is not far distant, when sugar, beef, pork, corn and timber, will be added to the list. Our soil and climate are such as to favor the cultivation of grain of every description.—Corn produces from forty to sixty bushels to the acre with very moderate tillage.—Cotton yields about five hundred pounds of clean per acre—and one hand will easily *teud ten acres*.—And as for cattle, no other country on the face of the globe is so well adapted to their natures:—our extensive prairies, in summer, and sheltering woods and brakes in winter, teeming with the most luxurious pasture, seem expressly fitted by the Creator for their great and rapid increase. In this country, *stock is to the farmer a mine of wealth!* growing in value, *even while he sleeps, without care and without expense.*

This is a hasty, but a faithful sketch of the present situation of our town and the adjacent country—and surely we have reason to congratulate ourselves on the view which it presents."

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

RICHARD BROOKE.

Richard Brooke left the land of his fathers, and came to America in the early period of manhood. After he had arrived at this destined home of nations, he experienced the same tender sensations of regret that others feel on leaving their native land, and often remembered the little local endearments that once were consciously his own.

When placed among scenes and objects that are altogether new, the mind has no resting place till it re-modifies itself, and institutes something like a new state of being, subject to different feelings, adapting itself to different circumstances and engaging in new, and untried pursuits. But misfortunes had interrupted this piancy of mine in Richard: they overtook him in his own country, and attended his sojourning here. A severe destiny seemed to spread a dark shade over his brightest prospects, which neither prudence nor fortitude could dissipate. These misfortunes resulted, not from the falling out of adventitious circumstances, but from a regular concatenation of events, arising from a special cause: as as this cause is centred in the peculiar situation in which he left his country, it will ultimately unfold itself in the tissue of the narrative. It is enough at present, to remark, that it was not for crime, not for treason, that he left his home, but for what virtue can highly commiserate.

After some time spent upon the seaboard, engaged in the service of a merchant, in one of our inland towns. His duties were performed with fidelity, though he experienced all the disadvantages that result from being placed in a sphere of society different from that which he had been accustomed to, as well as from engaging in an employment that was altogether new. He lived retired, sought but little acquaintance with the world, and spent his vacant hours, either in thoughtful secluded speculation, or in an occasional visit to the family of a friend, a countryman of his, who lived a few paces distant. His heart had not yet grown quite insensible to the sentiments of nature. As his intimacy increased, the eldest daughter of the family became an object of special interest. His visits increased, and the connection was eventually cemented by the marriage.

bond. This change of life brought him more directly in contact with the world: it extended his duties, it strengthened his affection, and, in some measure, wore off his pre-existing aptitude to gloom and despondency.

We need not relate the family events that transpired during his subsequent stay in this village. To him the current of worldly incidents had verified the truth of that sound moral sentiment, that *change is an attribute of man*:—the lapse of a few brief years found him a stranger west of the Alleghany ridge, and situated in a little cottage on the head waters of the Kenhawa river. This event happened but a few years after Col. Boone had forced the natives to relinquish their right of the country to the State government, and as they acceded to the stipulation upon the reluctant terms of necessity, they often took opportunity to violate it, and commit reprisals on the unwary backwoodsman.

Richard and Maria had now a young family rising around them. A new country affords many incentives to bodily and mental exertion, which those in a more secure, and less remote situation, hardly experience: the exigencies of a family are only supplied by toil and strict economy; and, added to this, their unexpected exposure in a frontier country called forth in Richard's mind, every solicitude for safety as well as support.—Very soon were his presentiments of danger brought to the test of reality. His home was broken up and its comforts all prostrated by ruthless hands. He, his wife, four sons and an infant daughter, were carried away, and exposed to a train of disasters, which, in comparison to the exigencies of our common lot, must be placed paramount in suffering and distress.

The spoilers, three in number, were on horseback; and for several successive days they hurried their prisoners forward, mostly through a wilderness country, and in many places without a track to direct their footsteps. One of the horses was appropriated to the service of carrying baggage, and the two youngest boys were placed on the back of the animal, and secured there, in the peculiar way of the owners: the two elder boys were urged forward on foot with no other assistance than the weak pittance of help that the parents could afford, for Maria had to carry her infant, and her husband a large burden of the spoil. Thus situated, and enduring the hardships of hunger and the inclemencies of day and night, they were brought to a small settlement near the mouth of the Big Sandy river, where measures were taken to locate the prisoners among the several families.

Hitherto we have seen our unfortunate little and participating in each others company, and imparting such solace and sympathy as the exigencies of their state could suggest; and even their interminglings of grief were a comparative comfort, when all their other worldly comforts had been taken away. But we now behold their little society broken up, and themselves subjected to the claims and caprices of different masters,—their spirits not ignobly subdued by misfortune, but restrained into compliance as the ultimate dictate of necessity.

Richard, with the two younger boys, were placed in the same family; Maria and her babe were taken about ten miles down the river to another settlement; and the two eldest boys made the third family division, being located together, a mile or two distant from their mother.

But even this was not the full measure of their

present family bereavement; for they had been there but a few days, when a party of traders came that way, bartered for the oldest boy, and carried him off. Their destiny was unknown,—his fate is equally so, as neither time nor circumstance has ever disclosed to the parents any tidings of their long lost child:—for him often did they look at sunset and at sunrise,—often did they listen in the stillness of the night, but his form never met their eye, and his returning footsteps they never heard.

One of the family has now made his final exit from the narrative: we will return to those that remain in prospect, and trace their vicissitudes in the land of the oppressor. Richard and Maria, as before mentioned, were separated several miles distant, principally to prevent them advising with each other, and laying plans for their future escape. They were vigilantly guarded by their masters, who kept them at their constant tasks of hoeing, planting, carrying wood, and other drudgeries; for the most degraded of mankind are the most oppressive, when they move under the impulses of lawless power.

In pursuing our history, it were useless to advert to the more common events that must naturally arise, for the picture may be filled up, but cannot be easily overwrought, when we imagine, that hunger, cold and abuse, with all the pains and privations resulting therefrom, are fully and emphatically implied in a consideration of the state in which we find the sufferers placed.

During the second summer of their captivity, the youngest boy, who still remained with the father, was taken of a slow disease, apparently induced by exposure and the want of a mother's care. No disposition was manifest by the master or his family to alleviate the pangs of infant suffering. After the day's toils were over, Richard spent the long night in attention to his afflicted charge, administering what comforts, and imparting what relief was in his power: but the only looked-for prospect of relief was in the friendly hand of death. In one of those watchful hours of the night season, he was interrupted by a female entering his dark hut, with a babe in her arms; who, to his astonishment and joy, proved to be the wife of his bosom, his forlorn, his afflicted Maria. She had been informed of the situation of her boy, and with all the characteristics of a mother, whose affections had become more ardent by being deprived of their object, had eloped from her master, equally regardless of the dangers of the way, and the penalty which was expected as the price of her disobedience. But little time was allowed to indulge in those spontaneous emotions that her unexpected presence had given birth to; and still less to recapitulate the sufferings they had endured in each others absence:—they were wholly engrossed in attention to their little boy:—every scanty resource was brought into action, every endearment was used to palliate: the rising sun witnessed their parental solicitude, but the short period of a few morning hours soon limited their exertions, and spread an increasing shade of terror over this interesting family scene. Before midday their hut was surrounded by her pursuers, and she was torn from her frantic husband, and from her sick boy, without the liberty of taking an affectionate farewell. Richard in less than a week witnessed the consummation of his child's suffering:—he did the last sad and solitary rite, by enclosing its remains in a little casement made with his own hands, and burying it under a large forest tree. (Conclusion next month.)

MEXICO.

We shall proceed *leisurely* with our notices of the state of things in Mexico. It is important, at this time, that the reader should be duly informed of the actual condition of the *Government*. With this view, we insert the following article from the "New Orleans Courier," of a recent date.

We have been favored with the sight of an official communication made to F. Pizaro Martinez, Mexican Consul in this city, by Senor Gonzales, Secretary of State, under the new Mexican administration, bearing date the 10th of January, 1833. We extract the following passages, as not without interest in the present position of Mexican affairs:

"The convention that has been entered into between the divisions under the command of their excellencies Don Anastasio Bustamente and Don Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, of which I transmit you copies, has happily placed a term to the evils of civil war. His Excellency Don Manuel Gomez Pedraza, in consequence of the same, took possession of the Chief Magistracy of the Republic, in the city of Puebla, and has since been recognized by all the authorities and corporations of this capital, and is in full exercise of the supreme executive power.

"The Republic, which has suffered all the evils of a disastrous and sanguinary war, and which anarchy threatened to annihilate, will again taste the sweets of peace, and give fresh impulse to all the branches of the public administration. His Excellency the President, who feels no other desire than that of beholding the complete re-establishment of the constitutional system, and of consolidating forever, public order and tranquillity, is employing all the means conducive to this end, not doubting but they will lead to the desired result, and that his efforts will be forwarded by Divine Providence.

"His Excellency also feels assured that all the agents of the Republic in the exterior, will, on their side, contribute to the establishment of its credit; and cause to disappear those unhappy prepossessions to which the state of inquietude which was seen to prevail there during the past year, may have given occasion. With this view, I am instructed to give notice to you of these events, that you may give due publicity to the same."

Every well wisher to the prosperity of Mexico must sincerely hope that the promises here held out by the newly installed President, may be happily realized. From all we have heard of the character and talents of Senor Pedraza, we are led to augur well for the future. That circumstances should have obliged him to quit his country, and deprive it for a long period of the benefit of his services, is matter of regret; and yet we hope it will be no presumption on our part to say, that a residence of two years in the United States will not be without its beneficial influence upon his political views and character.

By the latest mails from the South, we have the following intelligence. It is copied from a Philadelphia paper—

"Accounts have been received by private correspondence from New Orleans, conveying intelligence from the capital of Mexico to the 30th of January.

The state of the country is represented to have been at that date in a high degree gratifying to

the friends of liberty and order. Certain difficulties which had been apprehended had ceased to threaten; and the government of Pedraza had become more universally popular and successful than its warmest advocates had anticipated.

The roads between the capital and the sea coast were deemed safe, and, besides the convoy of a million of dollars which reached Tampico according to previous accounts, one of a much larger amount, (viz. \$2,300,000,) was on the way, and expected there in a few days, while a third one of very considerable value might reach Vera Cruz about the first of March.

The elections had taken place in the State of Mexico and the Federal District, entirely in favor of the patriotic cause."

THE RICHMOND ENQUIRER, AND LOUISVILLE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

These papers have exerted a considerable degree of influence in their respective sections of the United States; and, until recently, both were loud in their denunciations of the advocates of universal emancipation. The editor of the latter, though a lineal descendant of the celebrated *William Penn*, (whose family name he bears,) read us some censorious strictures a few years ago. But as the people of Kentucky, as well as those of Virginia, are beginning to see the evils of slavery, and speak of them too, he seems inclined, like his prototype at Richmond, to cast about for an excuse to turn a summerset. He copied the following extract from the remarks of the late governor Miller, of South Carolina, on the defection of the *Enquirer*, some short time since:—

"There was a time when, whatever appeared in that paper, (one of the most influential and widely circulated papers in the southern country,) might be considered as indicating the temper of the south. That time has gone by. We were wont to look upon Richmond as the *West Point*—the strong post on our frontier—mounted by the *Enquirer*, under whose battery we reposed with safety and security. But such is not the case now. While our old men and women, and little children, rested in safety by day, and in security by night, in defiance of southern interest, and southern feeling, the sentinel on the wall, with unequalled perfidy, recreant and traitorous, turned his fire upon his own people, and as far as he could, spread desolation in his own camp. He is the survivor of *Nat. Turner*, and the confederate of *Lundy* and *Garrison*."

Shadrach Penn cannot swallow this! He censures gov. Miller somewhat unsparingly,—from which we infer that *he, too*, is about to join the ranks of the "*Fanatics*." O *Public Opinion*! be potent art thou! The sturdiest politicians be before thee. At thy bidding, they assume the various hues of the chameleon—nothing too inconsistent—nothing too ridiculous—nothing too bad and (may we not hope?) *nothing too good*, for that if they have *thy magisterial sanction*!!

Ladies' Repository.

Philanthropic and Literary.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

SOCIETY AT GREEN PLAINS, OHIO.

We lately mentioned that a Free Produce Association had been organized, at the above named place. It is with pleasure we insert the following extract of a letter from the Corresponding Committee to a similar Committee of the Ladies' Free Produce Society, in Philadelphia. Orders accompanied this communication, for a considerable quantity of free cotton goods, which we are happy to learn will be supplied.

DEAR FRIENDS:

Your kind letter, dated 24th of 12th mo. came duly to hand, and to us was very acceptable, not only on account of the door which appears to be open for us to procure the conveniences of life free from the stain of our brother's blood, but acceptable also on account of the sympathetic and encouraging language which it holds forth.

Although there are a considerable number whose minds appear to be somewhat awakened to the subject, yet how few are willing to endure privations or to make sacrifices rather than in any degree to lend their aid to the odious system? It is consoling, however, that there are even a few, (and that number increasing,) to whom the sweets of the cane, cultivated amid sighs and tears, have become loathsome; and whom gorgeous apparel, purchased at the price of blood, hath become a burden too heavy to be borne. But there appears to be too many, who even wish well to the cause, that seem to be, as it were, standing at a distance, in order to see *what can be done by others*. The number, here, who are prepared to join together in this important concern, is very small. Dear friends, let your prayers ascend to Heaven, on our behalf,—that, by a consistent walking, we may be enabled to evince to those, who are looking on, that we have espoused a righteous cause, and to show to all around us that there is no necessity of strengthening the hand of the oppressor, by partaking of those *worse than stolen goods*."

ANOTHER PHILANTHROPIC ASSOCIATION.

By the following extract of a letter, from its Corresponding Secretary to Lydia White, of Philadelphia, we find that *another* Anti-Slavery Society has lately been organized in the State of Ohio. These are, indeed, cheering news to the friends of our cause.

"Harrisville, Harrison Co. Ohio, }
3d mo. 10th, 1833. }

RESPECTED FRIEND:

We are informed, through the medium of the 'Genius of Universal Emancipation,' that thou art engaged in the sale of dry goods, that have not been obtained through the labor of slaves. The object of this communication is, to get information on the subject, for the benefit of a Society, that has recently been formed in this place to prohibit the use of goods that have not come through the hands of oppression, and to diffuse such information on the subject of slavery as will have a

tendency to open the eyes of the community to the enormity of the system in all its bearings. The Society is designated by the name of the 'Harrisville Free Produce and Anti-Slavery Society.' I have been directed, as its Corresponding Secretary, to write to thee, and endeavor to ascertain whether thee can furnish us with the following articles, viz. Brown and Bleached Shirtings, Calicoes of plain patterns, Checks, Cotton Flannels, Table Diapers, Cotton Yarn, of pretty fine No's. We should like to be furnished with a list of the articles thee may have for sale, with the prices annexed. If we had *this*, we could tell better what we should wish to send for.

Any information thee may be able to give us on this (to us) interesting subject, will be thankfully received. We think thy undertaking a laudable one, and hope thee will be sustained."

THE SPECTRE SHIP.

That phantom ship whose form
Shoots like a meteor through the storm.

* * * * *

Full spread and crowded every sail
The demon-frigate braves the gale.

Rokeby.

There are probably few of our readers who have not heard of that superstition of the sailors, the Spectre Ship, the crew of which, as a punishment for their crimes, are compelled forever to navigate the seas, towards the South of Africa, and whose ill-omened appearance attends only the awakened wrath of "the Stormy Spirit of the Cape." In a note on the above lines from Rokeby, Sir Walter Scott, (the quenched Star of literature,) has introduced some fine lines by Dr. Leyden, with the following remarks:

"My late lamented friend, Dr. John Leyden, has introduced this phenomenon into his scenes of infancy, imputing, with poetical ingenuity, the dreadful judgment to the first ship which commenced the Slave trade.

Stout was the ship from Benin's palmy shore,
That first the freight of bartered captives bore;
Bedimmed with blood, the Sun with shrinking
beams

Beheld her bounding o'er the ocean streams;
But ere the Moon her silver horns had reared,
Amid the crew the speckled plague appeared.
Faint and despairing on their watery bier,
To every friendly shore the sailors steer;
Repelled from port to port, they sue in vain,
And track with slow unsteady sail the main,
Where ne'er the bright and buoyant wave is seen,
To streak with wandering foam the sea weeds green,
Towers the tall mast, a lone and leafless tree,
'Till self-impelled amid the waveless sea,
Where Summer breezes ne'er were heard to sing,
Nor hovering snow-birds spread the downy wing.
Fixed as a rock amid the boundless plain,
The yellow stream pollutes the stagnant main,
Till far through night the funeral flames aspire,
As the red lightning smites the ghastly pyre.

Still doomed by fate, on weltering billows rolled,
Along the deep their restless course to hold,
Scenting the storm the shadowy sailors guide,
The prow with sails opposed to wind and tide.
The Spectre Ship in livid glimpsing light,
Glares baleful on the shuddering watch of night,
Unblest of God and man!—Till time shall end
Its view strange horror to the storm shall lend."

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

LAMENT FOR AFRICA.

How long! shall injured Africa mourn! how long
Of wrongs yet unredressed complain! of wrongs
Unmerited, and unprovoked, wherefore,
On her oppressors head, will ever hang
A double guilt! How long in servile chains,
Must thousands of her daughters pine! how long,
How long, her sons in cruel bondage groan!
Must she, disconsolate, for ages mourn
Her degradation; see her strength consumed;
Her beauty fade to fill the "white man's" purse;—
She, who in years past, reigned a mighty queen,
Whose glory dazzled an admiring world?
In strength secure she sat, dispensing laws
To neighb'ring nations: from her happy shores,
The golden streams of art and science flowed,
Illum'ning benighted Europe. Oh how changed!
How is the mighty fallen! Great, indeed,
Has been her fall. Now ignorance and crime
Stalk, unrestrained, where once fair science beam-

ed:
The land is drenched with human gore, with
blood

Of her own sons, untimely slain—slain too,
By brothers hands in civil strife, at will
Of white men waged, who thus to sate their thirst
For filthy lucre set a price on blood!
Shall it be ever thus? No, *it cannot*.
E'en now I see Freedom's star appear!
O'er Africa, it has risen—soon the day
Will dawn; the sun arise; her light and strength
Return; in brighter lustre shining forth,
Increased, and heightened by her long eclipse.

EDNA.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE TEARS OF WOMAN.

*An Allegory.**

The Angel of Justice stood before the throne of
the Most High. Father, said she, behold the
creatures whom thou hast made. Lo! the chil-
dren of earth have lifted up their hearts to oppres-
sion, their hands are full of wrong and violence,
and they have laden their brother with heavy fet-
ters, that he might be to them a bondman forever.
I called unto them—I warned them of the evil of
their way, but they refused to hearken to my
voice; give me, therefore, my sword, oh Father!
that I may smite them from before thy face.

Oh not yet, my sister! exclaimed the pleading
tones of a sweet voice:—and the young Angel of
Philanthropy bowed himself beside her, and look-
ed up from the midst of his fair curls with a face
filled with beseeching earnestness. Not yet, be-
loved sister, said he, do thou unsheath thy sword
for vengeance. I will descend to the earth by thy
side, and plead with the erring one for his unhap-
py brother. I will win for thee an offering of
penitence from the hearts of the guilty, and with
thy blade break asunder the heavy fetters of the
slave. The eyes of the beautiful boy were suf-
fused with tears while he addressed her, and
Mercy bent over him as he turned towards the
heavenly throne, joining her appealing glance to
his petition.

It was well nigh to eventime. The sunlight
fell in yellow gleamings through the branches on

*This article was inserted, originally, in the
G. U. E. some time since; but is now republished
by particular request.

the gliding waves of the stream beside which the
Angel of Justice stood leaning on her empty scab-
bard.—She was watching with a calm eye the
eager and untiring efforts of Philanthropy, as he
strove to free the shackled limbs of a sad group
who wept before him.—He called on man to aid
him in his exertions. He pointed to the threaten-
ing attitude of Justice, as she lifted up her stately
brow and stretched out her hand with a stern
glance towards the sun, whose setting was to be
her signal. But prejudice and selfishness were
strong in the human heart, and they to whom the
earnest appeal was sent, gazed on idly for a few
moments, and departed. Already the hand of
Justice was extended to resume her blade, and her
eye bent in lowering anger on the impenitent op-
pressor. Yet still the unwearied boy, with the
passionate earnestness of approaching despair,
steadily persisted in his exertions, though his eye
at times grew dim, and his heart sick, as his re-
peated entreaties were again and again answered
by the same cold repulse. Then he called on
woman. He pointed to her sister—suffering—
degraded—miserable—and stretching out her
manacled hands to her for succor. The call was
heard. Slowly, and with uncertain steps, and
eyes half averted from the sad spectacle before her,
woman approached him. Her heart was touched
with the wrongs of the injured ones, but she felt
that her arm was weak, and her strength powerless,
and bowing down her head, she wept in pity and
sorrow over the objects of her compassion. But her
aid was not in vain. The tears she shed rusted the
chains on which they fell!—and the exulting shout
of the young Angel, as he again snatched up the
sword of Justice, rung like a victorious battle cry
upon the ear of the oppressor. MARGARET.

Selected for the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

SONNET.

Oh, he is worn with toil! the big drops run
Down his dark cheek! hold—hold thy merciless
hand,
Pale tyrant! for beneath thy hard command
O'er wearied nature sinks. The scorching sun
As pitiless as proud Prosperity
Darts on him his full beams; gasping he lies,
Arraigning with his looks the patient skies,
While that inhuman trader lifts on high
The mangling scourge. O! ye who at your ease
Sip the blood-sweetened beverage, thoughts like
these

Haply ye scorn. I thank thee gracious God!
That I do feel upon my cheek the glow
Of indignation, when beneath the rod,
A sable brother writhes in silent woe.

Robert Southey.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

MEMORY.

"Often does the memory of former times come
like the evening sun on my soul."

"We call back, maid of Lutha, the years that
have rolled away." *Ossian*.

Blessed memory! that double life! Who would
pass from the reach of its cheering influence
Who so dull of soul as to wish to forget the past
with its fostered sorrows, but still glowing in
piness? And now, while yon sun sends back
his mellowed glory from the curtaining
like a visible gleam of memory's own bright-
ness,—while yon glorious star, whose pure
diance trembles on his departing footsteps, has

like a holy thought, on the brow of the pearly sky,—now is the time to unfold the pages of her wizard volume, and to live again the hours that have gone by.

Friends of the Slave! amidst the memory of your own past hours of happiness, let them come stealing in the thought of his wretchedness. He to whom yon star brings no remembrances of unalloyed delight, whose destiny hath been ever one of unvaried sorrow. What is bright memory, or still brighter hope, to his clouded bosom? Oh, let it be yours to awaken these bright beams for future years. To strike the shackles from his limbs, that he may look back, with never dying rapture and gratitude, after the lapse of rolling seasons, to the wild bliss of that moment. That he may look forward with exulting delight on the brightening prospect before him, and forget in the joy of freedom and happiness, the injustice that so long crushed him to the earth.

FANNY.

From the Liberator.

ARE YOU OPPOSED TO SLAVERY!

Are you opposed to slavery? then neither 'touch, taste, nor handle,' the price of blood. Do you ask, 'How can I do this, seeing many of the comforts of life are the product of their labor?' Go to work—form Societies, pledging each member neither to buy, sell, nor use slave productions: get as many to join you in the effort as you can: and when it is seen that men are taking such a stand, FREE LABOR will become as *fashionable* at the south as in our own state; and *cotton, rice, sugar, molasses, &c. &c.* will be furnished to equal the demand, produced by *free men*. Let the benevolent *rich men*, (and there is an occasional anomaly of the kind) establish manufactories to work none but *free cotton*—establish warehouses and stores for the sale of their goods and other free productions—and the *poor* will bear a proportion of the loss for awhile, should there be any, in purchasing at the small additional cost that may accrue there-

by. This is the way. Call the idea 'chimerical,' or what else you please—your conscience will hold you to its correctness.

Some of the articles, commonly produced by slave labor, are already to be had by a little trouble, with which the tears and blood of the oppressed are not mingled. And it is for us to call for them. We can get *some sugar, molasses, coffee, a little cotton, and, perhaps, rice,*—raised by free men. And should we fail to get *enough*, no matter at how low a rate the slave articles may be procured, *do without*.

But I live in the country; I can get none of these things unless such as *were* raised by slaves. When it is time something was done. Stop where you are for humanity's, for conscience sake! Is oppression wrong? Is slavery an evil—a crime!—Could you

"Have a slave to *fan* you when you sleep,
And *tremble* when you wake?"

The man who secretes or partakes of stolen goods is ranked with the thief, and punished with the thief. Would you *not* secrete stolen property and *will* you perpetuate slavery, by using the price of blood? Does your *appetite* rise in opposition to your better judgment, reason, and conscience, and reply—'What have I to do with the labor by which the articles I want are produced?' Hear not its depraved and guilty demands, lest it *drive* thy opposition to slavery far

from thee; lest it compel thee to smile, while the unfortunate descendant of Africa is loaded with chains and stripes; lest it make thee willing to oppress thy fellow for a *cup of coffee, a little sugar, molasses, or rice!* Ay, and it may be, that while you are *professing religion*—that which requires us to 'do unto others as we would they should do unto us.' What is past we may have done in ignorance; even so that it hath been *winked at*—but God now commandeth *all men every where* to repent of this, as well as other wrongs. Whatever was done in that darkness may not be persisted in: the excuse is *now* taken away. See to it that you *go to work*.

ANTI-SLAVERY.

EXTRACT FROM THE FIFTH REPORT OF THE LADIES' ASSOCIATION FOR LIVERPOOL AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD, IN AID OF THE CAUSE OF NEGRO EMANCIPATION.

"It is now five years since the LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION was formed. Its object and its progress have regularly been brought before the friends and subscribers, to whom it owes its support.

The Committee have uniformly expressed their regret, and are on this occasion also compelled to do so, that they are not more effective in awakening and in strengthening an interest on the subject of Negro Slavery. Their power of aiding this important, this christian cause, is consequently very limited. There are many local impediments to the efforts of the Liverpool Ladies' Association; but as these are neither more, nor greater, than were recognised at its commencement, there is cause for disappointment that it has not been more successful. With this admission, however, the Committee would state, that the longer they continue in the work, the more they are satisfied they were right to engage in it; and they enter on another year with sanguine expectations that the united endeavors of Associations will become more and more efficient;—that, while individual Societies each lament their own incompetence, *all* may rejoice in the aggregate result produced.

There are two ways in which the efforts of Ladies' Associations are chiefly directed;—the one, that of collecting funds for aiding the important researches and investigations of the London Society; the other, that of spreading the authentic information obtained by that Society, along with some of the various publications which appear from time to time, exhibiting the subject in its true character. In the form of Delineations of Slavery, Appeals, Remonstrances, Sermons, &c., there are many publications emanating from minds deeply impressed with the subject, and solicitous to convey to others a sense of the responsibility with which a consideration of it should ever be accompanied. Merely to *disperse* tracts and papers of this nature is, indeed, a very humble office, and appears a very inadequate means of promoting the desired object. But that it has been a useful auxiliary in the cause, is evident, from the extent of information now in the country, compared with that of which it was in possession three or four years since.

"Though little has yet been *realized* as to the melioration of the condition of the Slaves, there is, at the present moment, a prospect of improvement, and of an alleviation of evils, which has never hitherto been afforded; arising from the orders in council, recently sent out to the Crown Colonies, with directions for their early adoption."

WILBERFORCE COLONY.

We had intended further to notice the state of things at the Wilberforce Settlement, in this number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. But we find a statement in the "*Niagara Courier*," of Lockport, N. Y., which will be sufficient to acquaint the public therewith; and though we might enter much more into a detail of facts and circumstances, we forbear at present. Arthur Tappan, of New York, asserts, that Israel Lewis has obtained upwards of *fifteen hundred dollars*, at different times, in that city, for the Colony, of which he has paid over to the treasurer *short of one hundred dollars*, and refuses to account for more!

ED. G. U. E.

From the *Niagara Courier*.

TO THE PUBLIC.

A few weeks since, we inserted a notice from the Managers of the *Wilberforce Colony* of Colored People in Upper Canada, cautioning the public against paying any money, intended for the use of that settlement, to Israel Lewis, the former Agent, as he has been removed, and another appointed in his place. Since the publication of this notice, we have seen a paragraph in the *Utica Elucidator*, contradicting that statement, and representing Lewis as still the Agent of the Colony, and withal a much persecuted man. The tenor of the paragraph also inclines us to suspect that Lewis is still continuing to collect money ostensibly for the use of that interesting settlement.

In view of the facts above alluded to, we deemed it our duty to make inquiries respecting the whole subject, and we give below the result—premising that the statement rests on the authority of *Austin Steward*, a colored man of the first respectability, well known in Rochester, where he resided a number of years, as a man of integrity and property. He is President of the Board of Managers of the Wilberforce Colony—and was so when Lewis was appointed agent.

It seems, from the information which we have obtained, that Lewis's management and neglect to account in detail for many collections, and his refusal to pay over money contributed for the use of the Colony, created much dissatisfaction, and would have caused his removal from the Agency the year previous to the time it actually took place, but for the interposition of Mr. Steward. Lewis then pledged himself to reform and to account honorably for all money received by him—and accordingly the disaffected members of the Colony agreed to overlook the errors which they supposed him to have committed. He received new vouchers, and again went on a mission. The result was the same. He did not account for the money he received, and the Colony came to the determination to dismiss him. He was dismissed, and the Rev. JAMES SHARPE, a man of sterling integrity and economical habits, appointed in his place. But Lewis refused to surrender the vouchers which had been given him on his promise of reformation—and with these, we suppose, he is practising his deceptions upon the benevolent. But we state it as a fact, for the benefit of the public, and to guard against their being cheated, that Israel Lewis is not now, and has not for a long time past, been an agent, in any shape, for the Wilberforce Colony of Upper Canada—and request editors generally to make known this fact, that the public may not be imposed upon.

In making this statement, justice requires we should state another fact, which is, that a few

members of the Colony have constituted Lewis their Agent to issue and sell certificates of stock for an *Academy*. So far as he acts in this capacity, he is certainly duly authorised: but he is not the *Agent of the Wilberforce Colony*—and as an act of justice to worthy colored people, who are endeavoring to form a settlement in Canada, whither the persecuted of their race may bend their steps, we request such papers as may have given Lewis's statement a place in their columns, to give this *positive* contradiction an insertion also. If Lewis confines himself to the collection of funds to erect an Academy, he is certainly not chargeable with a fraud—but he has no other authority to pass himself off as an agent of the Colony, than the vouchers which he improperly and illegally refused to give up, when he was superseded by a new agent. The public should note the distinction here pointed out.

In making this statement, we have no other object in view, than to guard the benevolent against imposition, and to aid a praiseworthy undertaking. We would insinuate no other charges against Lewis than those plainly noted above. He may be strictly honest—but at the same time it must be stated, that he is wasteful and extravagant in the extreme, and seems not to know the value of money.

Mexico. A late Tampico paper, received at New Orleans, contains the annunciation of the retirement of Gen. Santa Anna, who sat out the 21st of January from Victoria, (the city of the confederation,) for his estate, Manga Clara "having published a despatch the day before, in which, after strenuously recommending obedience and submission to the constitutional laws, he promulgated his determination to exchange the sword for the plough, provided liberty marched firmly on in her course." This is the *true course* and if Santa Anna adheres to it, he deserves well of his country and of posterity.

*Pennsylvania Inquirer.***Terms of Subscription**

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GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

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"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.—Declaration of Independence, U. S.

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The editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* is again from home. He expects to be absent but a short time,—perhaps four or five months. Competent persons have been engaged to conduct the work; and arrangements have been made which, it is hoped, will ensure its regular publication, until his return. Matters of *public importance*, alone, could induce him to leave his post, at this interesting period; and he hopes to be able to satisfy his friends and patrons on that score. He will still write for the work, occasionally;—but it will be, mainly, under the charge of a few friends, who have given proofs of their capability to manage it well, and their devotedness to the important cause which it advocates.

THE REV. GEN. DUFF GREEN.

This religio political and military "fanatic," continues to pour forth the "vials" of his wrath and vituperation against the advocates of Universal Emancipation. During the discussion of the "Missouri Question," he signa'ized himself in the same way. The writer of this knows something of the *guant wolf*, who has, at various periods, arrayed himself in the Lamb's and Lion's skins;—and when *leisure will permit*, he shall be handled "without mittens." As respects the *system of slavery*, whoever may be its abettors, we adopt the Roman maxim—"Delenda est Carthago."

MEXICO.

By the latest accounts from this interesting country, we learn that *Santa Anna* has been chosen President. He was the intimate friend of *Guerro*. Neither have been considered as "white men" by their opponents. Their blood possessed a tinge of the *native Mexican*, of which they might well be proud;—and the haughty Dons, in the hey-day of their power, looked upon them as their inferiors. The times have changed; and power is now in the hands of those who were once despised. If they use it properly, (which it is hoped they will,) a wonderful revolution in American politics is at hand. All is now quiet there. Liberal principles prevail; and the elements of political commotion are hushed. We shall, ere long, receive our notices of the regulations relative to Mexican Colonization, &c.

CULTURE OF SUGAR-CANE BY FREE LABOR.

The *Long Island Inquirer* states, on the authority of a correspondent, "that Mr. Wirt, late Attorney General of the United States, has purchased

a large tract of land in Florida, for the purpose of cultivating the sugar-cane. Instead of employing slaves, as is usual for such labor, he has made an arrangement with several hundred German emigrants, who go on to Mr. Wirt's estate under the charge of Lieut. Goldsborough. This may be considered a good beginning, and may in time be the means of substituting free white labor where slaves only have hitherto been employed."

An experiment of this kind, will be vastly important to our country. But far more important still, would be an arrangement to cultivate the cane, in that Territory, by *free colored men*. An attempt of this nature would, we have not a shadow of doubt, be worth more than all the *foreign schemes and systems of operations yet devised*. William Wirt has it now in his power to *immortalize himself* (as did Sir Joshua Steele) by a regulation for the employment of colored men, as well as whites. Will he not thus improve the opportunity to set one of the most noble examples that has ever yet been witnessed in our southern country, that of proving the *safety and advantage* of cultivating the cane in our southern States by the labor of white and free colored men?

PROCEEDINGS IN ENGLAND.

We watch, with intense anxiety, the proceedings of the British Parliament, relative to the abolition of slavery in the West Indies. It is evident, that the great event is nearly unfolded. A little *postponement* may be expected, to enable the government, as well as the planters, to be fully prepared for it. Nothing very important has been done in the matter, that we have yet heard of, since the publication of our last number. Several interviews have taken place between the Ministry and the "West India body," (the latter are the agents of the slave holders,) which resulted in the decided expression of a determination, on the part of the government, to adopt speedy and effective measures for the total extinction of the horrible institution, and for the establishment of equality among the people of the colonies, without distinction of color.

Among the extracts from London periodicals, touching this important subject, we find the following in the newspapers of this country.—

From the Morning Herald.

It is generally current in the city, that the West India deputation, at the recent interview with Lord Goderich, did not have any actual measure placed before them, but were required to furnish their opinions upon certain subjects relative to the slaves, which they have since sent in. The

intended plan of ministers is, however, rumored to be—1st. The immediate abolition of slavery in the colonies. 2nd. The compensation to the slave owner, at a fixed rate per head, for every slave. 3d. The raising of a loan for such compensation, to be paid off in thirty years. 4th. The manumitted slave to be compelled by the magistrates to work five days out of the seven, except when in crop time, when they would work for six days. 5th. Two days' amount of wages to be paid into the compensation fund, it being considered the remaining three or four days, as the case may be, as to in-crop-or-not, would be sufficient for the support of the slave. It is said the West India body are anxious to learn the extent of the compensation, upon which their approval will mainly rest. We give the above without vouching for its correctness, merely stating it has been mentioned in respectable circles.

Thursday, March 7.—In the Lords, last night, Lord Suffield presented some petitions for the abolition of negro slavery, observing that he should present others in a few days, and that the abolition was irresistible.

Mr. F. Buxton corrected an erroneous impression of what had resulted from remarks of the Marquis of Chandos, on a previous night. Mr. Buxton said he had not withdrawn his notice respecting the abolition of negro slavery. The original notice was conditional, to depend on the proceedings of ministers. If they proposed no measure, he should not abandon his motion. He declared that no measure would be effective that did not propose entire and immediate abolition of negro slavery. He observed that it was rumored there was an end of the negotiations between the ministers and the West India body; he trusted such was not the fact—he had some reason for believing it was not; at the same time he implored that body not to lose this opportunity of settling the question, feeling persuaded that servile war must result from delay.

The following is the last notice of the subject that we have received from the English papers. It is extracted from the proceedings of the House of Lords, of the 19th ultimo.

On Mr. F. Buxton being called upon by the speaker,

Lord Althorp said he had to request his honorable friend not to bring forward the motion of which he had given notice, respecting colonial slavery, at the present moment. As ministers had intimated their intention of preparing some measure on this subject, he thought that the Hon. member could not do any thing more advantageous to the question itself than to postpone his motion, until he heard what were the plans his majesty's ministers had in contemplation.

Mr. F. Buxton said that no gentleman was more conscious than himself, that it would be far better that this great question should be taken up by the government than by any individual member of that house, and he was ready on the present moment to postpone his motion upon two conditions,—1st, that ministers would be prepared with a plan for the entire and immediate extinction of slavery; and 2d, that they would name the day that they would introduce the plan to the house. It was indispensable that the question should be settled in the present session, and by that house, or it would be settled in another place in a far more disastrous way. Therefore, however obstinate he might appear, and however pain-

ful it might be for him to resist the requests, both public and private, which had been made to postpone the question, he felt compelled to proceed at once with the motion, unless government fixed a day on which they would be prepared to explain their plans with respect to colonial slavery.

Lord Althorp said it was impossible for him to comply with one of the conditions mentioned by the hon. member; but with respect to the other—that government should fix a day on which they would bring forward their question—he certainly had no objection to state that government would be prepared on Tuesday, the 23d of April, to state the views they took on the subject.—Of course he could not at the present time state what the plans were which his majesty's government had in contemplation.

Mr. F. Buxton said, that in reference to the words "entire and immediate extinction of slavery," as used by him, he perhaps had expressed himself rather unguardedly, because one of the great objects he had in view was the safe and satisfactory settlement of the question. With the promises given by the noble Lord he was perfectly content, and should therefore withdraw his motion.

SENTIMENTS OF THE COLORED PEOPLE.

It is understood that William Lloyd Garrison, editor of the "Liberator," has been appointed by the New England Anti-Slavery Society, to proceed to Europe, with the view of soliciting pecuniary aid in establishing a *Manual Labour School for Coloured Youth*, in this country. He will also endeavour to give correct information to our friends in England, respecting the various plans of operation among the advocates of emancipation here. At a large and very respectable meeting of colored people in Philadelphia, on the 1st inst. sundry resolutions were passed, expressive of the sense of those present, in relation to these objects, and also of the highly important movements of the English philanthropists and statesmen, at the present period. Our limits are too contracted to insert the whole of the interesting proceedings of this meeting: but, to give our readers an idea of the general intelligence, the literary acquirement, the noble sentiments, and exalted views, that mingled with those proceedings, we copy the following speech, delivered by one of the members. If we make a little allowance for the high strain of eulogy, as applied to some of the actors on the stage of philanthropy, it may safely be said that its eloquent display of learning, talent and patriotism, would have done honour to the most distinguished orator in the best days of Rome. *Such* are the people who are degraded by the tyranny of our *laws!* such are they, by nature and education, whose cause we advocate.

MR. PRESIDENT,—If there was ever a time, or an occasion, when the highest, noblest and best feelings of the human heart should be called into full life and vigor, it is at this time—it is on this occasion. We come, Mr. President, to join in our sentiment, to pour forth in one common strain, the

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

feelings and gratitude of our people. We are about to perform an act which opens one of the brightest epochs in the history of our character. We are about to present to the noble, fearless and unwearied combatants against tyranny and oppression, the pure and unmixed tribute of gratitude, from the altar of our hearts, and may I not say in the prayers and blessings of our people, upon the heads of a Clarkson, a Wilberforce, a Stuart, a Cropper, a Buxton, a Brougham, a Thompson, a Lushington, and others eminent for their good works, not forgetting, (though I mention him last, I do not mean him least,) an O'Connell. On what page, Mr. President, in the history of nations, can be found men more illustrious? Was there ever more virtue or honour embodied in more noble, more generous, more undaunted men? The eloquence of a Demosthenes, or a Cicero, never can produce that harmony and sweetness, which delights and gratifies the soul, like the eloquence of those who plead the cause of suffering humanity. The exploits of an Alexander, a Caesar, or a Napoleon, are trivial, when brought to bear against the achievements of the living philanthropists of the day. So fearless are they, Sir, in the prosecution of their work of benevolence and humanity, and so hallowed are the purposes of their hearts, that the threats of a Nero cannot intimidate them; the riches of a Cræsus cannot affect the honour and integrity of such men; their deeds and their names are but one, for neither can recur to the mind without associating the other;—every act of their lives proves their virtue and philanthropy;—in fine, Sir, they are destined to receive the admiration of the world, so long as there are votaries to religion and virtue; for says the Poet,

"They never fail, who die in a great cause,
The block may soak their gore;
Their heads may sodden in the sun;
Their limbs be strung to city gates, and castle walls;
But still their spirit walks abroad!"—

But, Mr. President, shall we say nothing of those in our own country! Have we, Sir, no spots flag of philanthropy, floating in the pure air of Heaven? Have we no Stars shining thereon, as brilliant as those across the mighty Atlantic? Can we register no names, as being synonymous with virtue and philanthropy? We can, Sir. Ours are the joy and the satisfaction to know, and to say, that there is amongst us a veteran, a pioneer in the glorious cause of Abolition. We have, Sir, the Clarkson of America—we have a Lundy. We have the fire and zeal of an O'Connell, in our worthy and beloved Garrison. We have the cool, deliberate, logical powers of a Wilberforce, as represented in a Buffum. And the aptness, wit and biting sarcasm of a Snelling, bear no bad resemblance to the bitter distillations of a Thompson. But, where, Sir, can be found an American martyr? In whom may be found those virtues which live within and nourish the soul of that philanthropist? Why, Sir, the same virtuous spirit, the same holy spirit glows within and animates a man, who, like Stuart, (in regard to his piety,) possesses the faith of an Abraham, the meekness of a Moses, the patience of a Job, and the zeal of a Paul. He is no other than Simeon Jocelyn. We have others, who, like the rest, must forever be embedded in the warm affections of the heart of every man of colour, who is alive to his interest, a friend to his cause, and true to himself. Turn our attention to New England,

and we behold a picture indeed cheering. See the benevolence and the philanthropy, that have been there awakened. See, Sir, the mighty success that has followed the efforts of those whose sympathies are enlisted in our behalf. See, Sir, that firmament—I mean a moral, civil and political firmament—which, but as yesterday, presented the terrific and awful aspect of despair and desolation—upon which there could not be descried one star of light, to cheer, to guide, or console the heart of the man of colour—now exhibiting a thousand, all verging to one point, and which will, at no distant period, form one bright and glorious Sun of Righteousness and Truth, whose beams will illumine the minds of our people, and create within them a spirit and a desire which will be the sure and successful adversary of tyranny and its evil attendants. Are we not emboldened, Mr. President, from the present blessed reality of things, to tear the veil from futurity, and behold with rapturous delight that ascension, which, although we may not be permitted to enjoy it,—although our vision may not behold that glorious and blessed sight—although our bodies may then be mingled with the clod from which we sprang,—and our souls, I hope, enjoying the sweet and everlasting light of Heaven—yet, Sir, assuredly, most assuredly, those who come after us, and of us, shall have the full enjoyment.

WHOLESALE FREE PRODUCE STORE.

We are gratified to learn that *Joseph H. Beale*, a Merchant, in New York, has opened a WHOLESALE STORE, for the *Productions of Free Labor*. We have had some acquaintance with him, and cheerfully recommend him to the patronage of our friends. He has long been engaged in foreign trade, upon an extensive scale, and has influential connexions abroad. He has recently imported a quantity of RICE, from the East Indies, some of which is for sale at the Retail Stores of Charles Collins, New York, and Zebulon Thomas, Philadelphia. He will deal, solely, in articles, the production of *free labor*, (both Groceries and Dry Goods,) as above mentioned; and full confidence may be placed in his intelligence, integrity, and attention to the business in which he is engaged. His establishment is located at No. 71, *Fulton St. New York*.

Attention is asked to the notice for a Meeting of a Convention, on our last page. Some of the newspapers have misrepresented its objects. It does not advocate the colonization of the colored people, *as a body*, any where.

For the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.
AN OLD TAR'S TESTIMONY.

An old sailor, who is now one of our city watchmen, and who has travelled in many different countries, told the writer of this, that he found more true hospitality among the native inhabitants of Africa than he did in England, and some other civilized nations.

On one occasion, when he was cast helpless and penniless on the coast of Africa, an old Hottentot woman took him to her hut, fed him, and

as long as he remained sick and unable to help himself, took as good care of him as she could. When he was about to leave her hospitable roof, he informed her, partly by signs, and partly by the help of an interpreter, who knew a few words of English, that he was much obliged to her for her kindness, but that he had nothing to give her. She replied that she did not want any thing from him. She supposed if *her boy* should ever be cast on the white man's shore, he would receive the same kind of treatment!

OBSERVER.

Philadelphia, April, 1833.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

RICHARD BROOKE.

(Concluded.)

The next year was attended with another catastrophe, not less afflicting than any that have been told; the eldest boy that remained, had generally been detained from any intercourse with his connexions since his brother was carried off; he now disappeared. Nothing was ascertained by the parents, concerning his departure; they had not heard of any traders being in the neighborhood, or of any intercourse being had with any other distant settlement; and whether he had been clandestinely disposed of; whether lost in the woods and perished, or whether he had eloped under the forlorn hope of an escape, is equally uncertain, as no subsequent tidings ever come to relieve their distressing anxiety.

That portion of earthly happiness which is allowed to human nature, falls far short of mitigating all the evils that result from "man's inhumanity to man;" it is not sufficient to wipe away the tear of sorrow, or to gladden the bosom of distress; and I have ardently hoped, that there might be some secret sources of temporal bliss, that I knew nothing of,—some embalming cup of consolation, kept in store by a good Providence, and specially dispensed to the afflicted heart.

After the last mentioned family incident, we find the two parents circumstanced nearly as they had been previous to that event, if we except the little mitigation, afforded by the softening hand of time, or the familiarizing power of habit. One day a party of traders came to the house of Maria's master, where were several of the neighboring inhabitants collected; and, as is usual in such meetings, their national dances were struck up, attended with songs and other revellings. Maria entertained suspicions that her master intended to sell her to the strangers: the fear of being entirely separated from her remaining connexions, resulted in the determination for making an escape. With her child in her arms, and under the covert of a dark stormy evening, she once more took her flight, and directed her way to her husband's cot. Her arrival, and the motive of her coming, rendered the situation of both trying in the extreme; her former elopement might have been palliated as the effusion of maternal affection towards her dying offspring; but now, no pretext could be satisfactorily given, and no favors expected. The critical decision was therefore to be made, whether to retract and submit to the tyrant's displeasure, or for both to risk all in the desperate hazard of an escape:—this was resolved on. A small settlement of whites on the Sciota river, in the Ohio territory, was pitched upon as the place of retreat.

They set forward with their two remaining children, a piece of venison, and a little dried corn, and directed their course through an unpeopled country to the nearest point of the Ohio river,

which was about fifteen miles off, and nearly the same distance above the mouth of the Sandy. At the dawn of day they sought a refuge by wading into a marsh and concealing themselves during the day in the tall grass. The next night they recommenced their flight, and reached the Ohio about midnight: the moon rising enabled them to find a canoe, in which the little band of adventurers embarked, and soon found themselves in the wilderness on the opposite side of the river. He purposely let the canoe float down the water, thinking it would be less liable to lead to detection, than if fastened to the shore. Their pursuers, apprehending they had taken the direction of the Sandy, followed its course downwards to its mouth; where, being unable to make any discovery, they were about to separate into different companies to renew the pursuit. At this juncture they accidentally discovered the canoe floating down the river; upon intercepting it they discovered that it belonged to the crossing place above; this circumstance at once disclosed suspicions favorable to a direct pursuit. They accordingly set forward in that direction, crossed the river, and discovered by unequivocal signs that they were in the footsteps of the unhappy deserters.

Night came again to protract the scene of suspense, and afford to the fugitives some bright gleamings of hope than they had hitherto realized. The difficulties of the way, and the toil they had to endure the two previous nights, made rest indispensable; and they accordingly lay by till the morning should renew their exertions. But their bright morning prospects were soon overcast by the events of the day;—they had not travelled far before their pursuers came in sight:—all was now lost; they were bound hand to hand, and again compelled to turn their faces towards the land of captivity.

At their return they found the western trader at the mouth of the Sandy. There a compromise was soon made, between them and Maria's master: she was put on one of their boats, and her little daughter was forcibly torn from her arms. Hitherto in all her afflictions, she had retained a degree of fortitude, and bore her misfortunes with resignation; but now, she condescended to entreach she expostulated with extended hands; it was vain!—the outpourings of conjugal and maternal feeling were unheeded!—the beseechings of nature were unheard!—the vessel receded down the water, and Richard bade an earthly farewell to the wife of his bosom. I have sought for some place of repose for my reader! I have endeavored to imagine some sunny spot of happiness where he might review with pleasure. Romance has and wo to diversify her page, and to relieve anticipations of her votary;—the tragic muse seasons for the well-timing of some favored event to variegate her darkest scenes. But in reference to the picture before us, those bright presentations are too distant for the powers of vision, and the earnest of their certainty can only be verified by the constancy of hope, and the comforts of a clear conscience.

The painful emergencies of life enlist our affections in some proportion to the capacity the sufferer has to endure, or to the power which enables him to overcome;—thus when we regard *man* as the subject of those evils, we esteem him as endowed with a firmness and hardihood make: with a kind of half sullen dignity of which implies some indifference to the assault of fortune, and blunts the acuteness of sympathy.

feeling. But when we consider *woman*—unprotected woman, contending with misfortunes, or sinking under them; when we behold youthful or infant innocence subject to *want*, to *abuse*, to *neglect*; then the heart melts at once, and pity seeks no restraint.

We have now recapitulated the principal events that in the space of about four years have overtaken this devoted family; we have seen them broken of more than half their number; one by one, have they disappeared, and happy it were if the grave had been their common refuge: the pensive survivors would then have been free from the anguish of suspense, and had known that violence was divested of power.

Richard and his remaining son continued under the care of the same master as formerly: the little girl that had previously been entrusted with the mother was now bereft of the care of either parent, and retained in the same family till the death of her master, which took place the following winter. This occurrence seemed preparatory to the relief of the child; she was removed to a family in the neighborhood where her father resided. Casual opportunities now often presented for short interviews between parent and child, and the privilege of still occasionally caressing two of his children, was a sweet and consolatory relief to his days and nights of sorrow. The state of society in which they were detained was too precarious and fluctuating for safety to be expected. A slight cross occurrence might again fall out, and then again another aggression might be made on the little family remnant. Conscious of this liability, and undiscouraged by his former attempt to escape, he again boldly determined on a similar purpose. The idea of rescuing his two children from bondage was his main incentive; all were not yet swept by the storm, and his trembling hopes still lingered upon what were left. Thus, after the tempest is past, and but a little scattered fruitage remains on the bough, the pensive husbandman cherishes and protects that little, not knowing but it may be a blessing large enough.

The hunting season came on: most of the men of the village, including Richard and his master, set out for that purpose. They travelled a day up the Sandy, where lay their best hunting ground; intending, when they had furnished a sufficiency of the spoils of the forest, to convey it down the river in canoes. Having arrived at the scene of action, they fell off into irregular parties, taking whatever direction their game presented. Early the second day, after they had commenced their excursions, Richard observing the different companies meeting and parting in a careless way, absent himself, without being taken notice of, bent his way towards the village, and arrived there the same evening a little after dark. Previous to his going out with the party, he obtained liberty for his little girl to lodge in the hut with her brother, during his absence: here he had the good fortune to find them both. His plans had been preconcerted, and every thing so far seemed to promise a favorable issue. In an hour's time, he and his children were in a canoe that had lain by the water's edge; they set forward; every thing depended upon this night's adventure. If he should be able to reach the Ohio river, and cross before day-light, he might count upon the most reasonable prospect of success; this he realized.

As the Indians had mostly abandoned this part of the Ohio territory, he had but little to fear from them; he therefore took a circuitous rout through

the country to elude pursuit, and at the end of two days, to their inexpressible joy, they found a refuge among the inhabitants of the Sciota settlement. Here he settled with the remains of his family, whom he had rescued at the expense of toil, of suffering, and of danger. And while we admire his energy in attaining his purpose, we must commiserate with heartfelt regret, that his Maria and his two eldest sons were lost to him forever.

Reader, thou hast now an outline of the history of the family of Richard Brooke. Thou hast marked their vicissitudes; thou hast perhaps dropped a tear to their misfortunes. Let it not be recalled; let not displacency divest thy heart of compassion; be not disappointed, when thou art informed that Richard was one of the thousands of his devoted countrymen, who are obliged to toil without pay, and to suffer without redress. He was excluded from the common claims of humanity—not because he was nature's outcast, but because his *skin was not white!* He was not a European, but a native of the gold coast; and from the day that he left his own land, to the day that he escaped from the hunting party, it was his lot to be a *clave*. His oppressors were not the uncivilized Indians of the forest as my narrative *might* imply, but men who professed the christian name; men who had driven the savage from his father's land, and had now made the negro their prey. It was those called christians who kidnapped him in his mother's cottage, and directed his destiny by sea and by land; it was they who dispensed ruin to his family, and who tore heart from heart; by them they were trafficked from hand to hand, and by them they were ultimately sold. D. W.

Salem, Columbiana Co. Ohio.

We take pleasure in transferring to our pages the following Report, made by a committee of the Senate of Pennsylvania, at the last session of the Legislature of that state. The object of raising a special committee is sufficiently explained by the resolutions which precede the Report. The facts stated by the committee fully redeem the state from the odium cast upon her by the *apparent* increase of slaves within her borders since 1820. Pennsylvania was the first state in the Union to break the yoke from the sons of Africa; and she will never suffer her fair fame to be tarnished by the addition of *one slave* to the number of that small remnant of aged bondmen who were born before the passage of the abolition law, in 1780.

Mr. Breck, from the committee appointed in pursuance of the following resolution:

WHEREAS, it appears by the census of 1820, that the number of slaves in Pennsylvania was 211, and by the census of 1830, the number had increased to 386:

Resolved, That a select committee be appointed to investigate the cause of this increase, and report by bill or otherwise:

REPORTED:

An explanation of the statements returned by the marshals of the two districts of Pennsylvania, of the slave population thereof, has been sought for by us; first, by an examination of the official tables of the census of 1830; and secondly, by

personal application to one of the deputy marshals, who took the census of Dauphin county.

The general census of the state shows an increase of slaves in Pennsylvania, in the interval of ten years, between 1820, and 1830, of one hundred and seventy-five: the former period giving 211, and the latter 386. So large an addition to a class of our population, which we had every reason to believe was nearly extinguished, has excited considerable attention, even beyond the limits of our own commonwealth, and has become, in some degree, a reproach to the state. Our neighbors in New York, and citizens of other states, have asked, through the medium of the public prints, how it happens, that while slavery has almost ceased to exist in the states north and east of us, the land of Penn, which took the lead in emancipation, and contains so many citizens of distinguished philanthropy; so many associations formed expressly for the promotion of abolition; so many friends of the African race, always on the watch to detect abuses, and ever eager to aid in correcting them, should exhibit an increase of slaves?

This question ought to be answered satisfactorily; and it is for the purpose of doing so, and of vindicating the honor and the laws of the commonwealth, as well as the characteristic philanthropy of its citizens, that your committee has thought it right to go into such details as shall maintain, untarnished, the reputation of the governed, and of those who govern.

Our forefathers, anxious to abolish slavery here, seized the earliest opportunity after their deliverance from the control of Great Britain, even in the midst of a calamitous war, to pass the act of March, 1780, by which the children of slaves, born after that date, are emancipated.

The reasons set forth for that great act of justice, in the memorable preamble to that law, are given in language so beautiful—with such humane and pious feeling, that we have ventured to make a short extract:

"It is not for us (say they) to inquire why, in the creation of mankind, the inhabitants of the several parts of the earth were distinguished by a difference in feature or complexion: it is sufficient to know that all are the work of an Almighty hand: from whence we may reasonably, as well as religiously, infer, that he, who placed them in their various situations, hath extended equally his care and protection to all, and that it becometh not us to counteract his mercies. We esteem it a peculiar blessing granted to us, that we are enabled to add one more step to universal civilization, by removing, as much as possible, the sorrows of those who have lived in undeserved bondage. Weaned, by a long course of experience, from the narrow prejudices and partialities we had imbibed, we find our hearts enlarged with kindness and benevolence towards men of all conditions and nations, and we feel ourselves called upon to manifest the sincerity of our profession, and to give a substantial proof of our gratitude."

The substantial proof of that gratitude, your committee have found recorded in the third and fourth sections of the law of 1780, to which the foregoing extract forms part of the preamble. In those sections it is enacted, "that all persons, as well negroes and mulattoes as others, who shall be born within this state from and after the first day of March, 1780, shall not be deemed and considered as servants for life, or slaves; and that all servitude for life, or slavery of children in conse-

quence of the slavery of their mothers, in the case of all children born within this state from and after the passing of this act, shall be, and hereby is, utterly taken away, extinguished, and forever abolished; that every negro and mulatto child, born within this state after the passing of this act as aforesaid, shall be deemed to be, and shall be, by virtue of this act, the servant of such person, or his or her assigns, who would, in such case, have been entitled to the service of such child, until such child shall attain unto the age of twenty-eight years."

In consequence of this provision for their gradual emancipation, we do not find, by the census of 1820, (forty years after the date of the act,) any person reported to be held in bondage in this commonwealth, under twenty-six, and few under forty-five years of age; and all those who take an interest in the extinguishment of slavery here, very naturally looked to the census of 1830, as the epoch that was to put a period, or nearly so, to that unhappy state of things amongst our colored population. What, then, must have been their astonishment, when the tables of the marshals of the two districts exhibited an increase, from 211 individuals returned in 1820, to 386 returned in 1830! scattered, too, over twenty-seven counties, and of ages under twenty-six, and even under ten! By what process was this brought about? Unless founded in error, it was manifestly a gross violation of the statute of 1780. It is the principal duty of your committee to explain this; and in endeavouring to do so, it will be necessary to advert to a misconstruction of that law in Washington and other counties, by which the child of a servant, until the age of twenty-eight years, was held to servitude for the same period, and on the same conditions as its mother, who was the daughter of a registered slave. This error was practised upon up to the year 1826, and was the means of wrongfully keeping in bondage many individuals, for several years beyond the legal period. At length the Supreme court settled the point definitely, at Pittsburg, on the 26th September, 1826, in the case of Miller v. Dwilling, and decided that no child can be held to servitude till the age of twenty-eight years, but one whose mother was a servant for life, or a slave at the time of its birth.

There cannot now, then, be any pretence for keeping children, born in this commonwealth, at service beyond the age of twenty-eight, nor would any such have appeared in the columns of the census of 1830, had not the two marshals, by their injudicious instructions to their deputies, directed them to enter as slaves, all colored people of both sexes, who were held to service for limited periods. Those deputies, as is apparent on the face of their reports, have strictly followed those instructions, and returned as slaves, even children under ten years of age, who could not legally be held to service beyond 21. As well might those officers have directed their assistants to register as slaves, all white children apprenticed to trades.

This irregularity on the part of the two officers, has been the cause of reporting in 27 counties:

53	Children under 10 years,
192	Individuals, aged from 10 to 24,
45	do. from 24 to 36,
29	do. from 36 to 55.

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

Making an aggregate of 319, of whom only a very few of the last class could possibly be legally held as slaves; because the law of March, 1780, which declares all the children of slaves born in this commonwealth, after that date, free at twenty-eight, could not allow any person under fifty years of age to be held in slavery in 1830. So that very few of the class between thirty-six and fifty-five, which, in that year, contained only twenty-nine individuals, could then be legally held in bondage.

The gradual decrease, at the four first periods at which the people of this nation were numbered, shows that no such ill-judged instructions were then issued by the marshals to their deputies:

In 1790	3737	slaves are returned,
" 1800	1706	" "
" 1810	795	" "
" 1820	211	" "

and had not this palpable mistake been committed in 1830, by which the return is increased one hundred and seventy-five in ten years, we should have had for the true number, *sixty-seven*, instead of three hundred and eighty-six; for these sixty-seven constitute the difference between the whole number returned in the census, and the number reported under fifty-five years of age. And this we find confirmed by the return made in the septennial state census, in 1825, when the official computation was only seventy-six.

Your committee may, therefore, safely say, that, at this day, being nearly three years after the national census was taken, there cannot be more than sixty persons held as slaves in the whole commonwealth.

But are there not many colored individuals, not born in Pennsylvania, and not of right classed as slaves, who are held to service for limited periods, even after the age of twenty-eight? In answer to this question, your committee will state such facts as have been communicated to them by persons well acquainted with the subject.

Negroes of all ages are brought, in considerable numbers, into the southwestern counties, bordering on Virginia, and emancipated on condition of serving a certain number of years, seldom extending seven, unless they happen to be mere children. About half the usual price of a slave is paid for this limited assignment; at the expiration of which, the individual obtains entire freedom, and for himself, and such of his children as may be born in Pennsylvania.

In this manner, many colored people, of both sexes, are sent from the adjoining slave-holding states, particularly from the state of Delaware, to be manumitted in this commonwealth. Deprived of this privilege, so advantageous, both to the volent master, and unhappy bondsman, what alternative remains for the poor slave? None other than endless servitude, either in the place of his birth, or among the cotton and sugar plantations of the south. Endless servitude, not only for himself, but for his children, from generation to generation.

As a proof that Delaware, and even Maryland, had their slaves here, it may be stated, that in Delaware, the number of slaves has decreased, in the last ten years, 1204, and in Maryland, 4520.

Nevertheless, a doubt has arisen, whether it be proper to allow this state of things to continue, or to provide by law against the introduction amongst that species of population?

On this subject, your committee beg to remark, that by the last census, our colored inhabitants amounted to about 36,000; of which, 30,000 inhabit the eastern district, and only 6,000 the western: and this number, so small, compared to the white population, is scattered among fifteen hundred thousand of our own color; making one black individual to forty-two white. So few of these, it is believed, by your committee, need not at present be an object of uneasiness, and would not seem to require the enactment of any restrictive laws; more especially as they are, for the greater part, industrious, peaceable, and useful people. It is enough for us to take care that the children born in our own commonwealth be protected against involuntary service, after the age of twenty-one, without preventing the humane or interested owners of slaves, born elsewhere, from manumitting them on our soil; and thus, after a short service, giving liberty to themselves, and those of their children who may be born among us; and who, did not their masters possess this facility, would be held, they and their unhappy offspring in perpetual slavery.

Such a course, then, as would shut the door of philanthropic Pennsylvania to those who, from motives of humanity or interest, may wish to grant manumission to their slaves, could not but be repugnant to the feelings of every citizen within our borders. Believing this, your committee cannot recommend, for the adoption of the Senate, any measure that may tend to disturb the present usage, or that shall deprive a negro or mulatto, born a slave out of Pennsylvania, of a chance of obtaining his liberty by a commutation of his personal services during a brief period in this commonwealth, for those of perpetual bondage elsewhere.

In drawing up this report, our object has been principally directed to the means necessary for an explanation of the causes which led to the erroneous returns of the marshals; and we have, in making the investigation, ascertained them to be, as we think, such as are set forth in the preceding pages, and which we will, in conclusion, briefly recapitulate.

First—The illegal manner in which the grand children of the registered slaves of 1780, were held to service for twenty-eight years, in some parts of Pennsylvania, until the decision of the Supreme court put a stop to it in 1826.

Secondly—The practice, along our southern borders, of buying slaves born out of the state, from persons who manumit them in Pennsylvania.

Thirdly—The mode in which the census was taken, and which classes as slaves, children and others who are only held to service for a comparatively short period; after which they and their offspring born in this state, become free forever.

It will be gratifying to your committee, if they shall have been at all instrumental in removing the imputation to which Pennsylvania seemed obnoxious, by the official act of the two marshals, and thus exonerate her from the stigma of fostering in her bosom, as it would appear by the census, a nursery of slaves. It is an opprobrium that nearly affects the character of the state, and is not the less injurious, because it is undeserved. The honor of our citizens, collectively and individually, is concerned in having it wiped away; and your committee flatter themselves, that by adopting this their investigation, which they respectfully, and with great deference, submit to the Se-

nate, an official denial of the imputation may be considered as flowing from that act of approval and adoption.

Laid on the table.

On motion of Mr. Cunningham and Mr. Krepps, Ordered, That 700 copies in the English, and 300 in the German language, of the foregoing report be printed, for the use of the members of the Senate.

SLAVERY IN KENTUCKY.

The editor of the Cincinnati Chronicle lately performed a tour through the State of Kentucky. The following is extracted from his journal:—

“In travelling through no inconsiderable portion of the State of Kentucky, and mingling with both town and country population, I could not but remark the change, within the last few years, in public sentiment, upon the subject of slavery, and the use of ardent spirits. These are trite topics, I am aware, but being intimately associated with the repose and morals of society at large, may still be deemed worthy a passing notice.

“In the first place it may be remarked, that the amelioration in the condition of the slaves of that State which has taken place within the last ten or fifteen years, is highly creditable to the community on which the curse of slavery is entailed. Not only are the blacks better fed and clothed, than in former years, but such is the general amelioration of their circumstances, that bating the abstract privilege of freedom, they need have but little hope, by any change of condition, of bettering their fortunes. That a large majority of the slaves of Kentucky, have at the present time, more comforts, more respectability and less arduous duties to perform, than their emancipated brethren throughout the west and south, there can be, I think but little doubt. There is, moreover, a growing sentiment among the holders of slaves, that neither the pecuniary interest, the comfort, nor the personal safety of the white population, is enhanced by slavery. This is more particularly the case among the females, who have lively fears and apprehensions of the dangers which may in time overtake them, from causes by which they and their children are hourly surrounded, and from which there seems to be no chance of escaping. Hence there is much inquiry and discussion in regard to the progress of the American Colonization Society, and the various other plans that have occasionally been suggested, as a means of ridding our country of a direful curse, in comparison to which, all others, looking forward to ultimate consequences, weigh but as dust in the balance. Something, it must be owned, has been gained towards the cause of general emancipation and removal of the slaves of this country, when such sentiments and such opinions, are held and openly avowed among those upon whom slavery has been entailed for generations.”

It would seem, from the language of Slaveites, that the prospect of the abolition of slavery in the British West India Islands, is viewed with great alarm and apprehension. It is quite natural it should be. But all their fears will not prevent the emancipation of the slave. The time is hastening—the decree has gone forth—and nothing can prevent its accomplishment. The following

will give some idea of the feeling manifested to the south of us:—

From the Raleigh, N. C. Register.

The news, brought by the late arrivals, of the determination of Great Britain to emancipate the slaves of her West India Islands, without compensation to their owners, is replete with interest to the people of this Union. If such a measure be in contemplation, and we see no reason to doubt it, can our Government look quietly on and see it consummated? Of course, the white inhabitants of these islands would be compelled to abandon them, and we should then have in our immediate vicinity, independent Negro Sovereignities whose contagion would rapidly spread into the southern States. The irresistible tendency of such an event is too apparent to need illustration, and too delicate in its nature to be carried out in all its bearings. The next advices from Europe will be anxiously awaited.

From the Portland (Maine) Daily Advertiser.

From our Correspondent.

THINGS IN RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

A WOMAN FOR SALE!—I have heard much of selling negroes at auction, but I never before to-day witnessed the spectacle. Within ten feet of the office of the Richmond Enquirer, that oracle of liberty for the whole southern country, there was on an auction flag the following amusing advertisement: “By virtue of an order of the High Court for the city of Richmond, pronounced on the 22d day of Feb. (Washington’s birth-day mark ye) will be sold, in front of the High Court stable’s office, the 11th inst. one bright mulatto woman, about 26 years of age; (very likely;) and some empty barrels, and sundry old candle boxes &c., to satisfy the above attachment, and all attending the same.” This was dated March 1st and regularly signed. As I was going by a crowd, and this auction flag, I was struck with the question of the auctioneer, who seemed to have his eye on me: “Do you want to buy a woman? Buy a woman! what an idea! I shook my head and shrunk back, blushing once in my life at least, for an odd train of thought ran through my mind, as I thought of woman in her high position—and it was long before I understood that a slave was to be sold. I then read the advertisement, and remembered that I was in a land where slaves and horses were commodities equally marketable. “Do you want to buy a woman?” an interrogation pressed upon every passer-by. The auctioneer was loudly exclaiming, two hundred dollars, only two hundred dollars for this likely woman. Two hundred and ten, shall I take it? Two hundred and ten, two hundred and ten—two hundred and ten—who bids? Two hundred and fifteen, two hundred and fifteen—a likely woman—two hundred and fifteen, only two hundred and fifteen—a good seamstress, stout, healthy—two hundred and fifteen—two hundred and thirty—two hundred and thirty—is a good cook—two hundred and thirty—two hundred and thirty dollars bid—two hundred and thirty-five—two hundred and forty—two hundred and forty-five, two hundred and fifty, two hundred and fifty, two hundred and fifty—going—man going for only two hundred and fifty dollars—two hundred and sixty, only two hundred and sixty—two hundred and sixty, shall I knock it off for only two hundred and sixty dollars? Two hundred and sixty dollars is the only bid. The

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ered and seventy, did you say? yes, two hundred and seventy, two hundred and seventy, two hundred and seventy, as fine a woman as was ever under the hammer—two hundred and seventy-five—two hundred and eighty—two hundred and ninety—three hundred dollars I am bid—three hundred dollars for a woman worth five hundred dollars. Three hundred and ten going, a woman going for three hundred and ten dollars—fine, likely, stout,—three hundred and fifteen, three hundred and twenty dollars, a going, a going,—speak quick, a going, a going, a going, going, and—and—and—a going, for three hundred and twenty dollars—and—and—gone to Mr. ———.” I give you details because they interested me beyond measure—and I think you have readers who will not be less interested than I was, in the details of the auction. The woman was miserably sad, but grinned and gaped, and looked happy, and as earnest under the operation to know who was to be her master. She trotted off well satisfied with her new master, and I busied myself with inquiring into the particulars. I learnt that her husband was free, and that he bought her a slave, and then married her. Thus she was his wife and his slave, and he held her by a double surety, and could sell her when he pleased. The husband got into debt, and then ran off—and his wife was attached as his slave, and sold at public auction for three hundred and twenty dollars, under an order of the Court, to pay the debt. The new master, it is said, bought her in order that she might, by her labor, purchase her freedom of him for the sum given.

SLAVE CASES IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Two cases of some interest have been presented, one to the Supreme Court of the State, now sitting in Boston; the other to the United States District Court.

In the first case a *habeas corpus* was issued for the release of a colored lad, named Francisco, who, it was alleged, had been held as a slave in Havana, by a Mrs. Howard; and was about to be carried there again, and kept in slavery by her.

C. J. Shaw, in his decision, said “if Mrs. Howard, in her return to the writ, had claimed the boy as a slave, I should have ordered him to be discharged from her custody. But it appears from her return to the writ, that she does not claim him as a slave. The boy, by the law of Massachusetts, is in fact free; and Mrs. Howard having, on her return of the writ, disclaimed to hold him as a slave, has made a record of his freedom and cannot make him a slave again in the Island of Cuba.

The court must act as the boy's guardian. He appears to be attached to Mrs. Howard, and to be desirous of going with her, and I think it is for his interest to be allowed to do so, if he pleases. He can therefore go with her or not, as he chooses.”

In the other case, a man named Worthington, from Maryland, claimed a colored man as his slave; alleging that he had run away from him. The district Judge being satisfied of the truth of the allegation, gave him a certificate to that effect. Mr. W. inquired of the Judge, how he should proceed to secure his slave, so that he might be conveyed to Maryland. The same, the Judge replied, that he would use to secure any other portion of his estate.

The arrest of the black man caused some ex-

citement among the colored population, who flocked to the Court-house, and when Judge Davis retired, crowded around him in the street, and demanded if this was a land of Liberty. The Judge answered, “most truly; and a land of laws also.” He then cautioned them against any attempts at a rescue. *Boston paper.*

Judge Davis is *mistaken*. This may be a “land of laws;”—but it is not a “LAND OF LIBERTY.” A few, or even *many*, enjoy “liberty” among us. And so do some in *all* other countries. Our popularity hunters, our “democratic” *braciers*, (the writer of this is a “democrat,” in the general sense of the word,) together with those who hold *offices with fat salaries*, may talk of “liberty,” justice, and all “that sort of thing;” yet their resolves and their *acts*, in many cases, are no better than those of the most wicked *high-way robbers*.

WHAT WOULD BE THE CONSEQUENCE?

“What would be the consequence of effecting an immediate emancipation?—Would not our country be ruined by it?”

This is the cry of every unreflecting dunce in the land,—from the holders forth in the pulpit and legislative hall, to the very scavengers of our streets.—Aye! “what would be the consequence,” sure enough, *were it possible to accomplish it IMMEDIATELY?* Indeed, nobody knows—and *nobody will know*; for THIS WILL NOT BE DONE. All the exertions of all the philanthropists who have yet embraced the cause, seem likely to do but little, without still more *earnest active* labor. There is no danger of going on too fast; for *very few* (comparatively speaking) appear disposed to do *any thing to the purpose*. We are wearied and disgusted with this eternal *sophistical cant*, this *unnecessary* caution, about the adoption of measures for the abolition of slavery. We are *naturally* cautious enough, relative to premature emancipation, but not in the *toleration of despotism!*

From *Le Courier des Etats Unis*.

ANTIQUITIES OF MEXICO.

Vera Cruz, Nov. 1, 1832.

Sir,—I think to give pleasure to the friends of science in communicating to them a letter which I have just received from Mons. J. F. Valdeck, who at this moment is exploring the ruins of Pelenque. M. Valdeck has been occupied for five or six years in searching, designing, and explaining the Mexican antiquities; and he possesses precious materials; but knowing that the work which he contemplates upon these interesting remains would be incomplete if it did not contain the facts which an honest exploration of Pelenque would furnish, he proposed to many persons of Mexico to form a society for the advancement of the knowledge of antiquities in the country; it is at the expense and under the auspices of this society that he set out last spring to repair to the south of Mexico, where is found the Palmyra of the Mexican forests. Eight days ago he wrote me: “I

have been here eight days, and I have not yet waked from my astonishment; the ruins that I came to study cover a space of from twelve to fifteen leagues upon the declivity of a chain of mountains which are along the river Michol: there are buildings of all dimensions, which do not resemble those I have seen in Mexico; here rudely sketched, there beautifully finished, and every where grand and astonishing: I am persuaded that Pelenque was built by persons advanced in civilization, in an epoch approaching the heroic times of Greece; and that it is from here that *Quetzal Coatl*, (the white and bearded man) set out, who was the first law-giver to the Mexicans. I have perceived some inscriptions which appear to me not to be hieroglyphics, as those of the ancient fultaces. I am going to commence the work, and the abundant harvest of facts and designs which I hope to accumulate, will pay me for the fatigues and dangers which I have encountered."

P. D.

The colored population of Philadelphia have, for a few years past, progressed in the melioration of their moral and physical condition with a rapidity which cannot but be gratifying to the philanthropic. Several libraries have been established, reading rooms opened, and debating societies organised. We have been informed by a gentleman present at the regular meeting of one of their debating clubs, that the discussions were conducted with a degree of spirit and propriety, and displayed a cogency and acuteness of reasoning, and an elevation and elegance of language for which he was little prepared. The subjects of discussion generally relate to their own rights and interests, and frequently result in decisions from which the prejudiced mind of the white man would startle and shrink with apprehension. A change is rapidly coming over this people. They are now numerous, united, and bitterly conscious of their degradation and their power. To this let the pride, the independence, and ambition which science ever imparts, be added, and the consequences, though beyond the reach of conjecture, would doubtless be such as to involve the character and condition of the whole country.

REVIEW.

"*Three Lectures on British Colonial Slavery, delivered in the Royal Amphitheatre, Liverpool, on the 28th and 30th of August, and 6th of September last, by George Thompson.*"

(Continued from page 69.)

The attempt to describe, in appropriate language, the "evils of slavery," opens a "wide and comprehensive field," which cannot be traversed in a single lecture, or in a single volume of ordinary dimensions. They are so numerous and complicated, and so effectually infuse their deleterious and poisonous qualities into the morals and politics of the community in which slavery exists, that a full development of all the evils attendant upon it would be a Herculean task which no single individual is competent to perform. The English language, when employed on such a theme, shrinks into insignificance, and is found too feeble

and meagre to give utterance and expression to the boundless and interminable extent of the "evils" resulting from slavery as it is now practised in the West Indies, and in the UNITED STATES of North America. A slight and cursory survey only, of the "evils of slavery," is taken in the lectures. It is said, that "it invariably curses the soil in which it exists, and hurries it fast to sterility," and that "it has been the cause of the slave trade in all ages of the world." The first of the propositions is proved by an appeal to facts which have been verified in the experience of every country in which the system has been predominant.

The second is so nearly allied to a self-evident truth, that it needs no argument to prove it. Here we agree with the lecturer, that the noble band of philanthropists of England, with Wilberforce and Clarkson at their head, greatly erred when they confined their first great effort to the abolition of the slave trade alone, and left the system of slavery untouched. They lopped off one of the branches of the corrupt tree, but left the root and the trunk sound and vigorous. But if the axe had been laid to the root of the tree, all the branches would have perished,—if *slavery*, the source and origin of all the evils connected with it, had been abolished, there would have been an end of the trade, without any further parliamentary enactments. They succeeded, it is true, in making the trade unlawful, but it is still illicitly carried on, and after twenty years experience, they are convinced that there is no remedy for the evil but the abolition of slavery—and that the whole field of labour has to be traversed again to consummate the great work of justice and humanity.

We cannot withhold from our readers, the frequent and touching appeal of the lecturer in favour of emancipation, when speaking of the "evils of slavery."

Another of the evils of slavery is, that it dooms the infant, even before it comes into this breathless world, to interminable slavery. Oh, Sirs, I beseech ye, think of this, and reconcile it if ye can, with professions of strong desire for the termination of slavery. It is five and twenty years since the slave trade was extinguished, and during the whole of that time we have been told by the holders of slave property that they were desirous of witnessing the extinction of slavery. We are told by the same parties that they are as anxious as any portion of the community to aid in the termination of the system; but they assign a reason for opposing immediate manumission, that the negro is not fit for freedom; yet with these professions upon their lips, they doom the hapless infant to the bonds of slavery, from the moment of its birth to the latest period of its existence. We are unblushingly told that their only reason for continuing slavery is to prepare the slave for the reception of the boon. What application can we make, has this argument to the unborn child? Is the infant unfit for liberty? Can the infant be trained for liberty? Ah, it is impious to

an unoffending being is not fit for liberty; it is a libel upon the government of the great God himself. I repeat it, and I charge my opponent to let it down, and should he fail, I know the gentlemen of the press will not; I repeat it, it is both false and impious to say that men are not fit for freedom. The wretched subterfuges of ancient times. Pharaoh set the example,—“Let my people go,” said God, by Moses, to the Egyptian tyrant. “I will not let them go,” he replied; and perhaps he might have added, and perhaps did add—“they are not fit for freedom—they cannot cross the Red Sea—they will starve in the wilderness—they are numerous and powerful where they are, it would be unkind to let them go.” “Let my people go,” was however, the imperative command; and when Pharaoh hardened his heart and refused, God sent a plague, and the command was reiterated, “Let my people go:”—again he hardened his heart, and again the Almighty sent the plague; it was not until the first-born throughout the land were destroyed that he sent them forth to God in the wilderness. And what was the consequence? were they led forth to destruction, or to perish? No. The same arm which brought them forth out of the “house of bondage” led them to the waters of the Red Sea, so that they passed over upon dry land; and the same arm overthrew their enemies beneath its surges. Were they left to hunger, to thirst, and to die in the wilderness? No. They were fed with manna from Heaven, and refreshed with water from the smitten rock; and the liberated people of the Lord were sustained until they entered the “land flowing with milk and honey.” “Let my people go,” was the command still given in the sacred canon of our faith. The practical reply is, “No, I will not let them go;” and the motive is the same as in ancient times—*Pharaoh wanted more slaves, and the West Indians want more sugar.* I return to the particular evil upon which I am telling, what can illustrate the inhumanity of slavery more than the fact, that innocent, helpless infants should be devoted from the womb to a state of abject bondage, without a chance of rising to a higher or a better station? No fault, no stain attaches to them, yet are they condemned to ignominy and toil. Tell me, ye christian-dealers, where you obtain your warrant for a practice? Tell me, ye humane proprietors, how you hold your victim in bondage merely because he would abuse his freedom, tell me why you do not train the child for liberty? Tell me, is it not that the infant, the youth, looking upon the vista of future years, beholds nothing but a dark and dreary without deliverance till he stands upon the banks of the cold river of death, and plunges into its waves to be seen no more for ever? In the name of humanity and of God, I demand redemption from slavery for every infant that is or shall be born in the British colonies. Meet us not to say that negro mothers are unfit guardians of their own offspring, and that planters, overseers, and drivers are the best nurses. Does the raven feed its young; does the tit provide for her whelps; do the whole brute creation provide for, love, and cherish their young; can it be said that the negro mother would neglect her children, and suffer them to perish from neglect? If so, then I look to Heaven, and I say, who sees the sparrow when it falls, who hears the cry when they cry, who clothes the lily of the field, and who numbers the hairs even of the head, will care for these “little ones,” will

“take them up,” and cause them to live upon the bounty of his hand.

Again, the contrast in the feelings and motives of an English laborer, who is incited to exertion by the hope of remuneration for all his toils, and that of the miserable slave, without hope, without a single motive to cheer the tedium of unrequited labor, is portrayed in appropriate colors.

I now proceed to another of the evils of colonial slavery. *It depresses the body with more than the ordinary amount of labor, and yet withholds from the mind the necessary incentives to exertion.* The negroes upon sugar estates are compelled to perform more labor than the majority of field laborers in this country, and taking into consideration the climate, more than any other men in any part of the world, and yet, generally speaking, they have not one of the ordinary motives to labor. Ask the peasant in this country how he is sustained in his labor? Ask the miner? Ask the weaver? Stop the ploughman as he hastens cheerily to his labor at five in the morning, with his pipe in one hand, and his wallet in the other. Inquire of him, “Why are you hastening thus contentedly to devote yourself to toil during the hours of the long day; by what feelings are you sustained, how animated, and reconciled?” You might not get a very philosophical answer from such a man, not accustomed to analyze the motives under which he acts, but after a little consideration, he, perhaps, would say, “In yonder cottage I have left a sleeping wife, with an infant at her breast that calls me in lisping accents ‘father;’ that wife, that child, to me are dear, inestimably dear; their comfort and happiness are objects of infinite importance to me; that cottage, that garden, are also dear, and though by others they are viewed as humble, and perhaps worthless, they are *all* to me, and they are *mine*.” Yes, Sirs, there is a charm in that word MINE; throughout the vocabulary of our language there is no word more dear to an Englishman than that word *mine*; my house, my wife, my children, my garden, my dog, my cat. So thinks the ploughman, and, influenced by love for home and its inmates, he goes to the field, nor grudges the labor that enables him to carry to that home sufficient for its wants. This is my philosophy of labor, and though it may not suit the refined taste of a Cambridge scholar, it is the philosophy of nature, in whose school my opponent does not seem to have taken a degree. Wherefore does the tradesman toil? Is it not in expectation of the *otium cum dignitate* of future years? He rises early, he sits up late, he eats the bread of carefulness, satisfied, if, “in the sear and yellow leaf” of life, he finds himself possessed of a moderate independence; and he bequeaths to his children the same means and the same prospects he himself once possessed; he leaves to them the bustling scenes of life and prepares to make a peaceful exit from this world of strife. Why toils the scholar and the statesman? For literary fame, for political renown. Why toils the soldier? For the laurels of the well fought field. What cheers the sailor when distant on the trackless main? The thought that he is guarding the freedom of his native land! The thought that he shall one day clasp to his bosom his wife and smiling babes, no more to leave them for adventures on the waste of waters. Such are some of the motives which influence *freemen* to labor, whether they labor on

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

the "great deep" or mix in the more peaceful and less dangerous occupations of the land. Why toils the negro? Toils he under the sustaining influence of any of their motives? No. Toils he for a wife? Ah no, he may say with Othello:—

"My wife? I have no wife."

She is a slave like himself. Hark! that was her groan in yonder field! She is stretched upon the ground; the murderer's lash is going across her body; he may not help her, he dare not be seen to pity her. Now she shrieks with agony; she bleeds, she faints. The evils of slavery! The whip! The whip! The flogging of women with the cart whip! If this were the only evil peculiar to slavery, it should be enough to induce us never to rest till a system that could engender so foul a practice was brought to an end.

The negro has no wife; she is the property of another: and there is no law in Jamaica to prevent the master from selling her from the bosom of her lawful husband. Toils he for children? No. Children he may have; but he toils not for them. They are slaves like himself; fed like beasts, worked as beasts, estimated as beasts. They are slaves for ever, after the order of the colonies. Toils he for compensation? No. For preferment? No. For fame? No. For honor? No. Why, then, does he toil? The whip is behind him. The whip compels him. That is the motive supplied by men calling themselves christians to immortal beings, to force them to labor for their profit and pleasure. The whip is the only stimulus which the great majority of the slaves have under the incessant, the degrading, and life-destroying toils which are now imposed upon them in the sugar colonies. Another of the evils of our slave system is, that it entails upon its hapless victim all imaginable suffering. I have not time, upon the present evening, to go into the harrowing detail, but they include stripes, mutilations, chains, collars, dungeons, disease, blows, brand marks, shackles, sores, scorn, sears,—in a word, a painful life, and an unpitied death! If this be denied, and you will grant me your patience, I will overwhelm my adversaries with a host of evidence, unimpeached, and unimpeachable, even till that table groans under the weight. But it will not, methinks, be denied that many of the slaves *actually suffer*, and *all are liable* to the sufferings I have just enumerated.

Another of the evils of slavery, which stands No. 10 upon my list, is *the difficulty experienced by the slave in obtaining redress for his wrongs*. You will be told, no doubt, of certain laws, in certain islands; but those laws want one principle, and that is what Mr. Burke, I think, called an "executory principle." Some of them would, no doubt, be very good laws, only it happens for the want of this principle that they are good for nothing. I need not tell you that a law may be very good to be read; very good to be laid on the shelf of a magistrate; and, therefore, very good to be appealed to by a planter, when West Indian justice is called in question; but, at the same time, it may be a very poor law in respect of affording the slave either protection or redress. They say there is a law for the protection of the slave; but, will you believe it? more punishments are inflicted upon slaves for what are designated frivolous and vexatious complaints, than for almost all other offences put together. I have here a long list of cases in which slaves came to slave protectors, complaining of acts of cruelty of various descriptions, and they were sent back with five, ten, fif-

teen, twenty-five, thirty, or thirty-nine lashes on their backs. What says Mr. Jeremy on this subject? He says, "With slave-holders for judges—slave-holders for magistrates—slave-holders for juries—slave-holders for witnesses, and slave-holders for the law, it is impossible for the slave to obtain justice in a court of judicature in the colonies."

If it be said that justice cannot always be obtained in England, ask the poor man whether he can get it from an English court of justice, when he accuses a rich man of cruelty and oppression; whether he is sent away with lashes on his back if he fails to prove his charge. In the West Indies every difficulty is thrown in the way of a slave who seeks redress, and that, too, by men who are appointed and paid to administer what is called justice. I have not now time to go into the numerous evils growing out of this violation of justice; but they are great and numerous.

Another evil is *the danger of slavery*. Our opponents talk of the danger of emancipation; we place upon the other side the danger of continuing a career of vice and cruelty. I pray you just to remember this; and if they do not, it will be circulated by the press,—I hold it to be a sound maxim both in morals and religion, that there is no danger so great as that of continuing in a course of wrong doing. There is no danger so great resulting from doing right as that which must inevitably attend doing wrong. I can show how many imaginary dangers they may set up to deter us from doing justice to the slave; care not how great the danger may be of doing right; I say there is no danger so great as that of doing wrong. I speak not now merely of the amount of guilt upon our own consciences, but also of the present and imminent dangers which grow out of the system of slavery. I mention the danger of insurrections,—the danger of collisions,—the danger of assassinations,—the danger of the interposition of Heaven on behalf of the slave for whom Heaven cares, and whose wrongs Heaven will avenge, if we do not speedily remove this abomination from amongst us.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation
TO THE EDITOR.

DEAR SIR:

Some time since, I sent you an account of a mechanic who, by paying each of the men whom he had hired one dollar per week, procured more work from five, than he had been able to procure before from eleven of them. This circumstance has come to my knowledge, and I ought to speak volumes to those who keep slaves. A person who has been in the habit of hiring black men from their masters. The black men, dispirited creatures worked so slow, that they usually took about three weeks to load his vessel. At last he hit upon the experiment of giving each a reward of fifty cents a day, (for themselves) for each good day's work. The consequence was, he now gets his vessel loaded in about a week, at a much less expense. This shews that *LIBERTY labor is much superior to that which is compulsory*.

Let those who employ slaves, remember that it would be better to hire even *their own* men, and pay those whom they hire from others, than to undertake to compel them to work.

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

Ladies' Repository.

Philanthropic and Literary.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

SPRING.

It is the season of gladness—exulting, abundant gladness. There is joy over all the face of the earth. Joy in the breeze and in the sunshine in the springing of every green blade, and the unfolding of every blossom; joy in the broad arch of the smiling heavens; joy over the mountain tops, and in the quiet depths of the “green verdant vallies.” It is poured out on the air in the song of the birds, in the hum of the awakened insects, in the perfume of the thousand flowers. The letterless streams have caught its influence, and go carolling along their pleasant paths, and singing up their tiny waves to the smiling sunbeams. It is well for the human heart to be opened to these pleasant influences; well to suffer them to steal in and perform their allotted ministering offices there, till it is insensibly won from its wonted selfishness, into a better and holier nature. If the gloriousness and beauty of the creation declare to us, all over the earth, that God is good, they should also impress upon the heart, the wisdom and wisdomfulness of aiding, be it as indirectly as it may, the oppression of his children. They should fill us with sympathy for the miserable, and fill us with earnest desires for the moral and intellectual improvement of all the human race. They should speak to every bosom of the claims of the wronged slave, and bid every hand engage in the task of loosening his fetters.

The following letter we presume will be read with interest, by many of our readers.

TO THE MARQUIS LAFAYETTE,
and the Secretary of the Ladies' Negro's Friend Society.

August 16, 1831.

My Lord,
The letter I received from Dr. Philip, describing the most interesting interview he had with you, and your grandson, when you were surrounded by a host of the descendants of the children of Africa, who regarded you as their parent, induces me without much fear that my letter will be ill received, to submit to your consideration, whether it is not a measure well suited to the present exigencies, to draw immediately the attention of your Majesty King and Queen, to the victims of oppression now suffering in the colonies belonging to the British Kings “who have named the name of

Since this letter was written, our good and patriotic King has delivered himself from the stain of dishonor of enriching his treasury by the forced labor of his liege subjects, condemned without the commission of a single crime, to the horrors of perpetual slavery. The slaves belonging to the crown are free. Our King no doubt will feel a growing impatience at there being any slavery at all, beneath the paternal sway of his Majesty.

Christ, but have not departed from this iniquity.”

I am the more anxious to urge this request, that your nation may serve as an example to ours. For *Bible*. England refuses “to undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free,”—and has recently cut off all hope of help from man, for those, whom she possessed herself of by fraud and violence. On the 13th of July last, a resolution by Mr. Brougham, for the early consideration of the state of the enslaved population in the British colonies, *only*, with a view to the mitigation and ultimate extinction of slavery, was negatived by a majority of *fifty-six to twenty-six*, in the British House of Commons; and our home secretary, Sir Robert Peel, said at the same time, he was not prepared to give *any pledge* to the final abolition of slavery, until he saw the means of effecting it; which, if he cannot discover in 1830, he is never likely to discover till the day of doom.

You, who have so long felt and labored for the defenceless and unoffending Africans, still consigned with their guiltless offspring to interminable bondage, under a system of tyranny, alike debasing to the oppressor and the oppressed, will be willing *now* to raise your voice in their behalf; and surely you will be heard by your King, who loves his own children, and must feel for those who are forever parted from theirs, wherever avarice requires the separation.

Before I conclude, I think it may not be uninteresting to you, to learn, that the females of England become increasingly desirous of aiding the cause of negro emancipation; and many are anxious to have no further participation in this crying sin, and are exerting themselves that their beloved country may, if possible, escape the judgments of that God, who will sweep away every refuge of lies when the waters shall at last overflow the hiding place, when the slave will at last be set free from his master, and all the multitude of human beings that ever existed on this globe, will be divided “into the just and the unjust.”

I regret to state, that not even on the estates where the negroes are declared to have become a well instructed and christian people, are they consequently emancipated by their owners—nor have we yet heard of any West Indian proprietor, who has washed his hands of the flagrant iniquity of making slaves of the unoffending children born on his estates. From Philadelphia, I have recently learnt, that females there as well as here, are desirous of *peaceably* removing the bonds of the captive negro; and in a letter dated Philadelphia, 6th month 7th, 1830, addressed to the Female Anti-Slavery Societies of Great Britain, I learn “that the friends of the oppressed negro, desire to introduce and promote the manufacture of cotton, cultivated by free persons, and as much as possible, to abstain from the purchase and use of articles, procured from slave labor.” I am sure you will excuse my mentioning these things which may be already known to you, and also for presuming to entreat you, for the sake of France and England, to call on both countries to remove this foul blot from the christian name; and may one nation say to the other, “we are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul when he besought us, and we would not hear,”—that they may not have to add,—“therefore is this distress come upon us.” Gen. lxii. 21.

I am, with much respect, my Lord,
Your most obedient, humble servant,

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

EVENING THOUGHTS.

I have been out among the pleasant hills,
At the cool hour of evening; when the sun
Was sinking to his slumber, and the rills
Were shadowed with the twilight, when the gun
Of the lone hunter, sent from cliff to cliff,
Its lingering echoes, and the wave's calm rest,
Was lightly broken by the fisher's skiff,
That glanced in beauty o'er its dimpled breast.

Proud hills were gathered round me; on their brows
Dark piles of foliage rose against the skies,
Drawn out distinctly, with their graceful boughs
Tinged with the sinking sunlight, and faint dies
Of coming autumn; on the hills green side,
All motionless, the outstretched shadows lay,
While heaped up rocks were clustering in their
pride,
Some wreathed with vines, and some all bare
and gray.

Thou who wert with me!—watching the sweet
sky,

Until the silver moonbeam melted through
The pure and holy azure, and the eye
Of gentle Hesper, o'er the waste of blue
Smiled added beauty,—do thy thoughts still dwell
Upon that scene of passing loveliness?
And linger, sister friend! o'er stream and dell,
Whose brightness even yet have power to bless!

Or wakens in thy heart, as mine, the sadder
thought,

Of those who wear a wretched life away,
Pining beneath the chains by christians wrought,
And bound upon them, till the cold links lay
With a dead weight upon their very souls,
Crushing out life and hope, and planting there
With every torturing coil that round them rolls,
A canker of incurable despair!

Oh land beloved! my country! thou hast heaped
Against thyself a measure full of wrath!

Thy guilty hands in human blood are steeped,
And from the heart of the oppressed one, hath
A cry ascended unto heaven! oh turn

While penitence may yet thy pardon win,
Forth from thy breast its cherished evil spurn,
And wash from thy polluted hands their sin!

GERTRUDE.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

SLAVE, WHO HAST BEEN TOILING.

Slave, who hast been toiling long and wearily,
Lift thy bent form, for the darkness is nigh,
The mild star of eve, in the west smileth cheerily,
Lighting their footsteps as homeward they hie.

All day long has thy thought been a reveller,
Feasting on the memory of home-born joys;
But now, as in the heart of a long gone traveller,
Fear with its bodings thy gladness allows.

Why from thy door spring no dear one's delight-
ed,

Striving in a fond race to welcome thee home?
Wert thou a lingerer so far benighted,
They cannot distinguish thy form midst the
gloom.

Wo for thee, Slave! though they still love thee
faithfully,
Children nor wife shall e'er welcome thee
more;

Dark was the storm-cloud that o'er thee loomed
wrathfully,

When that vile trader's foot entered thy door

SUSAN

From the West Chester Register & Examiner

FAMILIAR CONVERSATIONS—AN EXTRA

Julia. We have just received a number of pamphlets from the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society in England. In their Second Annual Report, page the committee considering the inertness of mere authority, and the strong opposition every ameliorating measure met with in Parliament, says, "long protracted delays, and seeming utter hopelessness of any effective legislative interposition, has made numberless proselytes to the conviction that the disuse of slave produce is the most probable means of abolishing slavery. The idea of effecting an object so vast, by a process so simple, is no longer regarded as visionary and absurd. With the substitution of the produce of free, for that of slave labor, was adopted only by a few individuals, it would naturally be regarded as a useless scrupulosity;—now that it is adopted by hundreds of thousands, hope smiles upon the conscientious protest, and animates to quickened exertions, urging its indispensable obligations upon every friend of humanity and justice. If the voice of authority, and the arm of power withhold their interposition, the obligations to individual exertion are not cancelled, but increased. The cause of emancipation being a righteous cause, its triumph must be secure, and that triumph will be accelerated, rather than retarded by the sluggishness of the Legislature, and by all the powerful continuations of interested opposition, should arouse the slumbering principle of private individuals into vigorous, concentrated anti-slavery efforts:—and such are their evident effects in various parts of the country. Hope long deferred parliamentary redress, has made the heart of humanity sick; she turns to private benevolence, she stretches her imploring hands in behalf of 800,000 outcasts from legal justice and protection to sensitive tender-hearted women. Can we wonder at the exertions to promote the objects of our society, which are now making in so many parts of the kingdom, especially in Bristol and Liverpool, where they have to encounter such deep-rooted prejudices? Can we hear of the indefatigable perseverance of our Birmingham friends, who has left but one-sixth of a population of nearly 100,000 unvisited from house to house? Can we hear of the stupendous undertaking to pursue the same plan in London, and withhold our zealous co-operation?" I read that part of the report with what zeal, what untiring, persevering industry and diligence, British females prosecute the noble undertaking; not dismayed at failure, success from the source they had relied upon, see them now directing their attack against the strong hold of the oppressor; and a breach effected, the citadel must surrender at discretion.

Susan. I always rejoice to hear of the active and devotedness of our transatlantic coadjutors, which is followed by abashedness, when I think of our own unfaithfulness. Surely if British sympathy can be awakened, British interest excited, and the spirit of the whole nation roused, on behalf of the 800,000 human beings held in bondage by sanction of English laws; surely if Britons thus feel for eight hundred thousand souls, in distant colonies, what greater depth of feeling

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

could we not possess for the two millions that
 and the same soil; and inhale the same air with
 selves; most of them are by their inalienable
 bright entitled to the name of American, to
 rights of free men and American citizens.

Mary. What would you think girls of
 posing to the society that the laity be divided
 districts, and visited after the English man-
 and that we should use our influence to have
 slavery societies formed in other places, and
 same course adopted.

Elith. I am not yet prepared for such a mea-
 I do not think it is called for at the present
 ; it would be an arduous undertaking, from
 which I apprehend but little, if any benefit would
 result.

Lydia. The favorite motto of one of the fore-
 champions in this cause is worth remember-
 and I will adopt it now: "*Let us try;*" the
 cause is worthy of unremitting exertion, then why
 should we shrink from duty? How many are
 here that will volunteer their services on a
 standing committee? I should hope none would
 refuse.

Lydia. As Lydia enters so heartily into the
 cause, she will be the most proper person to
 draw it upon the attention of the society.

It is not indeed time we should view things as
 they are, and manifest our sense of justice and
 duty, by conduct worthy of the cause in which
 we are engaged. How can we longer refuse to
 heed the cries of the oppressed; shall we longer
 look with indifference the sufferings of infancy,
 age and infirmity, see the unoffending victims
 added to our ease and pleasure? Let every
 member of this association, let every christian feel
 and know, that this subject demands
 particular and immediate attention, and
 their undivided efforts. EDNA.

From an English Anti-Slavery Card.

THE HUMMING BIRD.

The small bird that fluttering roves
 amid Jamaica's tamarind groves,
 A feathered busy bee,
 incessant hums the whole day long,
 whose note scarce rising to a song,
 In slavery's island free;
 shall "a still small voice" be heard,
 as humble as the humming-bird,
 In Britain's groves of oak;
 from the peasant from the king,
 every ear shall ceaseless ring,
 "Free Afric from the yoke!"

From the Richmond (Va.) Religious Herald.

Every one sees that something must be done in
 relation to the colored people. What is to be done
 the question? The wisest cannot tell. So diffi-
 cult the subject, that all have put it off until
 an obvious necessity has compelled our best politi-
 cians to determine to fix a steady eye upon the
 subject, until some light shall dawn upon
 the gloom. Though we feel, in common with
 every other citizen of our country, an anxiety that
 some measure should be adopted for relieving our
 people from one of its heaviest burdens, we have al-
 ways considered it, and we do still consider it,
 but we are loath to leave the subject where it ought to be
 in the hands of politicians.

There is one subject upon which we think
 it our duty to speak out; it is the importance of
 circulating religious instruction to the peo-

ple of color. On this subject, we should think
 there would be but one opinion. To say nothing
 of the value of every immortal soul, the influence
 of the holy doctrines and pious precepts of the Bi-
 ble, is enough to justify their being inculcated on
 every rational immortal. We believe it is conced-
 ed by all who believe the scriptures to be the word
 of God, that if every person (whatever might be
 his condition or circumstances,) were to live un-
 der the influence of the doctrines and precepts of
 Christ, he would be a useful member of society.
 So fully have all good men been convinced of this,
 that they have been desirous that every class of
 society should be instructed in divine things.

END OF OPPRESSION.

Let mammon hold while mammon can,
 The bones and blood of living man;
 Let tyrants scorn while tyrants dare,
 The shrieks and writhings of despair;
 The end will come, it will not wait,
 Bonds, yokes and scourges have their date;
 Slavery itself must pass away,
 And be a tale of yesterday.

James Montgomery.

FRAGMENT.

Upon a comprehensive view of this subject, we
 think it may be asserted boldly, and without fear
 of contradiction, that the worst slavery, the most
 total prostration of the rights of man, and the most
 entire degradation of the image of God, are exhib-
 ited in the bondage of the negroes. This is the
 slavery which is not only practised and tolerated,
 on the plea that it is an entailed and unavoidable
 evil, but is absolutely defended in the House of Re-
 presentatives of the free men of the United States,
 as being consistent with Holy Scripture, and with
 the mild religion of our Redeemer. Negro slave-
 ry has been compared to the bondage of the He-
 brews and Romans; but there is no parallel, scarce
 a remote analogy between them. The slavery of
 the Hebrews was as the submission of sons to
 their fathers; the slaves formed part of one com-
 mon household, of which the patriarch was the
 kind paternal head; they labored in common with
 his own offspring, they tended his flocks with his
 own sons and daughters; they were protected by
 special ordinances of the Jewish law, and at the
 expiration of fifty years, there was a manumission
 of all slaves, and every one was entitled to land
 and money from their masters: and in addition to
 this, there was that most important of all differ-
 ences, viz: that Hebrew slavery was not heredi-
 tary. Even this mild kind of bondage extended
 no further than to those who were actually pur-
 chased by the master; their offspring were free,
 and instead of the heart-sickening certainty of
 the American slave, that the oppression under
 which he suffers will be perpetuated, perhaps in
 an aggravated form, to his latest posterity. The
 Jewish bondsman saw in perspective for his off-
 spring, liberty, and perhaps honor and happiness.
 Among the Romans, if a slave exhibited talents,
 and became distinguished for his mental powers,
 he generally obtained his freedom; and many of
 the most illustrious poets, statesmen, and warriors
 of Rome were freed men. To compare then the
 kind and paternal government of the Hebrew
 slave, his certain prospect of obtaining an honora-
 ble freedom, or the hope of a Roman servant, who
 felt within his breast the energies and ambition of
 a powerful mind, to that dull, heartless, and op-

pressive reality, which sits like an incubus upon the breast of an American slave, that never to him shall the light of freedom dawn, or the present abjectness of his condition be changed for his rightful station among the inhabitants of the earth; to compare the two prospects together, is to contrast the occasional overcast of bright day with the impenetrable of starless midnight, or to equal the whispers of hope with the sullen silence of despair.

Bettle's Notices of Negro Slavery.

INSTITUTION FOR COLORED FEMALES. Miss Prudence Crandall, of Canterbury, Conn. has opened a boarding school 'for young ladies and little misses of color,' where all branches usually taught in boarding schools are taught;—terms twenty-five dollars per quarter. From the Liberator we learn that the people of Canterbury have had a public meeting, the echo of the meeting by which the citizens of New Haven so degraded themselves last year. Why is it that any people in New England wish to declare by vote of public meetings, that they are opposed to the efforts of christian philanthropy for improving the character and condition of our people of color? *N. York Evangelist.*

A great excitement prevails in Canterbury, Connecticut, relative to a proposition for establishing in that town a school for colored females. Town meetings have been held, and like that at Ephesus, when Paul was there, great confusion prevailed. It must be an awful thing to have colored people able to read and write. Magistrates would lose a great many fees, unless the whites should, by way of opposition, conclude not to learn.

U. S. Gazette.

CIRCULAR.

CONVENTIONAL BOARD, }
Philadelphia, April, 1833. }

FELLOW CITIZENS:—

In conformity with a resolution of the Conventional Board to me directed, I hereby give notice that the next *Annual Convention of the Free People of Color*, will assemble in the city of Philadelphia, on the first Monday of June next ensuing, at ten o'clock, A. M.

And for the information of all concerned, the following extract from the regulations of the Convention is published, viz:—

'That each society in the United States, organized by the recommendation of the Convention, be, and are hereby authorised, to send delegates, not exceeding five in number, to represent them in the Convention, to be held as aforesaid. And that, in places where it is not practicable to form societies at present, the people shall have the same privilege, provided that they contribute to the furthering of the objects of the Convention.'

And the Board would earnestly, but respectfully, request of their brethren throughout the union, to form societies in every city, town or village, wherever it may be practicable, and send their full complement of delegates to the ensuing Convention in June.

The attention or attendance of the philanthropists of any nation, will be highly acceptable, and duly appreciated.

Respectfully,
JUNIUS C. MOREL,
Corresponding Secretary.

SLAVERY IN THE FRENCH COLONIES. The *Jamaica Courant* of the 4th January, gives some extracts of a letter from Mr. M'Queen, dated at Badoes, the 12th of December. Mr. M'Queen has been in the French Colonies, Martinique and Gaudaloupe, from whence a deputation of the planters had proceeded, a twelvemonth before, to the French Government, on the subject of negro emancipation. One of the deputation who had returned to Gaudaloupe, on account of bad health, gave Mr. M'Queen the following account:—'When deputies reached Paris and the Government, they were distinctly informed that their journey was fruitless, that the Government consider these colonies lost and of no use, and that they had made up their minds to immediate emancipation, which if the West Indians objected to, they might be the consequence, as the utmost they would be brought to do, would be to continue their grants and authorities for five years, after which they would be left to their fate. The French Government, moreover, told them in these matters they acted in strict accordance with the British Government.'

NEW YORK PHOENIX SOCIETY.

An institution under the above name, composed of colored people, and those friendly to their interests, has recently been formed in New York. It promises to be very efficient in elevating the condition of the free people of color.

SLAVERY IN ST. HELENA.

It is stated that one-fifth of the slave population of the island of St. Helena has been already emancipated, and that in the course of four or five years a slave will not be found on that island.

SLAVERY IN THE WORLD.

The number of slaves in the various parts of the world, is calculated to be about five millions and a half; of whom upwards of one million and a half exist under the republican government of the United States!

Terms of Subscription

TO THE
GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION
VOL. XIII.

This work will henceforth be issued monthly in the CITY OF WASHINGTON. It will be printed on fine paper, and folded in the form, each number making sixteen large pages. A title page and index will accompany each volume.

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GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, WASHINGTON, D. C. AT \$1.00 PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE.

* We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.—*Declaration of Independence, U. S.*

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MAY, 1833.

[WHOLE NUMBER 283. VOL. XIII.]

NEW AGENTS.

The following gentlemen will act as agents for the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, in place of others removed or resigned—

Abner H. Francis, *Trenton, N. J.*

Evan Lewis, *Philadelphia, Pa.*

Charles Canby, *Wilmington, Del.*

The newspapers have stated that the Secretary of the Navy of the United States has visited the southern ports, with the view of putting them in a proper state of defence, on account of the expected abolition of slavery in the West Indies. There can be no doubt on the subject of the abolition of West India slavery by the British parliament. The ministers and an overwhelming majority of the commons are pledged to the nation, and some plan of emancipation *must and will* be adopted soon. But the *supposition* that the abolition of slavery in the British colonies should create a *necessity* for putting our southern ports in a posture of defence, is idle and ridiculous. How will such a measure endanger the peace of the south? Will the British government authorize an attack? Will the emancipated slaves invade the southern States? No cool-headed man believes either. No. It is the consciousness of wrong and injustice—of a perseverance in the corrupt system, when religion and sound policy—the dictates of reason, humanity, and a regard to the prosperity of our country—all combine to demand an immediate restitution of the stolen rights of two millions of our fellow citizens;—it is this consciousness of violated duty that engenders all the fears and apprehensions that are felt about the abolition of West India slavery.

Abolition in the West Indies is certain. The following resolutions shew the circumstances under which the present parliament were elected.

A Meeting of Friends to the Abolition of British Colonial Slavery, held at the King's Head, Poultry, November 5, 1832.

RESOLVED, That a Committee of Correspondence, consisting of members of the different denominations of christians, be now formed to correspond without delay with the friends of the immediate abolition of slavery, in those parts of the kingdom where candidates for parliament have not declared themselves in favour of that measure, and to urge upon them to procure without delay a distinct reply to the following query:—*Whether, in the event of their becoming members of the ensuing parliament, they will strenuously promote and vote for the IMMEDIATE AND TOTAL ABOLITION OF BRITISH COLONIAL SLAVERY; it being clearly understood that this means the immediate release of*

the slaves from the condition of goods and chattels in which they now stand, to place them under the protection of such laws as shall secure to them the rights and privileges of the other classes of British subjects.

RESOLVED, That measures be immediately taken for establishing similar Committees in Edinburgh and Dublin.

The editor of this paper is now from home. The specific object of his journey will be more fully explained hereafter. But we feel justified in saying at present, that if he succeeds in his undertaking, which we have reason to believe he will, the cause of suffering humanity will be benefited, and the principles for which he has long contended will be advanced. At the same time it should be borne in mind that it is clearly seen, both by the editor and those to whose superintendence he has committed this paper in his absence, that the scourge and curse of slavery can never be removed from this country by any system of colonization or emigration that may be adopted.

The Africans have a *right* to be free on the soil of their nativity, and no impression can ever be made on their numbers, by colonization. A door of relief may be opened to a few persecuted individuals, and an asylum may be provided for a small number of liberated slaves whom the laws of some of the States will not permit to remain. But the great mass of the Africans must forever remain on the soil of their birth, and there be restored to their rights.

The following letter to the editor will express our own views, except that we *hope*, almost "against hope," that the sacred cause of abolition will never be stained with blood. We deprecate all violence—we advocate the universal *right* of every man to his freedom, and cease not to declare that a just God will not permit the abomination of slavery long to exist. But we *hope* to see it abolished peaceably, though we *dread* the consequences of an obstinate refusal to "let the oppressed go free."

"If thou shouldst succeed in thy undertaking, I have little doubt but that it will be the means of settling a happy colony, and of relieving a great number of the unhappy blacks of the south. I have long looked at that country as the best suited for the colonization of the people of color of the United States, of any in my knowledge. The removing of blacks from the southern States, no doubt, will render those who are removed more happy; but what effect will it have on those that are left behind?—or on the period of slavery? These are questions which it is probable thou couldst answer more correctly than myself; but it is my settled opinion that the southern States are

their native home, and the place where they ought to be permitted to stay; that their number in those States never will be diminished, and that slavery never will be abolished, until it is done by the sword, or the fear of the sword,—and that the colonization of that race is calculated to prolong the period of slavery. Yet I do not advance these opinions as a plea against thy undertaking. I believe it to be a duty to procure a place of refuge for those who have the privilege and an inclination to leave the land of their oppression; for the time will come, and I believe soon, that the slaves will be free."

In a number of the "Daily Intelligencer," just received, we find the editor displaying some ingenuity, and exhibiting something like argument to prove himself totally destitute of moral principle. It was not necessary to take so much pains to establish this fact, which was sufficiently obvious from what had previously appeared in that paper. The points conceded in the following extract, are all that is required to demonstrate the moral and religious duty of the white man to grant all that we ask for the African. If "Providence never created a man, whatever his complexion, to be an oppressor—never created him to be oppressed,"—will He hold him guiltless who knowingly and wilfully violates His laws? Will this advocate of injustice and oppression, blaspheme the God of heaven by saying that he has made our safety to consist in outraging and contemning the ordinances of Providence? The "right" by "which the strong man would push his weaker brother from the plank," never existed; and if it did, would not apply to the case before us. The plank is long enough and broad enough, and strong enough for both: and to insure their safety and our own, we have only to do justly, love mercy, and walk uprightly. We have only to treat the African as our brother—to refrain from injuring, oppressing, and slandering him, and to give him the same opportunities of intellectual improvement and moral culture as we possess, and then "the yawning fury of the waves" will vanish from the imagination, and the plank will appear a broad field, in which we may mutually labor, and be prosperous and happy.

"On the rights and the wrongs of the negro it is in vain to enlarge. Created by the same Providence and sharing the same nature—he is, beyond a doubt, entitled to the same rights as the white man. What is oppression to us is oppression to the African; and under the same character by which we claim our freedom—he is declared to be equally free, and equally entitled to make the laws which bind, and exercise the government which controls him. Nature placed him by our side, with a soul as free, and a brow as erect as ours; and the mind which would invoke the sanction of reason to invalidate the negro's rights, or excuse the white man's wrongs; must be strangely clouded with prejudice, or perverted by evil. Providence never created a man, whatever

his complexion, to be an oppressor—never created him to be oppressed.

"Their natural rights, therefore, are by us undisputed. But does the exercise of these rights accord with our safety? If ay, proclaim them free—let them go with us to the polls—share the seats in our courts; join in the deliberations of our councils, and participate in all the powers and honors of our government. If not, however, by the law of nature which points out the greatest good of the greatest number as the desire of Providence; by the inalienable prerogative of self-defence; and by the right by which the strong man would push his weaker brother from the plank which would not suffice to save them both from the yawning fury of the waves—we are not only justified, but constrained to prevent the exercise of those rights."

But the secret cause of all this morbid excitement is shown in the following short paragraph.

"It must be remembered that these measures do not tend to the colonization of the colored population. On the contrary, these zealots are the bigotted opponents of that noble and benevolent scheme; and have by their influence over the minds of the colored men, given to the institution a blow which it is feared will be found fatal."

This is the unpardonable sin. These measures of abolitionists "do not tend to colonization. They do not join in the unholy combination to banish the free colored man from the land of his birth!! Here is the secret of all this feigned alarm about nothing. We cannot, if we would shut our eyes to the ominous fact, that those who are most noted for abusing and slandering the colored people, and for the application to abolitionists, of approbrious epithets, such as "fanatics" and "disturbers of the peace of society," are friends to African colonization, if not members of the Colonization Society.

No definite and fixed plan seems yet to have been adopted and made public by the British Government, for the abolition of slavery in the British colonies. Several plans have been spoken of as likely to be pursued; but none of them bear the unequivocal stamp of authority. The subject requires, and will receive the deliberate attention of the Cabinet, and will certainly be brought before Parliament soon, with a view to the annihilation of the execrable system. But we are unable yet to announce the precise mode of accomplishing this great measure of reform.

We request the attention of our readers to the article taken from "Poulson's Daily Advertiser." It was written by a colored man of Philadelphia and refutes the slanders put forth by the enemies of the African race, in regard to the designs and objects of the Convention. No one can read the article without being convinced of the absurdity and maliciousness of these slanders, unless "clouded by prejudice or perverted by evil."

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

CONVENTION OF PEOPLE OF COLOR.

"A convention of the representatives of the free people of color of the United States, will assemble in Philadelphia on the first of the ensuing month. The object of this meeting, as avowed by those concerned, is 'the elevation of the character of the people of color of this, their native land,' and the 'removal of the barriers which now obstruct their elevation in society.' The whole of this projected movement strikes us as singular and even startling in its avowed object and its probable results. The population of the same country by two races of men, wholly irreconcilable in their color, character, habits, disposition and interests, must necessarily be attended with extended and serious evils; but when circumstances place these different races so far upon an equality in power and elevation of character as to encourage and sustain a belligerence, the consequences must be truly appalling and fearful.

"It will naturally be asked what cause has hastened or enhanced so fearful a consummation? It has been occasioned partially by the numerical increase of the colored population, and partially by their increased intelligence and the mounting and discontented spirit which it has induced—but in a far greater degree by a blind and mistaken philanthropy in the whites; a philanthropy which, under the mask of peace, threatens the most horrible warfare, and with the promise of relief, would fall down upon the blacks, evils ten thousand fold more appalling. This spirit, as disinterested as it is mistaken, has taught lessons of repining and discontent to the colored man; and raised his eyes to an elevation only to be attained through a sea of blood.

"In the south, where the danger is the most imminent and the apprehension most deeply and visibly felt—the people regard the efforts made in the north with terror and abhorrence; and under the mask of other complaints, seek a separation from a people who seem determined to bathe their vallies in blood, and to offer up their wives and children to the horrors of unbridled negro barbarity and passion. Nor is this distrust altogether unreasonable. No one can doubt that this convention has been projected by the whites—no one can doubt what are its purposes and tendencies. *Subjects will be there broached whose agitation sounds the tocsin of an eternal civil war!* The strength of the colored population will be there computed, a concert of action effected, the sword held in their hands, and their enemies—their natural and necessary enemies, pointed out. For the consequences let the reader turn to the details of the Haytien insurrection. True, the result would here be different. The attempt would be useless. But it may be asked, is this the consummation which these pseudo-philanthropists desire? Is it not better for the colored as well as the white population of the country that the jealousy of the latter should not be excited; that the blacks should rather endure those ills they have to fly to others which they know not of; and that their friends instead of exciting discontent and raising desires which cannot be gratified, should endeavour to alleviate their ills, and by retaining them from the country, impart to them the privileges which here are wholly unattainable."

see verified in our day: "The wicked flee when no man pursueth, but the righteous are bold as a lion." If it were not for the mischievous tendency of fulminating such ridiculous and groundless alarms, we could pity the nervous debility of the writer, whose distempered imagination has conjured up such frightful phantoms of blood and slaughter, and insurrections and massacres, and plots and ETERNAL CIVIL WAR, where a healthy intellect can discern no cause of alarm. But "guilt makes cowards of us all."

A convention of *free colored people* is to be held in Philadelphia—yes, of *colored people*,—for what? To promote the improvement of the African race. And what is there in this to frighten a man out of his sober senses, and make him talk like a lunatic? They are *colored people*, endeavouring to improve their condition—laboring to promote a work which would be praised and honored, if their *SKINS were paler*. But they are *colored people*. And the sapient editor of the "Intelligencer" can see nothing in such a movement among *colored people*, but "*blood*" and "*insurrections*" and "*ETERNAL civil war*."

It were "bootless and vain" to attempt to reason with one whose head is filled with images of "*blood*." A cooling regimen, and tonic remedies to brace the nerves, are the best means of cure for the patient. But for the satisfaction of those who *can* reason and reflect, and trace the connexion between moral causes and their effects, we shall examine a little in detail, the extracts before us.

There is said to be something "*startling*" in the "avowed object" of the convention, and in "its probable results." What are they? As stated by this alarmist, they are "the elevation of the character of the people of color, in this their native land, and the removal of the barriers which now obstruct their *elevation in society*." The elevation of the moral and intellectual character of any people has always, *till now*, been deemed honorable, and cause of rejoicing to republicans, and especially to *christians*.

The free colored people in this country have been stigmatised for their ignorance and degradation, and held up to scorn and derision as the "most wretched, depraved and abandoned race on earth." But the moment the more intelligent among them adopt measures for elevating their moral and intellectual character, and for removing the obstructions which retard this elevation of character, the alarm is sounded as if the pillars of the social edifice were about to be prostrated; by the same class of persons, too, who are forever harping upon their ignorance and degradation. They have been so long in the practice of declaring, with the assurance of oracles, that the colored people could not possibly rise to respectability in

The preceding extracts, taken from the "Daily Intelligencer," published in Philadelphia, reminds us of the testimony of Scripture, which we often

this country, that they dread, with instinctive horror, the detection of their calumny. They have pronounced their elevation impossible, and every attempt to improve their condition is a blow aimed at their infallibility.

But how do the colored people propose to remove the barriers which obstruct their "*elevation in society*?" By disturbing the peace of their neighbors? By breaking the laws which protect them in the enjoyment of their rights? Does any *sane* man believe that they harbour designs upon the peace and safety of the whites? No. Such imagined dangers are too ridiculous to be believed. They would remove the barriers which obstruct their elevation, by promoting morality, religion, temperance, sobriety, industry, economy and fidelity among their people—by promoting education and the improvement of their minds—and thus prove to the world that they were equally susceptible of moral and intellectual elevation with the whites.

This sage editor deals liberally in slanderous imputations upon those philanthropists who have presumed to "open their mouths for the dumb," and to plead the cause of the oppressed—those who, like the good Samaritan, have had the *imprudence* to bind up the wounds of him who had fallen among thieves, and been robbed and abused; and who had been left to perish, by the cold-hearted priest, and the self-righteous pharisee. But the shameless audacity of his direct charge of fomenting war and bloodshed, is exceeded by nothing in the present age, but the offered reward of ten thousand dollars for the abduction of a free citizen of the United States. He says "no one can doubt that this convention has been projected by the whites—no one can doubt what are its purposes and tendencies." And what are these purposes and tendencies which no one can doubt? Hear him again. "*Subjects will be there brouched whose agitation sounds the tocsin of an eternal civil war.* The strength of the colored population will be there computed, a concert of action effected, the sword placed in their hands, and their enemies—their natural and necessary enemies pointed out." This quite out-Herods Herod. "O shame where is thy blush! O conscience where is thy sting!" Were there no compunctious visitations to check the utterance of so foul a slander upon peaceful citizens? Did no crimson glow mantle the cheek of the calumniator, while the pen delineated, in legible characters, the base accusation? Did no whispering conviction pronounce the name and describe the *character* of the charge, so shamelessly uttered?

But who are the men upon whom the chief responsibility of this daring plot is fathered? The abolitionists, who are said to be the projectors of

the convention. Men whose principles lead to universal peace—who believe even *defensive war* to be forbidden by the religion of Jesus Christ. But it is not true that the convention was projected by the whites. The first motives were to aid their brethren in Canada, and to devise means for the establishment of a seminary to educate colored young men. The inducements to continue it are a desire to promote the moral and intellectual elevation of the African race,—inducements which will receive the applause and command the respect of every sound patriot and practical christian. The sessions of the convention are open. If measures of the character so unequivocally asserted, are to be proposed, there can be no difficulty in detecting the plot. Let those who are so dreadfully frightened at the prospect of a few colored men assembling in convention, attend the next session as spectators, and if the order and decorum which they will witness, and the lessons of morality and obedience to the laws which they will hear inculcated, do not calm their agitated nerves and allay their fears, we shall conclude their case is hopeless and their disease without remedy.

From Poulson's American Daily Advertiser.

CONVENTION OF PEOPLE OF COLOUR.

About a column under the head of the "Daily Intelligencer" of the 1st instant, is occupied in denouncing, in qualified terms, the existence and character, both of the present and future bearing of said Convention, on the now unfortunate but otherwise peaceful condition of this country. The writer, like most men unacquainted with the subjects, and rather ambitious to excel in temperate declamation, has dealt out to us a lecture on *bloody motives*, which have had an existence only in his own imagination, and with an apparent sincerity, he declares them to be objects which will occupy the deliberations of said Convention. This is rather *unfriendly*, but we are willing to abide the issue, provided he will adduce his proofs—which, as a matter of courtesy, we most heartily request.

"The Convention for bettering the condition of the Free People of Colour," held its first session in this city in the month of September, 1830. It has since held *two* meetings in the month of June 1831 and 2, and proposes to hold its next session on the first Monday in next month. Publicity of its meetings have always been given through periodicals of extensive circulation—its business has always been transacted with open doors, and its proceedings published to the world.

The writer has betrayed considerable weakness in asserting that Conventions, conducted as they always have been, could endanger the peace and happiness of society. 1st. What scheme could there be concocted, that would not *immediately* be made public through the medium of visitors. 2dly. To use his own language, "*their increased intelligence would deter them from the practice of an act so monstrous, without a perfect safeguard.*" 3dly. If they possess an insurrectionary spirit, what better mode of detecting it? But why

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

to discuss a fabrication, that by the first analytic touch, will be dissolved into a pusillanimous element, fit only of itself to feed the "Mawworm" of envy and malice, and to alarm the ignorant and unthinking, by representing to them that the moral and literary improvement of the People of Colour will bring down upon them the elements of destruction. No reflecting man could be induced to believe it. No people accustomed to view *causes* and their *effects*, could believe that such inductive sophistry was other than the effluvia from the hot bed of prejudice and hatred.

The original object of the Convention will be vigilantly pursued, viz:—To elevate the character and condition of the Free People of Colour. To complete the promotion of said object, it has always appealed to the *good*, the *great*, and *wise*, to support them in an undertaking that must naturally redound to the peace, happiness, and prosperity of the American People.

The Convention has never meddled with the abstract question of slavery, although they deny the inherent right of "man to hold property in man."

They likewise differ from a large portion of the American People on the scheme of African Colonization, they prefer, to adopt the language of the paragraph, "rather to endure the ills they have, than fly to others they know not of." If the system of colonizing our people on the coast of Africa, is a scheme that promises so much towards evangelizing that benighted country, and the redemption of our people from a vassalage that ought to make the savage weep, it is certainly worthy of an investigation. No liberal mind could fault us for rejecting it, because its operation seems to us to promise destruction, while its theory promises blessings.

It is a "philosophical axiom," "that it is necessary to *feel* acutely in order that we may judge correctly." Certainly our opponents will not deny us the advantage in this sense. Let any man suppose himself the work of an "almighty" hand, endowed by nature with all the qualifications that ennoble the creature, whose conduct and character has been such as to render him an ornament of creation, and an object of favor to the God who gave him existence—and then let him suppose that he is deprived of terrestrial happiness without having committed crime—that he must be transported from a land of science and civilization, to an uncultivated region, to share savage barbarity and heathen darkness—only because his complexion is a little more *sable* than a majority of his countrymen—will not his soul rise up with its majestic power and reject it.

We respectfully ask *colonizationists* to draw their conclusions from such premises, and give us the result of their inquiries.

He says, "that subjects will be there *broached* whose agitation sounds the tocsin of an eternal civil war." This is truly ridiculous, as it brings contempt on some of the best citizens of our country, and if true, would subject them to the crime of being accessaries to such a *plot*.

The convention has never been a secret *depot* for *insurrectory plots*, it has been visited almost every day by men who rank among the first for usefulness in our country. Men who for literary worth, and unbounded benevolence, are fit to be compared with the greatest of this, or any past age—men whose names will live as long, and shine with as brilliant lustre on posterity, as those of a FRANKLIN, a HOWARD, or a BENTLEY; and are

these men to be guilty of quietly looking on the *bloody manufacture*? Are not these sentinels of public safety? Besides at almost every hour of the sittings of the convention there have been more or less white persons present unknown to its members. Among the list of visitors, we shall take the liberty to name the Rev. R. R. Gurley, Sec'y. A. C. Society, Mr. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, and the Rev. James Patterson, of this city. The first and last of these gentlemen addressed the convention, and were treated kindly—and are there to be ranked with those plot-makers who would destroy the happiness of society? Many others no less distinguished, and *who* we are proud to rank our *best* friends, might be mentioned; and who are noble safe guards of peace as ever trod the soil. But since *anti-colonization*, *fanaticism*, and *heresy* have become *synonymous*, it is unnecessary to mention their names.

The concluding question arises, what would our enemies have us to do? They pour fourth their indignation at our *ignorance*, *immorality*, and *degradation*—if we attempt to become enlightened, moral, and respectable, they scoff and persecute us, by sounding the alarm of insurrection, bloodshed, murder, and all those horrors, that is fit only to be committed by the savage, rather than the civilized. Therefore we will say to them, we cannot serve you—you are neither God nor mammon, for nothing will satisfy you. We will pursue, with the assistance of Providence, an onward, upright course, believing it to be the best adapted to promote the object of our creation, and which will secure us both temporal and spiritual happiness; and we will solicit the aid of our friends in the discharge of every duty that is consistent with our relation to God and our duty to man.

The People of Colour have taken a review of their situation, and plainly behold the cloud that hangs suspended over them; but they are unwilling to believe but that it will dispel as their moral vision begins to penetrate the regions of human greatness—their hope is in the advancement of science, morality, and religion.

They desire no such relief from thralldom, as was practised by the heathen nations of antiquity—they do not desire to raise up a Hannibal, a Scipio, an Alexander, or a Buonaparte, or any modern warrior, that should drag them through a sea of blood, into a precarious liberty, scarcely worth enjoying,—they desire to have no such kings of murder, rapine, and blood—they rejoice that they live in other times, in an age of light, where that beautiful passage of scripture is fast fulfilling,—"when the swords shall be turned into ploughshares, and that people and nations shall learn war no more."

The object of the convention, as will be seen by its publications, is to instil the doctrine, that the only true method of acquiring liberty, is by "moral suasion" alone. To accomplish this, we have recommended the total abandonment of immoral conduct, a strict attention to the advancement of education, and an honest, upright walk in life.—Finally, believing that these would remove the burden of degradation from our characters, and render us a useful people, we therefore hope for its success, and that wherever the tree of science may spread its branches, our people will be found gathering its delicious fruits, until their moral light open to them the enjoyments and blessings due to all mankind.

It is with reluctance I have ventured to correct the unjust accusation against the convention, but

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

however feeble, I trust it shall never want for an advocate. A MEMBER OF THE CONVENTION.

SUBJECTS which may deserve consideration at the Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society.

I. Whether any, and if so, what changes should be made in the constitution and organization of the society?

II. What are the best methods for increasing the funds of the society?

III. What to obtain appropriations from the State Legislatures, or from Congress?

IV. What shall be, precisely, the relations between the auxiliary societies and the parent society?

V. Shall the society make any commercial operations subservient to the cause of colonization?

VI. Is it advisable further to explore the African coast and endeavour to found new settlements; and if so, what measures should be adopted for this purpose?

VII. Is it desirable to colonize elsewhere, than in Africa, for instance in Hayti? (The Haytian government will allow an agent of the society to reside with any emigrants that may be sent thither—to give each emigrant land with fee simple title, and to support such emigrants for one year.)

VIII. How far shall education in this country or Africa, be embraced in the views and efforts of this society?

IX. Should any thing, and if so, what be done to secure the aid of Christian nations in Europe in the civilization of the Africans?

X. What (if any thing) should be done to enlighten the free people of colour in regard to the objects and proceedings of the Society?

Richmond, (Indiana) May 18.

THE KIDNAPPER.

The colored child, which we mentioned some time since as having been kidnapped from this place, was, on Saturday last, brought back, by Mr. Garr. The infamous kidnapper, Harris, proceeded directly to the city of St. Louis, where he sold the boy, to the captain of a steamboat, belonging to Louisville, to which place the boy was taken; where he was finally recovered through the exertions of Mr. Haines. The gentlemen who recovered the child, after pursuing as far as St. Louis, and hearing that he was in Louisville, did not follow Harris any further, but proceeded immediately in quest of the child. We have learned some further particulars relating to Harris, from which it would seem that he is one of the most accomplished villains which has appeared for some time. He has the exterior and manners of a perfect gentleman, and is thereby enabled the more effectually to impose upon the unsuspecting. It is pretty certain that he has subsisted for a number of years by gambling, swindling, horse stealing, and kidnapping. In going from here to St. Louis, he succeeded in passing about two hundred dollars of counterfeit money. When he came to this neighborhood, he had just escaped from custody in the state of Kentucky. Mr. Owen, the gentleman to whom Harris sold the boy, says that, if money can be raised sufficient to bear his expenses, he will pursue him, and have him brought to justice. This should be done. Such men as Harris ought not to be suffered to run at large longer than cannot be avoided. It is proposed to hold a meeting

on Saturday evening, to devise some measures to have Harris pursued.—*Liberator.*

From the Journal of Commerce.

FROM JAMAICA.

We are indebted to Capt. Crane, of the ship John W. Cater, for Jamaica papers to March 14th. They contain no news. We subjoin a letter from our correspondent.

Kingston, Jamaica, Feb. 11th, 1833.

You have heard of the splendid estates and sumptuous living of the Jamaicans: Of their planters, who could vie with the princes of the earth in their gorgeous palaces and rich equipment. Alas! those days are past. Their estates are a burthen, and even their life is held by a slender tenure. They know not but that their food, served by a numerous retinue, contains the deadly poison. How horrible to fear the assassin and the incendiary, in the most familiar faces. Yet such is the case, and one of the fairest islands of this fair earth must be abandoned to beings whose situation has made them little superior to the beasts, and whose course is downward. You well know that I am no friend to slavery. Far be it from me to advocate it. I give facts.

Under existing circumstances, I am well assured that the white inhabitants cannot remain. Their costly sugar estates will not pay the expense of management. Credit is entirely extinct. An estate of 200 negroes could not hypothecate the ensuing crop for 200l. In fact, merchants in England direct their factors to give no credit bottomed on cane top. Mortgagees relinquish immense sums, rather than pay trifling annuities on estates. A hundred negroes were sold for \$7,500. But legislation here and at home, a change of time, competition, and, for aught I know, the natural and necessary consequences of the system of slavery, have brought about this state of things.

Certain it is that real estate is considered almost without value, a heavy island debt is impending, taxation intolerable, and life itself exceedingly precarious. I learned the above in conversation with two gentlemen who have been long in the House of Assembly. The inhabitants generally labour under a keen sense of injury done them by the mother country, and look to ours as the land of promise. In consequence, many are making remittances to our cities. Some gentlemen of character and fortune have already removed, and many are preparing to follow. These gentlemen informed me that the emigration would be immediate and large. They inquire with great earnestness respecting the agriculture of the free states, as nothing would induce them to live again in a slave country.

HAYTI.

A proposition has been made to the Haytian government to establish a regular intercourse between all the ports of the island by the introduction of steam navigation. The projector, whose name is not given, but who is presumed to be an Englishman or American, offers to maintain a suitable steam vessel, on the condition of an exclusive grant for ten years, and other minor privileges necessary to the success of the scheme. What countenance will be afforded to it by the government is yet uncertain, the principal difficulties alleged being the existence of a law which prevents such a grant to foreigners, and the inter-

ference with the business of the coasting barges, which such a vessel would occasion.

From the New York American.

FREE NEGROES AND SLAVES.

We subjoin from the report of the Commons' Committee on slavery a few extracts from the important evidence of the Hon. Charles Fleming, the Admiral of the West India station, who has resided in Jamaica, and has frequently visited Cuba, Hayti, and the Caraccas. These extracts prove that the negroes will soon free themselves, if they are not freed by the government—that the free negroes are industrious, and will work regularly, even in the cultivation of sugar—that they are competent to fulfil the duties of governors, generals, and priests—and that the free blacks of Cuba and Hayti are incomparably better fed and happier than the slaves of Jamaica:—

“Were you much struck with the increased knowledge of the slave population, when you last saw them, compared with what you observed among them on a former occasion? Yes, very much, and I was confirmed by that, in my opinion, that they are not inferior to white people in intellect.

“From what you saw and what you heard from persons on whose information you can rely, are you satisfied that reading and listening to works read are very prevalent among the slaves in Jamaica?—Yes, I know it of my own knowledge. I have been informed that it is very prevalent; I have seen one man reading a Gazette to a gang of slaves.

“Are you of opinion that if the power of reading becomes general among them, so stimulated by their condition as slaves, that the knowledge of what passes here upon the subject and the knowledge of what passes in the Legislature of Jamaica upon the subject, is consistent with the permanent endurance on their part of the state of slavery? No, I think it will put an end to slavery; it will be impossible to keep enlightened people slaves, treated as they now are, as has been proved by their late insurrection.”

The Admiral says:—

“I am of opinion that the West Indies could be cultivated by free labor, and I ground that opinion upon my experience of what I have seen in Hayti, the Caraccas, particularly, where all are free, and in the islands of Trinidad and Cuba, and upon the industry of the free negroes in the islands of the Bahamas.

“Was not one of the Generals in the Caraccas a black man? Yes, General Peyanga was a perfectly black man, a complete negro; he was a very well informed man, a very well educated person, and well read in Spanish literature: he was a very extraordinary man.

“Did you happen to know whether English officers served under him? Many were serving under him; I knew many other black officers, of very considerable acquirements, in the Caraccas and in Cuba also. I have known a black priest, a perfect negro, born in the Cape de Verd Islands, a very well informed person.”

Speaking of the black republic of Hayti, Admiral Fleming says—

“Are you aware that there is a prohibition against all corporal punishment in that country? Yes, I know there is.

“Did they appear to you to be living comfortably? Yes; the most happy, the richest, the best fed, and the most comfortable negroes that I saw

in the West Indies were in Hayti, even better than in the Caraccas.

“Were they decidedly better than the slaves in Jamaica? No comparison.

“Do you happen to know whether the population of Hayti has increased within the last twenty years? Of my own knowledge I cannot know that; neither are there any very correct returns; but I have every reason to believe that, since the last time the French retired from the island in 1800, the population has trebled.

“What were their victuals, compared with the food of the slaves in Jamaica—were they superior, or much the same? They were fed on meat principally; cattle are very cheap in Hayti.

“Is meat much cheaper in Hayti than in Jamaica? Yes, much cheaper; it is 2d. a pound, whilst the contract price in Jamaica is 12d.; in both places these are the highest prices.”

From the U. S. Gazette.

TO THE PUBLIC.

We, the people of color of this city, being deeply impressed with the necessity of promoting among our rising youth, a proper cultivation for literary pursuits and improvement of the faculties and powers of their minds, deem it necessary to state, for the information of our friends, wherever situated, that we have succeeded in organizing an institution under the title of the “Philadelphia Library Company of Colored Persons.”

It will be perceived that this is not a mere fractional effort, the design of any single society among us, of which we are proud it can with truth be said there are many, all having originated for our mutual benefit and improvement; neither is it sectarian, but its features are such as to embrace the entire population of the city and county of Philadelphia, as its name imports.

In accordance with which we most respectfully appeal to the friends of science and to the people of color, for such books or other donations as will facilitate the object of this institution.

The following individuals are duly authorized to solicit and receive such donations on behalf of the said company, as a liberal and enlightened public may feel disposed to bestow, viz:

Robert C. Gordon, jr. 212, South Seventh St.

Frederick A. Hinton, 82, South Fourth Street.

Daniel B. Brownhill, 15, Arch Street.

James Needham, 12, North Fourth Street.

Thomas Butler, 6, South Eighth Street.

Wm. S. Gordon, 99, Callowhill Street.

Robert Purvis, 11, Jefferson Row, Lombard Street.

Daniel Colly, Ninth, above Coates Street.

Junius C. Morel, Passyunk Road.

Morris Brown, jr. Shippen Street.

From the New York Advocate.

THE JOURNAL OF COMMERCE AND THE ISLAND OF CUBA.

A few days since, the Dogberryans of the Journal of Commerce put forth the following unsound dogma in political economy, viz: “That a country may have no other business than agriculture, and yet may be very rich, bring all the world into her debt, and make the precious metals set in upon her like a flood.” To prove this, they instance the Island of Cuba, in the following manner. “She (Cuba) does not refine any of her immense sugar crop. She does not make a yard of cotton or woollen cloths, nor even the roughest

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

of all her implements of agriculture. Every thing is brought from abroad. The pauper labor of the old world is poured in upon her, and yet she is not drained by the world, but compels all other nations to come humbly with their silver and their gold, before she will part with the produce of her plantations. Let it then be set down as a truth, that a country may have no ships and no shuttles—nothing but ploughs and spades, and yet pay her way in the world, nay, get rich. An agricultural population may live without the help of any other population, may live *well*, fully as well as the operatives of a manufacturing, or the sailors of a commercial country.”

Not having then at hand the statistics of the Island of Cuba, we published a reply to the above article, showing that there was no parallel to be drawn between Cuba and a country containing a free white population. We beg leave now to submit to our readers an accurate statement, taken from a recent history of the Island of Cuba, by Don Ramon de la Sagra; for a translation of part of which, with a comment, we are indebted to our learned and distinguished fellow citizen, Felix Pascalis, D. H. M. H. S. Corresponding Member of the Royal Patriotic Society of Cuba, &c.

According to this work, the population of Cuba in 1829 was 311,050 whites, and 704,487 blacks and mustees—in all, 1,015,537 souls.

The whole produce of the Island, including all sorts of meats and vegetables, was, after deducting \$50 per head for consumption, \$19,643,993

Consumption, 50,776,590

100,420,583

The writer remarks, “that this statement has been obtained from public records of exportation, or of entry duties. Great, therefore, as it may appear, it is probably sufficiently exact for the purpose of showing how perfectly ridiculous is the nonsense of the Journal of Commerce.

By several calculations we have referred to, to ascertain the amount of the expenditure of our population, we find that the board, or in other words, the whole expense of living of working hands, is averaged at about \$1 75 per week, or per annum \$91. Now, as there may be some mustees who do not work, we shall take the black population at 700,000 souls, and suppose one-half of them to be laborers, which, considering that the women work, is not too large a proportion.

350,000 blacks of Cuba, working hands, if free white men, would require for food, \$91 per annum, \$31,850,000

350,000 blacks of Cuba, to clothe them if free white men, would require at least \$30 per annum, 10,500,000

350,000 blacks of Cuba, children and persons who do not work, if a free white population, would require full half the sum to clothe them, say \$15 per annum, 5,750,000

350,000 black children and persons of Cuba, who do not work, if free white population, would require full half price to feed them, say \$45 50 per annum, on an average, 15,925,000

300,000 whites, in Cuba, who do not work, to feed them at \$91 per annum, 27,300,000

300,000 whites, in Cuba, who do not work, would require to clothe them \$30, 9,000,000

Amount that would be consumed upon the lowest calculation, if Cuba were cultivated by freemen, \$100,325,000

Thus, at this extremely moderate calculation, if the Island of Cuba were cultivated by free men, and produced no more than it now produces, it will be seen it would be deprived entirely of its \$49,643,993 of exports. So that it appears, as we have before stated, that there is no manner of parallel between a free and a slave population, for the whole of the exports of the Island of Cuba arise from the non-consumption of food and clothing of the black population.

Now, the free men of the United States can see by the statement here given, that “Free Trade” calculates to reduce them down to the lowest possible standard of living, as mere agriculturists—denying them all the advantages of the mechanic arts and the aid of the sciences; in other words, to have only wealthy land holders and laborers. While the protective system, instead of reducing them down to a level with the slaves of Cuba—by shutting out the pauper labor from abroad, enables them to profit of every natural and political advantage of our country, aided by every art and every science. And instead of sending the farmer abroad for a market, as the planters of Cuba are sent abroad for their market, the protective system creates one at home at their own doors. Let them choose, then, between the political economy of the Journal of Commerce, the Evening Post, and all other enemies of American industry, and that of the protective system, which it is our pride and glory to advocate.

Let them say whether they wish to be put upon a par with the slaves of either Europe or Cuba for to this state will they be brought, if ever the day shall arrive when the government of the United States shall refuse to them the blessings of protection to their farms, their workshops, and their labour.

“THE PEACE MAKER.”

HENRY CLAY has been denominated “the peace maker.” He was once also called the “Advocate of African Emancipation.” But the settlement of the “Missouri Question” consigned this title to the “tomb of the Capulets.” By his exertions and influence, on that occasion, he sacrificed upon the altar of political expediency, the liberties of thousands of the African race.

In the late storm of nullification, the peace offering made to southern dictation, while South Carolina remained in an attitude of defiance to the constitutional authority of the Federal government, has very much the appearance of a cowardly surrender, to slavite domination, of those principles of national policy which had become almost identified with his name.

But whether he has succeeded in “settling the vexed question,” let the following extract from a speech of John C. Calhoun, in the Senate of the United States, subsequently delivered, be quoted as an explicit answer. The main part of the speech is in reply to one previously delivered by Daniel Webster: but he here adverts to the

marks of a Georgia senator. The "republicanism" of *slavites* appears to be called in question. Their REPUBLICANISM? *Astonishing.*

For the first time, we have heard an ominous reference to a provision in the constitution, which we have never known to be before alluded to in discussion, or in connexion with any of our measures. We refer to that provision in the constitution, in which the general government guarantees a republican form of government to the states—a power which, hereafter, if not rigidly restricted to the objects intended by the constitution, is destined to be a pretext to interfere with our political affairs and domestic institutions in a manner infinitely more dangerous than any other power which has ever been exercised on the part of the general government. I had supposed that every southern senator at least, would have been awake to the danger which menaces us from this new quarter; and that no sentiment would be uttered, on their part, calculated to countenance the exercise of this dangerous power. With these impressions, I heard the senator with amazement, alluding to Carolina, as furnishing a case which called for the enforcement of this guarantee. Does he not run the hazard of the indefinite extension of this dangerous power? There exists in every southern state a domestic institution, which would require far less bold construction to consider the government of every state in that quarter not to be republican; and, of course, to demand, on the part of this government, a suppression of the institution to which I allude, in fulfilment of the guarantee. I believe there is now no hostile feeling combined with political considerations, in any section, connected with this delicate subject. But it requires no stretch of the imagination to see the danger, which must one day come, if not vigilantly watched. With the rapid strides with which this government is advancing to power, a time will come, and that not far distant, when petitions will be received, from the quarter to which I allude, for protection: when the faith of the guarantee will be at least as applicable to that case as the senator from Georgia now thinks it is to Carolina. Unless his doctrine be opposed by united and firm resistance, its ultimate effect will be to deprive the white population from the southern Atlantic states.

The following is from the Washington Globe, and furnishes "confirmation strong as holy writ" of the views given at the head of this article.

NEW TROUBLES.

The following extract from Mr. McDuffie's late speech in the convention, must convince every moderate man, that the disappointed band of politicians of whom Mr. Calhoun is the leader, have not relinquished their designs against the Union:

Strong as is the present cause of contest, says Mr. McDuffie, and powerful as is the necessity that compels us to maintain this battle, *a yet deeper cause, bringing with it a still more imperious necessity of resistance, lies beneath the present contest.* We were threatened with it even at the session, and in the very midst of questions that already asked the whole wisdom and moderation of the country to appease them. They told us, openly, that we must pay for the vice in our institutions: that the free labor of the north must not—shall not be degraded to the same footing with the slave labor of the south.

If, then, I am disposed to accept this compromise, it is with a distinct annunciation to our people, that their zeal, their courage, their vigilance, must not be abated; nor must they, for a single instant, intermit their military preparations. *I tell them that we have greater need to be prepared to defend ourselves against these people, than against a foreign enemy. I have heard them, even in Congress, talk openly of attacking us; and that, in a manner, with an exultation—that would render fiends themselves as fit confederates for us, as these men.*

Without such preparation, and without a strong military spirit, no people ever yet maintained its liberties. But all our peculiar circumstances—all our institutions—render a thorough system of defence absolutely indispensable to our safety, as well as freedom. Our militia should be as well trained as the armies of Napoleon."

Here Mr. McDuffie obviously points to the slave question, as the next cause of excitement on which the agitators mean to seize, for the purpose of embodying the southern states against those north of the Potomac. To accomplish the same object, the nullifying governor of Virginia, in his message to the General Assembly, attempted to beget apprehensions among the people of the south as to the security of their property in slaves. And the Telegraph is perpetually harping on the same string, to inflame sectional jealousies. The extinguishment of the Tariff difficulty, brought about by the repeated appeals of the President to his country, through which he had succeeded in obtaining the "national sanction" to the gradual removal of the cause of public discontents—the American System—has left the malcontents no alternative but to seek some new aliment for discord and division among the states of the confederacy. From plain indications, it is now certain, that those who wish to produce a dissolution of the Union, will seek that result through the agitation of the slave question—and every other circumstance calculated to weaken the bonds of Union, will at the same time be employed. The Telegraph has already assailed the Farewell Address of the Father of his country, upon that great and persuasive appeal which he makes to his countrymen in behalf of the maintenance of the Union.

In our opinion, there never was a topic which those disposed to make war on the Union, could press into the service of their cause, with less prospect of converting it to the purpose intended, than the slave question. At first view, it seems calculated, by producing superficial prejudices—by giving a different complexion to the northern and southern sections of the Union—to create a diversity of interest, naturally tending to a separation of the states. But examined thoroughly, it will be found, that the different sorts of labor employed north and south of the Potomac, form the strongest motive for the maintenance of the confederacy. The southern people, if cut off from the Union, would find that class of population, which gives them relative strength as members of the confederacy, at once their greatest weight and weakness in a conflict with the neighboring independent states. That "Napoleon militia" on which Mr. McDuffie relies, to encounter their brethren of the north as "*fiends*," would be necessary to defend their firesides from "*fiends*" of another complexion. The interest of the south is in amity with the north.

On the other hand, the slave property which it is pretended the states of the north are inclined to

wrest from the south, is really most advantageous to free labor in its present location. It aids the climate in diversifying the products of the different sections of the country. If southern cultivation were carried on by the same class and character of people as it is in the north, the skill of the cultivator would soon supply all his wants from the soil, and exclude from his market much that is now drawn from the north. Besides, the manufacturing arts would spring up in the south, as they have in the north, from the intelligence and economy which characterizes a free and white laboring population.

The "attack," then, which Mr. McDuffie intimates is to be made upon the slave property, is, of all the unfounded suspicions ever generated to excite apprehension among the people of the south, the last to be indulged.

NULLIFICATION AND SLAVERY.

We have never doubted the grand spring and origin of the Southern doctrines of *Nullification*. The tariff has been made the scape-goat, but slavery is the bitter root from which they spring. And now since the "*dough faces*" in Congress have been frightened by the threats of South Carolina, into a modification of the tariff, which looks very much like a *surrender* of the principle of protection; the nullifiers, deprived of this flimsy pretext, throw off their disguise, and distinctly avow the source of their jealousy, and the true cause of their hostility to the union. We did not need any such evidence to convince us that the slave holders of the south are determined, at all hazards, "to rule, or to rend" the union asunder. They *must* govern,—they always *have* governed, and they *will* govern, by the help of northern *dough faces*, or dissolve the union. They find themselves in a minority, and this minority likely to become still less; hence the doctrine that a majority ought not to rule; and many other *mistifications* which no body pretends to understand.

But all who choose can understand and apply the sentiments of the Latin poet, "*Quem deus vult perdere prius dementat*,"—especially if given in plain English—"Whom God means to destroy he first makes mad."

The following article from the Richmond Enquirer is thus noticed by the editor of a Philadelphia paper.

THE SOUTH.

We have inserted in another column, a pregnant article from the *Richmond Enquirer*, on the present situation and feelings of parties in the southern States.

The statement made, that there is a party in the south, organising for the purpose of producing a separation of the union, is unquestionably true in every essential particular. The most zealous leaders of the Carolina nullifiers have let the secret out on many occasions—indeed some of them, such as the Attorney General of South Carolina, R. B. Smith, Esq. boast of it—and take credit in avowing that they have "no love for the union."

From the Richmond Enquirer.

VIEWS FROM THE SOUTH.

"But I grieve to see so many elements of national prejudice, hostility, and selfishness, stirring and fermenting with activity and acrimony."—*Washington Irving's late Letter.*

An interesting letter has been put into our hands—written a few days past by one of the most respectable citizens of South Carolina. His views are correct, it would be high time for every man, who loves the union, to be on the alert. He criticises the late proceedings of the late Convention, and the more recent exhibitions in Charleston—and he comes to the conclusion, that there is a party in South Carolina whose object is to bring about a southern confederacy, and ultimately the separation of the union. He contends that the nullification of the tariff was one of the schemes by which these politicians hoped to accomplish their object—that in this they have been foiled, as they could not prevail upon a single State to subscribe to their paradoxical and mischievous theory. Discomfited, not disheartened, without abandoning their project, they have changed the ground. They will now exert themselves to form a confederacy, by appeals to the prejudices, fears, and the jealousies of the slave holding States—by impressing upon them, the absolute necessity of their leaguering together to preserve the rights of the States, as the only means which they can secure their property in slaves. By the perversion of some of the remarks which were, recently, made in Congress, upon the essential difference between the labor of free men and of slaves, &c. &c. and by portraying in the darkest colors the libercide character of the 'bloody bill,' they calculate upon being able to produce a union of feeling, and ultimately, a union of action among those, who have hitherto remained unproduced by their sophistry and declamation. Hay and Hamilton, and Harper, and McDuffie, and Turnbull, have openly declared, that the battle with the general government is not over—that it is just commenced, &c. &c.—that the State cannot protect its rights without being armed for defence and resistance. The report of the committee upon the enforcing bill, declares that "the States" (the southern) "constitute a minority, and are likely to do so forever. They differ in institutions; and modes of industry from the States of the majority, and have different, and in some degree, incompatible interests.* They are to be governed, not with reference to their own interests or according to their own habits and feelings, but with reference to the interests and according to the prejudices of their rulers, the majority." *It has been truly said, that the protecting system constitutes but a small part of our controversy with the general government. Unless we can obtain the recognition of some constitutional checks upon the usurpation of power, which can only be derived from the sovereignty of the States, and the right to interpose for the preservation of their reserved powers, we shall experience oppression more cruel and revolting than this.* From abstracts which have been published of the speeches in the convention, it appears, that 'the most cruel and revolting oppression,' referred to in the report, is an interference by Congress with the right of property in slaves. This was stated by several of the speakers, and among them, by McDuffie, who said, "that he did not consider

* Mr. Calhoun, in his letter to the *Pennsylvania Messenger*, called them "irreconcilable."

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

to be safe. He adverted to a certain species of industry owned and used at the south, and that however one principle seemed to be since for the present, yet another was in agitation for the future. He advised the south to stand up herself, to be prepared for all and every event, she might rely upon it, she would have to do it." To keep up the fever of excitement, a splendid ball and supper were given, a few nights ago, at the State Arsenal in Charleston, by the nullification party. Inflammatory epigraphs were inscribed upon medallions depending from the roof of the building—the flags of several nations, and the State of South Carolina were exhibited in harmonious junction, whilst that of the United States was no where visible—bands of music played patriotic State airs—the volunteers appeared in State uniforms, and the ladies were decorated with State Rights' cockades. On Monday last, the volunteers of Charleston, under General Hamilton, were reviewed by the Governor, who presented them with a standard, upon which the arms of the State were embroidered, and delivered to them an address, in which he poured forth a torrent of abuse against the federal government; he exhorted the volunteers, that they and their comrades had saved the State, that they were entitled to the honors of a civic triumph, and that their existing organization was to be maintained while the force bill remained unrepealed upon the statute-book. General Hamilton upon receiving the standard, complimented the Governor in terms of grossest flattery—responded 'cordially to his patriotic' annunciation, that, the volunteers were to be disbanded, whilst the force bill remained pending over their heads, however idle its brute order—and observed to the troops under his command, that "although a civic triumph has followed our recent struggle for the preservation of our rights, and a comparative calm now settles upon the face of a community lately so deeply agitated: yet it is impossible from causes so deeply seated at work in our federative system of government, to tell how soon this tranquillity may be disturbed."

have brought before you (continues the writer of the letter) some of the signs of the times, which I draw my conclusion of the fixed and determined purpose of the nullifiers. I believe that the operations in this State are now confined to the consolidation of their party; but they carry on an extensive and regular correspondence with their coadjutors and coagitators, who are laboring to disseminate their principles throughout these States, which it is contemplated to separate from the Union, and to erect into a southern confederation. What may be their ultimate success, I will not pretend to predict. They address themselves to the prejudices and passions, which exercise a powerful sway over the human mind, in all social communities, and under all governments; and the efforts in the revolutionary movement which have been undertaken, will be systematic and un-

der reader will judge of these extracts for himself. If the circumstances that are developed, do not justify the conclusion, that some of these are bent on a southern confederacy, we cannot but be struck by the fact, that the nullifying efforts of Mr. Calhoun are attempting to gather up a southern party around him, for the propagation of his views—and that one of the great points upon which they mean to rally, is the defence of slavery. As yet, they have failed in bringing out satisfactory proofs of any design in

the north to interfere directly with this species of property. The attempt to enlist the idea of the Temperance Societies being the engines of emancipation, is almost as ridiculous as it is insidious. It cannot stand one moment's examination. But other misrepresentations will be brought to bear upon the scheme. It is scarcely necessary for us to warn the east again upon this subject. Its citizens must leave us to ourselves. We know the evil—we alone understand the remedy. Let them put down such papers as the "Emancipator," and disclaim such fanatics as Garrison. Hands off, Sirs. Rely upon it, if you love the union as cordially as we do, you must beware of this question of slavery. Actively interfere with it, and every friend of State rights—every citizen of the south will rush to the rescue—and the union itself will be split in twain. Beware: give no handle to our agitators and nullifiers, to raise a clamour, and wean us from you. The rights of the States know no more determined supporter—the union of the States has no warmer friend—than the man who addresses you this hasty, but earnest and solemn admonition.

But, we are now aware of the arts of the agitators. We see what the Telegraph is at—what the Augusta Chronicle, and the Columbia Times—and what the two nullifying organs in Virginia, are at. Their object is to scatter jealousies and suspicions—but we yet see no cause to believe, that the great body of the northern people mean to interfere with us, or that Congress will make any effort to touch the subject of slavery. When they shall give any such indication, we shall be the first to sound the tocsin. But until they do it, we be to the agitator who aims to separate the union, or to distract our countrymen by concerted plots and mischievous panic.

THE CANTERBURY AFFAIR.

The disgraceful proceedings at Canterbury are suitably noticed by the public prints. We give some extracts below. The good people of Connecticut must have shaken off their "steady habits," if such wicked prejudices can be long tolerated among them.

Great excitement has been produced in the town of Canterbury, Connecticut, in consequence of a proposal to establish a school in the town for coloured females. A young woman, a resident of the town, of the name of Prudence Crandall, felt it her duty to devote her talents to the instruction of this neglected portion of her sex. She made known her intention of opening a Seminary in her own house, where she would receive as boarders, such scholars as should apply for admission. She had engaged about twenty scholars, whose parents and friends were willing to pay the stipulated price of board and tuition. Some of the wise ones of the place took the alarm, and, as if some dreadful calamity was impending, a town meeting was called, to adopt measures to ward off the threatened danger. At this meeting her conduct and motives were arraigned, though her character was above suspicion, and some strong resolutions were adopted condemning her plan and censuring her conduct; though the only sin with which she stood charged, was an intention to impart instruction to those who most needed it.—Shortly before the meeting, she gave a written request to two of her friends, to appear there in her behalf, as it would be indelicate for a young

woman to appear in person, and plead her own cause before such an assembly. Her friends were requested to explain her motives, and answer any objections that might be made to her design.

After the meeting had been opened, resolutions read, and a speech delivered by the clerk, her friends quietly laid her written request before the moderator. But they were denied permission to speak in her defence, and were threatened with a prosecution, if they attempted to speak for her. Thus a benevolent young woman was condemned unheard, for her intention to devote her talents to the instruction of her own sex—in a town in *Connecticut*—and her friends were threatened with the terrors of the law, if they opened their mouths in her defence. If there is any law in *Connecticut* to prevent a female from teaching those who are "guilty of a skin not coloured like our own," or to punish her friends for speaking in her defence, it must be a part of the code of "*Blue Laws*."

But such violent and insane proceedings cannot be too indignantly condemned. The people of *Canterbury* themselves, we are persuaded, will ere long, be ashamed of their own conduct. When the present ridiculous excitement subsides, they will look back with shame and astonishment, at the strange delusion which led them into such rash measures. The *Canterbury* affair and *Salem* witchcraft, will be ranked together as evidences of the infatuation to which the minds of men are liable.—*Phila. Friend, or Advocate of Truth*.

THE AFFAIR AT CANTERBURY.

We are sorry to learn by a gentleman from *Providence*, that at the town meeting, held at *Canterbury* last Saturday, according to appointment, resolutions were passed expressing the most decided determination, that the school of *Miss Crandall* for colored females, should not be established in that town. It is added, that *Rev. Mr. May*, of *Brooklyn*, and *Mr. Arnold Buffum*, of *Boston*, (Agent of the *New England Anti-Slavery Society*,) attended the meeting, and asked the privilege, on behalf and by request of *Miss Crandall*, to make some remarks to the meeting, which privilege was denied them.

We confess ourselves appalled by repeated indications of this sort. What can they mean? Prejudice against color, is indeed, nothing new among us, especially among the vulgar. But hostility to schools for educating colored persons, is, we believe, among intelligent citizens, a phenomenon of recent appearance. Its origin deserves inquiry. Unless the American people can learn a different lesson of duty towards our colored population, our national chastisement is as certain as the existence of a just and merciful Ruler of the nations.

Genius of Temperance.

THE CANTERBURY AFFAIR.

Some of the people of *Canterbury* are still exasperated about the school for colored misses, recently established by *Miss Crandall*. But very few of the thirty or forty scholars who were expected to commence with the term, have as yet attended—owing, probably, to the "fanaticism" which seems to have taken hold on the minds of so many of the sober citizens of that portion of the "land of steady habits;" and which vents itself in vexatious attempts at legally coercing the scholars to leave the town, and the teacher to abandon the enterprise. We have been favored by a correspondent, with the following copy of a proceed-

ing of the town meeting on the subject, which we publish, "for the benefit of whom it may concern:"

"At a town meeting legally warned and held at *Canterbury* on the 1st day of April, 1833, *Asahel Bacon*, Esq. Moderator—

Voted, That a petition in behalf of the town of *Canterbury*, to the next general assembly, drawn up in suitable language, deprecating the evil consequences of bringing from other towns and other States, people of color, for any purpose and more especially for the purpose of disseminating the principles and doctrines opposed to the benevolent colonization system, praying said assembly to pass and enact such laws, as in its wisdom will prevent the evil; and that *Andrew P. Judson*, *William Lester*, *Chester Lyon*, *Robert Adams*, *Solomon Payne*, *Andrew T. Harris*, *Asahel Bacon*, *George S. White*, *Daniel Packer*, *Isaac Backus*, be agents to do the same.

Voted, that said agents respectfully request inhabitants of other towns to proffer similar petitions, for the same laudable object.

The foregoing is a true copy of Record:

Examined by

ANDREW T. JUDSON, Town Clerk

Fine business, truly!—Perhaps those who have been so much in the habit of reading homilies on constitutional law, to the "hair-brained emigrationists," might be instructed with a peep at that instrument which binds our States together, and there read for themselves, the rights of citizens going from one State to another—"for any purpose,"—whether it be to "disseminate principles and doctrines opposed to the benevolent colonization system," or in its favor,—so that they may conduct morally and peaceably. But what are the "evil consequences" which are so much deprecated, in the petitions to the Legislature of that State? And how can a "petition drawn up in suitable language," which deprecates the evil consequences of bringing people of color into that town, "for any purpose,"—whether to gain moral or literary instruction, to cultivate land, vend merchandize, or "make notice of," as *Garrison* is completely "out Garrisoned," in his "fanaticism" and "incendiary" movements,—be the body which ought to have been deliberative? We do not believe a majority of the citizens of *Canterbury* favor such "wild schemes," though backed by the declaration of a professed christian, "that before he would see the town polluted by a negro school, he would oppose the shedding of blood!"—*Ib.*

To *Peter Morse*, *Roswell Allen*, *Eliza Sanger*, *Asahel Bacon*, and *Andrew T. Judson*, select men of the town of *Canterbury*, in the State of *Connecticut*,

We commend a careful perusal of, and your attention to, the first clause of the second article of the fourth article of the *Constitution of the United States*, which "WE THE PEOPLE" have ordained and established; and which the tyranny or avarice of any body of men, will hardly be allowed to trample under foot. It reads thus:—

"The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."—*Ib.*

DISCUSSION ON COLONIZATION.

On Thursday evening, according to appointment, the discussion on the comp-

erits of the principles of the Colonization Society, and of the friends of immediate abolition, as means for the safe and salutary extinction of slavery, took place in Clinton Hall.

Rev. Mr. *Frost*, of Whitesboro' presided. The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. *Leonard Bacon*, of New Haven.

Mr. *R. S. Finley*, agent of the Colonization Society, opened the discussion, in favor of its claims, and spoke precisely one hour. He was followed, of the same length of time, by Rev. *S. S. Jocelyn*, New Haven, in favor of the principles of immediate emancipation.

Mr. *Finley* then occupied ten minutes, Mr. *Jordan*, ten, and Mr. *Finley*, ten; when the debate terminated. The Hall was thronged to overflow.

Among the audience we noticed distinguished gentlemen, from various parts of the country, including one or two clergymen from the south.

Such light, we are persuaded, was elicited, and we hope such discussions will be repeated. An intense interest was kept up until after ten o'clock.

For the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

The following lines were written by a black slave, residing in the lower parts of Virginia. They were presented by him to his master, who afterwards acknowledged to a friend, that he was struck with admiration upon reading them. Their insertion in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* will oblige

A SUBSCRIBER.

THE NEGRO'S PRAYER.

Lord dost thou with equal eyes,
See all the sons of Adam rise?
Why dost thou hide thy face from slaves?
Confin'd by fate to serve such knaves;
Stolen and sold in Africa,
And transported to America.
Like hogs and sheep in market sold,
To stand the heat and bear the cold;
To work all day and half the night,
And rise before the morning light;
Sustain the lash, endure the pain,
Expos'd to storms of snow and rain;
Pinched both with hunger and with cold,
If we complain we meet a scold.
Then after all the tedious round,
At night like beasts lie on the ground.
Hath Heaven decreed that negroes must,
By cruel men be ever curst?
Forever drag the galling chain,
And ne'er enjoy themselves again?
When will Jehovah hear our cries?
When will the sons of freedom rise?
When will a Moses for us stand,
And free us all from Pharaoh's hand?
What though our skins be black as jet,
Our hair be curled, and noses flat,
Must we for this no freedom have,
Until we find it in the grave?
Yet while I thus my fate deplore,
Jesus, my Lord, my soul prepare,
That when my slavery here shall end,
I shall ascend to thee, my friend.
Tho' here is none to plead my cause,
My soul appeals to thy just laws,
Who will bring all things to the light;
Whose judgments, Lord are right.
For all the comfort I can have,
While I am here confin'd a slave,

Is that strong hope, that I'm made free,
By thy rich blood once shed for me.
My soul is free, it can't be sold,
For all the gold that can be told,
And when my body drops in dust,
My spirit in thy hand I trust;
And tho' no coffin I shall have,
Nor yet be laid in decent grave,
The Lord shall watch it from the skies,
Till the great trumpet bids it rise.
Contentment, Lord on me bestow,
While I remain a slave below;
And while I suffer grief and wrong,
May thy salvation be my song.

From the *Liberator*.

Died, at Newton, on the 28th ult. JOHN KENRICK, Esq. President of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, aged 77. We can scarcely find language to express our feelings in relation to this afflictive dispensation. Mr. Kenrick has long been distinguished as a philanthropist. His generosity to the poor, his sympathy for the afflicted, and his activity in the cause of benevolence, have secured him an affectionate remembrance in the hearts of all who knew him. He was an abolitionist, in the true sense of the word. He has contributed, at different times, six hundred dollars to promote the objects of the New England Anti-Slavery Society. His funeral was attended by a large number of the friends of the abolition cause in this city, and by a numerous concourse of the citizens of Newton. We have not room in this number to say more. We hope soon to publish a sketch of his life, which shall do honor to his character and memory.

The denunciations contained in the following fragment, taken from a northern paper, will apply with peculiar force to the politicians of the south, who seem determined to agitate the question of slavery "for political purposes," and, as would appear from their own showing, "with a full knowledge of its fearful consequences."

SLAVERY.

Since the formation of our government, this subject has been regarded by the prudent and patriotic of all parties with apprehension. Party spirit may "take any shape but that," and be harmless; but when we let loose this tremendous and uncontrollable engine, no one can predict the result. To the south it must bring horrors infinite, and almost inconceivable. It must split the union into pieces; drench the south in blood, and establish in our territory a nation equally powerful and ferocious, besotted and fearful. No one who cherishes the ordinary attributes of humanity can anticipate the inevitable results of this madness without a thrill of horror; or witness the efforts made both in the north and south to effect it without the deepest and liveliest indignation. The fanatic who would wake this slumbering volcano, from the impulses of a blind and erring philanthropy should be confined as a madman; but the wretch who for political purposes, and with a full knowledge of its fearful consequences agitates this subject—such a man would "pour the milk of concord into hell"—and should be treated as an enemy of the human race.

Ladies' Repository.

Philanthropic and Literary.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

The principle of total abstinence from the products of slave labor is gaining ground, and acquiring new advocates in different sections of our country. A new society has been formed in Chester county, Pa. as will appear from the following letter to members of the Female Free Produce Society of Philadelphia. Such associations are springing up in different parts of the free States, showing the progress of sound anti-slavery principles among the people.

Oxford, Chester Co. Pa. }
Ath mo. 6th, 1833. }

ESTEEMED FRIENDS:

Our long delay in answering your acceptable epistle of 9th mo. last, is attributable partly, to the very limited sphere in which we move, in relation to obtaining, possessing, and communicating useful and interesting knowledge on the important question of negro slavery.

We ardently hope you will not withhold from us, one ray of knowledge that would have a tendency to aid the glorious cause of emancipation.

We cordially unite, in sentiment with the authors of that letter, in believing that much good may result from a frequent correspondence between the different anti-slavery associations of our union. Though the active opposition made by some, the profound apathy of many, and the perfect inactivity of others, is at times, to our diminutive association, cause of discouragement; yet, when we reflect upon the justness and the importance of our undertaking, in connexion with existing facts, such as that of finding the press that powerful engine for lessening vice when properly directed, more actively engaged in pleading the cause of the oppressed; the organization of new anti-slavery associations, and the continual addition of intelligent and intrepid individuals to the anti-slavery ranks,—we seem to have much cause to be re-animated, and to resolve to persevere, with redoubled energy, in the noble work of emancipation.

In conclusion, we feel a freedom to suggest the following propositions for your consideration, hoping you will frankly transmit to us your knowledge and sentiments respecting them.

First. Would not the free produce cause be aided, by having a clear statement made in some of the anti-slavery publications, respecting the evidences for believing those articles to be the produce of free labor, that are sold for such?

Second. What number of persons are there in the United States, that advocate the cause of abstinence, as an efficient means for aiding the cause of emancipation?

Third. What is the annual amount of the produce of slave holders, consumed by the citizens of the free States?

We remain your sincere friends, and well wishers in the cause of justice and humanity.

On behalf of the Corresponding Committee.

THOMAS HAMBLETON,
MARTHA LAMBORN.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

Notwithstanding the frowning aspect of times, there is abundant cause of encouragement for the friends of universal emancipation,—innumerable incentives to still greater diligence, imperative requisitions to the performance of known duty, and a steadfast perseverance in their course, despite of opposition, threats, and dangers,—the eye of faith piercing the veil of futurity, beholding all that can cheer and animate the heart, and sustain the soul amid the difficulties that attend the advocates of a cause so unpopular, (in this enlightened age) as that of justice, of mercy, and humanity—and while viewing in perspective the restoration of a multitude of beings, (created in the image of the Deity) to freedom, and long cruelly withheld, the heart glows more warmly, is kindled with holier emotion, and anthems of thanksgiving ascend before the throne, that the soul is permitted to see them led out from the darkness of ignorance, the misery of guilt, the wretchedness of poverty, and the awful desolation of souls, without hope of salvation, into the enjoyment of the untrammelled spirit; into the possession of knowledge, and virtue and religion, to share the blessings of him who hath brought them out of a state of darkness, and “out of the land of bondage.” But to effect this will require the union of all their forces, and the combination of mental energy;—denunciations against the system are useless; expressions of feeling for unhappy victims, senseless cant, if unaccompanied by efficient action. Leave these lamentations to souls too sordid to make a sacrifice, and promote them that you possess

“Hearts that can feel,

And souls to act with firm uniting zeal.”

Were it possible that the christian citizen of this republic could but know half the misery, guilt, and barbarity, that is practised in the southern States, I should not fear its being long told. But to describe the wretchedness of the slave to paint the scenes of anguish he daily beholds, witnesses, would baffle the tongue and pen, were set at nought the skill of the artist;—language would be mute—the pencil fail to make an impression on the canvass.

Yet they know, all may know, that a system of slavery, the most odious and cruel, ever devised by the most subtle machinations, exists in our country, like the deadly Upas extends its influence over the richest portion, blighting the fairest prospects, and levelling hope with the dust. They also must know, that all who assist in supporting the system, are involved in equal guilt with the slave dealers—and that none can be clear, who withhold an effort in their power to make. Eloquent appeals to their humanity and sense of justice, have been so frequently made, that it seems superfluous to essay one so feeble as this; if full tones of manhood are disregarded, what can be expected from infantile pleading. ELLIOTT

Philadelphia, 1833.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

It was a fine evening in the month of May, when I was still around, as my friend and I wandered arm in arm, through the grave yard, in the village of ———. The full moon shone brightly as our eyes unexpectedly glanced towards the entrance of the yard; when we beheld a poor emaciated being endeavouring to conceal himself behind a tombstone that stood in the eastern part

As one might readily suppose, our curiosities were somewhat raised, and with slow steps we ventured towards him. He tried to hide from our view, appearing in great distress. It was with some difficulty we persuaded him to tell his tale. At length he said he was a slave, and had escaped from his master, now residing in Charleston, from whence he had come the preceding evening, and was going to Philadelphia as soon as possible. After some farther conversation, we gave him a note to a friend residing in that place, and having procured more commodious lodging, we left him. Several months after, as I was sitting at the window, a negro passed, and stopping, addressed me. I gazed for a moment, and then recognized the poor slave I had seen, now standing before me. He informed me he was then living in the city, had been successful in business, and notwithstanding there had been search made for him, he was apparently safe and doing well; and I often see him assembling with the people of the church, and mingling his prayers with theirs!

GRACE.

Two slaves, whose adventures are related in the preceding page, had been sold to satisfy their master's debts, and separated from their friends and the scenes of their childhood. Their attempt, so favorable to one of them, was to return to their old master, where they might enjoy the consolation of spending the latter days of an aged and infirm father, from whom they had been compelled to separate.

BEASTS HUNT MEN IN DEMERARA.

The absent brother and sister were less willing to relinquish the hope of return. Upon this hope they had lived from the moment of their departure. They saw it in each other's eyes, while their anxiety was too new to allow them an opportunity of speaking of it; and they kept it alive by every opportunity when some relaxation of discipline allowed them to exchange a whisper from time to time. They planned to escape in the night, to take refuge in the woods, and subsist there as long as they could till the search should be over, and they could find their way back to Mr. Bruce's plantation, and throw themselves at their master's feet, in petition for such an exchange of slaves as would allow them to remain in their old habitations. They had no thought of evading slavery, but of obtaining their freedom within it. The only hope they had was to spend a life of slavery under a lenient master, and among those they had known, and could love: a wish not so very moderate or presumptuous, it may be thought, to merit very severe chastisement. Yet they were confident that no punishment would be thought too severe if they should be detected in cherishing the hope.

One afternoon, they and their black brethren in the estate were left unguarded, owing to the sudden illness of the driver, who fell down in the street and was carried home in fits. A glance in-stantly passed from Willy to Nell, and joy was in their hearts that an opportunity of escape should be afforded them so much sooner than they had expected. There was no roll-call that night. If there had been, the brother and sister would have been called in, for they were already on their perilous journey into the woods. Nobody missed them: they

met nobody as they proceeded in the shade till sunset, and over the plain in the twilight, till they reached the forest. They did not know their way any further than they had been able to study it by observing the stars. They were to travel northward when the time came for them to proceed to Mr. Bruce's; but their immediate object was to escape pursuit; and as pursuit would most probably be directed where it would be guessed they wished to go, they turned due west for the present, as soon as they could make out the points of the compass by the lights overhead. They pushed on at their utmost speed, disregarding cold, hunger, and the difficulties of the way. They hastily plucked wild fruit when it hung within reach, now climbing hills, now creeping through thick underwood, now helping one another over fragments of rock, and never stopped till day began to dawn. Then Nell cast herself down on the ground, and besought her brother to let her rest. He now observed for the first time that one of her feet was covered with blood, and frightfully swollen. A large thorn had pierced it some hours before, and as she had in her hurry let it remain, it was buried too deep to be easily got out, and she was so lame as to be unable to go further.

Willy looked round anxiously, and walked from side to side to gaze abroad and see whether this spot was easily accessible from any quarter. He came back presently with a more cheerful countenance, saying,

"The bushes are thick all round us, and the wood is very wild; and there is fruit on the trees, and a little river near, where we may drink. If we could but hide ourselves as long as the sun is up, we might be safe for many days."

"Cannot we pile up these big stones to make a hiding place, Willy? Set them one upon another against this steep part of the hill, and leave a hole behind where we may creep in."

Willy found this not very difficult. The hiding place looked outside like a natural heap of fragments of rock, while behind there was a hole large enough for two people to set upright; and when some dry grass was shaken down to make the ground soft, the runaway slaves thought they could be content to remain in this narrow dwelling for a long time. Willy laughed as he had not laughed since childhood, when he leaned back in his dark corner, and Nell smiled as much as the pain of her foot would let her. Hope had already done her heart good. Twenty-four hours sooner she would have made every body near her melancholy with her groans, for slaves are fond of pity, and are made selfish by their wrongs; but now, Nell began to feel like a free-woman. She could procure no indulgence by complaint, and she was grateful to her brother for his assistance in making her escape. She therefore hoped that he would sleep, and remained quite quiet that she might not hinder his doing so. Perhaps she would have attempted to sing a drowsy song, if she had not been afraid of betraying their retreat by permitting any sound to issue from it.

Her fit of patience lasted longer than might have been expected from such a novice in the virtue. For a few hours she sat bearing the pain very well, and she might possibly have endured for another if she had not heard, or fancied she heard, a sound which made her heart throb as painfully as her foot. The woods reposed in all the stillness of noon, or she would have supposed the sound to be some freak of the wind among the rocks or the high foliage of the forest; but there

was no wind, there was nothing to provoke an echo, and her ears were struck by something too like the distant, the very distant baying of a hound. She laid her hand on her brother's arm. He did not stir. She paused to listen again, before she disturbed him. She had not long to wait. It came again, nearer, and too distinct to be mistaken. She shook the sleeper.

"Willy, Willy! hark to the hounds! The hounds are after us!"

Willy groaned as he started up, and shook some of the stones over head, which rolled down with a great clatter.

"Never mind that, Nell. We could not keep under cover with the hounds upon us. O, if we had but passed a stream in our way! If we could but have baulked the hounds!"

"There is a river below," cried Nell; and Willy was off at the word.

"O, Willy, Willy, do not leave me! I cannot walk. O, carry me with you!"

Willy hesitated a moment as his worse and better nature strove together. He came back for his sister, took her on his back, and began to scramble down to the stream. It was too late, however. The shouts of men were now heard mingling with the loud and louder baying of the blood-hounds, which might be expected the next moment to spring from the bushes upon their victims. There was no hope of getting down to the stream in time, much less of being hidden on the opposite side. Willy cast a hurried look behind him every moment; and when at last he heard a rustling in the underwood, and saw fierce eyes glaring upon him, he laid his burden on the grass, crying,

"Nell, will you die or be a slave?"

Nell grovelled on the earth and made no answer.

"I will die!" shouted Willy, and was about to spring into the water. His sister recalled him by her cry.

"Becky; poor Becky! She will be all alone when our father dies."

Willy turned. What his choice would have been cannot be known, for there was no time for choice. Before the slave-hunters could come up to see what happened, a fierce blood-hound had sprung at Willy's throat and brought him down. Once having tasted blood, the animal was not to be restrained by whistle, shouts, or blow, till the long death grapple was over. When the mangled negro had ceased to struggle, and lay extended in his blood, the hound slunk back into the bushes, licking his chops, and growling at Nell as if he would make another spring if he dared.

The remaining fugitive had no power to resist, even if she had had the will. But her will was annihilated. She had nothing to hope or to fear in the present extremity of bodily and mental misery. She sat quietly on the grass when they tied her hands behind her back. She attempted to walk when she was bid, and submitted to be carried when it was found she could not stand. She did not speak when they took up the body of her brother from its bloody bed, nor start when they tossed it into the stream, though splashed by the plunge.

She was conscious but of one passing impulse during her journey back,—to throttle the man on whose shoulders she was carried, as the hound

had throttled her brother: but the effort only served to remind her that her arms were fastened. She was asleep or in a stupor when brought to her hut, a circumstance which was pointed out by a white as conclusive of the fact that negroes have no feeling. As she was too lame to walk, however, and not in the best condition for a lash, she was not roused. There was some objection in leaving her to find out for herself, when she should again be able to collect her disordered thoughts, that the brand and the stocks were waiting for her, and that the days of her bondage must henceforth be spent alone.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

It grieves me not to think I may not taste,
Of Western India's choicest cane! mine eyes
Unmoved, can rest upon the table's load
Of luscious viands, tastefully arranged;—
Can bid the untasted dainties pass me by,
Without regretting I may not regale
My palate with their sweets:—but yet my
Will oft times sicken with the thought, that
Conserve is sprinkled o'er with human blood:
A brother's or a sister's warm life's blood:
The purple current, coloring the ground
They're forced to till.—And, knowing this,
Assist in riveting the chain?—assist
In drawing still more close the band
That binds a heavier burden on the slave?
No!—were a greater sacrifice required,
Than yet hath been; I'd rather, far, submit
To make it, than connive at, or assist
In bolstering up a system, fraught
With such enormities, with so much crime,
And misery, and pain, and guilt most foul.
Then ask me not again to taste those sweets
To me they're bitter; e'en the very sight
Brings sadd'ning recollections. Take them
I'll taste no more; each sweetmeat, each ear
And finely flavoured fruit, is tasteless now

Terms of Subscription

TO THE
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VOL. XIII.

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forwarded *free of expense.*

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We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.—*Declaration of Independence, U. S.*

No. 8. Vol. III. THIRD SERIES.]

JUNE, 1833.

[WHOLE NUMBER 284. VOL. XIII.]

MEXICAN COLONIZATION.

We are not yet ready to take up this subject, with the view of handling it thoroughly. But as some of the slavite and African colonization papers have opened their batteries against the enterprise, we cannot, willingly, let their misrepresentations and absurdities pass entirely unnoticed.

The first open, frank opponent, we have met with, is the veritable Col. Stone, of the New York *Commercial Advertiser*." This man is one of the most "fanatical" among the *ultra* African colonizationists. We may also add, that he is one of the most bigoted, and surliest aristocrats, in the United States. He possesses but little stability in either politics or philanthropy—was once a "red" emancipator, and now condemns every measure connected with it, but the transportation of the colored race to Liberia! *Popularity* is his god. Whatever *sounds large*, or makes a splendid appearance, attracts his eager attention, and sways his superficial judgment. The African colonization scheme has acquired a high degree of popularity among a portion of our citizens; and, whatever may be its real merits, *that* is sufficient for him. All other plans for the abolition of slavery, &c. must be discouraged. Here is "fanaticism," the most wild and extravagant!—nay, it is mere fatuity, or moral blindness!

In a long article, headed "*Convention of Free Persons of Color*," this editor uses the following language:—

Their avowed object is, to devise means to alter the character and improve the condition of the colored population in this country, and to remove them to a suitable place whither they may emigrate, and where they will no longer endure the crushing inferiority to which, so long as they remain among the whites, they must always be subjected. It is understood that the delegates are generally, if not altogether, opposed to the Colonization Society,—adverse to going to Liberia,—but that they have it in contemplation to plant a colony in the Texas."

This shows that he is ignorant of a great part of the colored people's views and plans. And his ignorance is the more unpardonable, as he has the means to acquire correct information, and has the opportunity to have a thorough understanding of his subject. It never has been their "avowed object" to emigrate, *generally*, to any place whatever. They do not believe that they will *always* be subjected to the "inferiority" which colonizationists pretend them they must forever endure, if they remain in this country. Many of them can see as far into futurity, as those who thus stand

self-nominated to the important office of their special guardianship. He goes on to say:

"——— These prejudices entertained by them against removing to Liberia, have been created and fostered, as is well known, by the deluded advocates of *immediate* emancipation. Misguided fanatics often occasion more mischief than avowed infidels," &c. * * * * "We cannot but regard these persons as the greatest foes to the best interests of the African race. Their number, however, is few, and though the noise they make is great, their influence is small. Yet if it can be shown, that a settlement in the Texas would answer the purpose of the blacks, we would not lay a straw in their path."

How liberal! how charitable!—and, withal, how *intelligent* again!! "These prejudices" are all fomented by the "misguided fanatics" among the whites. The colored people cannot think for themselves, at all! It is true that "misguided fanatics" *did* create those "prejudices" (or *rational conclusions*) in part. But they were the "fanatics" in the ranks of *ultra* African colonizationists. By representing the free colored people as "nuisances," and opposing their continuance in the land of their birth, (which is as justly their home, as it is that of the white man,) they disgusted them beyond measure, and inculcated the opinion that *they* were "the greatest foes to the best interests of the African race." Their confidence in the utility of that scheme, however, was impaired principally by a thorough and candid examination of it. They are quite as competent for this, as the prejudiced and aristocratic upstarts, who tyrannize over them while they can, and would eject them from their native country, when they are compelled to do them justice. But this sage adviser would be willing that they should emigrate to Texas, if it would "answer their purpose." He has turned many a summerset, and this is put in as a *saving clause*, to afford an excuse to turn another, should the measure in question become *popular*. Yet he thinks there are reasons, numerous and cogent, for believing that it will never "answer the purpose."—1st. "The conveyance to the Texas would be more expensive, on an average, than a passage to Monrovia." Is the man mad, or has he lost his geography?—or does he calculate that none are to emigrate but those in New York? 2d. "The price of land in Texas is vastly dearer than in Africa." Does he not know that land is *given* to the Texas colonist, on his paying for the surveying, and a small trifle for commissioner's fees? 3d. "They must conform to the Catholic religion." The writer of this *saw* a Methodist camp-meeting in Texas about a year ago. 4th. "Very few of our colored

people are acquainted with the Spanish language." How do the Germans, &c. make out in the United States?

But,—“admitting all these difficulties susceptible of removal,” he thinks they can scarcely get there. If they go “overland,” they “must pass through Louisiana;” and the slave-holders would never permit *that*.—What a pity we cannot have a road through *Arkansas*, and thus be independent of the *omnipotence* of the slavites!—but, now I recollect, *there is one*; and “Uncle Sam” is about making *another*. *Perchance*, too, *Arkansas* may yet be a “Free State!”—who knows? If they “proceed by water,” he says, “the navigation would be almost as long, and altogether more dangerous, than the voyage to Liberia.” He certainly thinks of no colored persons, but those in New York! He forgets that a portion of our country is separated from Texas by nothing more than *lines of longitude*, and rivers of a few rods in width. He omits to state that the ports on the coasts of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and West Florida, are but from three to five days sail of those in Texas: and he must have miscalculated greatly, when he compared the distances, respectively, between New York and the places alluded to. There is, probably, a discrepancy of a *thousand miles* or so!

Upon the whole, we have seldom seen a more lame and impotent attempt to deery an important public enterprise, than this. Assuming false premises, in the commencement, the author blunders upon errors at every step. Entertaining the most bitter prejudices against the colored people, he is constantly betrayed into mistaken apprehensions of their views and designs. The Convention is not organized for the purpose of encouraging any colonization scheme, at all. Whatever it may do, in the way of recommending any place, as an asylum for the oppressed and persecuted, this is not its primary object. It contemplates the melioration of the condition of its members and constituents, *here*. It looks to *this continent*, as the natural and perpetual home of the American colored man. Here he must,—here he *will*, ultimately, be invested with every privilege, moral and political, that shall be enjoyed by persons of any other color—and it is the wildest of “fanaticism”—the grossest of absurdity—the very essence of folly—to lecture on the propriety and practicability of expatriating the colored race to the country of *one half* of their remote ancestors. If, indeed, their expatriation is necessary, a moiety should go to *Europe*; for nearly as many of their ancestors came from thence, as did from Africa! The color of that “race” is not purely “African” now!

The scheme of planting “a colony in Texas”—or, rather, of encouraging the emigration of eman-

ipated slaves to Mexico generally, is not of the coloured people’s invention. Yet, if they favour the idea of a removal from these States, at all they will look to that region, in preference to all others. They are possessed of sufficient intelligence and sagacity, to form as accurate an opinion upon the subject, as those who wish them back to Africa, now that the time is approaching when they must dispense with their services, as mere “hewers of wood and drawers of water.” As they will exercise their opinions, notwithstanding the gratuitous advice of those whose prejudices against them are declared to be eternal, and who will do them justice *no where*.

In conclusion:—As the advocates and promoters of African Colonization have frequently, and loudly complained of opposition to their scheme on the part of the friends of Universal Emancipation, we would advise them to consider whether there would be any impropriety in hurling back their own officious denunciations of other projects and proposals, which are, *at least*, as important and philanthropic as theirs!

MARYLAND COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

At a meeting of this association, on the 30th April, last, we learn that the following resolutions and resolutions were unanimously adopted. It is one *short step* publicly taken towards the efficacy of general emancipation, by a few of those who patronise the African Colonization scheme. Much of their reasoning is unsound and absurd yet it is cheering to perceive that *their eyes are opening*. If the “fanatics” of universal emancipation continue their efforts, success will, ere long, crown them with the everlasting laurel. *Something* gained, in favour of the cause, by such an association (composed in part of slaveholders) has thus openly decided to act as an *Anti-Slavery Society*. Let the most enlightened advocates of the cause continue, assiduously, to collect and disseminate *practical information*, and they will discover, at length, that something else may be far more effective, in accomplishing the object, than that of colonizing the coloured race to the continent of Africa.

“Whereas, it is the desire of the Maryland State Colonization Society, to hasten, so far as they can, the arrival of the period when slavery shall cease to exist in Maryland; and whereas the said society believe that this can best be done by advocating and assisting the cause of colonization which is the truest, the safest, and the most efficient auxiliary of freedom, under existing circumstances; and whereas, the cause of colonization which has already produced great results from which so much is still anticipated, may depend in Maryland upon the facilities afforded for the transportation and reception of emigrants to the coast of Africa, which can only be secured to the necessary and desired extent, by the estab-

settlements in Africa, where there will be no points upon emigration, beyond the control of the State Society; and whereas, it is believed, for other reasons, to be expedient for the Society, to form, at this time, a new settlement on the coast of Africa; and whereas, it has been presented to the Society, that Cape Palmas and its neighbourhood, offer commercial and moral facilities of the most important kind, so as to make a settlement there desirable on every point of view; and whereas, it is believed that a settlement thus formed, by a society whose avowed object is the ultimate extinction of slavery, by proper and gradual efforts, and in conformity to the understandings and experience of the State, would be viewed with interest by all those who advocated colonization on account of the tendencies towards liberty, and would receive that aid from them which would promote their prosperity and happiness; and whereas, we believe, that it is proper to use every effort in their power to raise Maryland to the rank of a free State of this Union, not only on account of the immediate benefit to herself, but for the illustration which she would then afford of the effect of colonization in removing

there, be it resolved, That this Society will establish a settlement at a suitable point on the coast of Africa, and will take immediate steps to procure, both within and without the State, the necessary pecuniary aid.

That the committee heretofore appointed on the subject of a new settlement, be required to report to the Board, upon the position and details of the proposed settlement, together with the probable cost of the same.

That the managers of the State fund be requested to lend their aid, in such manner as they think proper, in this behalf."

THE TEXAS COUNTRY.

That the people of that part of the state known as *Texas*, which is denominated the *Texas Country*, have resolved to establish a separate government, provided they can obtain the sanction of the Mexican Congress. They have met in convention, and framed a constitution, and commissioners have been despatched to the general government, in order to present it to the national legislature. This information has been published in some of the papers of the country; but we deem it unnecessary to say more in length, until we learn whether it is accepted by the Congress, or not. It is taken originally from the one now in force; and it is doubtful whether the general government will allow it to go into operation, without some amendable amendment. Before it can be accepted, it must receive the sanction of three fifths of the members of Congress, and the same sanction of the Legislatures of the several states which compose the Mexican confederacy. Some of the caterers for our country have suggested the idea that the *Texas* might be thus established upon a separate state government, if the Congress consents or not. A settlement of the kind might be thus fool-hardy,

should they entertain the hope that a pretty large number would stand by them. But the great mass, especially the orderly and well informed, will not, it is believed, venture upon so rash a step. It would be suicidal to their prospects, as citizens of that country; and many would be driven out, at the point of the bayonet, as they were at the time of Edwards' rebellion, a few years since. The inhabitants of *Texas* are much more numerous, now, than they were then; but it would be madness itself to fancy themselves strong enough to resist, successfully, the power of the nation.—Should they adopt a liberal form of government, and be admitted into the Union upon a footing with the other States, they would, doubtless, reap advantages from it; and, probably, they may do so, ere long.

By late accounts from Mexico, received at New York, it appears that, since the troops have been withdrawn from the various forts, in the *Texas* country, an extensive business has been carried on in smuggling of contraband goods, &c. Even slaves from Africa, via Cuba, have found a market there, in one instance at least. At the close of the convention, above mentioned, strong resolutions were adopted by that body, censuring without reserve the admission of a vessel, with slaves, at the port of Galveston.

It is stated that the Mexican government has resolved to put an immediate stop to these abuses, by sending a large military force to expel those who are known to practice them. Much consternation is said to exist in Austin's colony, and the settlements contiguous, on account of this proceeding. Many of the colonists are suspected of having a hand in the illegal practices, before named; and if it be proven against them, their expulsion will be a matter of course. We waive all speculation upon this subject, however, until we receive further information in relation to it.

Before closing this article, we think it proper to state, that very little reliance can be safely placed in the majority of the editorial and communicated paragraphs, which appear in the papers of this country, concerning the actual state of things in *Texas*. An article, now before us, taken from an Alabama journal, represents that section of the country as a *province* of Mexico:—whereas, it is well known that it is united to another portion of the territory of the republic, and organized as a *State*, under the name of "*Coahuila and Texas*;" and that it is placed upon a footing with the other independent States of the Mexican confederacy. The number of the settlers, their power, &c. is also believed to be greatly exaggerated.

The following communication was originally designed for "*Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*."

to guide future generations to that motto, "the paths of righteousness are peace." It is this institution that not promises "the greatest good to the greatest," but the greatest good to all, that has from the editor such intemperate declamation. The New England Anti-Slavery Society to defence from me; as my feeble efforts as grass before the scythe. But I trust will come, and that at no distant day, some man of colour, possessing an ardent for liberty, a cultivated mind, a clear in-nerve of whose pen will be guarded by will rise up in the plenitude of his and not only defend the object and char-our friends, but will throw himself in the and contend with our adversaries. The al growth of our people indicates that desirable acquisition to our strength, char- and respectability, is near at hand.

riter we are noticing, when about to horrid picture of a liberated slave,—for ing seems to him quite an anomaly,— the world free from the chains of des- indulges in the following strain on its ef- the Union:—"Of immediate abolition, or, continued and extensive attempt to ef- e necessary and inevitable consequence dissolution of the Union: * * * * * necessary to our national independence nal glory!—a union cemented by the d hallowed by the glory of our fathers— prosecution of an unauthorised chimerical us scheme of interference with the do- concerns of our sister States."

as as if in framing such an article, he picture which was drawn in reference subject, by a distinguished statesman,* of congress from that section of coun- so much excites his commiseration. e that our adversaries and coadjutors s, have managed to conjure up the most antoms of disunion, civil war and blood- at is the stale artifice of tyrants. In all e world, tyranny has endeavoured to en- lf behind some sacred barrier, or screen d some sacred emblem. A Roman Em- m surrounded by the seditious clamor gnant people, rushing forward to drag r from his polluted throne, could calm of the multitude by hanging out the gle. A Turkish Sultan, besieged in and in imminent danger of having his inated by the bow string, has only to e holy banner of the Crescent, and the Janisaries bow down and worship it. anner, the most monstrous and intoler- tyrannies, an interested and mercenary ke the veiled prophet of Khorasin, seeks its horrible deformity by interposing banner of the Union. Those who dare vindicate tyranny and justify oppres- m in the most patriotic agonies, the Union!—the Union is in danger! Even true,—if the Union were in ten times hat really exists,—I would emphati- upon whom rests the responsibility of into jeopardy?"

re quotation is from a source too re- to be overlooked, and powerfully de- hypocritical cant by which these va-

George M'Duffie's Speech at Charles- 9th, 1831.

liant sticklers for the Union clothe their argu- ments in favour of expediency.

The slaves never forged their own chains; nor does the existence of slavery depend on the ex-istence of the Union. The time will come when the slave must be free. I am at a loss to know on what grounds they have a right to hope that slavery can much longer be perpetuated. Every argument in favour of it appears to want, like the fulcrum of Archimedes, a place to rest it on. If they base it on the immoral and barbarous state of society that framed those institutions, the improvement in public sentiment, and the ad- vancement of civilization, informs us that the cause has almost ceased to exist. The clanking chains that now bind upwards of two millions of our countrymen, are made of the same materials that have fettered the rights of man in all ages, and are certainly capable of being dissolved by the same process.

If there be any truth in the moral reformation that is now traversing our globe from sea to sea, it would be risking little to assert that the subject of *anti-slavery* is undergoing a fiery ordeal at the present moment.

We can rejoice that the superstition of the last century is vanishing—we can lament at cruelties committed at Salem, by the persecution of witch- craft—we can mourn over the destruction of man- kind by the barbarities of war—we can regret that capital crimes are rewarded with capital punishments—we can look with horror on the cruelties of the whipping post—we can desire that the imprisonment for debt shall no longer remain a blot on our statute book—we can sigh over the millions that have been destroyed by intemperance,—and yet, is there no faculty in our minds to examine the "*negro's*" rights, or in our hearts to feel his wrongs? Is it possible there is so much national refinement without any national pity? Can this nation be much longer so inconsistent? Can she much longer read on her eagle the golden motto of "Virtue, Liberty and Independence," and carry the lamp of civilization in one hand, and the torch of persecution in the other? I say, can she with all that refinement of feeling—with all her republican pride, suffer the remnant of a nation (which, if persecution, and all those evils that attend involuntary slavery, could have availed ought against the will of an all-wise Providence, they would have long since become extinct) to suffer those degrading tortures over which humanity shudders, and christianity weeps? Is it much longer to be expected that ministers of the everlasting gospel will be permitted to preach from the "holy scriptures," and enforce from the sacred desk, a justification of the system of slavery? Will not that powerful army of Sabbath school scholars diffused over our country, rise up and reject it? In short, will not all that moral and christian refinement of which our country so much abounds, teach man to perform his duty to his neighbour and to his God?

The length of my article forbids me to trespass further. I shall follow him through, and if I leave him a place to rest his foot upon, either expediency, right, or justice, in the support of slavery, it will be because my humble abilities will not allow me to do justice to the subject.

A MEMBER OF THE CONVENTION.

The following letter from the proprietor of this paper, who is now from home, was received and

read in the Convention of colored people lately held in Philadelphia, to whom it was addressed. A vote of thanks to B. Lundy for his communication was passed in the Convention, and a request made that the letter should be published in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

To the Annual Convention of the Free People of Color, about to meet in the City of Philadelphia.

Friends and Fellow Citizens:—

A new era has opened upon the world! The "dark age" of African oppression is drawing to its close; and the happy "millennium" of African redemption is near at hand! Let the inhabitants of that ill-fated continent rejoice, and her children, wherever scattered, sing praises to the Most High, on the "banks of deliverance."

Every one, capable of judging from the "signs of the times," must be fully convinced that a wonderful change in the condition of the African race will soon be effected—nay, indeed, a great and important change is already visible.

Fifty years ago, the *slave trade*, between Africa and America, was openly tolerated—with all its horrors—by every nation in what was called Christendom:—now, every government, whose people profess the Christian name, has denounced it, with the severest penalties.

Fifty years ago, nearly every state, province, and colony, on this continent, and the adjacent isles, protected and upheld the *system of slavery*, by legal enactments and military force:—now, ten or more independent governments, and nine minor states, have abolished the cruel institution within their limits, where vast numbers had been subjected to the vilest enthrallment; and three more states, at least, and numerous colonial establishments, are nearly prepared to follow the glorious example. Every part of the American continent, north and south, except about one-fifth of the area of the United States, and the empire of Brazil, may be considered nearly free from the horrible pollution; and every island of the great West Indian Archipelago, with the single exception of Cuba, is upon the eve of a complete regeneration.

Fifty years ago, the number of Africans and their descendants, who merely enjoyed personal liberty, within those almost boundless regions, were, comparatively, few:—now, they may be safely enumerated at 4,350,000—about 3,100,000 of whom are invested with every civil and political privilege, and placed upon a footing of perfect equality with all other persons, of whatever nation or color. And we may rationally indulge the cheering hope that, in less than two years from the present date, nearly a million will be added to the number above mentioned, independent of the natural increase.

In fine, within the space of fifty years past, we might look in vain, among the descendants of Africans in the western world, to ascertain who were distinguished for learning or superior intelligence. Every avenue to posts of honor and emolument being closed against them, and even the pleasures of social life, in circles of intelligence and refinement, being denied them, there was nothing to dispel the rayless gloom within their bosoms, and to stir up a virtuous ambition or noble emulation there. (True, a *Banniker* had explored the regions of astronomical science; and a *Phillis* *Wheatly* ranged, discursively, the ærial fields of

poetic fancy;—but they appeared as waif planets, gliding through illimitable space, even a satellite to bear them company); we see among them agriculturists, mechanics, and merchants. They have their academies, colleges, churches, national institutions, and printing establishments. They have their teachers, professors, and doctors of law, and divinity. They have their orators, men, generals, financiers, diplomatists at courts. They have their armies and navies, one regularly organized, free, national government, possessing all the et cetera of respectability, independence, and power. On that very spot, the western hemisphere, where the fierce vultures of vice first erected their horrid eyrie, and dripping with the blood and tears of millions of Africans; yes, on that same spot has justice first deprived the oppressor of his authority, and raised up a vigorous and enlarged republic, composed of the victims of vice and crimes, which sets the powers of the world at defiance, and has fully and fairly achieved a meed of national renown.

Wonderful, indeed, let me repeat, has been the change within a period of fifty years! We can predict the state of things, *fifty years hence*. While this grand reformation was progressing, its active, avowed advocates were, in a small number, until within a short space of time, now they are flocking in scores around the new standard, which a "spartan band" of heroes kept floating in the breeze, on the wings of philanthropy. Hundreds,—nay, thousands,—are enlisting in the good cause; and the contest between the principles of despotism and universal emancipation is becoming more interesting and important.

We are, therefore, fully sustained in the belief that the "signs of the times" are extraordinary, and that the brightening prospect before us is a happy presage of the speedy overthrow of that unparalleled system of injustice, cruelty, and iniquity, which has, for centuries, whitened the plains of Africa with the blood of her murdered inhabitants; crimsoned the ocean with their blood; and fertilized America with the tears of their stolen and orphaned children.

It is at this interesting period, and in view of the encouraging views and prospects, that I trust a general and enlightened assembly of your countrymen will assemble to deliberate, and devise plans for the betterment and general improvement of the race. May you be fully impressed with the high importance of the occasion, and the sacredness of the trust reposed in you. I should rejoice to be present to witness your proceedings, and to partake of the pleasure arising from the exercise of your talents, colored brethren, of this most important period. But as I shall necessarily be at too great a distance from you, at the proper time, I can only express the gratification which it would afford me, were I present. Permit me, however, to observe, that the eyes of your enemies—even the eyes of the nation—are turned to you. I entreat you, therefore, to measure your steps, and let no unguarded or impetuous expressions of feeling, either in the course of your proceedings or furnished by the press, be presented with arguments prejudicial to your cause, and deserved reputation. I would not wish to be offensive, either with impertinent advice or with any want of due caution; but as I have long taken

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cœlum.

est in the welfare and happiness of our colored friends, who have been made the victims of prejudice and oppression, I trust that my motives will be properly appreciated, in making these remarks.

Before concluding this communication, I wish to ask your attention, for a moment, to a subject of which previous meetings of the convention have taken cognizance, viz. that of providing or recommending suitable asylums, on this continent, for the oppressed and persecuted people of color,—where, if they choose to emigrate, they may immediately enjoy equal rights and privileges with all others, until prejudice and the tyranny of custom and law shall be relaxed, modified, or extinguished in these states.

This is a subject which begins to assume a high degree of importance. The increasing disposition among individual slaveholders to emancipate, who are yet so blinded by the corrupting doctrines and influence of slavery that they think it cannot be done with safety here; the despotical proceedings of the advocates of oppression, in attempting to force the emancipated to distant foreign shores, from whence they may scarcely ever have it in their power to revisit the kindred connexions which they must necessarily leave behind them, even if they should survive the "seasoning" of that would be to them a "pestilential climate;" the rising spirit of enterprise, consequent upon the growing intelligence of the colored population, of every class, which ardently seeks occasion and means for further development: the importance of making practical experiments, to show the advantages of free labor, in producing sugar, cotton, and rice, in our southern country, instead of that of slaves;—these considerations, with many others which I need not detail to you, place the question before us in a prominent light, and render it worthy of notice.

It is probably known to the most of you, that I have visited both Upper Canada and a part of the Texas country in the republic of Mexico, with the view of ascertaining the propriety and practicality of forming settlements in those sections of North America, for the purposes above mentioned. But lest the motives, by which I have been governed, may be misapprehended by the members of your enlightened body, as well as some of the rest of my colored friends, I beg leave here to state, explicitly though briefly, the views and sentiments which I have ever entertained in relation to measures of this nature, with some others that have been recommended.

In the first place, my primary object, during the fifteen years that I have publicly, though humbly, labored in the cause of African emancipation, has been, and still is, the TOTAL AND UNCONDITIONAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, by the best means which the individual and collective wisdom of the nation can point out. Secondly, I desire to aid in ameliorating the condition of the oppressed and persecuted, as far as possible, when those holding the reins of usurped authority are too strong and too corrupt to yield immediately to the demands of justice. And, thirdly, my ultimate aim and intention has constantly been, to contribute every means in my power to elevate the American man of color to perfect equality of privilege (moral, political, and religious) with the whites, in the land of his birth, wherever it be. Hence,—

My efforts have been directed:—To the encouragement of every measure that appeared cal-

culated to open the eyes of the people generally to the enormity and guilt of the system of slavery; to the promulgation of every fact and argument, at hand, in proof of the necessity and feasibility of a change; to the extension of knowledge, by the aid of *practical experiments*, in the sugar and cotton districts, (which have fully succeeded where grain, tobacco, &c. are produced) in demonstrating the safety and innumerable *advantages* of emancipation; to the preparation of the slaves for the rational exercise and enjoyment of freedom, individually or collectively;—and to the various means by which they may rise to distinction and pre-eminence, amidst the gloom of prejudice, the tyranny of odious laws, and the soul-chilling influence of popular abasement. I hold that the difference in color makes no difference in the physical or intellectual capacities of men. I hold that no man has a moral right to exercise authority over another, as a slave, for a single moment. I hold that slavery must and will be abolished, throughout America, before the lapse of many years. I hold that pacific measures, alone, will effect it justly and speedily. I hold that the spot on which a man is born is his rightful home, while he chooses it for his residence—that Deity placed him there—and there he must be free. I believe that the unnatural prejudice against color is waning before the light of moral truth and christian principle. I believe that numerous causes are combining, and in operation, which must elevate the man of color, ere long, to the rank and scale in being assigned him by the great Author of nature, wherever he may be located. I believe that few of the colored inhabitants of this country comparatively speaking, will ever be removed to a distant land. I believe that their efforts to encourage education, and by various means to evince their talent and capacity for business, moral improvement, scientific and literary acquirements, &c. are more important and efficacious, by a thousand fold, in extinguishing prejudice, than all the schemes of foreign operations that were ever devised. Yet, notwithstanding I have ever entertained these sentiments,—

I know that some of the suffering victims of oppression are extremely desirous of a change of location, and might obtain their civil and political rights immediately, on condition of removing to places beyond the limits of this government:—and, to act the part of a christian philanthropist, I feel myself bound to assist them therein, when it may be in my power,—as I should wish similar assistance from them, under a change of circumstances. I am not of the opinion that the little (comparatively speaking) that can be done in this way, will retard the work of emancipation, &c. at home,—provided, they shall not locate themselves at too great a distance. In fact they would not be considered as leaving the country. They would still be, as it were, among us. But the stimulus it would give to their enterprise and good conduct, would present us with incontrovertible evidence of their capability for improvement and self-government, which could not fail further to demonstrate, beyond the power of cavil or doubt, the feasibility of general emancipation at home, consistently with the safety and interest of all parties concerned. It would not divert the attention of philanthropists from other necessary measures; for no dependance would be placed on that alone. But it might, at length, open the door (now effectually closed by prejudice and false doctrines)

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

for the introduction of similar and still more important experiments within our own borders. *This is the grand desideratum at the present moment.* It would furnish the strongest appeals to the heart and conscience of every philanthropist, by a practical refutation, before their own eyes, of the doctrines prolonged from the throne of hereditary despotism, (and believed by hundreds of thousands of our citizens,) that *necessity* requires the promulgation of the barbarous system in this republic. It would—as the same thing has done in England—produce an effect upon the public mind, even beyond the power of conception, and rouse the nation *en masse*. We should soon witness such an array of moral effort—such celerity of movement—such energy of action—among the advocates of reform, as the imagination cannot now portray. The pulpit, the forum, the hall of science, and the press, would teem with sermons, orations, disquisitions, and publications. The “*vox populi vox dei*” would usher forth the irrevocable mandate, through the potent medium of the *ballot box*, that “*slavery shall exist no longer.*” The horrible fabric would be speedily razed to its foundations; and the victims of its demoniac enclosures would “stand redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, by the irresistible” influence of popular indignation and *Divine Justice*.

Having now stated my views and sentiments, upon the subject to which I invited the notice of the Convention, as frankly and generally, yet compendiously, as the nature of the case will admit,—it remains for me to say, that I am at present engaged in making further investigations relative thereto; and should it be agreeable to your body to receive more information, connected therewith, I will hold myself in readiness to communicate it, should any thing of importance come into my possession, at a future period.

In conclusion, I hope to be excused, for troubling the Convention with this communication; and praying for the blessing of Heaven upon your important philanthropic efforts.

I subscribe myself, your sincere friend and well wisher.

BENJAMIN LUNDY.

Nashville, Tenn. May 28th, 1833.

From the Louisiana Advertiser.

IMPORTANT TO EMIGRANTS TO TEXAS.

“Caveat Emptor!”

We received the subjoined letter from a most respectable source—from an American who is a citizen of the Mexican Union. It may save many unsuspecting persons from disappointment and loss. The gentlemen showed us one of the patents, nicely engraved, numbered, issued, and sold in *New York* (city) in 1830, for 25 leagues of land in Texas. It proved a bubble of course; and he has just forwarded the elegant *script*, but worthless *scrip* to the purchaser.

SIR,—I have observed an article in your paper respecting Texas. I feel it my duty to give you farther information respecting that interesting country, that those who design to emigrate thither may not be imposed on by sharpers.

In the first place, I would advise no man to purchase any land in Texas unless through the medium of a confidential friend, without first seeing the land himself.

According to the colonization laws of Texas every settler, on taking the following oath, viz. “You

swear to God to subject yourself to the Constitution of the state of Coahuila and Texas and the general laws of the state and nation which you have adopted,” if married, is entitled to a league, or 411 acres, and his choice of any unlocated land, on his paying the following fees, viz: To the Emptor for the admission and attending to the business of the colonist, \$50; Stamp paper till \$12; Commissioners fees, \$15; Surveying, \$40 (Government fees payable in 4, 5 and 6 years, \$33 making \$159. A widow with children is entitled to the same as a married man; and a single man and a single woman with parents, on paying \$105,50 for 1111 acres, and on marriage of a man he can draw 3333 more; but no man can get more than a league, unless by a special act of the government. In Austin’s upper colony, North Americans are excluded, but it is expected the present congress will repeal that odious law.

As you say in your article, no title can be perfected until after six years residence in the country; persons purchasing of those who have taken up lands, and are actual residents in the country take an instrument called in Texas a title-bond promising to give the purchaser a title when the vender receives his from government. Although the emigrant is not obliged to reside on the land taken out by him, yet he must in six years build a habitation and make some improvements, or his land will be forfeited. *Hundreds* have been imposed on by purchasing scrip from those who pretend to have grants from government, and have lost their money. No foreigner can hold lands in Texas; he must be an actual resident, and if a man of character, he can claim as above stated.

I will add that Texas is settled principally by North Americans, and a convention is now sitting at St. Phillip de Austin, for the purpose of organizing a State Government. From information we have received from S. Williams, at the Land Office, Texas contains from 25 to 30,000 inhabitants, 5,000 of whom are native Mexicans.

Austin’s colony from 8 to 9,000. The manner and customs are similar to those in the western part of the United States. The laws for the collection of debts contracted by residents of Texas are severe; debts can be collected in half the time that they can be in the state of New York.

The staple products of Texas are Cotton, Sugar, neat Cattle and Hogs. Texas contains every variety of soil. The climate is mild, and in the upper country they are free from mosquitoes, and other troublesome insects. The face of the country is gently waving, and the water good. About two thirds of the soil is rich prairies. The country is probably settling faster than any other portion of the Globe.

Yours truly,

A CITIZEN OF TEXAS

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING IN LONDON.

The following account of a great Anti-Slavery meeting, in London, on the first day of April last is extracted from the *New York Observer*; and no person can read without emotions of the most conflicting character—exultation at the glorious triumph which must shortly be resounded over the death of British colonial slavery—and humiliation at the scorn and contempt which all other nations feel towards us for our *canting* hypocrisy and audacious crime of manstealing. Well may British Christians pour out their tremendous rebukes for our guilt—and their ‘indignant expressions,’ respecting our insulting mockery, and the

normities of slavery! May it be instantly 'frown'd from the face of the earth'!—*Liberator*.

LONDON, April 6, 1833.

I did not believe, nor even dream, till I attended a special meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society at Exeter Hall, that the extinction of slavery in all parts of the British empire was so near. But before the meeting had closed, when there was an occasional allusion to the slavery of the United States, and in one instance a tremendous rebuke for the apathy of our citizens on the great subject, as well as their inconsistency, my mortification was extreme; I could not endure the gaze of many eyes, which I knew were turned upon me, and I dropped my head and looked upon the floor for relief; I wished myself away, out of sight and out of mind; and yet I would not have failed to be there for any thing. It was a great treat—a feast of fat things' to those who have any sympathy for the oppressed.

It was half past 12 when I arrived, and the meeting was in progress. As I landed on the platform I met the eye of a friend, who beckoned, and gave me a standing position, squeezed among the crowd by himself. To my great surprise I found not only the platform, but the immense hall generally crammed. Mr. Buxton, M. P. and the leading advocate of slaves,—Dr. Lushington only his equal in this kind of notoriety,—was in the middle of a speech.

Mr. Buxton is a sort of a giant in stature, neither handsome nor graceful. He is an awkward speaker too, but he is a matter of fact man; and it in such a cause makes eloquence. He was pulling out facts in bundles, and some new facts. The sympathies of the great assembly were very high, and their cordial reception of the important things was occasionally boisterous.

Mr. Buxton produced a new pamphlet, just published by an Englishman, whose business had taken him to Jamaica, in 1832, and who had spent several weeks upon a plantation there. He went out with prejudices in favour of slave-holders; but the realities he witnessed in the barbarous treatment of slaves, and the information he obtained, had compelled his better feelings to disclose what he saw, on his return to England.

Mr. Buxton began to read some of the statements; but they were insufferable; the audience could not endure them. 'No more! no more! no more!' was the universal clamor through the hall. 'Where can the pamphlet be had? Who is the publisher?' was the next cry. 'Hatchard, Piccadilly,' was the answer by Mr. Buxton; and he placed the pamphlet on the table, and proceeded to allusions, and to other considerations.

It is a sublime sight to see such an assembly, representatives of an empire, sympathizing so fully and so powerfully for the oppressions of low beings. An old man, who stood near me, about seventy years, well dressed, with a cocked hat upon his head, was so much affected by these statements, that he sat down, and wept like a child. His whole frame was so agitated, that he attracted the particular and anxious attentions of a young man, that appeared to be his son.

And yet all this appeared to be only a sober narrative of the common every-day routine of realities, inseparable from such a system of slavery as exists in the West India Islands; and, in almost wherever it is found. If the recent attempts of James Stuart, of slavery in our own Southern States are to be credited, the same

cruelties are extensively practiced every day on our own soil. The heart of man revolts from the picture, weeping as much for the shame of those who inflict the sufferings, as for the agony of those who endure them.

And all this to demonstrate the same unaltered course, since the late great excitement at Jamaica. Two separate committees of the House of Commons have been engaged for several months past in taking evidence on the subject of African slavery in the colonies, and infant slavery in the factories of Great Britain; and the developments of these examinations have roused the public mind on both topics, and urged the sentiments of the whole community to a crisis.

You need not be surprised, if *within six months* it shall be announced to the world, *that slavery is abolished from all the colonies of the British empire!*—that within that period, the day of universal emancipation, in these limits, shall be fixed! And shall it be, that the British nation shall have done itself this honour, at a time when no one can see the end of slavery in the United States of America! I blushed—and blushed again, when I saw that such was likely to be the fact; and I can never cease to be ashamed! Ever since I have been in Great Britain, I have had more and more occasion to observe, that the virtue of this community on this subject is far in advance of the same feeling in my own country. And yet, there is the *specific Declaration* of the rights of man, staring upon us, and I had almost said, insulting the world, in the original charter, which asserted our independence! It is, at least, and so far, a mockery!

I do not speak from the enthusiasm of the moment and of such a meeting; it was evidently the deliberate and firm conviction of all present, that the time had come for the emancipation of slaves throughout the British Colonies of the western world. The meeting was most respectable. Lord Suffield, who has been chairman of the committee of investigation for the House of Commons, was also chairman of this meeting; and there was a most respectable representation from both Houses of Parliament on the platform, many of whom took a part in the discussions. Take the whole assembly, a better representative of public opinion could not have been collected. Earl Fitzwilliam, lately succeeding to his father in the House of Lords, and to an immense estate, made a most decided and eloquent speech. His son, Lord Milton, M. P. emulated his father's example. Lord Morpeth, M. P. was eloquent as an angel's tongue, and sustained by the loudest and most decided applause I have ever heard in a like assembly. The Rev. Mr. Cunningham, author of 'The Velvet Cushion,' Churchman, and the Rev. Mr. Burnett, Independant, were both characteristically eloquent and well sustained. The speakers were numerous and highly animated, and although it was five o'clock before the meeting closed, no one thought of being tired. The tide of public opinion might be seen, in this assembly, rolling onward with irresistible flood, never to ebb, till it shall have washed away the stain of slavery from the British name. It was a perfect demonstration of triumph; and no ministry of the crown can stand, that will not attend to the beating of this pulse.

Dr. Lushington was there. He is not an easy speaker; but he is an energetic one. I had a side view of him, while he was addressing the audience, and I can never forget the impression he made upon me, when he delivered one of his most in-

dignant expressions respecting the enormities of slavery. Were I a painter I would certainly attempt the picture of the assembly, the hall, the platform, the whole scene, from the position I occupied, and above all the *man*, his face, his eye, his bending forward, his gesture, his all-penetrating look, expressing his full-souled, indignant emotions, with the very sentiment in his mouth! and it ought to be enough to frown slavery from the face of the earth.

Yours, &c.

The following plan for the abolition of slavery in the British colonies appears to have been devised by the ministry. If adopted, it will *ultimately* put an end to slavery in the islands: But we do not *believe* it will receive the sanction of parliament; and we are *sure* it will not satisfy the nation. Something more speedy—more simple and efficacious, less complicated and difficult of execution, is demanded by the people of England. We have many objections to the plan proposed, but have not room now to go into particulars. Besides, it may not be necessary, being assured that it will not be adopted without modifications, which will change its character. But if nothing better could be obtained, we should rejoice to see any plan adopted which would abolish the present system even prospectively. On reading the proposed plan to an intelligent coloured man, he observed, "It seems hard, even for good men to do complete justice to coloured people—much harder than to any other class of mankind." Who can doubt the force and truth of the remark?

I. That every slave, upon the passing of this act, should be at liberty to claim, before the protector of slaves, custos of the parish, or such other officer as shall be named by his Majesty for that purpose, to be registered as an apprenticed laborer.

II. That the terms of such apprenticeship should be—

1st. That the power of corporal punishment should be altogether taken from the master, and transferred to the magistrate.

2d. That in consideration of food and clothing, and such allowances as are now made by law to the slave, the labourer should work for his master three-fourths of his time, leaving it to be settled by contract whether three-fourths of the week or of each day.

3d. That the labourer should have a right to claim employment of his master for the remaining one fourth of his time, according to a fixed scale of wages.

4th. That during such one fourth of his time, the labourer should be at liberty to employ himself elsewhere.

5th. That the master should fix a price upon the labourer at the time of his apprenticeship.

6th. That the wages to be paid by the master should bear such a proportion to the price fixed by him, that for the whole of his spare time, if given to the master, the negro should receive 1-12th of his price annually: and in proportion for each lesser term.

7th. That every negro, on becoming an apprentice, shall be entitled to a money-payment weekly, in lieu of food or clothing, should he prefer it; the

amount to be fixed by a magistrate with reference to the actual cost of the legal provision.

8th. That every apprenticed labourer be bound to pay a portion, to be fixed, of his wages, yearly, to an officer to be appointed by his Majesty.

9th. That in default of such payment, the master to be liable, and, in return, may exact an equivalent amount of labour without payment the succeeding half year.

10th. That every apprenticed negro, on payment of the price fixed by his master, or such portion of it as may from time to time remain, be absolutely free.

11th. That every such apprentice may borrow the sum so required, and bind himself, by contract before a magistrate, for a limited period, as an apprenticed labourer to the lender.

III. That a loan to the amount of 15,000,000 sterling, be granted to the proprietors of West Indian estates and slaves, on such security may be approved by commissioners appointed by the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury.

IV. That such loan be distributed among different colonies, in a ratio compounded of number of slaves, and the amount of exports.

V. That the half yearly payments hereinbefore authorised to be made by the apprenticed negro to be taken in liquidation of so much of the debt contracted by the planter to the public.

VI. That all children who at the time of passing of this act shall be under the age of seven years be free, and be maintained by their respective parents.

VII. That in failure of such maintenance, they be deemed apprentices to the master of the house, (without receiving wages,) the males to the age of 21, the females to the age of 18, which periods respectively they and their children, if any, shall be absolutely free.

VIII. That this act shall not prevent his Majesty from assenting to such acts as may be passed by the Colonial Legislatures for the promotion of industry or the prevention of vagrancy, applicable to all classes of the community.

IX. That upon the recommendation of the legislatures, his Majesty will be prepared to commend to Parliament, out of the revenues of this country, to grant such aid as may be deemed necessary for the due support of the administration of justice, of an efficient police establishment and of a general system of religious and moral education.

From the Louisville, Ky. Herald.

PROSPECTS OF THE SLAVE STATES.

My attention was forcibly arrested by a valuable remark upon this momentous question, made by one of your correspondents on the 21st and 22nd inst. He seems to be master of the question. I only regret that he did not say something of our own state.

Happily, the time has come, when mild and candid discussion of this distressing question is permitted, nay, invited by the public sentiment. The writer, while strongly painting 'the present, and future,' fortunes of the slave states, tells us, that 'Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas have become negro raising states, they will remain such, so long as there is a demand from the cotton and sugar states—that demand stops, which must happen in

years, from excessive numbers, from the fears of the whites,' that then, the remaining slaves will be a dead weight, useless and dangerous at home, commanding no price abroad. Of course, the inference which he would have us to draw is, that now is the time for those to make common cause with the Colonization Society, or take some other vigorous measures to rid themselves of this curse, before it has eaten out the life and strength of the whites, completely exhausted the land, and finished that work of ruin which is already so far matured. In short, slavery, in those states has been demonstrated to the conviction of the most blind and obstinate, to be unnecessary, unsuited to the climate and productions—that the introduction of free white labour can alone save them from utter decay, seems to be settled beyond dispute.

Now, if this reasoning be sound, does it not apply with full force to Kentucky? That our climate is too hot for white labour, would be most absurd to assert, for we all know that black and white labourers are mingled together in every county. There is nothing, certainly, in our productions, to call for slave-labour; for, who does not know that hemp, tobacco, wheat and corn, which are our staples, are raised in countries, where slavery was never heard of. Kentucky, then, like Maryland and the other states mentioned, has begun to be, and will continue to be, a *negro raising* state; there is no preventing this tendency, it is the result of necessary causes. How many are yearly sent to the south now, I cannot say; but that the trade does exist, we all know. I myself, have seen within a month, two companies of twenty or thirty going thither. This state of things may continue, so long as a market for them remains below; but in a very few years, while they multiply so rapidly there, since the region where they are profitable is limited, since in some regions, they already far outnumber the whites, it is certain, that a complete embargo upon foreign blacks must soon be laid.

At this moment, Mississippi and Louisiana have very severe laws against the bringing slaves there for sale, and the others must speedily follow her example. We know that some are smuggled in spite of the prohibition, but they must be few and the traffic must stop.

Now, when this point is reached, what becomes of our slaves! They have done us grievous harm already, by hindering our growth, keeping us far behind our sister states, impoverishing our soil, corrupting our morals and manners.

They do, and they must steadily increase, and unless a foreign market can be found for them, they must, like an array of locusts, after stripping bare the soil, prey one upon another, or turn fiercely upon the whites, who cannot supply their wants.

We would not excite alarm, far less would we stir up angry feelings; but we believe that slavery in our state is unprofitable and ruinous, to say nothing of other objections; and as a question of political economy we assert, that it imposes upon us a heavy and constantly increasing tax, which must be taken off, or sooner or later beggary and decay must be our portion. It is madness to try to wink these things out of sight, it is folly to pretend to deny them. All experience and observation, the history and present condition of Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, speak with a trumpet voice. The two former have already begun to take measures to regenerate their sinking fortunes. The legislatures have shown a noble and patriotic purpose to look the monstrous

evil in the face, and before it is too late, to drive it from the heart of the political body. Though blessed with a fruitful soil, with many natural advantages, yet they see and acknowledge that their lands have every year been growing poorer, that estates lessen in value every generation, that they are slowly, but certainly sinking in political importance, that if some remedy is not soon devised, the epitaph must be written upon the tomb of their vanished wealth and prosperity, 'the glory has departed.' They begin seriously to learn the great lesson which Providence has been teaching to the nations in ancient and modern times, that slavery must infallibly bring down social and political destruction, when long continued. Look at the Republics of Greece—one of the most powerful agents in distracting and overturning them was the frightful excess of slaves over freemen. So it was with Rome. Look at the West Indies, at some of the Provinces of South America. When first explored and settled, they seemed to realize the pictures of Paradise. What are they now? Let the testimony of travellers, let impartial history, answer the question.

So it always has been, so it must continue, while the laws of our nature remain unaltered. Slavery is a forced, unnatural, diseased state, and that no safe, permanent prosperity or improvement can exist where it dwells, is a fact, amply proved by the history of other nations, and we must add, *by our own*.

It is true, that since Kentucky is so young a State, since the whites form so large a majority, the fatal consequences of the system are not so glaring and palpable.

But the said deadly poison, though it is taken in smaller quantities, though it contends with a more robust and vigorous constitution, yet is *still a poison*, and must every year be spreading its ravages more widely and deeply.

Why will not Kentucky rouse herself now? Why not take warning from older states, and early stop the pestilence, which has swept over them with its desolating waste? Every year's delay only aggravates the evil, and if nothing is done, when we are as old as they, the cure must be vastly more difficult, and the patient so exhausted as to be scarcely worth restoring.

We have heard some rumors of a convention to amend the constitution, and hopes expressed that in that body, some measures would be taken, to rid us of slavery.

O that I could make my appeal heard by every citizen, and rouse the public mind upon this momentous question. Look at our venerable mother, Virginia, and emulate her noble example. She, very lately, rose up in her strength, called together the combined wisdom of her citizens and reviewed and revised her constitution. She held a convention, and, we may confidently say, that she never performed an act so fitted to promote her prosperity, since she adopted the Federal Constitution.

The debates on slavery then, and in the Legislature since, though not matured into any decisive measures of vast service to her, they have been the commencement of a struggle, which we hope and believe, will never cease, till the glorious result is gained, and a *second*, more genuine, happy independence secured.

She shall yet realize the sublime fiction of rising again from her feeble state, and array herself in the garments of immortal prosperity, because blessed with perfect liberty.

Before concluding these extended remarks, (for whose length the subject must form the apology) let us glance at the condition of our State, and its prospects compared with those of our neighbours. Such a survey will show how fatal to the increase of wealth and population is our slavery. We confine ourselves to this argument, for we know the strength of such reasoning. It is, then, we maintain, against our *best interests*, to keep a single slave.

Now, our population in 1830, was 688,844,—of this number 165,350, *about one-fourth*, are slaves. We know that there have been local causes, which have hindered our progress; but, making a liberal allowance for these, enough remains to be set down to the account of slavery, as destructive of our prosperity.

During the last forty years, our population has increased ten-fold, only,—while that of Ohio has advanced *three hundred fold*—Indiana in only twenty years—*half* this time—has gained more than *sixty-fold*,—Illinois, in the same period, has gained thirteen-fold—yet Tennessee, in thirty years, has increased but sixty-fold, and Missouri, in twenty years, has gained but seven-fold.

Can any candid reflecting man in the face of such facts as these, for a moment doubt, that the great essential cause, why we are so far behind others, in the race of prosperity, is our slavery? Can any other possible explanation be imagined?

Our history displays another fact, yet more gloomy, that the blacks increase in a greater ratio, than the whites.

In 1800, the increase of the whole population for ten years, was	147,282	—that of slaves	30,914
in 1810,	185,552		37,217
in 1820,	147,806		40,171
in 1830,	124,527		44,618

We would earnestly ask, will our citizens consent that this ruinous suicidal condition shall continue? Are they prepared, in defiance of every warning, blindly to go on as they have done, and tread that downward road to poverty and weakness, from which the older States are desperately struggling to escape? Shall we see acted over again the scene of slow, but certain decay, which are spread over the once blooming and fertile hills and plains of Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas?

Shall the time come when one of our Statesmen shall in his place in Congress draw such a mournful picture of our prospects as was sketched by Mr. Randolph, three years ago, of his own proud State? If we would avert this awful catastrophe, there is but one course left us. We must promptly call a convention—we must arouse and enlighten the public mind—we must collect and spread the facts of our history, and with one heart, band ourselves together to banish from our borders, a great and growing political evil; more formidable than an invading army—more destructive than famine or pestilence—more paralyzing than widespread bankruptcy. Yes,—for the ravages of war may soon be repaired, the ranks of population, thinned, may be renewed, the powers of nature may quickly diffuse smiling plenty among a starving people. But what cure shall be found for a poison which has come to ravage the political body, to palsy its lifeblood, to brutify the manners and morals, to spread decay and beggary through every vein and artery! I hope that eager inquiry, that manly discussion may excite the attention, while the sympathies call forth the efforts of our citizens to take some early steps for the cure of so formidable an evil. May the time soon come

when Kentucky, freed from every obstacle, relieved of every burden, shall advance, like a healthy giant, with an elastic and bounding step upon the road to permanent, *ever-growing prosperity and quietness*.

THE RICHMOND WHIG—"GAG LAWS."

For some two years past, we were in hopes that the "Richmond Whig" had *honestly* taken up the cause of emancipation, and would contribute its extensive influence towards the promotion of that important object, in Virginia. But, of late, its tergiversations are too palpable, longer to deceive us; and we are again *compelled* to rank it with those who are merely striving for a fleeting popularity, without regarding the great and fundamental principles of universal justice and universal liberty.

It would now seem that the only idea the editor of the Whig entertains, relative to the practical abolition of slavery, is *the transportation of the coloured race to Africa!!!* Having put down one slave insurrection, he is perfectly content to join hands with the advocates of slavery, and wait for another. That he may continue on the *popular side*, he must keep in with the African Colonization Society; and, of course, every thing connected with the melioration of the condition of the "African race," must be denounced, and scouted, as visionary and impracticable, unless sanctioned by that institution. Wishing to be viewed as among the boldest, in reprobating the measures of the "abolitionists," he speaks without the least reserve, and considers it a "*pity that every mother's son of them could not be gagged!*" Furious and frenzied, as he thus shows himself to be, we tell him that his foolish violence is poorly calculated to effect his wishes. "Gag-laws" were talked of, by the self-created aristocrats of this country, some twenty-five or thirty years ago; but the independent yeomanry of our native hills and valleys taught the upstarts a *useful lesson*, and they will *teach them another*. They put them down *once*, and THEY WILL DO IT AGAIN.

What this profound logician advances, to prove the impracticability of colonizing in the Mexican country, is the mere raving of a political lunatic. The wildest "zealot" in our ranks reasons less incoherently. It is evident that he knows little about the Texas country. It was fashionable for our slavite presses, until lately, to revile and abuse the coloured republicans of *Hayti*. Now, every one, who has the least regard for character and veracity, is cautious in what he says against them. And the time is, perhaps, not far distant, when we shall be constrained to admit, that in consistency of political profession and practice,—in a firm and rational advocacy of the genuine principles of civil liberty—the Mexicans stand, confessedly, *our superiors*. More on this subject anon.

Ladies' Repository.

Philanthropic and Literary.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

HUMAN UNHAPPINESS.

To her fair work did nature link,
The human soul that through me ran;
And much it grieved my heart to think,
What man has made of man.

Wadsworth.

There is much in the world to make the heart sad. Much poverty, much suffering, much guilt, much of that inward wretchedness that bows down the soul to the dust, with the weight of its agony. Even amidst the loveliest scenes of nature, when the heart, touched by her sweet influences, opens itself to the balmy spirit of happiness, that is diffused all around, even there will come mingling with the gust of its emotions, the thought of the misery that rankles in the bosoms of thousands. It is not only "the dark places of the earth" that "are full of wickedness;" where science and refinement glow with the brightest lustre, where knowledge has been poured in a strong flood over the human mind, where the altars of the christian religion have been raised to the worship of the Most High, and when the lives of thousands have been shed, like autumn leaves, in defence of liberty—there, even there are shackled millions! There "man has made of man" a slave, an implement of labor, a thing to be tasked, and scourged, and sold, at his pleasure! Nor is this all—nor the worst. There is the tearing asunder of all the heart strings, when at the command of mammon, all the ties of life are violently broken, that the price of human limbs may heap the coffers of the oppressor. Nor is *this* yet all. There is the degradation, the compelled ignorance, the abasement of the high intellectual faculties, from which escape is utterly hopeless. All these are concomitants of American slavery—of that slavery which is contemplated without abhorrence—certainly without any effort for its removal,—by thousands of females, though they are aware what multitudes of their own sex are prostrated under this cruel load of oppression.

WOMEN AND THE TEMPERANCE CAUSE.

Women in all parts of the country, are lending their influence to the support of the Temperance cause. This is well. It is laudable. But is there one argument in favour of their engaging in that work, which will not apply equally well to that of opposition to slavery? Do they seek the removal of degradation, of vice, of ignorance, of crime? What is so fruitful in all these as slavery? If it

is criminal to hold human beings in unlimited bondage, (and who but the slaveholders themselves will say it is not?) then it is not only for the millions who pine in that bondage, for whom their sympathy and their aid is demanded, but also for those who are guilty of rivetting their fetters.

Is it the dread that they themselves may be smitten by the blasting influence of the evil which they seek to remove, that prompts them to exertion? Know they not, that even where they themselves are not exposed to the danger of insurgent havoc, that the constitution of our country has pledged their brethren, their fathers, their sons, their husbands, to brave all the perils, and all the horrors of that warfare?

Oh how can those who feel the responsibility that rests on our mortal life, and who know that the slave alike with themselves is destined to an undying existence, still delay the commencement of this important work! How can such endure the thought of the abject condition in which unrelenting despotism yearly plunges so many thousand innocent human beings, and make no effort for their rescue! If they would allow the subject more frequently to occupy their attention, if they would reflect more carefully on the hideous iniquity that slavery involves, we are sure this could not be.

PREJUDICE.

It is scarcely possible to believe what a vast amount of the darkest prejudice may dwell in the human heart, and how completely it is sometimes suffered to prevail against the dictates of common sense, and the plainest truths of religion. We have seldom met with a more striking exemplification of this, than the conduct of some of the inhabitants of Canterbury, Conn. A few months since, Prudence Crandall, a lady of that place, announced her intention of opening a boarding school for young colored females. Certainly a most praiseworthy undertaking, and one which might have been expected to meet with general approbation. Far different however, it seems, is the sentiment entertained towards it by her townsmen. After sending a deputation of their number to wait upon her, and endeavour to induce her to alter her intentions, a town meeting was called on account of the affair, where sundry speeches and resolutions gave, we hope, some relief to the sapient heads that were aching with apprehensions of approaching destruction, from the residence in their vicinity, of a few young females. We have seldom heard of any thing so excessively absurd and ridiculous, as the conduct of the leaders of this opposition to a most meritorious object. This unchristian spirit is deeply to be regretted. In the south, fear, the usual attendant of injustice and selfishness, have barred the gates

of knowledge, with the heavy penalties of the law, to the unfortunate colored race; and in the north, prejudice, with the same unrelenting spirit, would thrust them back into the darkness from which they are struggling to emerge. These gentlemen would doubtless call themselves christians; but how such conduct can be brought to agree with the grand moral rule of the christian gospel, we are at a loss to imagine. We are sure they would not esteem it a light thing to see an attempt thus made to dash the cup of knowledge and mental refinement from the lips of their sisters and daughters, by the rude hand of prejudiced tyranny. If it is well that the capacities of the human intellect should be elevated and improved, if the enlightened and expanded mind is better qualified to fulfil the end of its creation, by glorifying its Creator, then how are those to answer it to their own consciences in the day of trial, who would chain the minds of others in ignorance and darkness.

“Wo to those who trample o’er a mind,
A deathless thing.

Oh tremble and beware,
To lay rude hands upon God’s mysteries there.”

EXTRACT.

DEAR M——:

Excuse the unasked for liberty I take in calling thy attention from the various pleasures which surround thee, to the perusal of this poor scrawl. But as I cannot enjoy thy society, I thought I would commune with thee in this way, thinking thereby to cheat old father Time out of a few moments; but the old gentleman has no notion of that, for he sticks close at my elbow, warning me to be brief, or he will leave me in the dark, as he is fast withdrawing the great luminary from my view. And as I have seen it sink in the far west, I have said, oh that before he rise again, oppression might flee from our land. The wind is now in the south, and every breeze seems to bring with it a sound of some clanking chain, a sigh from the poor *slave*. Dost thou not hear it M——? Does it not seem as though the murmuring sound of injured Africa rested upon every gale? It does to me. Then let not our feeble efforts cease until liberty is proclaimed to the *captive*, and the oppressed arise free from the thralldom of *slavery*.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

SELFISHNESS.

Hannah More says that the principle end of education should be to eradicate selfishness—and I think she is correct. If the excess of this principle were rooted from the heart, men would at once be virtuous and amiable and happy. Self-denial and disinterestedness, always bring their own reward; and those who take least thought for their own comfort, when it comes into competition with that of their fellow creatures, will enjoy under the same circumstances of life, far the greater portion of happiness. In this, as in other things, the performance of duty is its own reward, for as we are expressly placed in this life as a state of probation, the self-denial in many instances becomes one of our strongest duties. And it can

never be more so, than when our own gratification would be purchased with the misery of our fellow creatures. Jesus Christ, our holy pattern and lawgiver, we are told “pleased not himself;” and in this, as in other things, it is incumbent upon us to follow his example. But if this were done, could those who profess obedience to his precepts, still continue to gratify themselves with the products of the unrequited labours of the deeply wronged slave? If that universal love for the human race, which He so forcibly inculcated, were suffered to prevail in our bosoms, could we know that our fellow creatures were thus injured and miserable, and not strive to do something for their rescue? We are sometimes told, that the slaves are contented and happy. But we know, that except very partially, this cannot be; the nature of their bondage utterly forbids it. It is impossible for men to be happy under the same system of treatment to which brute animals are subjected, and in some instances a far more cruel one; for the bitterness of lacerated feeling, when a beloved object is torn from the clinging affections, can never be known in its fullest agony, save by a human bosom. And even the stinted measure of happiness which they may sometimes be said to enjoy under the rule of a kind master, has seldom in it any thing of the elevated happiness, worthy of a rational being. Even the christian slave must be miserable. Imperfect as our nature is, unable as those are even in a far better estate than his, to cast their cares wholly upon God, how can he look round on those to whom his heart is clinging with the fondest affection, and reflect, without exquisite misery, on the degradation and the temptations of their lot?

Who then will hesitate, when the relief of more than two millions of human beings is the object, to retrench some portion of their many comforts? To renounce those enjoyments which are bought with so fearful a price of human agony, and unite in the holy task of pouring the oil of gladness into the wounds of the broken-hearted.

CATHARINE.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
THE SKIES THAT CLOUDS OVERCAST.

The skies that clouds overcast,
Soon smile in joy again;
To winter’s driving blast,
Succeeds bright summer’s reign.
The leaf that whirlwinds tear away,
Midst dull November’s cheerless gloom,
Shall be replaced by one more gay,
When vernal airs fan nature’s bloom.
So shall it be with those,
Who pine in slavery’s chains,
Tho’ bowed with many woes,
Whose blood the green earth stains.
An hour of gladness yet will come,
When justice shall resume her sway,
And smiling o’er oppression’s gloom,
Illumine their hearts with freedom’s ray.

ELA.

The following extract is taken from a little work published in England, entitled “An Evening at Home.” We recommend it to the attention of our readers.

SUGAR.

“Ah, but,” said Mrs. Morrison, “though the English have now made it piracy to carry on the

ve-trade, yet they still uphold a system of slavery the most merciless and tyrannical, that ever was created on the face of the earth; and they still allow the planters to keep possession of the negroes so unjustly obtained, and of their children, and children's children too. But now, Emma, listen to me;—why is it, do you think, that the negroes are kept in slavery, and treated as beasts? It is to procure sugar for us, that they are kept in bondage; to procure sugar for *English ladies*, who never think as they sit smiling and happy, drinking their tea, that they have sweetened it with that costs thousands of their fellow-subjects their liberty and happiness, and even their lives."

"Oh, mamma!" exclaimed little Emma, the blood crimsoning in her cheeks and her eyes filled with tears, "is this possible?"

"Yes, it is indeed possible: it is perfectly true; though many people do not know it, and some will not believe it; and most people, even religious people, and ladies too, who can pity and relieve almost every other kind of suffering seem quite unconcerned about this."

"But I'd soon make them concern themselves about it;" exclaimed Henry. "Look here," said he, starting up from the corner where he had been silently engaged for some time, and holding a tremendous whip in his hand, "now look what I have here! This is exactly like what the slaves are flogged with, nearly half a pound the lash one weighs; and its more than six feet long; and see how thick it is; five inches round in one place! I can frighten all the ladies out of eating West India sugar, with this, I am sure, when I make them look at it, and lift it, and *hear it*," said Henry smacking it; "and if they won't mind for so much I am sure they deserve to *feel it* too!"

"Don't make me feel it, pray, pray;" cried Emma, shrinking away as her brother approached.

"No, don't frighten us with it Henry," said his mother; "but pray show it to those ladies who will not pity those of their own sex, who have to endure its tortures: show it to the ladies, who, knowing what a cart whip inflicts,—knowing that human flesh,—the flesh of women,—must bleed under its merciless strokes, still continue to buy West India sugar, because *it is cheapest!* But no whip that Henry can make, Emma, can give you an idea of the tremendous power of the West Indian whip—I wish I could show to all the ladies in England one that had inflicted a hundred and fifty lashes on a poor gentle negress, called America; harmless, inoffensive hard-working creature; but her story is too dreadful to relate. I am glad to give my dear children care for the helpless, unprotected negro; so very few do feel for him as they ought. In spite of all that has been said, and done, and written on this subject, the wretched slave may still say to the females of Great Britain—

'Think ye ladies, iron hearted,
Smiling at your happy boards,
Think how many backs have smarted
For the sweets the cane affords!
Sighs must fan it, tears must water,
Blood of ours must dress the soil.'

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

EVENING THOUGHTS.

How beautiful

the calm earth resteth in her quiet sleep.
There are no sounds of human life abroad,
And the soft voice of that one bird, whose plaint

Melteth upon the ear so soothingly,
Seems but the low breeze moulded into sound.
'The shadows of the trees distinctly lie
Upon the earth, unstirring, and no breath
Comes whispering among the tender leaves,
To wake them into playfulness.

The sky

Bendeth in loveliness above the earth,
With a few clouds drawn o'er it, beautiful
In the soft light, and exquisitely pure,
As if they knew no other home than heaven.
Oh thus it is, God of the universe!

That thou wouldst sanctify with thy rich grace,
Our erring human hearts, that we might be,
When from the earth our day of life hath passed,
Dwellers in that bright world where all are pure.
A world where sorrow cometh not, nor sin,
Nor the down stooping 'neath the oppressor's hand.
Alas that earthly things should be so fair,
And day by day harmoniously move on
In their allotted course, at thy command,
Dutiful and unswerving from their track,
And man, man only, who alone may know
How beautiful thine ordinances are,
Mock at thy holy will, and mar his soul
With the dark stains of sin. Alas! that man
With thy pure law unveiled before his eyes,
Should bind the fetter on his brother's form,
And smite him with the scourge, and bid him
pour

His strength out on the earth, for no reward;
And worse than this, wrench from his bleeding
heart

The dearest objects of his earthly love,
And all, that the oppressor's hoards may flow
With mammon's worthless treasure; meagre dust,
Beside the priceless treasure of a soul!
Shall it be ever thus? Most Merciful!
Will man's hard heart be never touched with all
The o'erflowings of thy love, and yield itself
To gentler sympathies, till he shall learn
The noble joy of pouring happiness
Upon the heart of sorrow, and how sweet
The pleasure is, of shedding bliss abroad.

GERTRUDE.

There appears to be very little protection afforded by law to the free blacks, even in this district, which is governed by the national legislature. A friend has furnished us with the following relation of facts, which shows the gross imposition and cruelty practised upon unoffending colored people with impunity.

There is neither mercy nor justice for colored people in this district:—about the first of May, some colored people of quality, at this place, wished to have a ball, in imitation of the whites. But as they cannot make laws for their own government, they have to submit to the unjust and unmerciful laws made by the whites. Consequently they applied to an officer for a permit to have a ball. A constable made them believe that he had power to grant them a permit, and wrote one, and took pay for it. The blacks assembled, under permission as they thought, and were enjoying themselves in a very orderly manner, when about 11 o'clock at night, fourteen constables surrounded the house armed with guns, pistols, and clubs, took about forty blacks—robbed them of all their watches and money,—and next day took them all before squire Clark, where each one was fined as much as they

could well pay—and then the constables and magistrate made a division of the money between them. And what is still more strange, many of them consider themselves, or wish others to consider them, very religious—some are shouting Methodists, and others Presbyterians, so it is said.

Last week, a very decent, orderly looking, colored woman, was coming over the bridge to our city to get employ, it is said. She was seen by a man, named *Jilson Dove*, a constable, who buys and catches negroes for the traders. The woman finding she was about to be taken to the *pen* or *enclosure*,—where all kidnapped and others are put, before taken to the south,—got loose, and attempted to run away from the constable—but he followed her so close, she had no way to escape but by *jumping* into the *river*, where she was *drowned*. No fuss or stir was made about it,—she was got out of the river, and buried,—and there the matter ended.

For such outrages upon unprotected, unoffending people, the nation stands guilty. It is the duty of Congress to provide for the peace and good government of the district, and to protect the inhabitants from the depredations of unprincipled men invested with a little brief authority, by securing the just and equal administration of the laws. And if they fail to do this, and permit such scenes to be acted with impunity, in the face of the nation, as are above described, the guilt and ignominy will fall upon the whole nation. And as sure as there is a God that judges righteously in the earth, He will not let the *guilty* go unpunished. It is no excuse,—no palliation, that the sufferers were *black*,—that they were *yellow*. They belonged to the family of *man*, and they were *free*.

We hear a great deal said about christianizing AFRICA, and other places—but we think there is much to be done at home to christianize our own people. Let us first pull the beam out of our own eye, and then we shall see clearly to pull the mote out of our brother's eye in *Africa*, or *elsewhere*.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

LINES

Addressed to Prudence Crandall, of Canterbury, Connecticut, who recently, amidst persecution the most unrelenting, established a Boarding School for young Ladies of Color.

Say lady:—Will thy spirit fear
The crosses virtue still must bear,
In world so vile as this?
Canst thou abide the despot's frown,
To gain a happier "world"—a crown
Of never-ending bliss?

Canst thou, in quietness, endure
The frowning scowl, with face demure
Of "pious" popularity,
Too often seen in those who claim
The merit of the Christian name,
With hypocrite's sincerity?

Thy colored sisters pray for aid;—
And He, who *cannot lie*, hath said
Their wrongs shall be redressed.

When Ethiop stretches forth her hands,
He will dissolve the iron bands
That long have them oppressed.

She stretches, now, "her hands to God,"
And tyrants dread Jehovah's rod;
They rave—but rave in vain.
The thunder of his potent word
Dismays the Afric's haughty lord;—
'Twill break the oppressor's chain.

Go on, in these, thy works of love.—
Commission'd from the "Throne above,"
Thy labors shall be blest.
Soon may thy persecutions cease;
Thy soul enjoy the boon of peace;
And, hence, eternal rest. EDWIN.

Philadelphia, 4th mo. 30th, 1833.

TEXAS.—A letter writer, who appears to have visited some part of this country, informs a southern editor, that the colonists have hit upon a plan to evade the law prohibiting the introduction and employment of slaves; but he says it can be done "for one generation only." The "plan," to which he alludes, is that of taking in the slaves *under indentures for ninety-nine years*—though their future offspring would be free by law. This regulation existed a short time subsequent to the abolition of slavery by the Mexican Congress. But a law of the state, passed last April, declares that such indentures shall not be valid longer than ten years.

* * We had several articles prepared for this number which have been crowded out by other matter, which we could not omit. That champion of despotism, the editor of the "Telegraph," and the "crazy fanatic," who conducts the "Daily Intelligencer," have not received that *special notice* which was intended—because we have not room—at present.

☞ Letters addressed to Benjamin Lundy, on business connected with this paper, should be directed to Philadelphia, for the present, or until further notice.

Terms of Subscription

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We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.—*Declaration of Independence, U. S.*

No. 9. VOL. III. THIRD SERIES.]

JULY, 1833.

[WHOLE NUMBER 285. VOL. XIII.]

Those to whom bills have been sent, as well as others who owe the concern, will confer a favor by remitting the amount, directed to Benjamin Lundy, Philadelphia. The proprietor of this paper is from home on business of importance to the cause in which he is engaged; and he relies on the means to support the paper in his absence, on remittances from subscribers who are in arrears. The paper cannot be sustained without funds. The amount due is amply sufficient to sustain it, if prompt payment is made. We therefore hope our request to forward the balances due will not be overlooked or neglected.

EDITOR AND ATTORNEY FOR B. LUNDY.

FREE LABOR.

Societies are forming in different parts of the country to promote the consumption of free labor produce, in preference to that of slaves. Thousands are becoming convinced that the consumers of the produce of slave labor are the efficient supporters of the slave system, and they are forming associations for procuring and consuming the products of free labor.

These views are spreading among all classes of professions; and the time is hastening when every consistent and conscientious abolitionist will feel himself imperatively called upon to wash his hands from the pollution, and to "touch not, handle not, handle not the accursed thing."

A society has lately been formed in the city of New York, called "The Free Produce Association of Friends," composed of men and women—another in Chester County, Pennsylvania; the constitution of which will be found in this number.

These are cheering indications of a correct estimate of the nature and character of slavery, and of a sound moral and religious principle, which, regardless of narrow and selfish considerations, refuses to partake of the gain of oppression, how specious the channel through which it comes.

THE CANTERBURY AFFAIR.

The persecutors of the benevolent, the amiable Prudence Crandall, have exhibited a barbarous and savage vindictiveness, towards an unoffending young woman, which is a disgrace to the country and the age. The citizens of Canterbury, in Connecticut, have resolved to hold no intercourse with her, and to sell her no article of necessity. When she appears in the streets she is insulted—hooted—scoffs are blown and pistols fired—not at her person—admitted—but in derision, and as an evidence of

their ill-manners. Her father and sister have been threatened with fine and imprisonment, if they visit her. Eggs have been thrown at the house—the windows have been broken by stones or brick bats, while the family were peaceably attending to their own domestic concerns. And to crown all, she has been incarcerated in a prison—and confined in the same cell which had been the abode of a murderer!!!

And what is her crime? What sin has she committed against the peace of society, or the charities of social life, that she should be subjected to a treatment more cruel and heartless than the vilest felons receive from a civilized community? She is charged with no moral offence—no breach of her social or religious duties. Her character is beyond suspicion, her conduct is exemplary, and characterised by meekness and christian charity.

But she has been guilty of—silence ye wolves of Canterbury—cease your howlings, while I the truth unfold—she has been guilty of—*giving instruction to those who most need instruction*. This is the "head and front of her offending"—the sole crime alleged against her.

Republicans! Christians! *men!* hang your heads and blush! Every *man*, who has a spark of the honorable feelings of a *man* must blush—"blush and hang his head to think himself a man,"—so long as such outrages against the common decencies of civilized society are tolerated by men pretending to be civilized. The indignation of the editors of New England papers, which has been freely expressed, will in some measure redeem the character of the people of that section of our country, from participation in the disgraceful proceedings at Canterbury. The following is from the "Boston Advocate."

Refinement of the age.—We have seen a letter from New Haven, of June 30, which says that Andrew T. Judson, the famous town clerk of the enlightened and religious town of Canterbury, in the moral state of Connecticut, has actually caused the arrest of Miss Prudence Crandall, for presuming to teach curly headed misses with dark skins to read and write, in violation of a statute passed by the conscientious legislators of the land of blue laws, where they used to whip beer barrels for working on Sunday!

This young lady, who is pious, amiable and lovely in person, our informant adds, has actually been thrust into prison in the very cell that Watkins, the murderer, last occupied!!!

In the name of all that is manly and civilized, are we going back to the dark ages? Are there any free schools or religious societies in Con-
necticut?

Fiat Justitia Ruit Cælum.

tient? Are there no spare missionaries to be sent to Canterbury?

From the Liberator.

SAVAGE BARBARITY.

The persecutors of Prudence Crandall have placed an indelible seal upon their infamy! *They have cast her into prison!* And into the very cell occupied by WATKINS the MURDERER!! She was arrested at Canterbury, Conn., on the 27th ult., and examined before Justices Adams and Bacon, and by them committed to take her trial at the next session of the Superior Court, at Brooklyn, in August.

And for what is she imprisoned? For presuming in this *republican* and *christian* land, to instruct young ladies of color! Yes, let it be remembered, that Miss Crandall has been *immured in prison in America!* for attempting to instruct the ignorant and oppressed!!

And who are the authors of this infamous proceeding? *They are the friends of the American Colonization Society*, and have made their appeal to that association for countenance and support!

These proceedings are designed to break down the spirit of benevolence by which P. Crandall is influenced, and to cause her to relinquish her purpose. But her persecutors have made a gross miscalculation. They have measured her virtue by their own standard of selfishness and cupidity, and the result will be disappointment. They have sowed to the wind, and they will reap the whirlwind. The threats and contumely and persecution by her adversaries, will add strength to her resolution, and firmness to her purpose. She will have the sympathy and support of *all* christians who deserve the name, the favor of a righteous God, and the reward of a peaceful conscience.—The name of Andrew T. Judson will be remembered with the same feelings with which we contemplate the characters of Cataline, Nero, and Captain Cid, and all those enemies of the human race, whose *little* souls were inaccessible to the expansive influence of benevolence.

"See Judson damned to everlasting fame," a beacon to future generations to guard against those narrow prejudices and vindictive passions, which degrade a man below the condition of a savage, and render him a nuisance and a curse to the community in which he lives.

SOLID ARGUMENT.

The editor of the Philadelphia "Daily Intelligencer" is an astonishing adept in the rules of logic, as well as *profoundly* learned in the knowledge of passing events. Take the following article as an evidence of both.

The Genius of Emancipation, a print condemned to an unenviable fame beneath the auspices of Garrison, the crazy fanatic, has discharged upon our head a torrent of violent and vulgar abuse.—We cannot allow our columns to reverb the frenzied vituperations of a personage so unfortunately celebrated—celebrated as the wildest or worst of

the zealots who would place the sword and torch in the hands of the slave; as the fomentor of the bloody and revolting atrocities of Southampton, as an outlaw at the South, presented by the Grand Juries, and hunted with heavy prices for his apprehension. The print in question constitutes itself a *conclusive proof* of the propriety and justice of our positions. We merely notice it, however, to mark how far those who garb their madness or their guilt beneath the robe of philanthropy and religion, and preach insurrection, murder and rapine by the grace of God, can call in aid of calumny and low abuse to shield them from exposure or opposition.

He is about as *knowing* in the concerns of the paper, and as *veracious* in his statements, as celebrated Mrs. Trollope in her description of the city of New York and its population. She calls neat little city containing something like one hundred and forty or fifty thousand inhabitants, *mostly black*. They all carry dirks or daggers, and make no scruple of *stabbing* any body that happens offend them as they pass along the streets. On one occasion the people became so much alarmed at the demonstrations made by these sable citizens that they fled for their lives, on board the only steam boats belonging to the place, one of which runs to New Orleans, on Long Island, and another to Brooklyn on Lake George. Now if the geography and statistics of Mrs. Trollope are as *accurate* as the *facts* stated by the *veracious* editor of the "Intelligencer," who will hereafter place confidence in the demonstrations of mathematicians? Hear him again in one of his *exalted strains of pathetic eloquence*, describing in *glowing* language, and with the *precision* of Mrs. Trollope, the *objects*, and *tendencies*, and *desires* of abolitionists.

True, we have examples of negro revolt, or midnight conflagration, when the blood of men hissed in the flames of their homes, and shrieks of the women were heard above the sobs of the slaves—scenes of lust, cruelty and horror over which the arch fiend himself might sigh; but they were contracted in extent, and momentary in duration. Ours will spread over a continent, and destroy a people, and that people their own brethren.

Such are the scenes which modern "*philanthropy*" would conjure up. She would wade to her purpose through a sea of kindred blood, cheer the hell-hounds of civil war, and, in her hour of triumph, while the shriek of an expiring slave rung in her ears, wave above the smoking standard the red banner of "*Philanthropy*."

In sober earnest, we think it a waste of time and intellect to attempt to *reason* with such a "*crazy fanatic*"—"I thank thee Jew for thy word.") If Garrison was half as "*crazy*" as he should think him a fit candidate for a lunatic asylum. It is rather unfortunate for such purposes that all the leading abolitionists in our country, whether Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist or Quaker, are, almost to a man, opposed to war

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

principle both offensive and defensive. They believe that all wars and violence, and bloodshed are forbidden by the religion of Jesus Christ. They wish to exert only a moral influence upon public opinion, by presenting clearly and forcibly to their fellow citizens, the obligations of christian duty, which commands us to love our neighbor, to do good and not evil, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free. The ravings of fanaticism, the phrenzy of enthusiasm and folly, or the impotent threats of wicked and designing men, will never drive them from their post, or silence their denunciations of slavery, until the monster is driven from our land, and Ethiopia shall be permitted unmolested, "to stretch forth her hands unto God," and return thanks for deliverance from bondage.

By the way, we would observe, that we could find it in our heart to "discharge abuse upon the head" of the deluded and "crazy fanatic," whose incoherent ravings we have briefly noticed. We feel too much compassion for his pitiable case to be angry with him. We notice his wise sayings, to show to our readers the quality and spirit of our adversaries, and the degree of rationality which they exhibit. We think the sacrifice of a good conscience a sufficient punishment, and the damnation of all the wise and the good, a very bad bargain. We, however, feel a little idle curiosity to know the amount of his fee—the price which he has sold his conscience. But perhaps we have no business to pry into such secret mat-

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

"Choose ye this day whom ye will serve; whether ye will serve the gods which your fathers served that were on the other side of the flood, or the gods of the Amorites in whose land ye dwell." Joshua xxiv. 15.

There is, perhaps, no disposition more to be deprecated, more to be deprecated, than that which is scarcely to know what to say or whereof to be firm—half Jew—half Ashdod—a cake unbaked—baked on one side, and raw on the other. Men are broken reeds, which never can be bent upon. They

express an opinion as though they gave it not, and what they remember seem to have forgot."

Some questions, doubt and uncertainty and indecision are innocent and allowable—but of all questions of a moral or religious character, that of slavery is one upon which there is the least room for doubt or indecision. There is no question by which the moral principles of men may be more fully tested than this. The time is past when we could plead ignorance as a palliation for their defence of slavery. We admit that the time has passed when the enormities of the system, its cruel and demoralizing effects, were not generally understood as now. The attention of mankind had not been drawn to the subject so fully as in former times. I am willing to admit that "the cause of this (comparative) ignorance God may be justly winked at." But that time is past. Light

has gone forth—slavery is universally acknowledged to be a moral evil, and God now "commands men every where to repent" of their former deeds of wrong and violence, in a language that is felt and understood by every slaveholder, and his abettors, in this country. The axe must be laid to the root of the corrupt tree, and every yoke must be broken, and the oppressed set free.—There is no half-way house between right and wrong—no middle path of expediency between justice and injustice. "He that is not for us is against us"—he that is not in favor of immediate abolition, is an abettor of slavery.

I have just read an editorial article in the "Presbyterian" of the 17th inst. a religious paper, published in Philadelphia, and edited by a clergyman, which will serve to illustrate the preceding remarks. The writer begins by saying that abolition and colonization "are not opposed to one another." It happens, however, as the writer proves in the same paragraph, that the advocates of African colonization, are generally hostile to the friends and advocates of universal emancipation, and deprecate and condemn both their principles and their actions. But hear him. "The Vermont Chronicle says truly, that the abolitionists seem not to know what they would do." I will tell him (the same that has been repeated a thousand times over by abolitionists) what they "would do"—they would have every man to repent of his sins and obey the gospel—to do justly and love mercy—to undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free—to bind up the broken hearted and break every yoke. But let us see the cloven foot more plainly. Here it comes. "What they have done, it is still harder to find out. They have made a prodigious outcry; they have shed abundance of ink, and a quant. suff. of gall; they have denounced slaveholders, and colonizers, societies, and colonists; but what have they done?" Sure enough! what have they done? Is it necessary to tell the learned editor of the "Presbyterian," a clergyman, a preacher of the gospel, a theological student, what abolitionists have done? Has this great moral and political evil been so long staring us in the face, and threatening to overwhelm us with confusion and anarchy and nullification, and yet this minister of that religion which commands us to do to others as we would that they should do to us, does not know what abolitionists have done for its removal? Let him consult the history of our own country, and he will learn that while the idle shepherds were sleeping at their posts, and suffering the wolves to range unmolested among the lambs of the flock, abolitionists have freed seven of the old thirteen states from the curse of slavery, and added five new states to the number of those from which slavery is forever excluded. If he is still at a loss to know what abolitionists have done, let him ask the three hundred and fifty thousand free people of color in the United States, by what means they obtained their liberty. If he is not yet satisfied, let him examine into the origin of the schools which have been established all over the free states, for the education of colored children, and inquire who were the founders of them. After making these inquiries, let him hold his peace about abolitionists, till he and his colonization friends have done something better than sound their own praise, and slander abolitionists. If any wish to know what colonization men have done to improve the condition of the African race in this country, and to allay prejudice against them, let them inquire of Prudence

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

Crandall of Canterbury, Connecticut, and she can probably give some information directly in point.

But, says this writer, "We are advocates of Africa." (Very well.) "We are (for want of any thing better) advocates of colonization." Yes—"for want of any thing better." Well, go on. "We abominate slavery in all its forms." Yes, but the Colonization Society "abominates emancipation in all its forms"—except on condition of *expatriation*, which condition cancels the benefit, and makes the proffered boon an insult, rather than a blessing. *Freedom*, with such a condition annexed, is a contradiction in terms. "We abominate slavery in all its forms." Well, what next? "We pray for the abolition of it." Hold there.—We cant stand all that. It is carrying the joke too far. "Pray" for the abolition of slavery, and abuse and slander those who are *laboring* with the devotion of martyrs, for its accomplishment. That smells too strongly of hypocritical cant and imposture. There was a description of men among the Jews 1800 years ago, who could make long prayers standing at the corners of streets to be seen of men; but who bound heavy burdens upon men's shoulders, which they would not move with one of their fingers. By their fruits men are to be known. Put your shoulders to the wheel—join in efficient, active labors for the removal of this evil, and then we have faith to believe your prayers will be heard. Well, "We pray for the abolition of it." "Would to God the abolition of it could be immediate." Would to God all men were christians—in *fact*, as well as in *name*, and slavery would cease *immediately*. "Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and Sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting. Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth; they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them. And when you spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when you make many prayers, I will not hear; your hands are full of blood. Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil, learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow." Isaiah i. 13-17.

We will quote but one sentence more from this writer. It is his closing malediction. "But the 'FIRE BRAND' of the 'Liberator' and the like incendiary and rabid agitators, will *free not one wretch, while it renders morally certain the aggravated misery of thousands.*" We have given it literally, with capitals and italics as in the original. We do not think, however, that the language quoted is very becoming a clergyman to use towards one who has devoted his life to the cause of religion, justice, and humanity. The word incendiary is misapplied. The Liberator neither sets houses on fire, nor promotes quarrels. He is a man of peace, who believes all war and violence to be forbidden by the gospel. He wishes to see the heathen of our land converted to christianity: and the first step to this conversion is to show them that they are *not christians*. But such is commonly the spirit shown towards abolitionists, by those who ("for want of any thing better") are in favor of colonization—by those who are opposed to slavery *in the abstract*, but whose zeal is kindled into wrath when they see a devoted christian laboring for its abolition. "Faithful are the reproofs of a friend, but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful." Heaven preserve me from

those opposers of slavery *in the abstract*—who, like the men at the oar, *look* one way, and *pull* another. "I would that they were either cold or hot—but because they are "neither cold nor hot" will spue them out of my mouth."

WILBERFORCE

A letter has just been received from B. Lundy in which he says, "do the best for our cause, *do not strike our flag.*" No, not while a slave exists on the soil of the United States. It is nearly thirty years since the writer of this drew the sword, and threw away the scabbard. But, "the weapons of our warfare are not carnal but *spiritual.*" Our *flag* is UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION—our armour, justice and religion—our weapons, truth and the precepts of the gospel—our aim, the restoration of *all men* to their unalienable rights.

This flag we will never strike—this armour will never lay aside—these weapons we will never abandon, till the *end* at which we aim is accomplished—till the goal for which we are striving is reached, or the days of our probation numbered. The spirit of the Lord is moving on the face of the waters. He has commanded light to shine out of darkness—a host of laborers in the righteous cause are enlisting under banners of Universal Emancipation, who wage war in righteousness, against spiritual wickedness in high places, till the enemies of freedom of man are driven from the field, or surrendered at discretion.

EXTRACT

From a Letter received from a friend in Ohio.

"We greatly desire thy encouragement that of all those who have embarked in the righteous cause of Universal Emancipation; for a righteous cause it is, and we believe it will eventually triumph, notwithstanding all the strong opposition it may meet with. We live in a land where prejudice against the colored population appears to run very high. Their privileges here are more curtailed than in some of the eastern states, and the number very small who seem prepared fully to espouse their cause. But still we feel bound to persevere, and endeavour at least to cleanse our own hands from the stain of our brothers' blood. Reflecting on the present state of things in our beloved country, and the cold indifference which the subject is treated by many of its avowedly professing inhabitants, often brings to my mind the case of Meroz as mentioned in scripture, and I am tempted with a fear if the people are not generally more faithful to the call which hath gone forth to arouse us from our beds of ease and luxury, to break the yoke from off the necks of the sons of Africa, who have been long grievously oppressed."

* Did the writer of this letter ever hear of a man in CONNECTICUT, called *Canterbury*, or of a woman named Prudence Crandall? If he does, he must acknowledge that of all examples of folly and dice run mad, that of Andrew T. Judson, Esq. Co. takes the lead.

our borders, that a curse will indeed attend this kind of professed freedom. But oh, for the Society of Friends—the people who have long been professing to bear a faithful testimony against this inhuman traffic. But as a body what are we doing? How many thousands of our members are daily furnishing the very means which uphold the odious system with all its cruelties.—Had the society steadily progressed in this noble cause, from the days of that devoted servant of the Lord, John Woolman, how different would things have been amongst us. Indeed we sometimes doubt whether there would by this time, have been a slave remaining within these United States. When reflecting on those things it often brings to mind the expressions of that illustrious statesman, Thomas Jefferson, when he says, "I tremble for my country when I remember that God is just, and that his justice will not sleep forever."* Can not the slave system be compared to a machine which the consumer of the products is the spring? And if this be the case may we not well tremble for our society? O then, let every soul who hath put their hand to the plough look steadily forward, humbly beseeching the Lord of the harvest that he will be pleased to send forth his laborers into his vineyard.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

Slaveholders, and their apologists, in opposing the principles and measures of those, who feel it their duty to exert their best energies against the odious system which they uphold, always resort to the argument of expediency. However just and correct, say they, may be the principles advocated by Abolitionists, however consistent with humanity and the demands of justice, yet their practical operation would inevitably produce the most appalling and destructive results—the social relations of society would be annihilated, the political ties of the nation would be broken asunder, and plunder, rapine and murder would commence their dark and portentous reign. The very suggestion, say they, of devising plans for total and speedy emancipation, is chimerical and absurd; and none but fanatics, and disturbers of the peace of society would advocate it—It is indeed impossible to observe, the hideous phantoms, which the excited imaginations of prejudiced men, are capable of forming, to suit their particular notions on this subject—and it is equally painful to perceive what extensive currency such unfounded assumptions have obtained among the great mass of society in this country. It can be accounted for in no other way than by supposing that the credulity and confidence of those who proclaim these doctrines, have overcome by a sudden impulse, the main mass of the community—acting as they do in unison with that deeply rooted

This sentiment of Thomas Jefferson is very true in theory. But it would have been enhanced a thousand fold, if he had practiced what he preached. Precept without example, is like faith without works—it is dead—DEAD as a loathsome mass from which we turn with disgust. Jefferson could write very wisely on the evils of slavery, but he never manumitted his slaves, nor promoted manumissions among his neighbors. Hence his beautiful and eloquent dissertations lose all their force, and fall powerless and lifeless from his

and unfounded prejudice against a colored skin, which has so generally diffused itself into every class of society.

It would require no lengthened train of argument to demonstrate the utter inconsistency of such views, with the principles of human nature—with the feelings and motives which ordinarily influence the actions of men—and to prove by numerous facts, derived from a reference to the records of the past, that effects precisely the reverse of those anticipated, would ensue from the adoption of judicious, just and speedy measures for the emancipation of the whole slave population of the United States.

It is not my intention, in the present communication, to do more than illustrate the correctness of these views by relating an incident which occurred a short time since in the city of Baltimore; and which was mentioned to me, by one of the parties concerned.

A respectable tradesman extensively engaged in business in Baltimore, held eight or ten slaves which he had received by inheritance—he had been always accustomed to rely on their labor in conducting his business affairs, which required an unusual degree of manual operation—he had never been accustomed, like his neighbors, to "hire hands," and thought that he was saving a handsome sum of money thereby.

He was however constantly perplexed with the carelessness and inaction of his men, and particularly of a slave named Charley, who, on account of his strength and honesty was his main dependence. Charley would be lazy in spite of the corrections of his master—he would often feign sickness, say he could not work, &c. His master, at last, found every thing behindhand, and was determined if possible, to seek a remedy. He applied to an intelligent and friendly neighbor engaged in the same business; told him of his difficulties, and requested most urgently his advice.

His neighbor soon told him, that he was not astonished at his trouble—Charley, said he, is a slave—he feels himself unjustly oppressed; he sees his friends around him engaged in the same kind of work, and receiving the customary wages—supporting their families comfortably and happily; while he is doomed to drag on day after day, without the hope of reward, with nothing around him to cheer and enliven him. The fault, my friend, is your own; you have, by the cruel act of extorting from him, the work of his hands without reward, dried up every source of his enjoyment; you have taken from him every motive to action—he feels that he is a slave. Manumit him, and I will promise, that your difficulties will cease. At this the master hesitated. Well, said he, I must confess there is some truth in what you say—and if Charley does not improve soon, I really think I must take your advice—though Charley is worth a good deal of money, I don't like to part with him.

Wait no longer, my friend, now is the time while the thing is fresh in your mind—depend on it, you will feel better when you have done it, and Charley will become an industrious and useful man to you. Put the question to yourself—how would you act if placed in Charley's situation? would you not feel depressed and degraded, and consider your master very cruel? And then if he were suddenly to release you, and place you on a level with the hired laborer, and retain you in his employ at good wages; would you not feel full of gratitude, and do every thing to please him? Certainly you would.

You are right, said the slave-holder—I see the force of your remarks—I will go at once and procure papers of manumission for Charley. In a few hours the business was accomplished.

Charley was called by his master, presented with his papers of freedom, and at once entered as a hired laborer with his former owner.

His delight at this unexpected act, was of course great—his heart overflowed with gratitude—every spring was set in motion—his spirits were animated with new and powerful incentives, and his body as speedily obeyed the impulse of his will. He became from that time a most industrious and useful man, executing his master's orders with alacrity and dispatch.

The change in Charley's movements were soon apparent to his master—he discovered that he could perform much more work than formerly, that he was never sick and lazy, but always ready to do what was required of him—this quickly convinced him that he had promoted his pecuniary interests by the course pursued.

But this was but a small part of his pleasure—there was a secret, inward self-satisfaction produced by the act, which far outweighed every other feeling—and induced him at once to manumit all his remaining slaves.

After completing the business to his satisfaction, he called on his neighbor to return him his hearty thanks for his advice.

I have, said he, through your agency, seen the cruelty and iniquity of holding a fellow creature in bondage—I am now astonished when I look back, to think that I could have been guilty of so enormous a crime. I have now washed my hands of it, and feel a degree of self-approval, the pleasure of which, I cannot describe. I declare to you, sir, that if any man in Maryland were to come forward now, and offer me the most valuable slave in the state, and accompany the offer with \$1000 on condition that I would retain him in bondage, I would instantly reject the offer.

Such instances of reformation are not surprising—and if they would become general among slave-holders, it is easy to perceive that ere long our country would be relieved from the greatest of its present evils. Let the consciences of slave-holders become aroused to the enormity of their guilt—and we are not at all concerned for the utter annihilation of the evil which they are perpetuating.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

In the forty-eighth number of the "Philadelphia Intelligencer," appeared an editorial article, wherein great pains is taken to impress the minds of the readers with the idea, that, the colored residents in that place have been, and are still devising measures to effect the emancipation of the slaves, and the extirpation of the whites; and that in these designs they are assisted and encouraged by the friends to immediate emancipation,—nay more, (ridiculous idea!) that the abolitionists, with "incendiary torches" in their hands, "traverse not only the free but the slave states," sowing the "seeds of discontent" among the slaves; and preparing them for insurrection, and rapine, and murder, and contempt for, and violation of all the laws of justice, the requisitions of humanity, and the sacred restraints of religion." Had not the idea been held up by the conductor of a public journal, 'tis really so absurd that it would scarcely deserve a passing notice. But coming from such a source, I

had hoped that ere now he had been shown the absurdity of his fears, the inconsistency of his assertions, and how completely he has failed in each attempt to prove his positions. And until he can produce proof more substantial, than the array of harsh epithets, or the studied display of highly wrought pictures of robbery, murder, etc. he need not be astonished if the credence he expects his assertions to receive, is withheld. He has blown the trumpet lustily enough,—and it is no fault of his if the nation do not catch the alarm, shoulder the knapsack,—and "trudge off to the far west," exulting the adventurous pioneers, and scarcely allowing a halt until the last ridge of mountains is past, and the friendly Pacific extends its waves to greet their arrival; and (should they be pursued even thus far, by the "appallingly formidable host of enemies) to bear them on the bosom of quiet waters to some peaceful shore, where swarthy complexions shall not offend the sight, but where "white men" exclusively possess the soil, and enjoy it.

* But where alas! shall they flee upon the "quiet waters" of the Pacific, to find the land where "white men exclusively possess the soil?" Not to India, for there her hundreds of millions of natives who possess the soil, are black! Not to the eastern archipelago, for the numerous population of these islands are almost black! Not to any one of the ten thousand islands which are scattered over the vast extent of that mighty ocean, for not one of them is possessed by white men! Nor to the "celestial empire" of China, for her three hundred millions of inhabitants are neither white nor black. Neither would a voyage along the south-western coast of Asia, or up the Arabian or Persian gulfs bring the ill-fated wanderers in contact with anything but swarthy, tawny, colored human skins. Alas! where shall they flee! If the color of the skin is to be the criterion of safety, the "white men" must occupy but a small share on this terraqueous ball. More than one-third of the human race are black—three-fourths of the remaining two-thirds are tawny, occupying all the different shades of color, from the whiteness of the northern European, to the blackness of the southern African and Hindoo.

The whites are less than one-eighth of the population of the earth. They are almost exclusively confined to a small portion of western Asia, the British Islands, the northern and eastern states of North America, and Canada. The inhabitants of southern Europe are not white. The Italians, modern Greeks, the Turks, the Spaniards, Portuguese, and a large part of the French and Germans are very tawny, some of them quite dark. Even in the United States, where the silly prejudice against a dark skin is stronger and more inveterate than in any other country on the face of the earth, we are fast verging towards the swarthy color of the "red men," who were the aboriginal inhabitants of this quarter of the globe.

Go to the city of Washington during the session of Congress, and observe the various hues which are presented to the eye in the halls of the capitol. You may there distinguish the representatives of the northern, the southern, and the middle states by a difference of complexion—and this difference will be more strongly, and deeply, and indelibly marked a generation or two hence than now. Nothing is more supremely silly and ridiculous, or more grossly wicked and anti-republican, than the rule which presumes to graduate the rights and privileges of a human being by the color of his skin.

units thereof. But suppose the vengeful fury so peculiar to the colored race and abolitionists, should be arrested this side the unexplored regions,—the fugitives would then be spared the trouble of constructing their great Michael, and might remain in perfect security on the western shore of this vast continent. Even now, busy fancy, ever prying into the future, has thrown aside the veil and presents to my mental view, innumerable "populous cities," well built towns, and thriving villages in addition to well cultivated farms, and extensive manufacturing establishments, while the "star-spangled banner" from the tall masted ships waving gallantly in air, betoken that commercial interests have suffered but little by the change from the Atlantic, to the Pacific shores—owing materially to the fact that the black and colored population possess neither wisdom, sense, nor industry, nor knowledge to exercise them if they had; nor yet the ability to apply that knowledge, had they possess it;—and the whites, who refused to obey the warning voice, being abolitionists, and of course madmen, had lost all they ever were endued with, so that knowledge, wisdom, and genius, had no more an abiding place in the land,—I mean the eastern part of it.

But to return seriously to the subject.—the writer admits, that "beyond doubt" he (the negro) is entitled to the "same rights as the white man," that he "was created by the same Providence, and sharing the same nature, and under the same charter by which we claim our freedom, he is declared to be equally free, and equally entitled to make the laws which bind, and exercise the government which controls him. Nature placed him by our side with a soul as free, and a brow as erect as ours, and the mind that would invoke the sanction of reason to invalidate the negroe's rights, or excuse the white man's wrongs, must be strangely clouded with prejudice, or perverted by evil. Providence never created a man, whatever his complexion, to be an oppressor, never created him to be oppressed."

The paragraph immediately following this acknowledgement and assertion, evinces the fears of a guilty conscience, and contains the convenient conclusions of slave apologists.

"Does the exercise of these rights accord with our safety?" May we safely obey the dictates of truth, and permit our brother to remain "by our side with a soul as free, and a brow as erect as ours?" Will he not, in return for this, butcher every white man in his power? If we may "safely" release them, that is, if it cannot be done conveniently, "by the right by which the strong man would push his weaker brother from the plank that would not suffice to save them both, we are not only justified, but constrained to prevent the exercise of those rights." By this partial reply to his own question, the writer has proved, according to his own rule, (the only thing he has succeeded in establishing) that his mind is "strangely clouded with prejudice, or perverted by evil." He not only maintains it on the ground of policy, but insists that we are "not only justified" in so doing, "but constrained" to retain the slaves in bondage to prevent the effects of immediate emancipation. And why? "It does not accord with our safety." So then, we must close our ears

to his skin. It would be just as rational, as politic, and as christian, to make the length of his nose, or the shape of his foot, the criterion of liberty or slavery.

ED. G. R. E.

against the demands of justice, and steel our hearts, that the cries of mercy melt them not, lest the disenthralled, in the superabundance of gratitude for releasement from servitude, and to convince us how highly they prize the privileges of freemen, should avail themselves of the opportunity to cut our throats, burn our dwellings, and desolate the fairest portions of our country; lest the proclamation that every citizen of this "republic" is free and entitled to the rights and immunities of freemen—shall be the signal for the commencement of untold horrors, of one "universal conflagration," for the "shout of exulting rapine, and the shriek of murder to go forth."

I appeal to every candid reader, to know if the writer of the article from which the preceding extracts are taken, has not, out of his own mouth, condemned himself—has not pursued the course he a moment before deprecated, and invoked the sanction of reason and justice, for our intolerant wickedness, and converted the most cruel oppression into a law of nature. What was in others prejudice and wrong, speedily becomes a justifiable action, on the accommodating ground of expediency. But this convenient cloak for despotism is not large enough to conceal the tattered garments beneath. The cause of freedom has gained a foot-hold in this nation, and the efforts of its advocates are not to be turned aside, while slavery hath an abiding place among us.

And may He who regards his creatures with an impartial eye, hasten the day when prostrate Ethiopia shall availingly "stretch forth her hands unto God."

R. E. X.

Philadelphia, 6th mo. 1833.

CONVENTIONAL ADDRESS,

To the Free Colored Inhabitants of the United States.

BRETHREN AND FELLOW CITIZENS—It is a matter of high congratulation that, through the providence of Almighty God, we have been enabled to convene, for the fourth time, as the representatives of the free people of color of eight of the States of the Union, for the purpose of devising plans for our mutual and common improvement, in this, the land of our nativity.

To that important object the entire attention of the convention has been directed; but to effect it, as might be expected, a very considerable diversity of sentiment as to the best means, existed. Various circumstances growing out of our local situations, operate to produce a great difference of feeling, as well as of judgment, in the course best calculated to insure our advancement in prosperity. Our brethren at the south are subject to many very cruel and oppressive laws, to get clear of which they will consent to go into exile, as promising to them enjoyments from which they are cut off in the land of their birth. Gratitude to the bountiful Bestower of all good, compels us to rejoice in the acknowledgment that the lot of many of us has fallen in a better and fairer portion of the land, to separate ourselves from which, or to promulgate a wish to do so, without better prospects of improvement before us than has yet come to our knowledge, would be suicidal to the vital interests of the colored people of the free states, and would justly draw upon us the execration of the thinking part in the slave states. Ours is a defensive warfare; on our domicile we meet the aggressor, and if we move, or give our consent to move, and bid them to follow before we are driven, forcibly driven, from our lodgments—which, hea-

ven be praised, is not probable—their denunciations would be just.

The Canadian Reports, as published in the minutes of this convention, may be regarded as the unequivocally expressed sentiments of the colored people of the free states, viz: improvement, but without emigration, except it be voluntary.

By an attentive perusal of the minutes and proceedings of the convention, it will be apparent how deeply we sympathize in the distresses of our more unfortunate brethren, and the interest we willingly take, to the extent of our power, to mitigate their sufferings. We feel confident that the course pursued, as presented in this address, will receive the approbation of our constituents, and of those of our fellow citizens who are solicitous that our moral, religious, civil, and political condition should be improved in the United States. To promote our welfare, a great and increasing interest is manifesting itself in various parts of the Union; and we feel assured that we shall receive the hearty concurrence and support of our brethren, in the measures herein recommended for our general benefit. We supplicate the intercession of Jehovah, to extend this interest to the most remote parts of our country. We think that we cannot make a stronger or more effectual appeal to your judgments to secure your active co-operation in the plans suggested, than by exhibiting to you a brief outline of the efforts making by our friends to elevate the character and condition of the man of color.

With a view that we may the more clearly understand the duties that now devolve upon us, it may be necessary to advert to times gone by, when in a state of slavery, ignorance and misery, with scarcely sufficient intellect remaining to wish for freedom: such is the deteriorating effect of the slave system, carried to the extent that it has been, and now is, in America: there arose a number of philanthropists, who espoused our cause, and by their continued exertions have effected the entire liberation of the slaves in some of the states; and the salutary influence of those principles has been felt, in some degree, in every part of the United States, and once bid fair to make every citizen of our country proud of the distinguished appellation of an American. But it is lamentable that a deep and solemn gloom has settled on that once bright anticipation, and that monster, *prejudice*, is stalking over the land, spreading in its course its pestilential breath, blighting and withering the fair and natural hopes of our happiness, resulting from the enjoyment of that invaluable behest of God to man—FREEDOM.

It is not to be expected that we would enter into a disquisition, with a view to satisfy the minds of those who fancy they are interested in prolonging the miseries of their fellow men; on that subject, it is presumed the greatest stretch of human reason has been employed to elucidate its repugnance to the precepts of the gospel; its infringement on the natural rights of man; its injury to the interests of those who cleave to it on the score of supposed interest, and its repugnance to the happiness, as well as to the interests of society in general. From these considerations, the conviction is forced upon us that they willingly and wilfully shut their eyes against the clearest evidences of reason. In that state of helplessness in which we were, schools were erected for our improvement, and from them great benefit has resulted. Schools have been erected by philanthropists, and many of us have been educated without so much as knowing when, or by whom,

the edifices had been reared. But the manifest improvement that we have made, loudly demands that we should employ the talents we possess in assisting the philanthropists of the present time in their endeavors for our further advancement. A host of benevolent individuals are at present actively engaged in the praiseworthy and noble undertaking of raising us from the degradation we are now in, to the exalted situation of American freemen. Their success eminently depends upon the succour and encouragement they receive from our united efforts to carry into effect those plans recommended for the government of our conduct.—With a strong desire for our improvement in morality, religion, and learning, they have advised us strictly to practise the virtues of temperance and economy, and by all means early to instruct our children in the elements of education. The convention being perfectly convinced of the impossibility of our moral elevation without a strict adherence to these precepts, has conceived it to be its duty earnestly to call upon our brethren to give their aid and influence in promoting an object so desirable. In conformity to the recommendation of the former convention, we are happy to have it in our power to state, that several temperance societies have been formed in most, if not in all the states represented. In the course of the proceedings, will be found an elaborate report on the subject of temperance, to the careful perusal of which we invite the especial attention of our brethren. That societies for mental improvement, particularly among the females, have been established in several places, and a manifest improvement has marked their progress. Some diligence has also been employed in extending the benefits of education to a considerable number of children, who had been before neglected, and mental feasts have been held, of mixed companies of males and females, in some of the cities, on the recommendation of our very worthy friend, the Rev. Simeon S. Jocelyn, of New Haven.

From these promising beginnings we eagerly anticipate a speedy and extensive spread of those principles so justly calculated to dignify human nature; and earnestly hope a universal imitation of those salutary examples, without which the best endeavors of our friends must prove abortive.

The resolution past at the last convention, that the auxiliary societies obtain all the information possible relative to the number and state of the schools in their respective sections; the branches of education taught in each, with the number of scholars, and make returns of the same through their delegates, to this convention, has not been fulfilled to the extent desired, but a general report will be found attached to the proceedings.

A circumstance that we would particularly introduce to the serious consideration of our brethren in general, is, the great efforts that are making by our friends, for the establishment of manual labor schools, for the improvement of our youth in the higher branches of education, for the report on which subject we refer the reader to the minutes. It is not, however, thought to be improper here to state, that in the city of New York efforts are making to establish, in that state, a school of this description. In the state of Pennsylvania, a benevolent (deceased) individual has bequeathed ten thousand dollars for, or towards the erection of a similar school. And the New England Anti-Slavery Society, (which has laid a broader base for philanthropic exertion in the cause of the man of color, than any benevolent institution that has

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

ceeded it,) has, in addition to its various other methods to raise the character and condition of the free people of color, promoted addresses and discussions, oral and written, defending us from the unjust aspersions of our enemies; has opened a subscription, with a determination, to raise funds sufficient to establish manual labor schools in New England for the instruction of colored youth. This most meritorious institution, in the vindication of the natural, civil, and political rights of the colored people, ought, and we trust does, occupy a distinguished place in the feelings and affections of our people. The more perfectly and securely to carry into effect that part of their plan relating to schools, they deemed it necessary to send our very worthy and highly talented advocate and defender, William Lloyd Garrison, to England, to endeavor to raise funds to aid in that enterprise, but not less to unfold the manifold misrepresentations respecting the people of color, by Mr. Elliot Cresson, an agent of the American Colonization Society, in his addresses to the British people.

On the subject of the American Colonization Society, the expression of public sentiment has been frequently and clearly given, and as an evidence of our unvaried conviction of its hostility to our interests, we refer to the address and report on that subject. We cannot, however, brethren, pass over this important cause of much of our de-
 asement, without informing you that we have arrived at that point in the examining of the duties submitted for our consideration, that we must necessarily leave the confined borders of our own view of natural, civil, and political rights, growing out of immemorial prescriptive usage, that birth constitutes citizenship. Theories, perfectly new and multiform, are offered for adjudication. We shall decline a decision until we have examined their several merits. We shall first call your attention to the most important of these theories, that of the American Colonization Society, not only because it pursues, by independent agents, the most irrational course to effect the object they profess to have in view, as attested by them to the people of the North, but that the supporters of the system at the South, among the most talented and respectable of their citizens; how these men should advocate a cause incommensurate to produce the avowed desired effects, seems involved in impenetrable mystery. It is worse than idle, when the address is made to the common sense of common men, to ask whether a child or person born in the United States of America can be considered a native of England. The philanthropists of this association have endeavored to establish, as a primary belief, that the colored child, that is, the child not white, no matter how many generations he may be able to trace a lineal ascent, as a African, and ought to be sent to the land of his forefathers—Africa. When they have worked up the fancy of their hearers to that pitch that they really believe us to be Africans, it becomes an easy matter to excite their sympathy, so that they readily loose their purses, and voluntarily contribute to the benefit of the scheme of the society to restore us to the land of our nativity. The show of seeming seriousness in combatting so ludicrous a position, if it is not upheld by a very respectable portion of the intelligence of the country, might create a doubt of the intent.

But this society has most grossly vilified our character as a people; it has taken much pains to make us abhorrent to the public, and then pleads

the necessity of sending us into banishment. A greater outrage could not be committed against an unoffending people; and the hypocrisy that has marked its movements, deserves our universal censure. We have been beguiled into measures by the most false representations of the advantages to be derived from our emigration to Africa. The recommendation has been offered as presenting the greatest and best interests to ourselves. No argument has been adduced, other than that based on prejudice, and that prejudice founded on our difference of color. If shades of difference in complexion is to operate to make men the sport of powerful caprice, who can pretend to determine how long it may be before, on this principle, the colonists may be again compelled to migrate to the land of their fathers in America.

The conduct of this institution is the most unprincipled that has been realized in almost any civilized country. Based and supported as it was, by some men of the greatest wealth and talent that the country boasts, under the sanction of names so respectable, the common sense of the community was led astray, little imagining that any thing more was designed than appeared on the surface, viz. the improvement of the condition of the people of color, by their removal to Africa, and the evangelizing of that continent. The hidden insidious design in our removal, political expediency, was confined to the few that organized the society; its secret purposes have been kept as close as possible. But Southern inquisitiveness demanded a development of the secret, with which they were satisfied, and it received their support—while the North, prompted by sentiments of benevolence towards us, entered heartily into the scheme. But the real objects being now manifest, many have withdrawn their support from it, from their conviction of its insufficiency to perform what was expected, and the want of good faith on the part of the society, as to its real object in awakening their sympathy. The deception is discovered, and it is hoped that before long, the man of color will be reinstated in his natural rights.

In the city of New York, there has been lately formed an institution called the Phoenix Society, consisting of some of the most wealthy and talented men in that city, white and colored, the object of which is to unite the whole colored people into a fraternity for our improvement; and it is hoped, that under the guidance of Almighty God, our most sanguine expectations will be realized.

ABRAHAM D. SHADD, *President.*

Philadelphia, June 13, 1833.

Report of the Committee on African Colonization.

The committee consisting of one delegate from each state, for the purpose of reporting the views and sentiments of the people of color in their respective states, relative to the principles and operations of the American Colonization Society, respectfully beg leave to report:—That all the people of the states they represent, feel themselves aggrieved by its very existence, and speak their sentiments of disapprobation in language not to be misunderstood. The only exception to the rule is those who are receiving an education, or preparing themselves for some profession, at the expense of the society.

Your committee, therefore, respectfully declare, that they have given the subject that serious consideration which its connexion with the interest of our people, and a proper respect for the opinions

Fiat Justitiam Ruat Cælum.

of a large portion of the people of the United States, imperiously demand.

After having divested ourselves of all unreasonable prejudice, and reviewed the whole ground of our opposition to the American Colonization Society, with all the candor of which we are capable, we still declare to the world, that we are unable to arrive at any other conclusion, than that the life-giving principles of the association are totally repugnant to the spirit of true benevolence; that the doctrines which the society inculcates, are hostile to those of our holy religion; nay, a direct violation of the golden rule of our Lord, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them." That the inevitable, if not the designed tendency of these doctrines, is to strengthen the cruel prejudices of our opponents, to steel the heart of sympathy to the appeals of suffering humanity, to retard our advancement in morals, literature and science, in short, to extinguish the last glimmer of hope, and throw an impenetrable gloom over our fairest and most reasonable prospects.

These are not the illusions of a distempered imagination, the ebullitions of inflamed prejudice, or the effusions of fanaticism, as some would unjustly insinuate. No: they are deliberate, irresistible conclusions, founded on facts derived from the official documents of the Colonization Society—the approved declarations and acts of the agents of that association, which we need not here recapitulate, as we presume you are perfectly familiar with them.

The recent discussions on that subject have elicited much light, and an awakening influence is arising in favor of the true interests of our people. Many of its ablest advocates have deserted the cause, and are now busily engaged in tearing down the monument they assisted in erecting.

The investigations that have been made into that society within the past year, justifies us in believing that that great BABEL of oppression and persecution must soon cease to exist. It has been reared so high, that the light of heaven, the benevolence of true philanthropy, and the voice of humanity, forbid its further ascent; and, as in ancient times, the confusion of tongues has already begun, which speedily promises its final consummation—and although it has but recently been classed with the benevolent enterprizes of this age, it must shortly be numbered with the ruins of the past.

The recent appeal of the selectmen of Canterbury, (Conn.) to that society, but too clearly demonstrates to the eyes of an enlightened public, that they have recognized it as an instrument, by which they might more fully carry into operation, their horrible design of preventing innocent and unprotected females from receiving the benefits of a liberal education, without which, the best and brightest prospects of any country or people, must be forever blasted.

Your committee would recommend to this Convention to adopt the following resolution:

Resolved, That this Convention discourage, by every means in their power, the colonization of our people; anywhere beyond the limits of this CONTINENT; and those who may be obliged to exchange a cultivated region for a howling wilderness, we would recommend, to retire back into the western wilds, and fell the *native forests of America*, where the *plough-share* of prejudice has as yet been unable to penetrate the soil—and where

they can dwell in peaceful retirement, under their own vine, and under their own fig tree.

(Signed) JAMES G. BARBADOES, *Massachusetts*. WILLIAM HAMILTON, *New York*. WILLIAM WHIPPER, *Pennsylvania*. SAMUEL ELLIOTT, *Maryland*. GEORGE SPYWOOD, *Rhode Island*. THOMAS BANKS, *New Jersey*. JOSEPH BURTON, *Delaware*. LUKE LATIROP, *Connecticut*.

SLAVERY AND LIBERTY.

"E. Pluribus Unum!"

July 4th, 1776, the date of our national birth, we proudly told the world, "that all men" were "created equal—that they are endowed with certain unalienable rights—that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This doctrine is good; but where are these equal and unalienable rights, this equal enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? While we have now existed as a nation, professing to maintain the righteous principles of civil and religious liberty, for all men alike, with standards lifted high, bearing the unfurled banners and eagles of American freedom, boasting that "WE ARE ONE," for more than half a century, it is a glaring fact, sufficient to cover us and the nation with everlasting disgrace, that the horrors and cruelties of Negro Slavery, have, during all this period, existed, and been tolerated by us, as though these things were but competent parts of the equal rights we assumed in our declaration of independence. And who can estimate the amount of our individual and national guilt in this thing, while no less than *two millions* of our fellow beings, made of the same "one blood," with ourselves, "to dwell on the face of the earth," have, during this period, perished under yokes and burdens of cruelty, which we have not moved with one of our fingers? And should we continue to slumber on in effect, doing nothing to procure their just emancipation, as heretofore, will the Mighty God, also slumber over our protracted and accumulated guilt while upwards of *two millions more* of their posterity and countrymen, with a *yearly increase of eighty thousand*, are groaning and sinking under the same oppression, even should we not be accountable for any loss our oppression might occasion them beyond the present world?

If any who may read the above, should still be disposed to palliate or excuse the United States system of slavery, or otherwise discourage efforts for its speedy and entire abolition, they are requested to give a candid and clear answer to a few inquiries.

According to the laws of our land—has not the owner the power utterly to refuse his slaves the liberty of marriage, if he pleases?

Has he not the same power wholly to dictate their choice, or choose for them, in case of their taking a partner, if he please?

Has he not the same power to deprive them of all the privileges of education;—of the Gospel of the Sabbath;—and all other means of grace;—and even to the privilege of learning the English alphabet, preventing their learning to talk intelligently, if he choose?

Has he not the same power to sell them at auction, or otherwise—wife from husband—husband from wife—children from parents, and parents from children,—if he please?

Has he not the same power to flog them without mercy, and that without offence, or trial; and

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

compel them, even husband and wife, to do the same to each other, if he please?

Has he not the same power to make them labor without wages, even hungry, and naked; and otherwise deprive them of every thing they may hold dear, at his pleasure?

Now, are not the population of the non-slaveholding States emphatically partakers in the horrid guilt of United States slavery? And how can it be considered otherwise, while they continue their looking on, in silence, and passing by, like the Priest and the Levite, with cold indifference? And how it can be otherwise considered so long as they practically acknowledge and maintain that Heaven daring part of the national compact, which binds the free states to turn out their forces and help the slaveholding states to conquer and rivet on again their iron chains, in case their slaves should otherwise assume and maintain the principle, that African "men" are also "created equal, and—endowed by their Creator, with the same unalienable rights of—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Is it not then the imperious duty of every slaveholder, now, "to deal justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God," giving unto their servants, as he commands, "that which is just and right," even the unalienable rights, the masters themselves acknowledge, without requiring the unequal condition of their going from their real native country, to another, sunk in the darkness and degradation of heathenism?

And are we not, in the free states, bound to exert the best of our influence in favor of the most just, wise, safe and immediate general emancipation which can be effected by our government, without grudging the expense of doing justly, should it prove expensive?

Would it not increase the wealth and prosperity of the south to have their work done by free laborers, though colored, and though just wages were paid?

And would not this course greatly confirm and secure our national union? And is it not apparent, that a just emancipation must take place soon by the consent of the people, to prevent a woeful abolition, such as God once effected at the Red Sea, on Egypt, and more recently at St. Domingo?

IF THESE THINGS ARE NOT SO, WILL NOT THE READER PRESENT THE PROOF?

James 5: 1, 4—"Go to, now, ye rich men—Behold the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is, of you, kept back by fraud, crieth, and the cries of them which have reaped, are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth."

Jeremiah 22: 13—"Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong, that useth his neighbors service without wages, and giveth him not for his work."

Exodus 21: 16—"And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death."

Deut. 24: 7—"If a man be found stealing any of his brethren—and maketh merchandise of him, or selleth him, then, that thief shall die."

Isaiah 58: 6—"Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?"

FROM THE CINCINNATI DAILY GAZETTE.

The procession last Friday of our colored fellow citizens, was a goodly sight. The pageant was in commemoration of an event honourable to the Legislature by which the law providing for it, was enacted, the final abolition of slavery in New York.

The first act of the state of New York on this subject, was designed to work a *gradual* abolition of slavery in that state. It bears date the *29th day of March, 1799*, and provides that all children born of slaves after the *4th day of July, 1799*, should be held by the owners of the mothers of the same, only until they should respectively attain to the age of 28 years, if males; and if females, 25 years. Another act of similar import, so far as respects the point under examination, was passed *April, 8, 1801*. But by an act of the *31st of March, 1817*, a final blow was given in that state to the dominion of the slave-holder. The fourth section of this act is as follows, "every child born of a slave within this state, after the fourth day of July, in the year of our LORD 1799, shall be free, but shall remain the servant of the owner of his or her mother, and the executors, administrators, or assigns of such owner, in the same manner as if such child had been bound to service, by the overseers of the poor, and shall continue in such service, if a male, until the age of 28 years, and if a female, until the age of 25 years, and every child born of a slave within this state, after the passing of this act; shall remain a servant as aforesaid, until the age of 21 years, and no longer." And by the thirty-second section of the same act, it was declared that "every negro, mulatto, or mustee, within this state, born before the *Fourth of July, 1799*, should from and after the *Fourth day of July, 1827*, BE FREE." This auspicious day has gone by, and there is therefore at this moment not a slave within the wide spread territory of this prosperous state.*

According then to the provisions of the above statute, all slavery was absolutely extinct in New York on the 4th day of July, 1827, and it is seen also that all terms of negro servitude will be determined on the 31st day of March, 1838, that is, supposing that the last act commenced its operation on the day of its enactment. The late procession on the 5th instant, was for the purpose of celebrating the 5th day of July, 1827, because "from and after the preceding day, the coloured population of New York was virtually free." After the procession had gone through the principal streets, an Address was delivered to its members, in one of our churches, after which they all sat down to a dinner. The whole proceeding, except the oratorical part, was conducted by themselves, and but for the indecision which generally accompanies first attempts, an orator might easily have been selected from their own number. The whole affair, however, was conducted with great order, and it is highly credible to the spirit of our city, that they were not molested, during their march through the streets. Even the boys behaved well, for no insulting clamour, not even a loud taunt, was made as they passed by. S. Y. A.

Do the good that thou knowest, and happiness shall be unto thee. Virtue is more thy business here than wisdom.

* United States Constitution—Article IV. Section 4.

* Stroud's sketch of the laws relating to slavery &c. page 138.

"To the law and to the testimony," or Questions on Slavery answered by the Scriptures; and presumed to be worthy of particular consideration on the National Fast Day. By Lucy Townsend. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co.

To the patriot king, who by issuing his royal mandate for the liberation of all the enslaved Negroes who were held to be the *property* of the British Crown, has evinced his righteous purpose to rule with "justice and judgment" throughout the wide extent of his dominions, the following pages, in which the question of Colonial Slavery is brought to the decision of God's revealed truth, are, with all humility, inscribed by His Majesty's most dutiful and most obedient subject and servant,

I. T.

QUESTIONS ON SLAVERY.

Question. Are all mankind derived from one common Parent? or were there different species from the beginning?

Answer. "God that made the world, and all things therein"—hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." Acts xvii. 26.

Q. What is the special reason assigned in Scripture why man should not shed the blood of his fellow man?

A. After the fall, and also after the flood, God said to Noah, and through him to all mankind—"Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made he man." Gen. ix. 6.

Q. Amidst the *general* sinfulness of mankind before the Flood, was there any *particular* wickedness on account of which God said he would destroy them with the waters of the deluge?

A. God says—"The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them," i. e. through the "Giants," or "oppressors,"* as Latimer translated the word; "and behold, I will destroy them with the Earth." Gen. vi. 13.

Q. What is the rule laid down in the Scriptures for the future punishment of injustice?

A. Our Lord has himself assured us—"that with what measure we meet, it shall be measured to us again." Matt. vii. 2.

Q. Where do the Scriptures speak of Justice and Judgment being exercised under the Patriarchal Religion, before the Mosaic Law was given to the Children of Israel?

A. In the book of Job (which Dr. Mason Good has proved to be the oldest book ever written,) we read (chap. xxix. 11,—17) "When the ear heard me, then it blessed me;—because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me: and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. I put on righteousness, and it clothed me: my judgment was as a robe and a diadem.† I was eyes to the blind,

and feet was I to the lame. I was a father to the poor: and the cause which I knew not I searched out. And I brake the jaws of the wicked, and plucked the spoil out of his teeth."

Q. Did Moses say nothing on this subject?

A. "Ye shall not respect persons in Judgment, but you shall hear the small as well as the great; you shall not be afraid of the face of man, for the Judgment is God's." Deut. i. 17. Read, at length, Deut. x. 17, 19. Deut. xvi. 18, 20. Deut. xxxiii. 20, 21.

Q. But may it not be inferred from these last texts, that it is *only the Rulers* of Nations, who are bound to notice oppression and cruelty, with a view to their removal?

A. "Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of Sodom; give ear unto our God, ye people of Gomorrah. Learn to do well; seek judgment; relieve the oppressed; judge the fatherless: plead for the widow." Isaiah, i. 10—17. And again, "Whoso stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor, he also shall cry himself, but shall not be heard." Prov. xxi. 13. And again, as if to leave us without excuse, the Word of God declares, that—"The righteous considereth the cause of the poor: but the wicked regardeth not to know it" Prov. xxix. 7.

Q. In what does the inspired Prophet, Jeremiah, tell us to glory? And in what does God delight?

A. "Thus saith the Lord, let not the wise man glory in his wisdom; neither let the mighty man glory in his might; let not the rich man glory in his riches. But let him that glorieth, glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord which exercise loving kindness, judgment, and righteousness, in the earth: for in these things I delight, saith the Lord." Jer. ix. 23, 24.

Q. What is the conduct which God requires us to observe towards our fellow creatures, and towards himself?

A. "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" Micah. vi. 8.

Q. If we do not, as a Nation, or as individuals, regard these things, but rather *support* injustice and oppression, what must we expect?

A. "They are waxen fat, they shine; yea, they overpass the deeds of the wicked: they judge not the cause, the cause of the fatherless, yet they prosper; and the right of the needy do they not judge. Shall I not visit for these things? saith the Lord: shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?" Jer. v. 28, 29. "And I will come near to him to Judgment; and I will be a swift witness against the sorcerers, and against the adulterers, and against false swearers, and against those that oppress the hireling in his wages, the widow, and the fatherless, and that turn aside the stranger from his right, and fear not me, saith the Lord of hosts." Malachi. iii. 5.

Q. Do the Scriptures of the New Testament speak to the same effect?

A. "Woe unto you, Pharisees! for ye tithe mint and rue, and all manner of herbs, and pass over judgment, and the love of God: these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone." Luke xi. 42. "Behold, the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth." James v. 4.

* Latimer translated the word thus, before West India Slavery was known; long before Protestant Christians had become oppressors, or bought and sold their fellow-man.

† Is it possible that slave-holders, even if "they give all their goods to feed the poor," can have Justice and Judgment for their "robe and diadem," when the most of them condemn *unoffending Infants* to perpetual Slavery from the moment of their birth, and do not release even their Christianized Bondsmen from captivity?

Ladies' Repository.

Philanthropic and Literary.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

THE PRODUCTIONS OF SLAVERY.

It appears to us that too many persons satisfy themselves in the use of the productions of slave labor, by reasoning upon the subject incorrectly. They look abroad and observe the greater portion of the community contentedly drawing the means of their comforts and luxuries from the unrewarded labor of the slave, and instead of asking themselves, Is this right? they only inquire, What good will it effect for me to do otherwise?—and persuading themselves that they can do nothing effectual towards abolishing slavery, they are satisfied to reap what benefit they may from its continuance. They will acknowledge that it may be the duty of *some persons* to abstain from all these productions, because they believe those to whom they allude, are clearly impressed with a sense of its being such. But for themselves they maintain a contrary practice is entirely innocent. This we conceive to be making opposition to slavery rather a matter of *religious opinion*, than a *practical duty*, equally binding on every one. We readily admit the necessity of abstinence from the produce of slave labor, to have been sealed upon the minds of many persons as a religious duty. But is it reasonable to suppose that such only are called upon to bear this testimony against slavery?—that the voice of reason and truth is not to be attended to, because a course of conduct which we have always unthinkingly pursued, may give us no pain? Conscience does not always speak unsolicited, and prejudice and selfishness may too often stifle the wish to hear her dictates. If some persons have been especially called upon to be an example of self-denial in this matter, was it not to awaken the attention of others, and point out a means for ridding the nation of its great sin? Can those of the sect of Woolman, who venerate his virtues and his memory, and believe him to have been called of God to declare the words of truth among his brethren, suppose that the duty of so lawfully abstaining from the polluted fruits of slavery, was so forcibly enjoined upon him for no good purpose? If to participate in the harvest of oppression, is innocent for others, why was it not so to him? As an individual, his abstinence could have no more effect upon the system, than that of any other one person; therefore the plea of its uselessness, if sufficient for the excuse of others, must, we should suppose, have been sufficient for him also. And if it was not intended that his precepts and ex-

ample should exert any influence over others, why was the command laid upon him to offer them? Let not then our sisters, as an excuse for their supineness on a subject of such immense importance, persuade themselves that until they can see what effects their exertions will produce, they have no concern in the wretchedness of their fellow creatures, and may innocently support the oppressor in his wickedness. Let them ask themselves with a desire to be convinced of the truth, what moral right have we to the productions of slavery? They are the spoils of oppression, and wrong, and violence, can we guiltlessly partake of them?

THE PROSPECT OF EMANCIPATION.

The accounts from Great Britain respecting the abolition of slavery are most encouraging. The monster must fall ere long, and when it does, American oppression also will tremble to the centre of its strong holds. Our country *must* quail under the shame of her vileness, when no longer countenanced in her infamy by the example of her no less guilty sister nation. Eight hundred thousand of our fellow creatures, will in the course of a few years pass from the condition of slaves to that of freemen. It is a most joyful thought. The scourge will no more mangle their limbs, their human forms shall no longer be made as merchandize, the holiest ties of nature shall no more be wantonly torn asunder at the command of a tyrant. Their minds poisoned no longer by the pestilential atmosphere of slavery, shall awaken into a renewed life, and be permitted to worship Him who created them. It is not without an added glow of pleasure, that we remember how much our own sex have contributed to the creation of this delightful prospect. And while we reflect on what has been done by females in another land, our hearts glow with renewed hope, that here, also, ere long, one sentiment only, on this momentous subject, will animate almost all female bosoms.—There is much yet to be done. We may look forward to brighter scenes, but as yet slavery still reigns with all its unabated horrors. There must be yet no limitation—there must be an increase of exertion. The horrible traffic in human flesh is still continued; the scourge is red with human blood; the rice-ground and the sugar plantation, are drenched with the tears of helpless and wretched women. Can there be needed any stronger incentive to unceasing and unwearied exertions in this cause?

THE DIFFUSION OF KNOWLEDGE.

We have yet heard of the formation of no female society in America, for the diffusion of knowledge on the subject of slavery, by means of the printing press. We again recommend the sub-

ject to the attention of our friends. Light and knowledge upon this subject must produce corresponding conviction and exertion; and a small expenditure in this way might be attended with important advantages.

THIRD REPORT

Of the London Female Anti-Slavery Society.

Below we give our readers some extracts from the last Report we have received of the London Female Anti-Slavery Society. Of this Association the late admirable and lamented Hannah Kilham was a member,—a woman of whom we seldom think without increasing respect and affection for her character. We should suppose from the appearance of this Report that a majority of its members, probably, were "Friends," if it is not composed wholly of such; and we are glad to find the females of that society not behind their sisters, in devotion to the important work of emancipation.

"Three years," saith the Report, "have now elapsed since the formation of this society—a period in which, if we have accomplished little, we have had an opportunity of learning much. When we first approached the question of emancipation, doubt and perplexity seemed to beset the subject; now we can see little but hope in such a prospect. We had thought that the slaves needed preparation for freedom; we are now convinced that no preparation is to be expected for them in the house of bondage; they learn there the sins of servility, not the lessons of liberty. But, assuredly, if human beings have submitted to endure slavery, there is cause to trust, that under the protection of judicious laws, adapted to the peculiarities of the case, they might immediately be trusted to sustain freedom. We can find no fact on the records of history to shake this persuasion. Insubordination has arisen, not from the granting of liberty, but from the withholding of it, or attempting to snatch the precious boon from men exulting in the recent possession of freedom. If justice be speedily conceded, we anticipate with delight, that safety, confidence and peace, will succeed to insecurity, distrust, and commotion."

"English colonial slavery is a mass of monstrous evils, that throws widely around the shades of its confounding darkness; obscuring the moral perceptions of the master, not less than it brutalizes the slave. Let us, therefore, steadily persevere in our efforts to diffuse information on this painful, but truly important subject: there never was greater need that we should watch for occasions to exercise all the influence we possess; and we have no excuse for becoming weary, enjoying as we do the encouraging persuasions that our efforts have not been altogether unavailing. They have been small in comparison with the magnitude of the object, but they have sometimes excited a lasting sympathy, where the wrongs of Africa had been but slightly contemplated; they have roused to exertions, when supineness was creeping over the imperfectly awakened feelings; and they have rewarded the exertions of our brethren, with the cheering language of encouragement in their more conspicuous services. Whilst

the stronger our efforts become for the extinction of slavery, the more we shall feel that we have only done what it was our duty to do, towards clearing our own consciences of a participation in this national crime. The further the subject is investigated, the heavier will be felt to be the sin of slavery; and the more our *Christian* zeal is raised, the more shall we desire that meekness and love may rule in our breasts: and whilst we plead for this righteous cause, that our consistent deportment may recommend the case of the captive to opposers, until all opposition be done away; and throughout the widely extended dominions of Britain no mortal shall dare to enthrall the body or soul of his fellow creature,—shall presume to restrain the incense of thanksgiving and praise to that beneficent Being, who "has made of one blood all the nations of men," and to that merciful Saviour who "gave himself a propitiation for the sins of the whole world."

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE ELM TREE TREATY.

Here then were gathered 'neath the elm tree's shade,

The exile brethern of the peaceful Penn,
While, like himself, unarmed, but undismayed,
They saw the warlike tribes of savage men,
In battle's panoply surround them then.
They were, and are not; all have passed away;
Yet while I stand where they have stood—again
The clouds of time disperse 'neath fancy's ray,
And all the altered scene seems still as on that day.

There was no proud display of wealth and power,
Midst those who stood beneath that shadowing tree—

No haughty cloud seem'd o'er their brows to lour,
As if they only were the chartered free,
Of the wide earth, and all must bend the knee,
And do them homage; e'en the chieftain guide,
Who led those pilgrims o'er the pathless sea,
Wore but a scarf of blue around him tied,
To note his form midst those who gathered to his side.

And yet, as one by one, from age to youth,
The Indian warrior chieftains round him came,
To grasp his hand, and pledge their changeless truth,

The haughty bearing of their brows grew tame,
And the proud eye cover'd down its glance of flame.

No solemn forms were used; no oaths were said,
To be annulled, midst blood, and guilt, and shame;
But while the streams their endless waters sped,
The light of peace should still its radiance o'er them shed.

Yet even here the fettered slave hath trod,
His human form bowed to the brute's estate,
While o'er him with the lash his brother stood,
The arbiter of all his bondman's fate.

But long, thank heaven, that wrong hath reached its date;

The scourge was flung away, the chain was broken,

And lifting up an eye with joy elate,
While hope around him flung her rainbow token,
The slave with rapture heard the words of freedom spoken.

Oh were it thus with all who hold the forms
Of human nature in subjection blind!
That they would yield to the sweet gush which
warms
The heart with sympathy for all mankind,
And from their brothers' bleeding limbs unbind
The fetters of his thrall, and nobly pour,
The light of knowledge o'er his darkened mind,
That o'er the smiling vales, and wide spread shore,
Of all our glorious land, a slave might tread no
more. ELA.

After the broad exposure of the complicated
wickedness of slavery, we cannot but regard the
consumption of its produce as a wilful aiding and
abetting of that complicated wickedness; we can-
not but regard the exhibition of that produce for
sale, in this enlightened and christian country as
a mark of barbarism, a reproach and stigma upon
the national character. We have no *moral right*
to the productions of slavery; they are, in the very
worst sense, *stolen goods*, and the receiver or pur-
chaser, *knowing* them to be stolen, is as guilty as
the thief. ELIZABETH HEYRICK.

From an English Anti-Slavery Card.

THE CAPTIVE LION.

Shall BRITAIN'S SPIRIT lie in thrall,
And her own laws insulted see?
Rise! British females! one and all,
And set the CAPTIVE LION free!

Beats there, on earth, one female breast,
To *cottage* or to throne consigned,
By virtue's sacred power imprest—
True to the HONOUR OF HER KIND.

Who views her sable sisters' woe—
Degraded, fettered, scourged and bought;
Yes!—levelled with the beasts below—
Nor fires, indignant at the thought?

Rise!—one and all!—in firm array!—
With *heart* and *hand* and *head* and *knee*;
Awake! and watch! and *thrive* and *pray*,
And set the CAPTIVE LION free!

PRAISEWORTHY ACTS.

The following is an extract of a letter, from a
lady in the District of Columbia, to the editor, re-
ceived a few weeks since. Would that we had a
few more as courageous, public-spirited philan-
thropists as this worthy lady has frequently pro-
ven herself to be. This is not the first time that
she has stepped between the oppressive tyrant and
his victim, and rescued the sufferer from the iron
gripe of his merciless clutches. Such conduct
merits, and will receive, in addition to the appro-
bation of a clear conscience, the united plaudits
of the wise and the good, whatever may be the
usages and regulations of the country in which a
person's lot may be cast.

"I have been much engaged, since you left us,
in assisting our oppressed brethren. I have been
successful in several cases. One I was truly for-
tunate in. It was a very worthy man, who was
sold from his wife and five children. They had
been married twenty-one years. We raised part
of the money to ransom him, and prevailed upon

a gentleman to advance the balance. The poor
slave was on the boat—the last bell had rung—
when the gentleman came up, paid the money,
and had him brought ashore. His wife was stand-
ing on the wharf, as one that was crazed. When
he found he was to return to his family, he was so
overcome with gratitude, that his wife had to lead
him home, like a young child."

Constitution of the Free Produce Society of Ches-
ter County, Pa.

PREAMBLE.

The practice of slavery is derogatory to the
character and inconsistent with the fundamental
doctrines of the republican institutions—it is alike
repugnant to the principles of justice and sound
policy, and to the precepts of morality and reli-
gion.

Yet unhappily for our country, this monster of
iniquity has acquired such magnitude that it
threatens to produce the most deplorable calami-
ties in addition to the evils already experienced.
To avert those calamities and alleviate those evils
should be a leading object with the patriot and
philanthropist. Knowledge is power—the most
efficient power which intellectual beings have a
right to exercise upon each other.

To acquire and judiciously to apply this power
to the extinction of slavery, requires extensive in-
quiry and close investigation into the nature and
circumstances of the slave system.

We the subscribers have therefore associated
under the title of "The Clarkson Anti-Slavery
Association," for the purpose of promoting useful
knowledge on the subject of slavery, and to use
our influence for the extinction thereof.

To effect which, we have adopted the following
constitution, viz.—

Article 1st. The objects of the association shall
be to promote a knowledge of the nature and cir-
cumstances of slavery—to ascertain its history—
trace its influence on individuals and communi-
ties, and to examine the different schemes for its
abolition by inviting correspondence—by encour-
aging lectures and discussions, both written and
verbal at its meetings, and by promoting the pub-
lication and distribution of such original and se-
lected matter as shall be considered worthy thereof.

Article 2. All persons shall be eligible for mem-
bership, without distinction of sex or color. Each
member shall pay an annual contribution of fifty
cents, which shall become due on the day of the
election of officers.

Article 3. The association shall meet quarterly
on the seventh-day preceding the third second-day
in the second, fifth, eighth, and eleventh months;
the second of which shall be the annual meeting
for electing officers.

Article 4. The officers of the association shall
be a president, vice president, secretary, treasu-
rer, and acting committee—all of which shall be
elected after the first election at the annual meet-
ing in each year and continue in office till super-
ceded by another election.

Article 5. The duties of the president, and in
his absence, of the vice president shall be to pre-
serve order and sign all public acts of the asso-
ciation.

Article 6. The secretary shall keep regular mi-
nutes of the proceedings of the association—fur-
nish the acting committee with attested copies
when they shall require him to do so—and give
such notice of the times of meeting as they shall
direct.

Article 7. The treasurer shall keep a fair account of his receipts and expenditures as such—pay all orders of the presiding officers drawn on behalf of the association so far as he has funds in his hands, and submit a statement of his accounts to the annual meeting. And at the expiration of his office, deliver up to his successor all monies and effects appertaining thereto.

Article 8. The acting committee shall consist of five members, and represent the association during its recess generally—correspond with other societies and individuals on its behalf—authorize the secretary to call special meetings when necessary—procure lectures, &c. to be delivered at the meetings—examine communications made to the association, and to direct and superintend their publication when that shall be thought proper, provided, that when such publications will incur expense they shall first obtain the sanction of the body.

They shall keep minutes of their proceedings and lay them before the annual meeting. Three of the committee shall be a quorum, provided they all concur.

Article 9. The names of candidates for membership shall be proposed to a general meeting and there approved before they are admitted as members. And any member may be expelled for acting inconsistent with his duty as such, provided he shall have had three months notice of charges preferred against him, and an opportunity of making his defence before a special committee.

Article 10. All questions shall be decided by a majority of the members present, except the expulsion of members, which shall require two-thirds.

Article 11. No alteration shall be made in this constitution until approved by two successive meetings of the association—but any general meeting may make such bye-laws, rules and regulations as may appear necessary, not inconsistent with this instrument, nor contrary to the laws of the commonwealth.

SLAVERY.

The Christian Watchman, in an article on the subject of slavery in the British Colonies, and the horrible cruelties inflicted on the *eight hundred thousand* human beings now held in bondage in those Colonies, remarks:

It may be said, that the *two millions* of slaves in our own United States are not thus abused. But if they are not, where is the guarantee that they may not be?—They are recognized as *property*, and may be sold as horses are sold, and husband and wife separated. What can be done? The Colonization Society is instituted for the transportation of *free* colored people; and if *slaves* are occasionally removed by that Society, *their number is small*. Judge Testis, who is a friend of the American Colonization Society, says respecting slavery, that “it is not expected to remove so great an evil as two millions of slaves *suddenly*: if it can be accomplished in a *century*, it will be as *much* as the most sanguine of its friends ought to expect!” Will the God of justice and righteousness endure this enormity *another hundred years*, after all the light which he has given us of its wickedness?

What subject, now agitating the public mind of this country, is of greater magnitude and importance, than the subject of negro slavery? What

is of more interest? What, in its discussion, is calculated to excite more heat of passion? What, in its results, is more likely to effect the livelihood and well being of a large portion of our people? We look forward with intense, with almost fearful, apprehension to the discussion of this subject. It is fraught with imminent consequences to the peace of the country.—*Newburyport Herald*.

Melancholy Death of a Slave.—A stout, good-looking black fellow, took passage, at Baltimore in the steam boat Kentucky, for Philadelphia.—Before the boat reached Chesapeake city, it was discovered that he belonged to a gentleman of Maryland, and was endeavoring to make his escape from the bonds of slavery. An effort was made by the captain to place him in confinement but the slave with one bound sprang into the water, and swam vigorously towards the shore. A boat was lowered in pursuit, but before it reached him he sank, and rose no more.—*Phila. Gazette*.

A foreigner who should struggle through the task of reading the fourth of July *toasts*, which never occupy so much space in our newspapers, would pronounce us to be addicted as much as any monarchial people, to *man worship*. How general and extravagant the homage to men in office, and those likely to be popular candidates for high stations! How general and lavish the use, besides, of such terms and professions as serve to obtain place or political influence! Nine-tenths of the *toasts* refer to party idols, “rising suns,” party interests, and personal objects. The Anniversary is not a main or direct subject, but an occasion for that reference.—*National Gazette*.

To convince any man against his will is hard, but to please him against his will is justly pronounced by Dryden, to be above the reach of human abilities. Interest and passion will hold out long against the closest siege of diagrams and syllogisms, but they are absolutely impregnable to imagery and sentiment; and will forever bid defiance to the most powerful strains of Virgil or Homer, though they may in time give way to the batteries of Euclid or Archimedes.

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"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.—Declaration of Independence, U. S.

No. 10. VOL. III. THIRD SERIES.] AUGUST, 1833. [WHOLE NUMBER 286. VOL. XIII.

"GLORIOUS NEWS."

The bill for the emancipation of the slaves in the British colonies, has passed both houses of Parliament. The Jubilee of West Indian Slavery has at length arrived. The sound of the whip, and the lash of the task-master will no more be heard in the British isles of the west. Innocent and helpless females will no longer be shamelessly and inhumanly lacerated by the scourge of the slave driver; but wholesome laws will supersede and control the exercise of arbitrary power and unrestrained licentiousness. The effects of this glorious triumph of humanity and justice will soon be seen in the increased prosperity of the planters, and the improved condition of the slaves. The value of West India estates will be enhanced, and the produce of the islands will be increased in consequence of the improved condition of the cultivators of the soil.

But we need not anticipate the results of this measure. Time will develop them, and refute all the fearful predictions of interested partizans, who have conjured up the most frightful spectres of ruin, and massacre and blood, as the consequences of emancipation. All these imaginary fears will subside, when the new system goes fully into operation; and prove to the world, what every christian philanthropist admits *a priori*, that the path of justice and mercy is always the surest road to prosperity and happiness.

We have been surprised at some of the Philadelphia editors who have copied without comment from Jamaica papers, statements about the apprehensions of the slaves, lest the efforts of the "fanatics" should succeed in casting them helpless and destitute upon the world. What dreadful ideas the slaves must have of freedom! Alas! this dreaded boon has at length been achieved—and all their worst forebodings have been realized! What will become of the poor negro now he is going to be set free! He will have no humane master to whip him when exhausted nature refuses to perform the task assigned him—no kind friend to tear him from all he holds dear on earth, and sell him to strange and unknown hands!—Indeed! what will become of him? Such silly fears as have been uttered in the name of the slaves, are too supremely ridiculous to deceive any man of common sense—and we are utterly at a loss to assign any rational motive which could induce respectable editors to copy them without comment.

THE CANTERBURY AFFAIR.

The system of persecution against P. Crandall, has at length been consummated by a suit for alleged violation of Andrew T. Judson's law, commonly called the "Black Law." The trial came on in the Windham county court, and was finally dismissed, at least for the present, because the jury could not agree upon a verdict.

We cannot do better than to present to our readers an account of the trial given in the Abolitionist. The conductors of that paper are much nearer the scene of action, and have taken an interest in the result, so much so at least as to entitle their report to the fullest credit.

THE BLACK LAW OF CONNECTICUT.

We neglected to mention in our last that Miss Crandall for a violation of this nefarious statute, in continuing to instruct coloured children, had been arrested and carried before a justice of the peace, by whom she was committed to jail to take her trial at the ensuing court. We are informed that she was confined in the same room which was occupied by the murderer, Watkins, during the last days of his life. In this 'opprobrious den of shame,' however, she only remained one day, her friends finding bail for her on the day after she was committed.

We are glad to perceive that the persecution of this high minded and devoted philanthropist, has excited a burst of indignation from many of the northern editors. And we acknowledge with pleasure, that even some of the thorough colonizationists have exhibited the manly and honourable feeling which the brutal persecution of this benevolent lady was well calculated to rouse.

Deeply as we regret the indignities to which Miss Crandall has been exposed, we doubt not that they will advance the great cause of human rights. If we are not mistaken, the violent measures of her unchristian persecutors will open the eyes of many men to their own prejudices against people of colour;—make them ashamed of their past injustice,—and anxious to make amends for it by kindness to the victims of their former dislike.

Since the above was written Miss Crandall has been tried, for the offence of instructing colored children, inhabitants of places out of Connecticut. Miss Crandall was defended by Messrs. Ellsworth and Strong, distinguished members of the Connecticut Bar.

The ground of defence was that the colored children in Miss Crandall's school were citizens of other states, and were, therefore, entitled to the protection of the provision of the Constitution of the United States, which provides that 'the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States;'—that in order to their protection it was necessary that the law should be considered unconstitutional in its application to Miss Crandall, as long as she instructed none but citizens of the United States. These positions were supported in speeches of great ability. On behalf of the

government Messrs. J. Judson (the Canterbury agitator) and Welsh argued that colored persons were not citizens within the meaning of the Constitution.

The counsel for the defendant informed the jury that they were judges of the law as well as of the facts in the case, and were not bound by the instructions of the court in regard to the law. This position was not disputed on the other side, but the danger of juries setting up their own views of the law in opposition to those of the judges was strongly urged.

The court instructed the jury that the law was constitutional.

The jury could not agree in a verdict, and, after having been twice sent out, without agreeing, were discharged.

It was understood that five of the jury were for acquitting, and seven for convicting, the defendant.

The trial produced an intense interest in Brooklyn, where it was tried, and the vicinity. The arguments of the defendant's counsels produced a deep and powerful impression. It cannot be doubted that this trial will do much in promoting a correct state of public sentiment. We have reason to believe that a full and correct report of the trial will be speedily published.

The firmness of the five jurymen who dared to oppose an unconstitutional law, though supported by the weight of the bench, is highly honourable to them. It shows that there is a large proportion of the people of Connecticut who still retain a respect for the rights of the colored people, and have courage to oppose arbitrary power.

THE CONVERTED NEGRO.

From a late English publication.

Some years ago an English gentleman had occasion to be in North America, where the following circumstance occurred to him, which is related in his own words.—“In one of my excursions, while I was in the province of New York, I was walking by myself over a considerable plantation;—amused with its husbandry, and comparing it with that of my own country;—I came near a middle aged Negro, who was tilling the ground. I felt a strong inclination to converse with him. After asking him some questions about his work which he answered very sensibly, I wished him to tell me whether his state of slavery was not very disagreeable to him, and whether he would not gladly exchange it for liberty. “Massa,” said he, looking seriously upon me, “I have wife and children, my Massa takes care of them, and I have no care to provide any thing: I have a good Massa who teach me to read, and I read good book that makes me happy.” “I am glad (replied I) to hear you say so; and pray what is the good book you read?” “The BIBLE, Massa: God’s own book.” “Do you understand, friend, as well as read his book? for many who can read the words well, cannot get hold of the true and good sense.” “O! Massa, (says he) I read the book much before I understand, but at last I feel pain in my heart; I find things in the book that cut me to pieces.” “Aye, (said I) what things were they?” “Why, Massa, I found that I had *bad heart, very bad heart indeed*. I felt pain that God would destroy me, because I was wicked, and done nothing as I should do: God was holy, and I was very vile and naughty; so I could have nothing from him but fire and brimstone in hell.” In short, he entered into a full

account of his convictions of sin, which were indeed as deep and as piercing as any I ever heard of, and what Scriptures came to his mind which he had read, that both probed him to the bottom of his sinful heart, and were made the means of light and comfort to his soul. I then inquired of him what ministry or means he made use of, and found that his master was a Quaker,* a plain sort of man who taught his slaves to read, but had not ever conversed with his negro upon the state of his soul. I asked him likewise, how he got comfort under all this trial. “O! Massa,” says he, “it was Christ gave me comfort by his dear word, he bade me come unto him and he would give me rest; for I was very weary and heavy laden.” Here he went through a line of the most precious texts in the Bible, shewing me by his artless comment upon them, as he went along, what great things God had done in the course of some years for his soul. Being rather more acquainted with doctrinal truths and the analogy of the Bible than he had been, or could be, I had a mind to try how far a simple untutored experience, graciously given, without the usual means, could carry a man from some speculative errors; I therefore asked him several questions about the *merit of works, the justification of sinners, the power of grace*, and the like. I own I was as much astonished at, as I admired the sweet spirit and simplicity of his answers, with the heavenly wisdom that God had put into the mind of this negro. His discourse flowing merely from richness of grace, with the tenderness and expression far beyond the reach of art, perfectly charmed me. On the other hand, my entering into all his feelings, together with an account to him which he had never heard before, that thus and thus the Lord in his mercy dealt with all his children and had dealt with me, drew streams of joyful tears down his black face, so that we looked upon each other and talked with that inexpressible glow of Christian affection which made me more than ever believe what I have often too thoughtlessly professed, *the communion of saints*.

Though my conversation lasted two or three hours, I scarce ever enjoyed the happy swiftness of time so sweetly in all my life; we knew not how to part; he would accompany me as far as he might, and I felt for my part, such a delight in his artless, savoury, solid, unaffected experience of this dear soul, that I could have been glad to have seen him often. But my situation rendered this impossible; I therefore took an affectionate adieu with an ardour equal to the warmest and most ancient friendship; telling him that neither the color of his body, nor the condition of his present life, could prevent him from being *my dear brother, in our Saviour*; and that though we must part now, never to see each other again in this world, I had no doubt of having another joyful meeting in our Father’s home, where we should live together, and love one another through long and happy eternity. “Amen, amen, my dear Massa,” said he, “God bless you, and peace me too for ever and ever.” If I had been an angel from heaven, he could not have received me with more evident delight than he did; nor could I consider him with a more sympathetic regard if he had been a long established Christian of a good old sort, grown up into my affection in the course of many years.

*This occurrence must have happened before the American revolution, as no Quaker has been permitted to hold a slave in this country since 17

"A vindication of a loan of £15,000,000, to the West India planters, shewing that it may not only be lent with perfect safety, but with immense advantage both to the West Indians and the people of England; by James Cropper, of Liverpool. London, 1833."

A pamphlet with the above title has lately been received. The writer is well known, not only as a decided advocate of the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, but also as an experienced merchant, and a sound political economist. His views of the advantage to be derived from the proposed loan, both to Great Britain and her colonies, are sustained by facts and arguments which appear to us conclusive.—To the colonies, by relieving the planters from their difficulties and embarrassment, consequent upon the present system, and enabling them profitably to furnish sugar for the British market, in larger quantities and at a lower price, by the operation of free labor, than by slave labor.—To Great Britain, by relieving her from the burthen and expense of bounties, which costs the nation two millions of pounds sterling per annum. The money could be borrowed by the government at 3½ per cent, drawing an annual interest of only £525,000, which would leave a clear gain to Great Britain of nearly a million and a half annually. Besides, the planters, or colonial proprietors, often pay from 15 to 20 per cent. per annum in interest and commercial advantages, to the lenders of money. Hence the advantage of the proposed loan would operate mutually in Great Britain and the colonies. The writer is opposed to the plan of apprenticeship; and to repaying the loan from the labor of the emancipated slave. The money should be repaid by the planters, which they would be enabled to do with facility from the increased profits and diminished expense of the new system to be introduced upon the abolition of slavery.

To afford relief to the West India Planters by means of a loan would be highly advantageous, the security of which would be unquestionable, if emancipation is complete; and if it were never repaid, we should give them a benefit four times the amount of what it would cost the country, and would surely be an excellent substitute for the relief now afforded by a bounty on the exportation of refined sugar. The latter, by operating in a way directly the contrary, costs *twice*, nay, perhaps, in all its effects, four times as much as the benefit it confers on the planters. But how much ever the loan may be approved by all who have paid attention to the subject, the proposed mode of repayment merits no less condemnation.

In that proposition it is assumed, that to make a change from slavery to freedom, from a system the worst and most expensive, to one the best and most economical, must necessarily be attended with loss, and require compensation. What would British manufacturers, who are daily making improvements in their manufactures, say to such a proposition as this? Would they think of ask-

ing for a compensation for old and exploded machinery when they are about to substitute it with better? It is absurd to presume beforehand that such an improvement must be attended with loss, and highly unjust to lay the burden of this assumed, but unproved, loss on the only innocent party.

If slavery is only to be exchanged for apprenticeship, the substitution of magisterial for the arbitrary power of the master, will doubtless be an improvement in the condition of slaves; but slender will be the stimulus of hope, if its only object is freedom *at the end of twelve long years*; what effect can we expect to produce on minds so uncultivated as those of the negro race, who, in general, can only be influenced by reaping, *at once*, the fruits of their exertion in adequate wages!

In the absence of this stimulus, no prospect of advantage at the end of twelve years can be expected to be more effective than the present system of coercion. From what source then is the slave to re-pay the loan as a part of the price of his redemption? If no more labor is obtained from him, and if a portion of that labor is to be applied in reduction of the loan, his master's situation will be rendered worse. Under this plan, neither the planter nor the slave will have the means of re-payment. Before the planter can do it, his situation must be improved—either by cheapening the cost of production, or by raising the price of sugar to the British consumer. The first can only be affected by the introduction of a better system—a system which will be more productive to the master. Will long apprenticeships be more profitable to him than the plan he at present pursues? If it will not, what then will be the result of this attempt to charge the price of redemption, or the repayment of the loan upon the slaves, if it is first extracted from the master's present scanty and insufficient means; and in the end, is charged upon the people of England in an increased price of their sugar, which can only be obtained by the continuance and even extension of the present bounty and monopoly; surely, any one who possesses any knowledge of the working of such attempts, must know, that they injure the country much more than double the amount of the benefit they confer on the party intended to be served. We need no stronger proof than the folly and absurdity of the present bounty on the exportation of refined sugar.

It is a notorious fact, that a very large proportion of the West India estates are mortgaged, and that in some cases the interest and commercial advantages will be 15 or 20 per cent. on the sum lent. There is little doubt that government could borrow money and lend it to the West Indians 10 per cent. below what they are now paying for it; a loan £15,000,000, if lent 10 per cent. cheaper than it now costs, would be an advantage of £1,500,000 per annum. A loan of £15,000,000 might be divided amongst the planters, according to the value of the slaves in the different colonies, being about two-fifths of their present value. If they are worth £20, on colonial authority, in the Bahamas, the loan would be £8; if £50 in Jamaica, the loan would be £20; and if £80 in Demerara, the loan would be £32. This money would, of course, be lent upon the land and buildings, and on the condition of an immediate emancipation of the slaves.

It is proposed that the loan should be offered to all the planters, whether they are in debt or not,

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

in proportion to the number of their slaves. The value of the slaves will be a correct criterion of the value of the security, as their price will be in proportion to the value and fertility of the soil.

It is expected that most of the planters would accept such loan upon the land and buildings in the colonies, without involving the property they may have in this country. They will be thereby relieved from any unnecessary alarm about loss from emancipation, at least so far as this loan goes.

The owners of jobbing gangs, who do not possess land, might be accommodated with a grant, and a loan upon it, on condition that the land should be improved and brought into cultivation.

This loan might not extricate every planter. Some of their properties might be so involved in debt, as to be beyond redemption; others, though not entirely freed from incumbrance, would find it so lightened, that they could make a far better bargain with a consignee: but it is hoped that by far the largest proportion would be entirely emancipated from all their trammels by the proposed loan.

There could be no risk whatever of the security, or even of the regular payment of interest, for the produce would be shipped to this country, or, in case of shipment to any other, the interest of the loan should first be paid at the colonial custom-house.

Some fears have been entertained, that if the slaves were at liberty to choose their masters, and agree for their wages, those who had fertile soils would outbid the owners of exhausted estates; that these would be deserted, and become valueless, and the country must in such case lose its security.

Nothing is more easily obviated than this difficulty. If the loan were £20,000,000, instead of £15,000,000, the interest, if raised at 3½ per cent. would only be about 20s. per annum for every slave. There are few, if any, estates in the West Indies, where there are not two acres of land for every slave; a rent of the land at 10s. per acre, would pay the interest of the loan. The rent of land occupied by the settlers in Jamaica is £2 per acre; see J. B. Wildman's evidence, *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 104, p. 450. 10s. per acre would be ample security for the loan, and 10s. more clear to himself would be a vast improvement in the situation of the owner of an exhausted estate, deeply involved in debt. Distress would be banished from this country if every poor man had the opportunity of renting two acres of land for each one of his family at 20s. per acre. These exhausted estates are not barren rocks, or unproductive sands, but lands on which sugar works have been erected; and which, by a proper system of cultivation, are capable of being restored again to the growth of Sugar.

In relation to the improvements in the mode of cultivation, which would be likely to result from the abolition of slavery, our author's reasoning is conclusive.

The plough ought to be generally introduced; but, as is natural, the planters do not admit that any further improvement could be made in their practice; it would be strange, if, when seeking help from the legislature, they should admit they had not done all they could for themselves. It may be said that we are meddling with things we do not understand; our reply to this is, the planters want our money to compensate for

their own neglect; and that it is strictly our business to look to that. Slavery, the source of all those evils, is the great hindrance to the use of the plough. If our farmers could not obtain extra hands in crop time, they would be obliged to keep on their own farms an additional number, whom they must employ all the year round. Now, this is precisely the situation of the planters, and therefore, a saving of labor at other times of the year is of very little importance; but let the laborers be made free, let the plough be introduced wherever it is practicable, and they may reduce more than one-half their laborers, except in crop time. The men set at liberty from the sugar planting, might rent lands from the proprietor, for the cultivation of cotton or coffee, or any other article of which the crop is not gathered at the same time as sugar; they could then assist in the sugar crop, and their wages would assist them to pay their rents. This, amongst many others, would be the obvious advantage of emancipation, but the exact extent cannot be easily ascertained.

A loan would obviate one of the great disadvantages of the British slave system, as compared with the Brazils and Cuba, the non-residence of the planters; which admits of no remedy while slavery exists, without sacrifices that many of the proprietors would be very unwilling to make. When the slaves are emancipated, the estates with the sugar mills, might be let to tenants who would manage them with emancipated laborers, and pay a rent as English farmers do. The mere collection of rents for non-resident planters would be very simple, and would only cost a moderate commission upon the nett income, instead of a high rate on the gross produce.

Few, if any, concerns can be successfully managed by agents in the absence of the party interested, and least of all agricultural. Here the advantages of the presence of the sugar farmer, his having the unshackled management of his own concerns, and depending on that management alone for success, would be almost incalculable.

Whilst the soil has been exhausting and deteriorating in the West Indies, the productions of this country have been more than doubled. If better cultivation in the West Indies, and without additional expense, we may very soon have an increase of sugar, 20 to 25 per cent.: and the cost is now 15s. 8d. per cwt. the advantage of such an increase would be fully 3s. per cwt. the introduction of the plough, one-half of the hands might also be dispensed with a great part of the year, which would probably reduce the cost 2s. per cwt. more.

The concluding part of the pamphlet exhibits an immense saving to the country from the proposed change in the colonies.

The proposed loan, coupled with the emancipation of the slaves, would enable the planters to make such savings as would afford them all the profit they sought in 1832, whilst the country would be supplied with sugar at 10s. 6d. per cwt. cheaper than the present price. The profit to the planter would be 10s. per cwt. The saving in the different items recapitulated is 16s. 1½d., or more than £3,000,000 per annum; this, added to the million, or a million and a half for naval and military expenses to keep the slaves in subjection, make altogether four and a half millions of saving, in case complete emancipation should take place. But so long as slavery is continued in

form, this expense will fall upon some party: it has already been shown that neither the slaves nor the planters are able to pay it. Hence it is evident that the country must continue to bear this immense burden until it is removed by complete emancipation, and the consequent introduction of great improvements in the cultivation of the West Indies. If this statement affords the reasonable probability, that the abolition of slavery would relieve the country from more than four millions per annum, is there one representative of the people who can hold himself excused from a full investigation of the subject? and if that investigation shall prove the general truth of the preceding statements, that man who would refuse to make the experiment, where there is scarcely a risk of loss, whilst the country has so much to gain, is wholly unworthy of the character of a British Senator.

The people are naturally desirous of the removal of obnoxious taxes, but hitherto no way has been devised, except that of transferring taxation from one object to another. Let their representatives examine the means of relief here proposed; this is not transferring taxation from one thing to another, but lessening the cost of production, and cheapening the commodity of the people. In this way the revenues will be increased by an increase of consumption, whilst the price of commodities will not be increased but diminished. And as we shall soon enjoy the advantages of opening of the trade with China, we shall then have the manifest advantages of free trade in two great commodities—*sugar* and *tea*, each of them affording a large increase to the revenue, at the same time that the price of each is reduced to the consumer.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

SLAVERY.

MR. EDITOR,—I hold it undeniably true, that all men interested, directly or indirectly, in the event of a question, are entitled, by the fundamental law of civil society, to a respectful hearing at the bar of public opinion; and so long as they confine themselves within the boundaries of decorum and the law, no one has a right to interfere, much less to prohibit the promulgation of their opinions to the world. Their right to discuss the expediency, the policy, the morality of any subject is clear beyond all controversy, hence, it is an affront offered to the majesty of the law, an insult to the human understanding, to impugn the motives, or to denounce a fellow citizen, because he differs in opinion with ourselves.

These observations are suggested by a remark recently delivered by a distinguished member of the national legislature, upon the floor of congress, in reference, no doubt, to the exertions of William Lloyd Garrison, and a few other individuals, in the cause of slavery. The labors of this eminent philanthropist in the cause of humanity, are worthy of all praise. His cause is a righteous one, a holy one. Mr. Garrison, therefore, need entertain no apprehensions with regard to the verdict posterity will pronounce upon his great and benevolent undertaking. He did not commence before he had fully estimated the costs; he calculated, of course, to encounter hostility from various sources, particularly throughout the southern states; but the mountain of opposition, which appeared in prospective, towering to its loftiest altitude, did not shake his resolution, or deter him from carrying

into effect his noble and humane design. Assisted by a few contemporary philanthropists, and cheered onwards by the approvings of conscience, he fearlessly embarked in the work, which thus far has been prosecuted with an energy that promises, at no distant day, to crown his efforts with triumphant and complete success.

I view it as preposterous for the slave holder to labor to avert what must inevitably and shortly come to pass.

We are told by our fellow citizens at the south, that as the evil of slavery is confined to themselves, the north have no interest at all in the question, and therefore need not concern themselves about it.—We think otherwise, and on the contrary, maintain that we *are* interested, and that vitally too, in this subject. As citizens of the same republic, living under the same benign government and laws, we are concerned in sponging out forever this blot upon our national escutcheon; concerned in the preservation and duration of our unrivalled political institutions. I trust that in this enlightened age, it will not seriously be contended that the genius of slavery is not hostile to the spirit of liberty. Liberty and slavery cannot exist together; one or the other will have the ascendancy. Either liberty will abolish slavery, or slavery will extirpate liberty.—As fellow mortals journeying onwards together upon the road of life, to another, and it is to be hoped, a better world, as candidates for a blessed immortality, in short, as Christians, we feel concerned, and are interested for the welfare, not only of ourselves, but of all men. “No matter whether an Indian or an African sun may have shone upon them,” we feel called upon by the plainest precepts, and constrained by the positive and powerful injunctions of the author of our holy religion, to assist one another while here, and to do our fellow men all the good in our power. Upon these grounds, therefore, we are willing to rest our claim of interest, nay, our right to interfere in the momentous question of slavery, and are not afraid to abide the decision of posterity upon the issue.

In the investigation of subjects we too frequently limit our inquiries to the surface of things, which leads to the formation of erroneous opinions and conclusions. We ought, therefore to go further, to penetrate beyond the surface, and occasionally examine questions in the abstract, and profoundly, when we shall many times discover a direct connexion to exist between apparently antagonist parts of our subject, and perceive an influence, silent, though sure, to pervade every branch of the question.

We think our southern brethren do not take a profound and comprehensive view of the deeply interesting and important subject now under consideration; they seem to forget that we are all citizens of the same common country, that we abide under the same government and laws, that we entertain, or ought to entertain, the same political feelings and interests; that we must stand or fall together, and that finally, it is a matter of no small importance whether a cause exist in the north, or operates at the south, calculated to demoralize the minds of our citizens, and exert a disastrous influence upon the political institutions of our country.

The experiment has been made, and the question satisfactorily determined, that the only effectual means of escape from the bondage of intemperance, is by firmly resolving to abstain for ever from the use of ardent spirits. The two evils, sla-

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

very of intemperance, and the slavery of the human species are somewhat analagous.—The mode of redemption from the former affords a striking example, a pointed illustration, of the necessity of abolishing forever, the traffic in the human species, and human slavery.—There is a propensity in the human mind, after the effervescence of excitement has passed away, to relapse into its former lukewarm and indifferent state; hence I have known, after a lapse of time, the most laudable intentions, the most virtuous resolutions to be abandoned, and many a noble undertaking begun with ardor, and prosecuted for a season with an energy that gives the strongest assurances of success, to be laid aside, in consequence altogether, of its not having been terminated immediately at a blow.

There are many friendly to the cause of abolition, who are, notwithstanding, opposed to the time and the means proposed to accomplish it; even the slave holder himself, while he professes to be partial to emancipation, contends that the proper time has not yet come, that it is not yet expedient to begin the work.

It is always expedient to do justice, to do what is right.

The time has come, when the question of slavery must be met—it cannot be postponed much longer—it is ripe for discussion—the march of mind—the progress of knowledge has given to the human understanding better information of human rights and wrongs than formerly prevailed.

It is greatly to be desired that all men might be brought to view this subject in the same light, to concur in judgment with regard to time and mode of its abolition; there is a possibility of delaying things too long. Such I fear will be the case of the south in relation to slavery. The catastrophe of St. Domingo is before them, and fresh in the recollection of many now living: let them avail themselves of the example, and profit by the instructions of history.

It has become of late a question of considerable interest whether the Colonization Society be calculated to hasten or retard the abolition of slavery. When this society was organized, my impressions were decidedly friendly towards it,—but time, and further reflection upon its nature and tendency, has caused a change of opinion. It is the sentiment of many, and it appears to be rapidly gaining ground, that the colonization of the free blacks will only tend to perpetuate the evil among us. Those who are manumitted and remain in the country, will, by their example and intercourse with those still retained in bondage, naturally tend to foster in their minds the spirit of liberty; hence, the slave holder feels a direct interest in promoting colonization, that the example may be removed from before the eyes of his slaves, and their intercourse checked with those that are set free.

We are reminded by those opposed to emancipation, of the danger likely to result from turning loose upon the world, an ignorant and worthless population.

I think, however, we need entertain no fears upon this head. There is a principle in man disposed, if not to do good for evil, at all events to do good for good,—a feeling of gratitude, which the slave would assuredly manifest for his master, in return for his liberty. We are not without examples to guide us in relation to this interesting subject; after the emancipation of the slaves in St. Domingo, by a decree of the national assembly of France, down to the time (a period of nine or ten

years) of Bonaparte's attempting to recolonize the island, and reduce again the negroes to bondage, not a crime, or the least disorder was committed by the blacks during the whole of that time. They continued to labor for their former masters as usual, except that the master now paid them wages for their services. But mark the issue: as soon as the French attempted to re-establish the old order of things, the negroes rebelled, and slew almost to a man, the whole white population of the island. J. S. P.

From the Washington Telegraph.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Lower Virginia, dated August 7.

“Gen. GREEN: The number of conflagrations in this state, evidently the work of incendiaries, is greater this year than at any former period of our history, since the foundation of the government. May not this be attributable, remotely, to the knot of northern fanatics, who are continually sowing discontent among our slaves, and endeavoring to instill into their minds the propriety, and even necessity, of taking vengeance on those whom they are pleased to call their oppressors? Such is the common impression in the country.”

We think it very probable that our correspondent attributes the conflagrations to the right cause: the discontents produced by the northern fanatics holding out to them the hope of prospective, if not immediate emancipation. That these discontents should be fostered by the course pursued by the emancipationists, is but natural, and we have no doubt that the emancipationists aid this in some secret manner. They have openly avowed that they wish to retain the free negroes, in order that they may excite a “salutary fear”—we presume, by means of conflagrations and the like. Those who express the wishes and views exhibited in the publications of the abolitionists, will not hesitate to stimulate the negroes to any and every excess. And that they look forward to something of the kind is plain from a variety of signs. The last Emancipator contains the following threat. It shows the diabolical spirit which animates them. The conflagrations may be the “dawn” contemplated.

“Let our calumniators tremble; for the day of retributive justice has already dawned!”

But is Virginia herself innocent of all share in fostering, if not in creating these discontents? Does not her colonization scheme act as a continual faner to the embers of discontent, and is now they amount to a blaze, is it what they had no right to expect? Has it never occurred to her that it would be better to get rid of her free colored population at once, and have no more of them, or cease holding out to them or the slaves a hope that is idle and fantastic of future emancipation.

As the north will force the question on them, we doubt not that they will decide for the best.

I wonder the man of the “Telegraph” has not discovered that the mortality produced by the cholera, in the south and west, was caused by the “fanatics of the north!” We advise him to supply the omission in the next letter he writes to himself, from—“Lower Virginia.” It is important that the people should be informed of the true authors of this mortality, as well as of the “conflagrations,” that they may know how to apply

r medy. There is no doubt that the "knot of fanaticisms" in the north, have just as much to do with one as the other. What a pity that all these "incendiaries," who entertain the "idle and fantastic hope of future emancipation of the slaves," could not be gagged. It would save a world of trouble to the conscience smitten General.

The following strictures upon the editorial remarks made in our last number, are freely inserted. We shall, however, accompany the communication with our own defence.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

In a note inserted in your last number, I observed some remarks upon the conduct of Jefferson, in which I think you do injustice to that distinguished statesman and patriot. You say that "he never manumitted his slaves, nor promoted manumission among his neighbours." Now in this I think you wrong him. It is true he never set the example of manumission, for which he doubtless had good reason. But at the very commencement of his public life, when first elected a member of the house of representatives of his own state, in the year 1769, he proposed a bill "for the permission of the emancipation of slaves." This proposition was rejected by an overwhelming majority. But the circumstances under which it was introduced, are a sufficient guaranty of the sincerity and uprightness of his motives. He was himself a slave holder, and he knew that the proposition would have to encounter the inveterate prejudices of the leading members of the house, as well as of the whole aristocracy of the state. He could have had no motive for introducing the proposition but to benefit his fellow man and to give scope to the benevolence of his heart.

Again, in his Notes on Virginia, written some years after, he uses this strong language.

"Can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people, that these liberties are of the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever: that considering numbers, nature and natural means only, a revolution in the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events: that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest."

In the month of October, 1776, Jefferson introduced a proposition, in the Virginia legislature, for abolishing the importation of slaves into that state. The important concerns of the revolution drew the attention of the house from this important measure, and it was not finally acted upon until the year 1778, when the bill introduced by him was carried, and the trade abolished. The honor of this act of humanity is justly due to Jefferson. It was literally a child of his begetting, and he cherished and sustained it by his talents and influence, until it was finally brought to maturity.

Who that reads his admirable description of the practical effects of slavery, both upon the master and the slave, contained in his "Notes," can, for a moment, hesitate to pronounce Jefferson a friend to emancipation. Read it as follows.

"The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive, either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to his worst passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies; destroys the morals of the one part, and the amor patriæ of the other. For if a slave can love a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labor for another: in which he must lock up the faculties of his nature, contribute as far as depends on his individual endeavors to the evanishment of the human race, or entail his own miserable condition on the endless generations proceeding from him."

Upon a review therefore of the remarks in your note, and of the life and actions of that distinguished statesman, I think you will perceive that you have done him injustice. Trusting to your candor and magnanimity, I have submitted the foregoing facts to your consideration, hoping you will give them a place in your paper. I agree with you most cordially in your abhorrence of slavery, and heartily wish your labors in the cause of the oppressed may be crowned with success. But I cannot agree with you in your censure of the Sage of Monticello. B.

And now for our defence. We will try not to be tedious. In the first place, we must observe that we have always entertained the highest respect for the character of Jefferson. We think him one of the greatest benefactors of the human race. He was greatly in advance of the age, in the liberality of his opinions, when he first came on the stage. It is justly observed by his biographer, that by birth and education, and the ample fortune which he inherited, he belonged to the aristocracy. But in his feelings and principles, he was emphatically one of the people. And the actions of a long and eventful life, furnish demonstrative evidence that these principles were deeply engraven in his very nature. But notwithstanding we can do ample justice to the great qualities he possessed, and to the benefit which he conferred upon mankind in general, and upon this country in particular, as the able champion of liberty and the rights of man—yet we have always thought that on the subject of the slavery of

our brethren of the African race, he was inconsistent with himself.

We were not ignorant of the parts to which our correspondent calls our attention, when we penned the note which he thinks objectionable. And we now repeat the same averment with emphasis, and shall then give the evidence. "He never manumitted his own slaves, nor encouraged manumission among his neighbors." No man doubts that he saw clearly many of the evils consequent upon the existence of slavery, and lamented them sincerely. But it does not appear that he ever adopted, either in theory or practice, the simple and obvious remedy for all these evils—*Emancipation*, untrammelled by any condition. All his plans for emancipation were connected in his mind with *expatriation*. He was really the father of the colonization scheme. Many are the reputed parents of that visionary project, and numerous are the persons who have claimed the honor of giving birth to the Colonization Society. But the honor—if any honor attaches to it, belongs exclusively to Jefferson. The idea of colonizing the colored people was first conceived by him. As early as 1785, when the revised code which had been prepared some years before by Jefferson, but not acted upon till that year, passed the legislature of Virginia, he designed to have introduced a provision in that code for the emancipation and deportation of the slaves born after the passage of the law. His biographer gives the following account of the subject, which incontestably proves that *unconditional* emancipation formed no part of his plan:

"The next distinguishing and fundamental change recommended by the Revisal, regarded the freedom of the unhappy sons of Africa; and proposed, directly, the Emancipation of all Slaves born after the passage of the act. The bill reported by the Revisors, did not itself contain this proposition; but an amendment containing it, was prepared, to be offered to the Legislature, whenever the bill should be taken up. "It was thought better," says the Author, "that this should be kept back, and attempted only by way of amendment." It was further agreed, to embrace in the residuary proposition a clause, directing, that the after born Slaves should continue with their parents to a certain age, then be brought up at the public expense, to tillage, arts or sciences, according to their geniuses, till the females should be eighteen and the males twenty-one years of age, when they should be colonized to such place as the circumstances of the time should render most proper, sending them out with arms, implements of household and the handicraft arts, seeds, pairs of the useful domestic animals, &c.; to declare them a free and independent people, and to extend to them our alliance and protection, till they should have acquired strength; and to send vessels, at the same time, to other parts of the world for an equal number of white inhabitants, to induce whom to migrate hither, proper encouragements were to be proposed. But when

the Bill was taken up by the Legislature, in 1785, neither Mr. Jefferson nor Mr. Wythe, his chief coadjutor in the undertaking, were members; the former being absent on the Legation to France, and the latter, an officer of the judiciary department; so the contemplated amendment was not proposed, and the Bill passed unaltered, being a mere digest of the existing laws on the subject, without any intimation of a plan for future and general emancipation."

From the same authority, it appears that he continued to press the subject upon the Legislature of his own State, until it was formally taken up and deliberated upon in succession from year to year, until finally the plan of a national society was formed and carried into effect in 1816.

"The plan of colonizing the free people of color, in some place remote from the United States, originated with Mr. Jefferson, at an early period; and on coming into the office of President, he prosecuted the enterprise with renewed energy. A correspondence was opened between him and Mr. Monroe, then Governor of Virginia; and the first formal proceeding on the subject was made in the Virginia Legislature, soon after, to wit, about the year 1803. The purpose of his correspondence with Mr. Monroe, is explained in a letter from him about ten years afterwards, and published in the first annual report of the Colonization Society. He proposed to gain admittance to the free people of color, into the establishment at Sierra Leone, which then belonged to a private company in England; or, in failure of that, to procure a situation in some of the Portuguese settlements in South America. He wrote to Mr. King, then our Minister in London, to apply to the Sierra Leone Company. The application was made, but without success, on the ground that the Company was about to dissolve, and relinquish its possessions to the government. An attempt to negotiate with the Portuguese Governor, was equally abortive, which suspended all active measures for a time. But the enterprise was kept alive by Mr. Jefferson, who, by his impressive admonitions of its importance, held the Legislature of Virginia firm to its purpose. The subject was from time to time discussed, till in the year 1816 a formal resolution was passed almost unanimously, being but a repetition of certain resolutions which had been adopted in secret session at three distinct antecedent periods. It was truly the feeling and voice of Virginia, which was followed by the States of Maryland, Tennessee and Georgia. Colonization societies were then for the first time formed."

From these facts it appears that he never contemplated the emancipation of the slaves, in the literal and legitimate acceptance of the term. The condition always annexed, nullifies the measure and divests it of all its merit. To *emancipate*, is to *set free*. But the plans proposed by him were nothing more than a commutation of slavery for banishment. This condition deprived the measure proposed of all its merit, because deportation of the slaves is utterly impracticable—and because if it were practical, it would be both cruel and unjust. Cruel, because the blacks have the same attachment to the land of their birth as the scenes of their childhood, as the whites. U-

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

because they have the same right by nature to live in the country where they were born, we have—and society have no right to banish them, except for the commission of crimes, after a legal conviction.

In all his reasoning upon this subject, this association, in his mind, of emancipation, so called, and expatriation, was preserved. The connexion is inseparable. The position then, in our note is sustained. That he never manumitted his own slaves is a fact which nobody doubts. That he never encouraged simple, unconditional emancipation among his neighbors, the only emancipation that deserves the name, is just as clear as that he never set his own slaves free. Let us respect and reverence the character of Thomas Jefferson as a statesman and a patriot, but never let him be held as an advocate of emancipation. If we wish to honor his memory, let us pass over this obvious defect in his principles, and ascribe it to the influence of early associations, and the circumstances by which he was surrounded, rather than to the obliquity of moral principle.

From the National Intelligencer.

FURTHER EXPOSURE.

On the 7th ult. we published a contradiction, by *Price*, one of the three colored men of Maryland, who went to Liberia, to ascertain and report on the state of that colony, of certain statements falsely alledged to have been made by him at the Philadelphia Convention of the free people of color. We have now received, in the Maryland Messenger, the contradiction of *Joseph Whittington*, another of the three, to whom the most honorable statements respecting the Colony were ascribed by the Conventionists. As the fabricated statements imputed to these men have been extensively published, and were well calculated to effect the design of rendering the colonization scheme unpopular, we deem it proper to insert Whittington's contradiction, as we did that of his colleague. His latter was made in the presence of the Auxiliary Colonization Society of Worcester County, Maryland.

Snowhill, Md. August 21st.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the Worcester County Colonization Society, the following proceedings were had:—

Mr. Joseph Whittington, a free colored man, who had been engaged by his free colored brethren in Worcester county, with the approbation of the Board, to visit Liberia, and report upon the condition of the Colony, and the prospects it holds to emigrants, appeared before the Board, and read a Report, which he stated had been prepared in Liberia, and which, on motion, was read. After the report and answers to numerous questions, (which would occupy more space than we have spare to the subject,) this statement follows: An article in the United States Telegraph of the 26th of July last, entitled "Latest Missionary Intelligence from Liberia," then being read to Mr. Whittington, he declared that he had never stated to the public mentioned in the said article, "that the men and children who emigrated from Maryland, in the ship Lafayette, were met very soon after their arrival, by the pestilential disease of

the Colony, and cut down on the right hand and on the left,"—that he had never stated that of the 150 emigrants transported in the vessel that he went in, "those who had not died were very ill,"—and he never stated that he thought "they could never recover,"—that he never stated he was informed that, "more than one half who are transported, die within 6 or 8 months after arriving in the Colony,"—that he never stated that "old people and little children very seldom live to get seasoned, which takes them 6 or 10 months, and that whether they are seasoned or not, at the expiration of six months they are turned out by the officers of the government, to become paupers, or starve; or bask in the rays of the burning sun, until death, with all its terrors, kindly relieves them,"—that he never stated that "widows, and all females without husbands are deprived of the right of holding property,"—"but did say that lands were not allotted to single women, by the Society,"—that he never stated that the Colony had taught some of the natives "to understand the English language well enough to decoy their brethren away and sell them for slaves,"—that he had never stated "that he did not believe that there had been one bushel of rice or coffee raised in the Colony, and that he never could see or hear of its growing there,"—that he never had said that "they have tried to raise corn, but it was in vain,"—that it always "blasted before it comes to any thing,"—that he never had said that "rice sells at 20 cents per pound, coffee at 60 cents per pound, and pork 25 dollars per barrel,"—that he never had said that "the Colony cannot flourish under such embarrassments,"—that he had not said that "people are not always allowed to give correct information respecting the Colony,"—that he had not said that "persons who reside in Liberia cannot write to their friends in this country and give them facts respecting the Colony, unless they send their letters privately,"—that he had not said that "all letters known to be destined from the Colony are examined,"—and that he had never said that "it was very difficult for emigrants to return."

Test, LEVIN WHITE, Rec. Secretary.
August 21, 1833.

I, Joseph Whittington, having heard read the foregoing Record of the proceedings of the Board of Managers of the Worcester County Colonization Society, do certify, to all whom it may concern, that the proceedings therein stated are true, as therein stated.

His
JOSEPH WHITTINGTON.
Mark

Poor Joseph Whittington! we pity him. He dare not refuse to permit his name to be signed to any statement which his *loving friends* of the Colonization Society may choose to prepare for him. That the statements "falsely alledged to have been made by him" in Philadelphia, are true, does not admit of a doubt—and that they were not "falsely alledged," but truly made by him, in answer to questions put to him, is also true. The truth of the facts stated by him and his two companions, does not rest on *their* testimony alone, but is supported by evidence entitled to as much credit as that of any of the gentlemen composing the Worcester County Society, who have made Whittington eat his own words.

But supposing Joseph Whittington had not

made the statements which he is alledged to have made in Philadelphia—would the facts be any the less true on that account? It will be observed that he is not made to deny their truth, in the Report of the Worcester Society, but only that he did not make such statements.

The members of the Worcester Colonization Society *ought to know* whether they are true or false. Will they deny that coffee sells in the Colony at from 50 to 60 cents a pound? Will they deny that rice sells at from 20 to 25 cents a pound? Or will they assert *positively*, that either of those articles is raised by the Colonists? If they have any regard for their own reputation, as men of truth and candor, they *dare not*.

Again,—Will they deny, that from one third to one half of the emigrants, on an average, die in the seasoning? Will they deny, that out of two families of the name of Mars—consisting of about thirty each, who emigrated from the western country, in, or about the year 1831, *all* died but two, within the first year—and, that since that, the other two have died, leaving not *one* of the sixty alive.

Again,—We would ask them; how do the emigrants cultivate the soil? Do they use ploughs? Have they horses, oxen, or teams of any kind? Have they any mills to grind their grain—if they had any grain to grind? Have they saw-mills to prepare the timber for building? If they have—how many? The fact is, there are neither mills,

nor carriages, nor ploughs of any description, in the Colony. The timber is prepared for the use of the Colonists, with the axe, or the whipsaw; and when so prepared, it is carried on the shoulders of the poor emaciated victims of the climate, sometimes several miles, to the place where it is used for building. The soil is tilled by the hoe—without the aid of either horses, oxen, or plough. The little spots of ground which are cultivated in this manner, lie open without fence or enclosure of any kind. Many of the necessaries of life are procured from the natives, in exchange for rum, tobacco, and gunpowder—which are the staple articles of trade; without which, in the present condition of the emigrants, they could not subsist—because it is with them they obtain from the natives, the means of subsistence. It is time the veil was removed from the eyes of the people of this country, with regard to the condition of the Colony of Liberia; honest and good people have been deceived too long.

Much has been said about the degraded and suffering condition of the free people of color in this country: and the "*asylum in Africa, provided for them by the wise and the good,*" has been portrayed in glowing colors, as an earthly paradise, in which they may become regenerated, enlightened, and happy. But the picture is one

thing—the *reality* quite a different thing. We have never seen a community in this country, any portion of the community, either white or colored, in so helpless and deplorable a condition as that of the Colony of Liberia, notwithstanding all the vivid descriptions which have been given of its happy and flourishing condition.

If these facts are doubted or denied, we will withhold the sources from which we derive information on the subject. At present we shall only add further, that their truth is unquestionable, and cannot be denied by any candid man who is fully acquainted with the real state of the Colony.

—
 "Facts designed to exhibit the real character and tendency of the American Colonization Society. By Clericus. Liverpool, 1833."

This pamphlet of nineteen octavo pages, contains an array of facts and arguments, in a concise form, which are overwhelming and conclusive against the scheme which it condemns. We shall make some extracts from it without further comment; regretting only that our limits will not admit of the publication of the whole.

Within the last few years the attention of our parties has been increasingly directed to the subject of Negro Slavery, and the certainty of speedy abolition in our colonies has either been cheerfully welcomed, or reluctantly admitted. Those humane persons who commenced their career of benevolence by seeking the amelioration and gradual extinction of slavery, have been so thoroughly convinced of its incorrigible nature, and of the claims of the negro, as now to demand nothing short of the total annihilation of the system at the earliest period compatible with the safety of all parties concerned; while those who a few years since, deprecated the slightest interference with their property and vested rights, and loudly contended that the slaves were contented and happy, now acknowledge that slavery is evil, and plead not for its perpetuity, but for gradual termination. Hence, many schemes have been devised, and many ameliorating measures have been discussed, the adoption of which are recommended with a view to the ultimate abolition of Colonial slavery. A somewhat similar movement has been made in the United States—a slave population, rapidly increasing, and present amounting to more than two millions, has awakened the fears, if it has not appealed to the justice, of the slave holders, and the conviction gradually attained possession of their minds, that the victims of their cupidity cannot long be retained in their present unnatural position without safety to the commonwealth. The evil upon which America groans is broadly admitted, and a remedy has been loudly called for; anti-slavery efforts have been made to some extent, and within the last few years the American Colonization Society has stood forward to offer a remedy, or at least, to perform some act of justice or humanity to the degraded sons of Africa. The avowed object of this society "is *exclusively* directed to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their own consent, the *free* people of color," and its

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

imate design, as avowed by its friends, is the removal of the entire free and enslaved negro population to the shores of Africa. The society was formed in 1817; it has established a colony called Liberia, and has now located about 3,000 persons in that settlement. It proposes to carry forward its future operations on a more extended scale, and for the promotion of this object, one of its agents is now in Great Britain soliciting pecuniary aid from the benevolent and religious public.

The society commends itself to the countenance and support of philanthropic minds by a declaration of its humane intentions and benevolent effects. It is clearly the duty of every person thus appealed to, carefully to examine, and rigidly to scrutinize its claims; to see how far its pretensions are borne out by facts, and to ascertain its probable influence on the destinies of the colored population of the United States. It is alleged that emancipation could not be safe or practicable in that country without such a valve as that now applied by the society; that the free colored people are a degraded race, and can never stand on equal ground with their white brethren; that the removal of this population will civilize and evangelize Africa, and effectually stop the progress of the slave trade. There is some inconsistency in these statements, if not palpable contradictions, and a careful examination of the pretensions of this society must go far to convince every candid and impartial mind of the unsoundness of its constitution. Invidious as it may appear to entertain a doubt of the excellency of a scheme patronized by men of character and fame, confessing, as it does, to aim at the welfare of the African, it is, unquestionably, right to judge it by its own acts and words, and if found contrary to religion and justice, to denounce it as unworthy being supported by humane men. It will be the object of these pages to unfold the real character of the American Colonization Society by an appeal to its own accredited and published documents, and then to judge of its worth by the principles of humanity, justice, and religion.

This course, in part, has been objected to by its advocates in this country and in America. On quotations being printed from the speeches made at its annual meetings, and published with its reports, the plea has been set up that it is unfair to judge the society by the opinions of the speakers on its annual assemblings. But we ask where lies the unfairness of this procedure? Would the Bible, or Missionary, or Anti-slavery Societies of Great Britain feel themselves aggrieved by a reference to the speeches made at their public meetings, as developing the views which they entertained, or the motives by which they are actuated? Certainly not! For though on some minor points connected with the workings of their machinery diversity of opinion may be tolerated, yet on all that vitally affected the interests and objects of their different institutions, unanimity of opinion could pervade the minds of their advocates. The Colonization Society, by publishing the speeches of its speakers with their annual reports, become responsible for the opinions thus set forth, and evidently manifest their approval of these sentiments by this act, especially as nothing in the shape of disapprobation is issued by the managers to warn the public of the dangerous and monstrous notions thus advocated. Moreover, these speakers are the warmest friends of the society; by the labors of some of them the society was originated, and they were found on its committee, and direct its move-

ments. The meanness and jesuitism of shifting the grave charges brought against the society by pleading that it is not responsible for the views of its advocates are obvious, and it is to be hoped that this device will no longer serve the purposes for which it has been resorted to.

Specious as the plan of colonization appears, it is one to be deprecated and opposed by all the friends of the African race. It originated in the fears of slave holders, and is the offspring of the Legislature of Virginia, its simple object being to colonize the free people of color "either in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient." It was no part of its plan to abolish slavery, to suppress the slave trade, or to promote civilization or Christianity in Africa. Convenient as it may be in this country to represent these things as objects which it embraces, its simple design was and is, to get rid of the free colored people, who are regarded in the slave holding states as the filth and off-scouring of all things. Their influence is obviously dreaded, and their increasing numbers looked upon with the greatest horror and alarm. This is proved by the following quotations from the *African Repository*, an avowed organ of the Colonization Society:—"The free blacks are a greater nuisance than even the slaves themselves."—"Their freedom is licentiousness, and to many, restraint would prove a blessing: the increase of a free black population among us has been regarded as a greater evil than the increase of slaves; of all the descriptions of our population, and of either portion of the African race, the free people of color are by far, as a class, the most corrupt, depraved, and abandoned."—"What, but sorrow, can we feel at the misguided piety which has set free so many of them!" Passing over this wickedly pathetic lamentation at acts of obedience to the Divine law, we are struck with the deep-rooted antipathy the society manifests toward their colored brethren, and the deception practised, if the above statements be true, when these same parties represent this people, once landed on the shores of Africa, as amply prepared to civilize and convert that continent. Indisputable facts prove that these representations of the free colored people are gross exaggerations, and literally untrue. This antipathy is founded, principally, on the dread of the free blacks interesting themselves in behalf of the slaves, and awakening in their minds the desire of liberty. Hence, the former are denominated "walking mirrors, who reflect the light of freedom into the dark bosoms of the slaves." Let the views of the American Colonization Society be fully realized, and the last hope of liberty for their bondmen will be extinguished. This fear is confirmed by the unblushing statements of the society's reports. "What is the free black to the slave?—A standing perpetual excitement to discontent; the slave would have little excitement to discontent but for the free black."—*15th Annual Report*. The objects of the society "are, in the first place, to aid ourselves by relieving us from a species of population pregnant with future danger and present inconvenience."—*7th Report*. In the exuberance of its charity, the society thus denounces the men who fought their battles, who have contributed to their amount of national dignity and importance:—"Let these 300,000 men be banished, and the security of the slave holder will never be broken by the uplifted voice of freedom contending for equal rights."

The writer then proceeds to show the real ob-

jects, design and fruits of the society, by quotations from the "*African Repository*," the "*Annual Reports*," and the speeches of the members and advocates of the society—which prove that their measures and the principles openly avowed are inimical to the freedom of the slave, and the improvement of the condition of the free people of color. He remarks, page 8: "It is said that the society does not interfere with the question of slavery. This we have already seen is a fallacy: it interferes for its support. It is an enemy to immediate abolition, and opposes every instance of emancipation, unless accompanied with banishment." These assertions are proved by quotations from the official documents of the society. We wish to excite attention to the subject. Let all who wish correct information, read, examine, and ponder deeply upon the facts within their reach. We shall close this article with one more extract, in which our author exposes the fallacy of putting an end to the slave trade, and civilizing Africa, by means of the colony at Liberia.

If there be any advantage connected with the colony of Liberia, it is in the promise it holds out of checking the African slave trade. But even this is sadly over-rated. The only way to put a period to this nefarious traffic is by the total abolition of slavery throughout the world. Let negro slavery be extinguished in our colonies and in the United States, and the example will be imitated speedily over the face of the globe. The supply will be always equal to the demand, and the puny efforts of single colonies, unless they lined the whole coast of Africa, would be altogether insufficient to terminate the evil. The attention of the society might, however, be profitably directed, in endeavoring to terminate the internal slave trade carried on in its own country, and to stop the smuggling of negroes into the Southern States from Africa; and this can be done without any waste of human life, and without the immense expenditure of money required by its present schemes.

There is something like inconsistency in the notion that Africa is to be civilized and led to embrace Christianity by colonization. It should be remembered that the colony was founded in blood; by a murdering war against the natives, in which they were conquered by the superior skill of the emigrants in the use of fire arms. The Rev. Mr. Ashmun, the first agent, who unhappily fell a victim to the climate, thus describes the effect of their warfare:—"Eight hundred men were pressed shoulder to shoulder, in a compact form, and all exposed to a gun of great power, raised on a platform, at only thirty to sixty yards distance! *Every shot literally spent its force in a solid mass of living human flesh.*" If such proceedings should never produce a war of retaliation, yet how is a population described by the advocates of the society as "the most vicious, degraded, and dangerous in the world, to enlighten and convert the savages of Africa? If thus wretched in the land of privileges, is there no danger of their becoming worse in a heathen land? A letter from a highly respected colored emigrant, the Rev. G. M. Erskine, dated, "Caldwell, Liberia, April 3,

1830," gives some reason for this apprehension. After adverting to the ignorance of the emigrants and asserting that the only school in the colony is a remnant of one at the Cape, he adds,—"*The people is planted in the midst, and are daily conversant with a people that are not only heathen, but extremely partial in favor of their grovelling superstition. This being the case, whether is it probable that they will come over to us, or we go down to them? To me the latter is most likely, as it is the very essence of human nature to seek the lowest depth of degradation?*" But it is confidently predicted that this "degraded people" will, on breathing their "native air," be metamorphosed into all that is lovely and virtuous. Let this be answered in the words of the Rev. Peter Williams, a colored clergyman. "We are to be improved by being sent far from civilized society. This is a novel mode of improvement. What is there in the burning sun, the arid plains, and the barbarous customs of Africa, that is so peculiarly favorable to our improvement? What hinders our improving here, where schools and colleges abound, where the gospel is preached at every corner, and where all the arts and sciences are verging fast to perfection? Nothing, nothing but prejudice. It requires no large expenditure, no hazardous enterprise to raise the people of color in the United States to as highly improved a state as any class of the community. All that is necessary is, that those who profess to be anxious for it should lay aside their prejudices, and act towards them as they do by others." If the society wish to improve the condition of this people, they may do it more effectually, than by sending them to Africa; and if they wish to evangelize the country, let them send out enlightened and devoted missionaries of the Cross. A few of these men would do more towards this end than twenty thousand ignorant colonists. But the fact is, the object forms no part of their plan as embraced in their constitution, though many individuals pledged to its support may look for such a result from its operation.

It is confidently asserted that slave owners in the southern states are willing to emancipate a hundred thousand slaves, so soon as the means are found of conveying them to Liberia, and on this ground an appeal is made for pecuniary aid to the British public. These slaves are regarded as worth from £60 to £80 each; and the cost of transporting them is said to be £7 10s. If a more interested class of men are willing to sacrifice much property, as they deem it, at the shrine of benevolence, is it not passing strange that the whole of the free states, with the benevolent persons not interested in slavery in the slave states, should be unable or unwilling to raise an eighth or a tenth of the amount that slave owners are willing to give up? There is something in the view of the subject that awakens suspicion as to the correctness of the assertions, or as to the favor the society obtains in America. Why send an agent from a country every way prosperous and freed from debt to collect money from one depressed and struggling with poverty, for an object which, however good, may be easily accomplished by their own resources? The secret may lie here—that as its real character is better known, the support it formerly derived from the northern states is in a way of gradual withdrawal, and the aid of Englishmen is implored to assist the plans of the interested southern states.

Ladies' Repository.

Philanthropic and Literary.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

TRAVELLING AGENCIES.

The fifth Report of the British Female Anti-Slavery Society, for Birmingham, West Bromwich, proposes that a portion of the funds of that association be devoted to the employment of travelling agents, having for their objects the general circulation of knowledge on the subject of slavery, and the promotion of the disuse of the products of slave labor. The following is the language of the Report in relation to this subject. Will it not evoke to deeper zeal the hearts of our countrywomen, to witness the untiring assiduity of their English sisters? When American women are thus zealous, then will American slavery also be overthrown. We see our fellow-creatures day by day acting fundamentally, and perhaps in some cases ignorantly, against the merciful laws of God; and yet, mindful it should seem, of the extent of our edge to endeavor to awaken in the minds of our countrymen, and of all over whom we have influence, a lively sense of the injustice and impiety of our present system of colonial slavery, and to excite in those who never yet pitied British slaves, feelings of regret for their past indifference, "we have not to this day promoted, as we ought have done, the employment of a regular agency for assisting in the formation of extended associations in every accessible part of his Majesty's dominions, in order that the appalling wickedness of the colonial system might become known, if possible, to all men. That we may no longer have reproach ourselves with this part of our duty, will be proposed to this meeting—and we trust will be unanimously approved of—that we henceforth appropriate a certain portion of our funds to the support of travelling Agents, for the purpose first referred to, and also for the general purpose of declaring to all those who are willing to give them a hearing, that *the real upholders of slavery are they who provide a market for the slave holder; that they it is, and none but they, who furnish him with a direct incentive to all his injustice, all his inhumanity, and all his oppression.*"

In the appendix in reference to this subject, we find the following paragraph and extract:

"The following extract from Mr. Clarkson's history of the abolition of the slave trade, may serve to show the probable effects that would result from an extensive adoption of the system of travelling agency."

(in a tour of six thousand miles through Wales and England,) in which there was not some one individual who had left off the use of sugar. In the smaller towns there were from ten to fifty, by estimation, and in the larger from two to five hundred, who had made this sacrifice to virtue. These were of all ranks and parties. Rich and poor, churchmen and dissenters, had adopted the measure. Even grocers had left off trading in the article, in some places. In gentlemen's families, where the master had set the example, the servants often voluntarily followed it; and even children, who were capable of understanding the history of the sufferings of the Africans, excluded with the most virtuous resolution, the sweets to which they had been accustomed, from their lips. By the best computation I was able to make, from notes taken down in my journey, no fewer than three hundred thousand persons had abandoned the use of sugar."

EVENING RETROSPECTION.

Did I this day for small or great,
My own pursuits forgo,
To lighten by a feather's weight,
The mass of human woe?—JANE TAYLOR.

The twilight is a fit season for retrospection. There is a soothing for the scar'd spirit in its hushing influence, and when the restless and wandering thoughts have gathered themselves back to the heart, and settled down like quiet waters, the mental eye may look down amidst their deep places, taking note of all its imperfections. Among these imperfections may we not properly class the want of a warm and active interest in the happiness and well-being of all our fellow creatures? If, absorbed in the pursuit of our own enjoyments, or yielding all our attention to our own pursuits, or our own cares, we neglect to inquire how we may alleviate the misfortunes or contribute to the welfare of our fellow beings, we cannot be otherwise than culpable. Our power over the situation of others may seem almost as nothing, but let us remember how much things trifling in themselves, contribute to the amount of human happiness, and that in the sight of our beneficent Judge, it is less the offering, than the spirit which prompts that offering, that is esteemed of value. If it should seem too great a subtraction from our own comforts, or to press too heavily on our time and our industry, to resign those articles which have been purchased by human misery, and to exert ourselves as we ought in the cause of emancipation, let us compare our situation with that of those whose wretchedness we would feign pass by, and surely the contrast will render the sacrifice easy. If the advocates of emancipation would daily in a retrospect of their conduct, carefully examine whether they

"There was no town through which I passed,

have done all they could have done in behalf of the victims of our country's injustice, and on each succeeding one do their best to relieve the neglect and the indolence that the past might acknowledge, the cause of abolition would go forward with an accelerated pace, that would soon bring it to a triumphant conclusion.

—
 "THE LAW AND THE TESTIMONY."

Or questions on Slavery answered by the Scriptures.—By Lucy Townsend.

The kindness of the author has placed us in possession of this little work, which we have read with a high degree of satisfaction and interest, and we shall probably at different times place the whole, or nearly the whole of it, before our readers. The author is one of the most devoted female advocates of emancipation in England, and we hope the pamphlet before us may have all the effect which it deserves in awakening the consciences of slave holders, and those who otherwise support the system of slavery. The vileness and iniquity of slavery thus viewed by the broad blaze of scripture light, must, we should think, strike every one with abhorrence. Indeed it is wonderful how any persons who are in the habit of reading the sacred volume, and who acknowledge the duty of obedience to its precepts, can remain unconcerned with the wickedness of slavery, and uphold it either positively or indirectly.

QUESTIONS ON SLAVERY.

Presented to the professing slave holders of America, who come to the Lord's Supper, from one who feels much concern and uneasiness on their account.*

Q. What did Abraham—who is called the example of believers, and the friend of God—teach his children, and his household after him, for which God particularly commended him.

A. "For I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment; that the Lord may bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken of him." Gen. xviii. 19.

Q. What is the way of the Lord, here spoken of?

A. "To do justice and judgment."

Q. And what will Christ do, when his reign is established on the earth?

A. He will "establish it"—i. e. his kingdom—"with judgment and with justice." Isaiah ix. 7.

Q. Must the members of Christ be like their Lord?

A. "If any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his." Rom. viii. 9.

Q. Why did God send against Judah bands of Syrians, and bands of the Moabites, and bands of the children of Ammon, to destroy them?

A. "Surely at the commandment of the Lord came this upon Judah," to remove them out of his sight, for the sins of Manassch, according to all that he did; and also for the innocent blood that he shed: for he filled Jerusalem with innocent blood; which the Lord would not pardon. 2 Kings, xxiv. 2, 4. "Woe to him that buildeth a town with blood, and establisheth a city by iniquity." Habakkuk ii. 12. "Surely I have seen yesterday the blood of Naboth, and the blood of his sons, saith the Lord; and I will requite thee in this plat, saith the Lord. Now therefore take him and cast him into the plat of ground, according to the word of the Lord." 2 Kings, ix. 25.

Q. Who was the second Slave we read of in Scripture?

A. Joseph; who said—"Indeed I was stolen away out of the land." Gen. xl. 15.

Q. What was the temporal punishment allotted by the divine command to man-stealing?

A. "He that stealth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." Exo. xxi. 16. "If a man be found stealing any of his brethren of the children of Israel, and maketh merchandise of him, or selleth him; then that thief shall die, and thou shalt put evil away from among you." Deut. xxiv. 7.

Q. Does the New Testament say any thing against Man-stealers?

A. St. Paul says, the law was made "for the lawless, and disobedient, and for sinners, and unholies, and profane, for murderers of fathers, and murderers of mothers, for man-slayers, for whoremongers,—for men-stealers, for liars, for perjured persons." 1 Tim. i. 9, 10.

Q. If any one, quite innocent of the crime of man-stealing, should have stolen men left him an inheritance, what should he do?

A. "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets." Matt. vii. 12. "Thus saith the Lord, execute judgment in the morning, and do not liver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor, lest my fury go out like fire, and burn that none can quench it, because of the evil of your doings." Jer. xxi. 12. Lev. xix. 18.

Q. As we are on the eve of keeping a solemn Fast, should we not be particularly anxious to know what fast God has chosen?

A. "Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke." Isaiah lviii. 6.

Q. What has God promised, if these commands are obeyed?

A. "Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall break forth speedily: and thy righteousness shall go before thee, and the glory of the Lord shall be thy reward." Isaiah lviii. 8.

Q. How does it appear, that they who were bought with money were admitted into the Jewish Church?

A. From Genesis xviii. 12, 13. "And he that is eight days old shall be circumcised among you every man child in your generations, he that is born in the house, or bought with money of a stranger, which is not of thy seed. He that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with money, must needs be circumcised: and a covenant shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant."

*This pamphlet was originally intended for the supporters of British Colonial Slavery, but we have given the words written on the cover of the copy in our possession.

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation
STORM.

The rolling thunder—the gathering of dark, heavy masses of vapour across the clear sky—the rapid frequent flashing of the red lightning—the sighing—the almost sobbing—of the wind, that frequently precedes a storm—these come knocking at the door of the heart with a power and majesty that at once subdue the idle and wandering thoughts into silent humility. Such a season is present. The fearful prospect of storm is brooding over the face of the sky, and mounting slowly from the horizon, in stern, yet beautiful grandeur. Yonder the bold rounded outlines of the dark clouds have caught the almost concealed glory of the sunset, and are lit with a gold-burnishing. There they spread out into a broad and expansive, sometimes streaked and sprinkled playfully with the lighter vapours, and beyond deepening into deep and impenetrable gloom. The little speck of clear sky, though surrounded by the darkness, lies yet undimmed, like a gate of heaven opening upon a world of storms. The sun has not yet stooped below the horizon, for a small portion of his red disk is now visible, and the forest birds are mingling a sweet, rich gusty melody, with the rolling of the almost perpetual thunder. 'Tis a strange contrast—the most sweet and joyous, blending with the most awful nature's voices.

The tempest mounts the sky! with hurrying sweep
Driving across the heavens cloud on cloud,
Which ever and anon the lightning steep
A red glare of flame, as they were proud
To make more visible the gloomy shroud,
That wraps the thunders:—Now its might is nigh!
And faster peal and flame alternate crowd,
And the loosed winds sweep onward fearfully,
Pouring on the earth the fountains of the sky.

is terrible—yet most sublimely grand!
Magnificently awful! how the heart
Shrinks from all earthly splendour, as we stand,
And view the pomp of the proud storm—I start
At the forked flames their glance of brightness
Dart,
Yet scarce in terror, for the tempest's might,
Holds of its own sublimity a part,
To the wrapt thoughts, and urges up their
flight,
A free and eagle wing, above their wonted
height.

et so the green earth lies
read o the heart will yield
the sweet man ties,
and downward excursive field
reverie, where old
with a strong wit blend again
with human sorrow the heal'd,
man would be no man,
loose his brother's limbs
ing chain.

et even now, amidst the hea
at long have wrapt the Afric
n-fold more deep than that
shrouds
e face of nature, there at leng
e breaking in of light, which
with a strong glow, ere long, its whole expanse,
d shining on destroyed oppression's tomb,
r all the earth its holy light advance,
ant, and clear, and wide as the first sun-
beam's glance.

A NEGRO WOMAN'S LAMENTATION.

BORN on Afric's golden coast,
Once I was as blest as you;
Parents tender I could boast,
Husband dear, and children too.

With the baby at my breast,
(Other two were sleeping by,)
In my hut I sat at rest,
With no thought of danger nigh.

From the beach at even-tide,
Rush'd the fierce man-stealing crew,
Seized the children by my side,
Seized the wretched Yamba too.

Then, for love of filthy gold,
Straight they bore me to the sea,
Cramm'd me down a slave-ship's hold,
Where were hundreds stow'd like me!

I in groaning pass'd the night,
And did roll my aching head;
At the break of morning light,
My poor child was cold and dead!

Happy, happy, there she lies—
'Thou shalt feel the lash no more;
Thus full many a Negro dies,
Ere we reach the destined shore.

Driven like cattle to a fair,
See, they sell us, young and old;
Child from mother too they tear,
All for love of filthy gold.

I was sold to massa hard;
Some have massas kind and good;
And again my back was scarr'd;
Bad and stinted was my food.

Poor and wounded, faint and sick,
All exposed to burning sky,
Massa bids me grass to pick,
And I now am near to die.

What and if to death he send me,
Savage murder though it be?
British laws shall ne'er befriend me,
They protect not slaves like me.

But though death this hour may find me,
Still with Afric's love I burn;
There I've left a spouse behind me—
Still to native land I turn.

Cease, ye British sons of murder!
Cease from forging Afric's chain;
Mock your Saviour's name no further;
Cease your savage lust of gain.

"Indeed I was stolen away out of the land."—
Gen. xl. 15.

"Trust not in oppression, and become not vain
in robbery."—*Psalms lx. 10.*

"Whatsoever ye would that men should do to
you, do ye even so to them."—*Matt. vi. 12.*

"Remember them that are in bonds, as bound
with them."—*Heb. xiii. 3.*

"Open thy mouth, judge righteously, and plead
the cause of the poor and needy."—*Prov. xxxi. 29.*

"Whoso stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor,
he shall also cry himself, but shall not be heard."
—*Prov. xxi. 13.*

ELA.

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VOL. XIII.

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"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration of Independence.*

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IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION.

There are many who do not, or will not, understand what abolitionists mean by immediate emancipation. They associate with these words all the horrible ideas of insurrections, and massacres, and blood, which a diseased imagination and a morbid intellect can invent, and then gravely charge abolitions with a design to realize all these scenes of desolation which their own fancy has created.

The opinion seems to have been adopted, without any evidence to support it, that abolitionists wish to let the slaves loose upon society, without employment, and absolved from all the restraints of law. Nothing can be more idle and ridiculous, and more foreign from the designs of abolitionists. When we contrast our views with those of the *gradualists*, we use the term *immediate*—by which we mean that man should cease to be recognized as the property of man, not *gradually* but *immediately*—that wholesome laws, which would operate equally upon all classes, should take the place of domestic tyranny and the will of individuals. We wish to see the laws of our country afford equal protection to all its inhabitants, without regard to nation or color. No abolitionist desires the slaves to be turned loose upon society, without the means of subsistence, or the restraints to which all our citizens are subjected. We live under a government of laws; and the emancipated slave would be amenable to the laws, and punishable for their infraction. But his punishment would be by the magistrate after legal conviction—not by the whim and caprice of every petty tyrant who happened to claim him as his *property*. The assumed right of property of one man over another should be abolished, and that *immediately*. "To say that we will come out of the sin *by degrees*—that we will only forsake it slowly, and step by step—that we will pause and hesitate, and look well about us, before we consent to abandon its gains and pleasures—that we will allow another age to pass by ere we throw off the load of iniquity that is lying so heavily upon us, lest certain secularities should be injuriously affected—and that we will postpone the duty of 'doing justly and loving mercy,' till we have removed every petty difficulty out of the way, and gotten all the conflicting interests that are involved in the measure reconciled and satisfied: to say this is to trample on the demands of moral obligation, and to disregard the voice which speaks to us from heaven. The path of duty is

plain before us, and we have nothing to do but to enter it at once, and to walk in it without turning to the right hand or to the left."

The question may be asked, how do you expect this to be accomplished? We answer, by moral suasion—by the power of reason, and argument, and facts, and Christian principles. By acting upon public opinion through the medium of individual labors and public addresses, and tracts, and periodical publications. Abolitionists are among the last men who desire the freedom of the slave by the destruction of the master. We are equally the friends of both the master and the slave. They are both our brethren—and while we are constrained to "open our mouths for the dumb," and to plead the cause of the oppressed, we equally desire the present safety and future prosperity of the master; and by advocating the immediate emancipation of the slave, in the sense above explained, we think we are promoting both.

"FANATICS AND INCENDIARIES."

One of the most *conclusive* and *convincing* arguments wielded by our opponents against abolitionists, is the use of *nicknames*. It is a very *convenient* method, we admit, of refuting an antagonist, and one which is usually resorted to by angry children and silly disputants. The temptation to *call names* is too strong to be resisted, when passion rules and reason is dethroned. It has become quite fashionable for the apologists of slavery and the advocates of African colonization, to apply the epithets "*fanatics*" and "*incendiaries*" to those who defend the precepts of the gospel, and the principles of the declaration of independence. If the apostle Paul were now to appear in his proper character, in republican America, and preach the truth with his wonted boldness, would he not be denounced as the worst of *fanatics*? If he spoke of practical righteousness, of doing to others as we would wish others to do unto us—of undoing the heavy burdens and letting the oppressed go free; and more especially, if he ventured to apply these fundamentals of the religion he taught to the "*very delicate question*" of slavery, would he not be an "*incendiary*," a fomentor of insurrection and murder, and a disturber of the union of the states? Such a "*pestilent fellow*" ought surely to be put down.

And what have abolitionists said or written inconsistent with what Paul preached and the apostles practised? Or is it more dangerous

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

emancipation. That many honest, but too credulous to "open our mouths for the dumb," and plead the cause of the widow and the fatherless, and those that have none to help them, than it was in olden time? Alas for my country! when the soundest precepts of the Christian religion, and the plainest principles of natural right, are denounced as fanatic and incendiary! A country, too, loudly boasting of civil liberty and gospel light. The judicial blindness and Egyptian darkness that prevail in a large portion of the community, on the all-important subject of slavery, are ominous of coming judgments. "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, and that his justice will not sleep for ever!" It is for my country I mourn, when I see a deaf ear turned to the voice of truth, of justice, and humanity, and the admonitions of philanthropy repaid by threats, denunciations and opprobrious epithets. We do not fear for ourselves, or quail at the impotent abuse of the interested and the designing. The shafts of the enemy fall harmless at our feet. Covered by the shield of innocence, and armed with the panoply of gospel truth and republican justice, and feeling the consciousness of inward peace in the performance of an imperious duty, we fear nothing for ourselves. But we fear for our country. We hear the distant murmurings of divine displeasure, at the accumulated wrongs which the American people are heaping upon the descendants of Africa. We see the sombre clouds of his indignation ready to burst upon us. We feel the deliberate conviction that the justice of heaven will not sleep for ever; and that the day of retribution and righteous inquisition for the innocent blood we have caused to be shed, is drawing near. And yet when the warning voice is raised, when the people are called upon to beware of the dangers which threaten them, and the means of averting the judgments which are hanging over the country are pointed out, the hue and cry is raised against the messengers of good to the nation, and they are stigmatised as "FANATICS AND INCENDIARIES."

But let "the wicked rage, and the heathen imagine vain things," it shall not divert us from our purpose. Our duty is imperative. Our country may yet be saved. The remedy for the evils which threaten us is easy and simple. It consists in doing justly and loving mercy. It is for this we plead. It is for this we will continue to labor. And whether our countrymen will receive or reject our council, it is this only that can save us from the evil to come. It is this only that can avert the impending judgments of heaven, preserve unimpaired the blessings we enjoy, and secure the harmony and union of the states.

"*Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature of 1831 and 1832, by Thomas R. Dew, Professor of History, Metaphysics and Political Law, in William and Mary College. Richmond. 1832.*"

This is an elaborate work of 133 octavo pages, in defence of slavery. The author has prostituted his talents and learning in support of a system which the plainest dictates of common sense, and the unbiassed impulses of every man's conscience condemns. That one man is not born to serve another—that the extortion of unrequited labor from a fellow creature is a violation of the natural order of creation—and that a system which outrages the common rights of man, and debases and brutalizes the noblest work of creative wisdom, can neither be necessary nor expedient under any possible circumstances, are positions which the unsophisticated reason of every man will acknowledge and adopt as true, upon their first presentation to the mind.

It requires consummate skill in the art of disguising the truth, and making the worse appear the better cause, to make them appear even plausible. We shall attempt to expose some of our author's sophistry and false reasoning, and expose the error of his pretended facts.

He says, in the first page, that "the parliament of Great Britain, with all its philanthropic zeal, guided by the wisdom and eloquence of such statesmen as Chatham, Fox, Burke, Pitt, Canning and Brougham, has never yet seriously agitated this question, in regard to the West India possessions."

This assertion is refuted by the recent acts of the reformed parliament.

Again he says:—

"Revolutionary France, actuated by the most intemperate and phrenetic zeal for liberty and equality, attempted to legislate the free people of color in the island of St. Domingo into all the rights and privileges of the whites; and but a season afterwards, convinced of her madness, she attempted to retrace her steps, but it was too late; the deed had been done, the bloodiest and most shocking insurrection ever recorded in the annals of history, had broken out, and the whole island was involved in frightful carnage and anarchy, and France in the end has been stript 'of the brightest jewel in her crown'—the fairest and most valuable of all her colonial possessions."

The apologists and advocates of slavery have harped upon the horrors of St. Domingo, and cited the insurrections and massacres in that island so often and so long, as an example of the danger of emancipation, that the world has been almost persuaded there was some foundation for apprehension. Nothing is more false and fallacious than the argument drawn from the example of St. Domingo in support of the danger of

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

dulous persons, should be deceived by the perpetual reiteration of the falsehood that the rising of the blacks in the island was caused by their being set free, is not to be wondered at. But we should have expected Professor Dew would have sought and obtained correct information, which was so easy of access. We would not willingly accuse him of deliberate and wilful misrepresentation, but his ignorance of facts is inexcusable. No apology can be offered for citing in support of his positions an assumed fact which is known to be false. The insurrections in St. Domingo were caused, not by emancipation, but by an attempt to reduce the black, who had tasted of liberty, again to slavery. There is no instance recorded in history of insurrections and bloodshed being caused by the emancipation of slaves. It is contrary to the natural order of cause and effect. No man is converted into an enemy by just and humane treatment. The emancipated slave has no inducement, no temptation to injure his benefactor. The idea is too absurd to deserve a serious argument.

We shall give some facts in proof, however, of the safety and advantages of emancipation wherever it has been tried.

Of the many persons who declare themselves averse to slavery, and yet afraid to join in measures for its abolition, some perhaps have not paid much attention to the instances of emancipation that have already taken place. If any such will take the trouble to read the following account of the effects of emancipation as far as it has hitherto been tried, they will perhaps see that their fears on the subject are not justified by experience.

The history of Hayti, when separated from the accidental circumstances attending it, furnishes irrefragable evidence of the safety and advantage of immediate emancipation. It is true that much blood was shed there during the course of the French revolution; but this was not owing to the emancipation of the slaves, but was the consequence either of the civil war which preceded the act of emancipation; or of the atrocious attempt to restore slavery.

In September, 1793, Polverel, one of the Commissioners sent to St. Domingo by the National Convention, issued a proclamation declaring the whole of the slaves in the island free. Colonel Malenfant, a slave proprietor, resident at the time in the island, thus describes the effects of this sudden measure. "After this public act of emancipation, the negroes remained quiet both in the south and in the west, and they continued to work upon all the plantations. There were estates which had neither owners nor managers resident upon them, yet upon these estates, though abandoned, the negroes continued their labors where there were any even inferior agents to guide them, and on those estates where no white men were left to direct them, they betook themselves to the planting of provisions; but upon all the plantations where the whites resided, the blacks continued to labor as quietly as before." Colonel Malenfant says that when many

of his neighbors, proprietors or managers, were in prison, the negroes of their plantation came to him to beg him to direct them in their work. "If you will take care not to talk to them of the restoration of slavery, but talk to them of freedom, you may with this word chain them down to their labor. How did Toussaint succeed? How did I succeed before his time in the plain of the Culde-Sac on the plantation of Gouraud, during more than eight months after liberty had been granted to the slaves? Let those who knew me at that time, let the blacks themselves be asked: they will all reply that not a single negro upon that plantation, consisting of more than 450 laborers, refused to work: and yet this plantation was thought to be under the worst discipline, and the slaves the most idle of any in the plain. I inspired the same activity into three other plantations of which I had the management. If all the negroes had come from Africa within six months, if they had the love of independence that the Indians have, I should own that force must be employed; but ninety-nine out of a hundred of the blacks are aware that without labor they cannot procure the things that are necessary for them; that there is no other method of satisfying their wants and their tastes. They know that they must work, they wish to do so, and they will do so."

Such was the conduct of the negroes for the first nine months after their liberation, or up to the middle of 1794. In the latter part of 1796 Malenfant says "The colony was flourishing under Toussaint, the whites lived happily and in peace upon their estates, and the negroes continued to work for them." General Lacroix who published his "Memoirs for a History of St. Domingo," in 1819, says that in 1797 the most wonderful progress had been made in agriculture. "The colony," says he, "marched as by enchantment towards its ancient splendor: cultivation prospered; every day produced perceptible proof of its progress." General Vincent, who was a general of brigade of artillery in St. Domingo, and a proprietor of estates in the island, was sent by Toussaint to Paris, in 1801, to lay before the Directory the new constitution which had been agreed upon in St. Domingo. He arrived in France just at the moment of the peace of Amiens, and found that Bonaparte was preparing an armament for the purpose of restoring slavery in St. Domingo. He remonstrated against the expedition; he stated that it was totally unnecessary and therefore criminal, for that every thing was going on well in St. Domingo. The proprietors were in peaceable possession of their estates; cultivation was making a rapid progress; the blacks were industrious, and beyond example happy. He conjured him therefore not to reverse this beautiful state of things; but his efforts were ineffectual, and the expedition arrived upon the shores of St. Domingo. At length, however, the French were driven from the island. 'Till that time the planters had retained their property, and then it was, and not till then, that they lost their all. In 1804 Dessalines was proclaimed Emperor; in process of time a great part of the black troops were disbanded, and returned to cultivation again. From that time to this, there has been no want of subordination or industry among them.

A gentleman who had been for upwards of twenty years past a general merchant in Hayti, frequently crossing to Europe and America

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

gave the following account of the condition of the Haytians to Captain Stuart at Belfast last winter. The present population he supposes consists of at least 700,000. He said that there was very universal happiness amongst them, and that though their conduct was not unexceptionable, yet there was a less proportion of such crimes as disturb the public peace in Hayti, and less distress than in any other country within his knowledge. That they obtain abundance by their own labor: that there were no paupers except the decrepid and aged: that the people were very charitable, hospitable, and kind, very respectful to Europeans, temperate, grateful, faithful, orderly, and submissive, easily governed, lively and contented, good mechanics, and that no corporal punishments are allowed.

Cayenne and Guadaloupe were the only other French colonies in which the slaves were emancipated. In Cayenne the sudden enfranchisement was attended with no ill consequences; after their emancipation the negroes in general continued voluntarily upon the plantations of their former masters, and no irregularities whatever were committed by those men who had thus suddenly obtained their freedom.

In Guadaloupe the conduct of the freed negroes was equally satisfactory. The perfect subordination which was established, and the industry which prevailed there, are proved by the official reports of Victor Hughes, the governor of Guadaloupe, to the French government. In 1793 liberty was proclaimed universally to the slaves in that island, and during their ten years of freedom their governors bore testimony to their regular industry and uninterrupted submission to the laws. The reports of the commissioners to the local government also speak of the tranquillity which reigned in the agricultural districts, and on the plantations. In a letter addressed by the supreme council of the colony in February, 1802, to the Commissary Valluet of the Canton de Deshayes, it is said "Continue, Citizen Commissary, to maintain that order in your Canton which now reigns universally throughout the colony. We shall have the satisfaction of having given an example which will prove that all classes of people may live in perfect harmony with each other under an administration which secures justice to all classes."

From the following paragraph it will be seen that our author deprecates equally "every plan of emancipation and deportation," and "emancipation with permission to remain." The first might easily be shown to be "totally impracticable," as well as *utterly* inconsistent with justice and sound policy. Besides, the incongruity of the words associated in the proposition reduces it to a mere nullity. It is a contradiction in terms. Emancipation associated with deportation is no emancipation at all. It is only calculated to bewilder the understanding and mislead the judgment. But the idea that slavery in this country must be perpetual, is too gross to be sustained, even by the learning and talents of Professor Dew. To speak of truth and justice, or even expediency, on the side of slavery, is a

prostitution of the use of language, and a palpable perversion of the meaning of words.

"We have not formed our opinion lightly upon this subject; we have given to the vital question of abolition the most mature and intense consideration which we are capable of bestowing, and we have come to the conclusion,—a conclusion which seems to be sustained by facts and reasoning as irresistible as the demonstration of the mathematician,—that every plan of emancipation and deportation which we can possibly conceive, is *totally* impracticable. We shall endeavor to prove, that the attempt to execute these plans can only have a tendency to increase all the evils of which we complain, as resulting from slavery. If this be true, then the great question of abolition will necessarily be reduced to the question of emancipation, with a permission to remain, which we think can easily be shown to be utterly subversive of the interests, security and happiness, of both the blacks and whites, and consequently hostile to every principle of expediency, morality, and religion. We have heretofore doubted the propriety even of too frequently agitating, especially in a public manner, the question of abolition, in consequence of the injurious effects which might be produced on the slave population. But the Virginia Legislature, in its zeal for discussion, boldly set aside all prudential considerations of this kind, and openly and publicly debated the subject before the world. The seal has now been broken, the example has been set from a high quarter; we shall, therefore, waive all considerations of a prudential character which have heretofore restrained us, and boldly grapple with the abolitionists on this great question. We fear not the result, so far as truth, justice, and expediency alone are concerned. But we must be permitted to say, that we do most deeply dread the effects of misguided philanthropy, and the marked, and we had like to have said, impertinent intrusion in this matter, of those who have no interest at stake, and who have not that intimate and minute knowledge of the whole subject so absolutely necessary to wise action."

The author then goes into an examination of the origin of slavery among mankind, and attempts to prove its lawfulness from the fact of its general prevalence among the nations of antiquity, and in modern times among the uncivilized tribes of Africa. The argument in its favor, drawn from the practice of barbarous nations, is too futile to demand a serious refutation. If the example of the uncivilized heathen, in regard to slavery, is to justify Christians in violating the plainest precepts of their religion, the obligations of the moral arc prostrated, and all the abominations of heathenism become the legitimate objects of imitation.

But the claim of divine authority for the practice of slavery, derived from the example of the Israelites, partakes more of the character of impiety than argument. No man, who seriously believes in an overruling Providence, and the accountability of man for his actions, can believe that a system of slavery, similar to that now practised in a Christian country, would ever

have received the sanction of a just and merciful God.

"Slavery, says he, " was established and sanctioned by Divine authority, among the elect of Heaven—the favored children of Israel. Abraham, the founder of this interesting nation, and the chosen servant of the Lord, was the owner of *hundreds* of slaves;—that magnificent shrine, the temple of Solomon, was reared by the hand of slaves." Truly the professor must be accredited for boldness of assertion, in the absence of all evidence. What proof have we that Solomon's workmen, and the Tyreans who assisted them, were slaves? None but the word of Professor Dew. "The servants of Solomon," and "the servants of Hiram, king of Tyre," were not *slaves*, in the modern use of that term, but the *subjects* of those kings. We have no evidence in the only authentic history of these events extant, of their being *servants* in any other sense than the *subjects* of absolute monarchs. The political condition of the *subject* under those absolute kings, furnishes no argument in support of the unconditional slavery and abasement of the African race, in a country where personal freedom is the acknowledged right of every man. Besides, the builders of the temple were architects of the first order in skill and experience in the art. And we have the evidence of history to prove that none but freemen were permitted, in those days, to be initiated in the art of building.

Again. The professor asserts that the patriarch Abraham owned *hundreds* of slaves. We assert that he never owned *one* slave. One assertion is just as good as the other, because neither assertion is capable of proof. The probabilities of the case, however, are in favor of the latter assertion. First, because the government of Abraham over his household was patriarchal. The *servants* born in his house submitted to his paternal authority, as children to a father whom they loved, and obeyed from a principle of love and gratitude. Secondly, because the servitude among the Hebrews, as we discover from the Pentateuch, bore no analogy to the slavery of the African race in our own country. The latter finds no parallel in ancient history. The condition of the slave in the United States is beyond comparison more hopeless and debased than the slave of ancient Greece or heathen Rome. And when we attempt to compare it to the condition of the Hebrew servant, the contrast is so striking and obvious that the two conditions cannot be represented by the same form of words, and ought not to be designed by a common name.

"But granting for the sake of argument, the civil provisions of the law of Moses to be obliga-

tory upon us, (which we deny,) the advocates of negro slavery would gain nothing by the admission. For it has already been shown that the latter has no parallel in ancient history.

If the comparatively mild system of servitude which existed among the Hebrews and the neighboring nations, was sanctioned by the Jewish lawgiver, does it follow that the more cruel and debasing bondage in which the negro race are held in the United States, would also have been tolerated? The many humane provisions contained in the law, in favor of the bond servant, prove the contrary—provisions which, if admitted into our code, would be found incompatible with the present system. That of Deuteronomy xxiii. 15 and 16, would alone be sufficient to put an end to slavery in this country, and proves the mildness of servitude among the Hebrews. 'Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee; he shall dwell with thee, even among you in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates where it liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him.' Again: The penalty for man-stealing, by the 21st chapter of Exodus, verse 16th, is death. 'And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.' The crime is ranked in immediate connexion with the capital offence of *smiting* or *cursing* father or mother, and the same punishment is awarded to each. The 26th and 27th verses of the same chapter ordains, that 'if a man smite the eye of his servant, or his handmaid, so that it perish; or if he smite out his servant's tooth, he shall go free for the eye or the tooth's sake.' Besides, an effectual limit is put to that species of servitude practised among the Hebrews, in the 25th chapter of Leviticus, verse 54, which provides that the servant shall go out free in the year of Jubilee, 'both he, and his children with him.' This provision is general, and applies to *all* servants, without distinction of nation, country or religion. But the Hebrew servant was to be free at the end of six years, the utmost limit of his servitude which the law provides. 'And if thy brother, a Hebrew man, or a Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee, and serve thee six years; then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee. And when thou sendest him out free from thee, thou shalt not let him go away empty. Thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy flour, and out of thy wine-press,' (See Deut. xv. 12—14.)

If the Mosaic law is to be resorted to in justification of slavery, let us take the whole of it as it was given by the inspired lawgiver; and let not the hapless servant be deprived of its lenient provisions in his favor. If we are to be Jews and not Christians, let us at least be consistent Jews, and conform literally to all the instructions of our lawgiver."

(To be continued.)

From a late English publication.
PETITIONS RESPECTING NEGRO SLAVERY.

Ought the friends of lawful liberty to petition for the complete and immediate emancipation of the oppressed Negroes, that they may at once be raised from slaves into subjects; and while they share in all the wise and wholesome restraints of law, may partake with us in its privileges and blessings?—or, ought they to insert in their peti-

tions any subordinate clauses, such as, that the deplorably defective propositions of Mr. Canning's administration, may be carried into effect—and, that the children, born after a certain date, shall remain free? &c. &c.

1st—They ought to petition for *complete and immediate* emancipation of the Negroes, in the above sense.

Because it is morally right.

Because the Negroes have a right to it, whether we look to the fundamental principles of the constitution of our country, or of the religion of Christ: and of this right, nothing can rightly deprive them, but their own guilt. But they were stolen before they could be guilty—they were stolen as soon as they were born.

Because every moment they are kept in slavery, places them under the most violent temptation, to hate and destroy their masters—and continually endangers one or other of two dreadful catastrophes, viz.—either the utter extinction of the slaves, through the yearly slaughter to which they are actually subjected in our colonies—or, their retaliating upon their tyrants, in a deluge of blood, whenever amidst the revolutions, sudden as the whirlwind, to which all despotisms are exposed, the grasp of the tyrant relaxes, and the oppressed trample in their turn upon their oppressors.

Because, if we do not free them to-day, tomorrow the empire over them may be torn from us, and we be left to mourn, when it is too late, that we had rejected the golden opportunity of doing them justice, and of averting from our souls the curse of their groanings!

And because their history is replete with evidences, that nothing but placing them under the dominion of law, with all its upright restraints to coerce them, and with all its sacred privileges to awaken their affections and to inspire them with hope, is wanting, to make them as free, as useful, and as happy as any other class of our fellow subjects.

2d—We ought not to insert in our petitions, any subordinate clauses, such as those above-mentioned &c. &c.

Because it is our duty to petition for the whole—it is our duty to do all in our power to have *justice* done instantly and universally.

Because to petition for a part, in the same petition as we petition for the whole, is inviting those whom we petition, in the first place at least, to give us *that part* instead of the whole.

Because, if the government be inclined to give us the whole, we shall only perplex them petitioning for a part also.

Because, if the government be inclined to give us the whole, they do not stand in need of our assistance to tempt and encourage them to give us a part.

Because, if we ask for nothing more or less than what is evidently upright, and do this in a right and lawful manner, we cannot conceive it possible that the government will be less willing to give us all which they will give, when they find that we do not, and dare not, tempt them to give us, at least for the present, less than they ought to give.

Because colonial slavery is a national crime of the most atrocious description; so atrocious, that our own legislature has declared a mere branch of it, the African slave trade, to be *felony!* and because it is the nation's duty, at once and altogether, to "cease from doing evil!"

Because no sin ought to be tolerated, even for a moment by any body—it is every body's duty instantly to cease from sin.

Because in the same manner, it is every man's duty to do all that he rightfully can, immediately to put an end to all sin in others.

Because to suffer sin upon our country, is in God's own language, to hate her in our hearts.

Because the worst way in the world to get rid of sin, is to parly with it. It is, in fact, but a device for remaining for the present at peace with it. But, say none, the politicians will rise up against us, and we can never succeed. Well, they are but politicians, and who does not know the character of their wisdom! God, who requires *right*, is wiser than the politicians, and He knows how to bring their wisdom to nothing; we ought to look to Him, not to them; and where is their power, when, listening to the cries of His children, God fights against them!

"The sin of Slavery, and its remedy; containing some reflections on the moral influence of African Colonization. By Elizur Wright, jr., Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Western Reserve College. New York. 1833."

We propose to take a summary view of this pamphlet of fifty-three octavo pages. It is written in the spirit of Christian benevolence, but with the uncompromising fearlessness of conscientious rectitude and uprightness of intention. The appalling magnitude of the evil of slavery is vividly portrayed; and the veil which sophistry and selfishness have thrown over the lauded scheme of African Colonization, is torn asunder; and its inefficiency fairly exposed. We shall copy the introduction entire.

The American revolution was incomplete. It left one sixth part of the population the victims of a servitude immeasurably more debasing, than that from which it delivered the rest. While this nation held up its declaration of independence—its noble bill of human rights before an admiring world, in one hand, it mortified the friends of humanity, by oppressing the poor and defenceless with the other. The progress of time has not lessened the evil. There are now held in involuntary and perpetual slavery, in the southern half of this republic, more than 2,000,000 of men, women, and children, guarded with a vigilance which strives, and with success appalling as it is complete, to shut out every ray of knowledge, human and divine, and reduce them as nearly as possible to a level with the brutes. These miserable slaves are not only compelled to labor without choice and without hire, but they are subjected to the cruelty and lust of their masters to an unbounded extent. In the northern states there is very generally a sympathy with the slave-holders, and a prejudice against the slaves, which shows itself in palliating the crime of slave-holding, and in most unrighteously disregarding the rights, and villifying the characters of the free colored men.

At the same time, slavery, as a system, is (in a certain sense) condemned. It is confessed to be a great evil, "a moral evil," and, when the point is urged, a *sin*. The slaves, it is admitted,

have rights—every principle of honesty, justice, and humanity, “*in the abstract*,” calls aloud that they should be made free. The word of God is in their favor. Indeed, there is no ground claimed by the abettors of slavery, on which they pretend to justify it for a moment, but a supposed, a begged *expediency*, baseless as the driven clouds. I say baseless, for while not a single fact has ever been produced, going to show the danger of putting the slaves, all at once, under the protection of law, and employing them as free laborers, there have been produced, on the other side, varied and fair experiments, showing that it is altogether safe and profitable.

In this state of things where has the American church stood? Has she too sympathized with the hearts of the Pharaohs? Or has she, in the spirit of the martyrs of former times, borne an unflinching testimony against this sin? Alas! the painful truth stares us in the face. She has come down from the high and firm foundation of scripture truth, and is professedly at work upon a floating *expediency*, doing against slavery what can be done upon the unchecked current of popular prejudice. Speaking through the organ of the Colonization Society, she has admitted all that the most determined slaveholder could ask, and she is doing just that and no more, which, so far as he understands the subject, he hails with pleasure as a safeguard to his property in human bodies and *souls*. This is the testimony of slave-holders themselves—most competent witnesses.

Is further evidence needed? When the American Colonization Society, as a remedy for slavery, has been called in question, as well it might be for its tardiness, if for no other reason, there has been manifested a determination to hush inquiry. There has been a most pusillanimous shivering and shrinking from the probe. Nay, the few men who, in the uncompromising spirit of Christian benevolence, have urged this inquiry, have been slandered as disturbers of the public peace—have been assailed with abusive epithets, not by slave-holders only, but by their brethren in the bosom of the church.

A most singular spectacle is presented in this enlightened and Christian age; a handful of philanthropists dare to denounce a system of legalized oppression, and to charge guilt upon all who uphold it; upon this, not only do the principals in crime, as might be expected, ascribe the whole to sheer malice, but the leaders of the Christian church, as ought not to be expected, endorse and give currency to the charge, and throw the whole weight of their cold and crushing influence to smother in its cradle this attempt at a gospel reformation.

What does all this mean? Are Christians in these northern states interested in upholding slavery? Are they unwilling to be convinced that their colored brethren are better than the slanders of their oppressors would make them? Are they sure, beyond a doubt, that the colonization scheme will relieve our country of the mighty evil which is crushing it? that it is the *Christian* way to relieve it? Are they on good evidence convinced that it is not *expedient* to say to the wicked, “O wicked man, thou shalt surely die?” Must they have *PEACE* at any rate—peace, though the groans of millions should ascend and mingle with the muttering thunders of coming wrath? Will they have it, that if a word is said against a mere experiment, to test

the practicability of rescuing the victim by flattering the oppressor, the whole cause of Christian benevolence is attacked? If not, why not welcome inquiry? A thorough investigation, a looking on *both sides*, would surely do no harm. Those defenders of truth who have shunned such inquiry, have always proved themselves short-sighted. The cause of God courts scrutiny—its advocates are thrown into no unseemly agitation when they are most rigorously sifted.

The subject cries aloud for more earnest consideration than it has yet received. More than two millions of outraged, down-trodden men cry out, shall we die in this sore bondage that white Christians may have the pleasure of attempting to shun God's wrath without repenting of sin? Half a million of free colored men cry out—America is our country—the land for which *our* fathers bled as well as yours. Why will you seek to banish us? The wrongs of the poor Indian cry aloud, There is no safety in league with transgressors! The present political aspect of the South cries out, that tyrants do not regard law! Six hundred millions of idolaters cry out to the American church, “Why pluckest thou the mote out of thy brother's eye, and behold a beam is in thine own!”

Let us, Christian brethren, for I will not waste an appeal upon those who do not acknowledge the authority of the Gospel, dispassionately, and in the fear of God, look this inquiry in the face—*Is the Colonization Society doing what the gospel requires to be done for the removal of slavery and its concomitant sins?*

Take the following pointed testimonies as a specimen of the boldness with which our author meets the question of slavery, and presents it to his readers in all its naked deformity. Who can say that the description is not *true*—that the denunciation is not *just*? Many thousands who think they have a testimony against slavery are afraid to speak their real sentiments lest they should give offence—they have not moral courage to speak the truth, to give utterance to their own convictions, lest they should be the means of producing excitement in the South. And what is still more to be deprecated, they censure and condemn those who are less timid, and squemish, and *cautious*, than themselves. It is cheering to see men engaged in the righteous cause of emancipation who are not afraid to “beard the lion in his den,” and who will speak the truth, regardless of consequences. Such a man is ELIZUR WRIGHT. Hear him.

“It is heard from the south, and reechoed from the remotest north, that instant emancipation “would be but an act of dreamy madness”—the fatal match to produce a most appalling and destructive explosion. A reformation so sudden, it is said, would be worse than the sin. But where are the facts? In the name of sacred verity, where are the *FACTS*? We must have evidence, the same in kind, and not less in degree, than that which convinces us that the sun will rise to-morrow, before we believe that God has so constituted his creatures that they must continue in one sin to avoid another, or that there is danger in being just and merciful. In

The entire absence of facts which prove them, and in the face of facts which disprove them, I must believe that the evil consequences of immediate emancipation are confined to the fancies of the apologists of sin.

If then there is guilt any where, it rests in full weight upon the present slave-holder. In vain he looks around him for those modifying circumstances which may change his crime to a misfortune. Out of his own mouth he is condemned. He admits the guilt of the kidnapper, the slave-merchant, the original purchaser—and why? Not simply because their transient agency was marked with cruelty, but because the consequence was the perpetual slavery of a race, and the entail upon a fair country of a blighting curse—a consequence for which he, in his place, is responsible. Guilt, however, is not measured by the consequences of action, but by some known rule. To say nothing of the voice of conscience, the Word of God is plain: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' Who would put himself under the arbitrary control of an individual, rather than under the mild and steady government of law? Who would himself be willing to labor without wages, and have his own support, and that of his family, depend upon the will of any man, however good? 'Thou shalt not steal,' says the supreme law; but the slave-holder is a *perpetual thief*. He steals, not 'to satisfy his soul when hungry,' but to feast on dainties, to pamper every lust. There cannot be made out a clearer case of violation of divine law, than slave-holding. The very permission given to the Israelites to make servants of the heathen who dwelt about them, is a proof against the slave-holder. Did God grant an express permission to his people to buy and use oxen? An express permission implies that a thing would be wrong without it. But the bible contains positive instruction on this subject which is applicable to all,—fair expositions of the general law in regard to this very thing. 'Is not this the fast that I have chosen? To loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?'—Isa. lviii. 6. 'Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven.'—Col. iv. 1. In the first epistle to Timothy, first chapter, tenth verse, the apostle classes *men-stealers* with whore-mongers, liars, perjured persons, and the like; on this passage there stood in the standard of the Presbyterian church, till 1818, this very appropriate comment: 'Men-stealers among the Jews were exposed to capital punishment; and the apostle Paul classes them with sinners of the first rank. Stealers of men are all those who bring off slaves or free men, and keep, sell, or buy them; comprehending all those who are concerned in bringing any of the human race into slavery, or detaining them in it.'

But in 1818 this note was struck out. That is, when the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church saw that the 'thieves,' were respectable, 'then it consented with them, and became partakers with adulterers.' And has God indeed placed a church in the world to say that his law is too severe? Do his redeemed people tarry in this wilderness on their way to glory, to keep sin in countenance by sympathizing with shameless rebels? If God asks the transgressor, what will you do when I shall deal with you? What

will you answer when I shall make inquisition for blood? Is the church to rise up and cry, *this is not a religious, but a political question*—it will exasperate sinners, it will divide Christians, it will grieve the blessed spirit, it will put an end to revivals. Well might God say of such a church, 'They draw near to me with their mouths.'

'But we hope better things, though we thus speak.' The church, as a body, (I speak with out respect to denominations,) has taken her view of slavery, not from the word of God, but from a supposed expediency. She has considered it a political question, settled by an authority with which she has no concern. Moreover she has heard the statement of one party only; the slave-holder has told his story, but the poor slave has not been heard. Let the doctrines of scripture be now at length preached; let the facts, the woful, blood-stained facts, be spread out; let the tale of a slave's wrongs enter the ear, and the church, as a body, will rise in the might of truth. Her testimony will be uttered, and heard, and felt. She will speak out, and trust God for the consequences.

Again, the guilt of slave-holding may be clearly seen from the relation it holds to acknowledged sins. I have already hinted at this; but let us look it more fully in the face. Why has it come to be a settled point, (in the *abstract*, the slavery apologists would say,) that man is unfit to be intrusted with despotic power? Why, but that this very power stands in the relation of a fruitful parent to all the transgressions of the second table of the law? Destroying natural affection, exciting anger, lust, extortion, falsehood and cruel covetousness? What is the testimony of facts in regard to slavery in republican America? Look at the prodigality and shameless profligacy of southern youth. How many a son has been sent to the distant university, surrounded with whatever advantages wealth could procure, and after having been subjected to all that is reformatory in discipline, and stimulating in the love of praise, has returned to his house a ruined debauchee, made so by the vices that he carried from his father's roof? Did the parent's heart break? No: it was the heart of a slave-holder—it was too hard! It thrust away the undutiful child from the scene of his first lessons in guilt, to the riper instruction of hoary-headed gamblers, profligates, and duellists. Look again at the shameless violation of the seventh commandment. Read the proof in the thousands of mulattos born of black mothers every year—born to be treated like brutes by their own fathers! Shall I enter into further details? Most easily I might, but the task is needless. The abomination is open, the cry has gone up to heaven, the very sun turns pale! 'Shall I not be avenged on such a nation as this, saith the Lord?'

But is there no reproving, reforming spirit among them? Does not the Christian pulpit thunder forth the penalties of the insulted law? Is there not an intrepid remnant of God's elect, whose lives are a standing rebuke to the general corruption? No, the pulpit is spell-bound. The message of God is clothed in pointless generalities. The righteous are tamer than Lot in Sodom. The prophet dares not take forth the precious from the vile; I speak of the general fact. If there are men, and I rejoice to believe there are a few, who dare openly attack slavery on bible ground, they are regarded as insane by

brethren. Their most celebrated philan-
 pists, in view of all the sins of the system,
 k they have done enough when they have
 sed, what every slave-holder knew well
 gh before, the pecuniary waste which at-
 s it. They hope that a clear demonstration
 e pecuniary unprofitableness of slavery will
 ecede the necessity of any more direct and
 rdous aggression. Vain hope! Will the
 of property stop the drunkard, or the gam-
 or the debauchee? The slaves are held by
 st of power and the lust of pleasure. Are
 passions, cherished, fortified, enthroned in
 eart as they are, to be weakened and ex-
 d by the love of money?

those cherish such hopes who can shut
 e glorious sun at noon-day, and illuminate
 selves with rushlights. For one I disclaim
 spect for such childish absurdity, and cow-
 good nature. If man is not a soulless
 the whole system of slavery, in all its
 by whatsoever circumstances surrounded,
 homsoever upheld, is a monstrous sin, a
 comprehensive and damning iniquity, for
 it is downright treason against God to
 e shadow of an apology, and for which
 no remedy but the uncompromising truth
 gospel.

is the slavery which cleaves to our re-
 and holds in its fist, defying heaven's
 one sixth part of our population. Who
 eage the current of its wo? Who shall
 te the amount of sighs, and tears, and
 s, and of unspoken anguish, that have
 through it during one hundred and fifty
 Who shall sum up the bitter complaints
 t has poured into the ear of an avenging
 Who shall despise the coming retribution?
 se do so, if they will, who represent slave-
 curse which we innocently inherit from
 hers—which we cannot throw off, how
 uch we may desire to. I must be per-
 to "tremble for my country," while I re-
 as a *crime* which has polluted this whole
 from the lakes to the gulf, and from the
 the sea. While I claim the right, nay,
 avow the imperative obligation, thus to
 e slavery, be it understood that it is not
 ground of my own innocence. The con-
 s of past *guilt* sometimes impels a man
 the terrors of the law in the ear of a
 inner. Slavery is not the exclusive sin
 South. Northern ships and northern capi-
 ped to introduce it; and northern capi-
 northern *moral*ity throw the strongest
 round the system at this moment. And
 a reason why northern men, washing
 n hands of the guilt, should not raise
 ces against it? Is it not rather a rea-
 they should do it the more earnestly?
 y has polluted the moral atmosphere of
 n—if it has stupified the conscience and
 d the energy of the church of God—if it
 ten "*hypocrisy*" upon the portals of the
 y, and thrown doubt upon the very ex-
 of love for souls, (and who will say that
 t?) shall those who see, and know, and
 is, smother their convictions of duty?
 what?

ould such language seem too harsh, (for
 not be guilty of uttering truth in words
 e too true,) if there is any apparent in-
 ey in professing to love God, while we
 le for 2,000,000 of our fellow men, who

are laboring under the peculiar disadvantages of
 domestic servitude, and while, indeed, as a com-
 munity, we hardly express so much sympathy with
 them as with their masters, will it not be *expedi-*
ent for those who can do it conscientiously, to say
 that slavery is always wrong—or even *wicked*—
 as a sort of foundation for their efforts towards its
 removal? I ask those sober men, who have
 sharpened their vision by looking after conse-
 quences and circumstances in the dim field of
 political expediency, was any great triumph
 ever won in favor of truth, *by concealing truth?*

From the Friend, or Advocate of Truth.

THE POOR AFRICAN'S COMPLAINT.

The editor of the Friend, in his remarks upon
 this piece, says:—"The story of the poor Afri-
 can, on the last page, is no poetic fiction; it is
 literally true. The man whose captivity it re-
 lates, was remarkable for his integrity and fer-
 vent piety; and he was generally esteemed in
 the neighborhood in which he resided. His cha-
 racter gained him admittance into many worthy
 families, on the same terms of friendship as his
 paler neighbors. He has laid down his head in
 peace, and his spirit rests with Abraham, Isaac,
 and Jacob, beyond the reach of the oppressor."

While round my head time spreads perennial
 snows,

Remembrance backward far her twilight throws;
 Before my view life's mournful scenes to cast,
 Or greet with pleased memorials of the past.

Oft, as I sat beneath domestic trees,
 To enjoy the grateful coolness of the breeze,
 An ancient man from Afric's torrid clime,
 Bow'd down with griefs, and pains, and toil, and
 time,

Came to my threshold, and would there narrate,
 The adverse fortune in his humble state.

A suffering man, in thralldom long oppressed,
 And none oppression's cruel arm t' arrest.

Full oft the tears adown his swarthy face,
 In quick succession would each other trace:

Anon, a soothing calm his brow o'erspread,
 With kind oblivion round his aged head;

His bosom soon regained a tranquil ease,

'Twas joy to hear him touch the cords of peace.

For heaven had given in mis'ries keenest hour,

A joyful foretaste of religion's power,

To calm his mind, to bear the woes of life,

Th' oppressor's wrong, and feeling's bitter strife.

Oft would he tell (abridged) his mournful tale,

And thus his sorrows unredressed bewail:

"Near Gambia's side my father's cottage stood,

Behind luxuriant rose a lofty wood;

A limpid stream ran rippling near the door,

A stately palm tree spread its shade before.

Large area space, with roots and herbage
 crowned,

And esculent riches in the enclosure round.

Here, blest with all his native clime affords,

His unskilled husbandry with need accords;

And with the labors of the hoe and spade,

Time alternated 'twixt the sun and shade.

Thus dwelt my sire, a man serenely gay,

With homebred pleasures passed his life away;

On his dark visage stranger's eye might see

A scorn of vassalage, inborn and free;

And nobly brave, with patriarchal band,

To dare the spoiler's blood polluted hand.

His children round would share their sire's embrace,
 And oh! he cried, what fears surround our race!
 Some pale faced demon o'er you wave may come,
 And drag my offspring from their natal home;
 Lured by the lust they feel for sordid gold—
 In distant lands my free-born children sold;
 'Torn from the blessings our warm sun affords
 To toil in foreign climes for haughty lords.
 Better, far better, lie beneath our soil
 Than groan in distant lands, oppressed with toil.—

Prophetic spoke my sire,—the spoiler came,
 Nor blench'd his eye with pity, fear, or shame.
 My father meets them at our humble door,
 With blood his domicile is sprinkled o'er;
 Falls in his efforts to defend his home,
 From all the oft-told miseries to come.
 On me they seize, a weak, defenceless boy;
 My mother shrieks, her cries their ears annoy;
 But resolute to save, devoid of fear,
 She heaven implores with tears and ardent prayer,
 To save her child from the man-stealer's grasp,
 And rushes on, my fettered arms to unclasp.
 But vain the attempt,—the levelled tube re-sounds—
 Horror of horrors! sorely pierced with wounds,
 Her blood fast streaming, homeward bends her way,—
 They in their ruthless grasp bear off their prey;
 And I my bleeding mother saw no more,
 Borne in fell triumph to the neighboring shore.
 I well remember, though a child, the wave
 In anguish ferried o'er, a pinioned slave;
 How nightly in the flood was plunged the corse,
 Reckless of justice, pity, or remorse.
 And when we reached, at length, your degraded coasts,
 Sold in a land that *equal* freedom boasts!
 What glaring mockery meets the ear of heaven!
 And who that mocks dare hope to be forgiven?
 While millions groan in abject slavery drear,
 You hymn your thanks that *liberty is here!*
 My master was not of the gentle kind,
 The love of gold had steeled an honest mind;
 Insatiate thirst, for e'en polluted gain,
 Binds the poor remnant of the captive train.
 Long toiled I in the fields Columbus won,
 Unfelt before, alternate frosts and sun;
 Struck by disease, my labours ceased to yield,
 Th' accustomed riches from the well tilled field.
 My aged sinews then, for paltry pelf,—
 Unrighteous gain,—*he sold them to myself!*
 Thanks to a gracious God, I live to see,
 Slave as I was, my wife and children free.
 No thanks to savage, guilty man I owe,
 From him, unfeeling, all my sorrows flow;
 But to the Christian's God, all praise be given,
 For good on earth received, and hopes in heaven."

B.

It appears that the following protest was issued in London in July last:

PROTEST.

We, the undersigned, having observed with regret that the "*American Colonization Society*" appears to be gaining some adherents in this country, are desirous to express our opinions respecting it.

Our motive and excuse for thus coming forward are the claims which the Society has put

forth to *anti-slavery* support. These opinions are, in our opinion, wholly groundless; and we feel bound to affirm that our deliberate judgment and conviction are, that the professions made by the Colonization Society of promoting the abolition of slavery, are altogether false.

As far as the mere colony in Liberia is concerned, it has no doubt the advantages of trading establishments. In this sense it is beneficial both to America and to Africa, and we naturally wish it well. We cannot, however, refrain from expressing our strong opinion that a settlement of which the United States are to bear the whole cost. We never require that country to assist us in Sierra Leone. We are enormously burdened by our own connection with slavery; and we do maintain that we are not to be called upon to contribute to the expenses of a colony which, though no doubt comprising some advantages, was formed chiefly to maintain the prejudices of American slave-holders which is regarded with aversion by the population of the United States.

With regard to the extinction of the slave trade, we apprehend that Liberia, however the intentions of the supporters, will be able to do little or nothing towards it, except on the limited extent of its own territories. The effectual blow to that accursed traffic will be the destruction of slavery throughout the world. We are compelled to say that we believe the Colonization Society to be an obstruction.

Our objections to it are, therefore, these: While we believe its pretences to be false, we are convinced that its *real* effects are of the most dangerous nature. It takes its root in a cruel prejudice and alienation in the bosom of America, against the colored people, and is free. This being its source, the effects which might be expected, that it fosters and increases the spirit of caste, already so unhappily predominant; that it widens the breach between two races; exposes the colored people to practical persecution, in order to force them to emigrate; and finally, is calculated to stir up and divert that feeling which America, as a Christian and a free country, cannot but maintain, that slavery is alike incompatible with the law of God, and with the well being of the country, whether of the enslaver or the enslaved.

On these grounds, therefore, and while we acknowledge the colony of Liberia, or any colony on the coast of Africa, to be in itself a good thing, we must be understood utterly to repudiate the principles of the American Colonization Society. That Society is, in our estimation, not deserving of the countenance of the public.

Wm. Wilberforce,	Suffield,
Wm. Smith,	S. Lushington,
Zachary Macaulay,	T. Fowell Buxton,
William Evans, M. P.	James Cropper,
Samuel Gurney,	William Allen,
George Stephen,	Daniel O'Connell,

London, July, 1833.

A patient lad.—"Ben," said a fellow the other day, "I'm busy now, but as soon as I get time I mean to give you a flog." "Don't hurry yourself, pa," replied the lad—"I can wait."

MR. WILBERFORCE.

The death of Mr. Wilberforce brings back the mind irresistibly to the memorable events of his story, and forces upon the recollection the extraordinary virtues which adorned and ennobled his character, and placed him at the head of the catalogue of philanthropists of the last half century.

In the early part of his life, and soon after he took a seat in the house of commons, he commenced a parliamentary warfare against the slave trade. Aided by some of the ablest statesmen in the kingdom, assisted by a number of benevolent individuals, whose principles and feelings fully corresponded with his own, in spite of every obstacle, in the face of defeat after defeat, and in utter disregard of obloquy and reproach, he persevered for twenty years in his honorable and praiseworthy career, until his efforts were crowned with success. In the year 1807, if we recollect right, parliament passed a law prohibiting that diabolical traffic, and saving the nation so far of that most iniquitous and disgraceful system.

By one of those untoward circumstances that mark the history of nations, when the constitution of the United States was formed and adopted, a provision was suffered to be incorporated into the constitution denying to congress the power of prohibiting the slave trade before 1808. In 1807, and in an almost contemporaneous act, congress passed a law, declaring that the slave trade should cease after the time prescribed in the constitution.

Having witnessed the eventual success of his continued and most meritorious efforts in the cause of justice and humanity, but considering his work as only half done, he commenced a series of measures intended to complete the work, thus fortunately in part accomplished. This was the abolition of slavery throughout the British colonial dominions. To bring about this great result, unexampled efforts were made to enlist public opinion in its favor—associations were formed, unceasing exertions were employed to collect information, diffuse it throughout the kingdom, and the presses to a considerable extent engaged in the enterprise; a single periodical publication, the Christian Observer pursued the object with the utmost assiduity, by the exercise of great talents, and the unshaken independence. Every year, when the subject was brought before parliament, showed a strong accession of strength in favor of the measure; when in 1821, if we have the date correct, Mr. Canning's resolutions, in favor of effecting abolition, were carried through parliament.

Having now a firm hold on which to pursue the great object was pursued with renewed vigor, all the weight and force of national opinion was brought to bear upon the measure, which was altogether irresistible.—It became apparent that abolition could no longer resisted, opposition was to a degree suppressed; and the only question of any moment that remained to be discussed was that of compensation. During the present session of parliament, a resolution in favor of emancipation passed both houses; and nothing remains to be done but to press the measure into effect, but to decide upon the details of the bill, and this black stain upon the character of the British nation and government will be effaced.

Wilberforce's life was providentially con-

tinued until this great measure was so far consummated, when his earthly career was brought to a close, and he was called, as there are the strongest reasons for believing, to the happiness and the glory of a better world.

History scarcely furnishes any account of an uninspired man of greater moral worth, more active philanthropy, more extensive usefulness, than Mr. Wilberforce. His life was devoted to the service of God, and the good of his fellow men. His piety was as sincere and ardent as his benevolence, and both were uniformly conspicuous throughout a long and useful life. His life is now closed, but he has left behind him a character of the highest elevation for purity of principle and moral rectitude, and at the same time equally distinguished for practical utility and benevolence to the human race.—*N. Y. Daily Advertiser.*

THE AFRICAN EXPEDITION.

Letters have been received from Mr. Lander, dated Fernando Po, May 9. Our readers have been already informed of the expedition having entered the river Niger. It appears that the crew had caught the fever on the coast, and that they carried the infection with them. During the first month not less than twenty deaths occurred among the persons composing the expedition: in the second, five. Of the officers only three remained alive, namely, Messrs. Laird and Lander, and Lieutenant Allen. Mr. Briggs, eldest son of Dr. Briggs, of this town, is among the dead. As the survivors had become seasoned to the climate, it was hoped, that few, if any, additional deaths would occur.

Mr. Lander left the steam boats on the 14th of April, about 400 miles up the Niger, opposite the mouth of the Lake T'shad. The object of his voyage to the coast was to procure necessaries, &c.

The country on the banks of the Niger was found to be highly fertile, and capable of being made to produce all kinds of tropical fruit, &c. The natives had received the expedition in the most friendly manner, and an amicable intercourse between them had taken place. One of the native kings or chiefs had visited the steamers, and was surprised and delighted at what he saw. He returned the compliment by inviting the officers to an entertainment on shore. At this *fete* his Majesty produced two men, whom he was about to offer a sacrifice in honor of the visit of the white men. He was, however, intreated to spare the victims, and yielded to the entreaties of his new friends with a truly royal grace.

The letters speak, we understand, very confidently of the ultimate success of the commercial objects of the expedition. Had it not been for the ravages caused by the fever, the most complete success would, ere now, have attended the enterprise.—*London paper.*

The school of affliction, even in its utmost severity, is found to inculcate the best principles of gentleness and virtue, and to inspire a feeling for the miseries of others.

If the world suspect your well intended designs, be not uneasy; it only shows that mankind are themselves false and artful, which is the cause of their suspicions.

SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The abolition of the slave trade and slavery in this district ought to be constantly kept in mind by all the friends of the colored race. In this object thousands will unite who are opposed to anti-slavery societies. Few men, we believe can be found at the north, who do not regard the toleration of slavery at the seat of our national government as disgraceful to the country; and, even at the south, many persons who are not prepared to exert themselves to put down this system in their own states, will readily admit that no just cause exists for perpetuating it in the District of Columbia. Nothing, we are confident, is necessary, in order to abolish the national sin and shame, but resolution and activity in the friends of the measure. If all who really have this cause at heart would but put their names to petitions to congress in favor of the object, they would be astonished at their own numbers, and congress would not dare refuse to perform a great work of justice and humanity, which was demanded by the great mass of the people.

The following is a petition which is now circulating in this vicinity. It has already received numerous and respectable signatures:—

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, the petition of the undersigned, citizens of the United States, respectfully represents—

That your petitioners are deeply impressed with the evils arising from the existence of slavery in the District of Columbia. The constitution of the United States provides that congress shall have power "to exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by the cession of particular states, and the acceptance of congress, become the seat of government of the United States." In pursuance of this provision, the states of Maryland and Virginia respectively ceded portions of their territories, which being accepted by congress now compose the District of Columbia. By the plain words of the constitution, congress has the power to abolish slavery in this district, and no other power can legislate on the subject.

While our declaration of independence boldly proclaims as self-evident truths, "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" at the very seat of government, human beings are born almost daily, whom the laws pronounce to be from their birth not equal to other men, and who are for life, deprived of liberty, and the free pursuit of happiness.

In addition to other evils flowing from slavery, both moral and political, which it is needless to specify, circumstances have rendered this district a great market for traders in human flesh. The unhappy victims of this traffic are brought into this district in chains, and then lodged in private jails and other places of confinement, from whence they are carried to the markets of the south and west.

The toleration of slavery and the slave trade at the seat of government, not only produces the most cruel sufferings to those who are legally

slaves, but also frequently leads to the enslavement of free people of color, citizens of the United States, some of whom are kidnapped by violence and others of whom are reduced to hopeless bondage under the forms of law.

From the small number of slaves in the District of Columbia, and the moderate proportion which they bear to the free population there, the difficulties which in most of the slaveholding states oppose the restoration of this degraded class of men to their natural rights, do not exist in this place. Your petitioners, therefore, trust that congress will, without delay, enact laws for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and for preventing the bringing of slaves into that district for the purpose of traffic, in such mode as may be thought advisable, and whatever measures may be adopted, will make suitable provision for the education of free black and colored children in the district, thus to preserve them from continuing even free men, an unenlightened and degraded class.

We earnestly entreat all persons who wish slavery in the District to be abolished, to exert themselves in preparing petitions for this object to be presented at the next session of congress. Even if the measure should then fail, they will have the satisfaction of having done their duty, and having assisted, in some degree, to effect a great moral reform which must sooner or later be accomplished.—*Abolitionist.*

SINGULAR INVESTIGATION.

A merchant from the state of Ohio, who had the bearer of \$7000 from his brother-in-law, a merchant in that state, to sundry merchants in this city, who were creditors of the brother-in-law, arrived here on Wednesday morning on board the steam boat Dewitt Clinton, but scarcely landed, before, as he alleges, his pocket was in some way or other cut, and his pocket book, containing the \$7000, extracted. He proceeded to the police office, and there gave an account of the lost, particularising the character of the money lost, and offering a reward of \$100 for its restitution, at the same time making oath to the truth of his statement. Taking leave the same afternoon for Albany, several creditors of the brother-in-law took up an opinion that the loss was merely pretended, and therefore dispatched one of the police officers in pursuit of him, who found, upon his arrival in Albany, that he had taken his seat in the despatch stage for Utica, bound, as was conjectured, on the route home. He was followed some distance beyond Schenectady, and there apprehended, and brought to this city, to answer, as is alleged, a charge of perjury. The investigation of the affair had not terminated last evening, and was continued this forenoon.—*New York Herald, Oct. 15.*

Henry Hill, a colored man, and a revolutionary soldier, died in Chillicothe, on the 12th inst. aged 80 years. He was buried with the honors of war—a singular tribute of respect to the memory of a colored man; but no doubt he deserved it in this case. Henry, we should judge, from an obituary notice in the Chillicothe Register, was at the battle of Lexington, Brandywine, Monmouth, Princeton, and Yorktown. Peace to his ashes!

Ladies' Repository.

Philanthropic and Literary.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

HANNAH KILHAM.

There is much in the character of this noble woman that deeply interests our feelings. The high philanthropy of her spirit, and unwearied zeal with which she gave herself to the pursuance of its dictates, are worthy of honor. We behold her, day by day, with a patience and perseverance that difficulty could not exhaust, nor fatigue subdue, devoting herself to the study of the African languages, that might carry light and knowledge to a land of darkness and ignorance, and to those from all the nations of christendom had united in drinking a cup of degradation and bitterness. We behold her resigning without a murmur the dearly cherished comforts of home and friends, undeterred by the hardships to be endured, unperturbed by the pestilential nature of the climate, devoting herself, if need be, to die for the cause in which she had embarked. What a beautiful picture do the extracts from some of her letters present! Surrounded by her young charge, many of them just rescued from the poisonous hold of a slave ship, we behold her endeavouring to instil into their minds lessons of moral and intellectual brightness—watching with affectionate earnestness over the unfolding of their mental natures, and seeking to turn their minds to the source from which she herself sought direction and assistance in her arduous task. With what affectionate interest does she speak of them!—the portals of her heart were not rudely barred against them because her brows were darker than her own! 'Twas the closing scene. It is ever an awful thing to die, yet there are times and circumstances by which even a death bed may be illumined with a solemn brightness and beauty. When the Christian lies down to the sleep of the grave, surrounded by those he loves, and whose arms were long to embrace again—when the hand of affection supports the failing frame—when the soft, fragrant airs of evening come stealing to dry the moisture from the cold brow—when even the aspect of the beautiful earth seems to tell of a still brighter and better world, when the clear ambered sky of the sunset seems an opening gate leading to paradise—there is at least for the weakness of humanity, a cheering influence in their soft influences; and the heart of the Christian may shrink less from the passage of the grave, when light is thus

gleaming in at both its portals. But to be smitten with sickness, destitute of almost all the comforts it requires, far from home and the tenderness of those to whom the heart is turning with irrepressible affection, to languish in a sultry atmosphere, and on the bosom of the great deep, with the flapping sail overboard, and the hoarse cries of the seaman breaking in upon the few intervals of repose—thus to be hurried off to the grave by the swift stroke of pestilence, lends even death a more fearful aspect. It was thus she died—died in the cause of a noble philanthropy. And her name should be as a rallying word to urge on her sex to pursue the task of alleviating the condition and elevating the minds of the long oppressed race of Africa. A wide field for exertion is open here, without the encounter with the privations and dangers which she endured. And though in some parts of our own country shameless persecution may strew with them the path of benevolence, there is still a wide field of unmolested exertion open for those who would shrink from the encounter with opposition and difficulty.

The following short obituary notice of Hannah Kilham was intended to have been inserted some time since, but has from time to time been delayed.

DIED, on the 31st of third month, last, (1832,) on board the galliot Yung Drow, off the western coast of Africa, HANNAH KILHAM, of England, an esteemed minister in the religious Society of Friends.

She was the wife of Alexander Kilham, well known among the Wesleyan Methodists, and after the death of her husband, becoming convinced of the principles of Friends, she was received into membership in our society. For many years she continued to reside in Sheffield, in the county of York, where she kept a boarding and day school, chiefly for Friends' children. The affectionate kindness of her disposition rendered her generally beloved; and the humility of her deportment, and her devotedness to what she believed her duty, were truly instructive. Towards the latter part of her life she appeared in the ministry, to the satisfaction and comfort of her friends. Her exertions for the welfare of her fellow creatures were constant and various, but the claims of benighted and oppressed Africa seemed predominant in her mind; and though of a very delicate constitution, she undertook extraordinary exertions to alleviate the condition of that degraded part of the human family. She acquired an extensive knowledge of the Mandingo and Waloof languages, which had not, till then, been reduced to writing; she translated into other tongues a considerable portion of the New Testament, and published an elementary grammar and spelling book in the Waloof, with the view of instructing the natives in their own language. Under an impression of duty she three times visited the western coast of Africa, assisting in the establishment of schools, and often engaging herself in the work of instruction, for which she was peculiarly qualified. Whilst thus occupied, in a

barbarous land, under a torrid sun, and at a distance from all her affectionate connexions, she uniformly expressed her belief that she was in her proper allotment, and her desire to feel content therein; and though the fruits of her labors might not at once appear, she was encouraged in the hope that the seed sown would, in due time, spring forth and increase with the increase of God. During the last year, this devoted woman made her third and last visit to Africa. After having been some months engaged in teaching in and about Sierra Leone, she went, in the second month of the present year, to Liberia; and having spent about a month in that colony, was returning to Sierra Leone, when it pleased her Divine Master to call her from works to everlasting rewards.

A GOOD EXAMPLE.

We copy from the *Liberator* the following extract from a letter from England, written by the editor of that paper. When shall petitions from even half so many females be presented to the legislators of our land, in behalf of wronged and helpless American slaves?

"Petitions are crowding into parliament by *thousands* from every part of the United Kingdom, praying for the abolition of slavery. Lord Suffield alone presented 201 on Tuesday in the House of Lords, one of which, was of amazing size, and, closely packed as it was, seemed to rival the wool sack itself in its dimensions. It was signed by EIGHT HUNDRED THOUSAND LADIES!!! Its presentation excited considerable sensation, and some merriment. In the House of Commons, on the same day, Mr. Buxton presented 300 petitions, among them one containing 187,000 female signatures, which required four members to lay it on the table. At the head of it stood the name of the celebrated Amelia Opie, and next to her that of Priscella Buxton."

THE CANTERBURY PERSECUTION.

We are glad to find that the public opinion is so warmly expressed in disapprobation of the conduct of the persecutors of Canterbury. It is well deserving of the unsparing indignation which has been, and will be, poured out against it. Such proceedings are an insult to the nation, and the authors of them deserve to be humbled by the community whose feelings they have outraged. We have no acquaintance with Prudence Crandall, but our sympathies are warmly interested for her. She appears to have borne up nobly against the storm which is raging against her, and we hope may still be supported in her endurance. The spirit which existed in Connecticut in the days of Cotton Mather and witchcraft, seems to have revived again in the town of Canterbury, directed indeed to a different object, but possessing all its former prejudice, absurdity and cruelty.

THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

One of the Connecticut branches of the American Colonization Society has recently appoint-

ed Andrew T. Judson, who has obtained a ven- unenviable degree of celebrity, as leader of a ruffian-like persecution at Canterbury, to act as one of its agents; thus placing its sanction, and the stamp of its approbation upon his proceedings. This circumstance, we think, goes far to prove the truth of some of the accusations brought against that society; as this branch, though perhaps but a small member of the body, is governed by the same constitution, and may be supposed to possess the same feelings. We doubt not that there are many individual members of that society who indignantly condemn the proceedings adverted to; but the principles of the society at large must be judged by its recent conduct of Judson so undeserving of censure as to detract nothing from his fitness for coming one of its officers, we think its assumption of the title of a philanthropic body grounded upon a very slight foundation.

We were not, until recently, aware of the existence of the society mentioned in the following paragraphs. We have felt much interested in them, and hope the association to which they refer, may be successful, and may be imitated in other places. All Connecticut, it appears, is not infected with the spirit of Canterbury.

HARTFORD BENEVOLENT SOCIETY FOR COLORED CHILDREN.

Some ladies in the city of Hartford thought it would be a useful charity to take under their care such little colored children as had no parents, or whose parents were unable or unwilling to support them. They began with twelve girls, of four or five years of age. They placed them with a kind and respectable woman, where they are comfortably fed and clothed, and be instructed in reading, knitting, sewing, and such other branches of industrious and useful education as are suited to their tender age. When they are of sufficient age they will be placed in families, and the ladies who first took charge of them will continue to feel an interest in their good conduct and welfare.

These little children are very glad to be catered and provided for. They are willing to learn, and grateful to those who are kind to them. It is now one year since they have been taken to a comfortable home. Last Sunday evening the Rev. Mr. Davis preached at his church a charity sermon for their benefit. The children were present, and the audience was so large that many were unable to obtain seats. The text was in the 10th chapter of Acts, the 32d and 35th verses: "Of a truth, I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him."

In the application of the subject the preacher spoke eloquently and impressively of African slavery. He mentioned that more than a century had elapsed since that quarter of the globe was made the scene of that iniquitous traffic. He described the cruelty of tearing the Africans from their native clime, from the

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

ments of their simple homes. He spoke of horrors of the sombre slave-ship, and of the sorrows endured after the yoke of bondage was fastened upon their necks. This sin, he said, is peculiarly aggravated in a government like our own, which declares that all men are born free and equal, possessing as unalienable rights liberty and the pursuit of happiness. In order to reconcile this great inconsistency, it has been asserted that the Africans were an inferior race. The writer has shrewdly remarked "that there is a necessity of maintaining that *they are not men*, as a suspicion would arise that *they are not Christians*." But 3000 years ago it was not thought so, when science beamed on the darkened world from Egypt and Ethiopia, and when the wise men of Greece and Rome went to kindle their torches at the light of Africa. We have said that the ancient Egyptians were black. Herodotus, the father of history, says "they were black, with curled hair." It is extremely unjust to decide that they are an inferior race, from any thing they exhibit among us, who are oppressed with slavery, and shut out from the world by those motives of ambition which arouse the world to effort and energy.

Mr. Davis expressed strongly his disbelief of the inferiority of the Africans. "But," he added, "there are probably among this audience some of a different idea. I expect a liberal contribution from both classes. One having no prejudices to overcome, will of course be bountiful. The other is bound to be so by the injunction of the Scripture—'Ye who are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak.' This society have a duty of aid. They can do only part of what she wishes prompt. Seated with the little group for adoption, you see one in a different garb. We wish to receive her also, but are not able to pay the expense of her maintenance. Shall we remain and share with her companions the labors of their care? or shall she return to poverty, to neglect, perhaps to vice and misery? Let the contribution boxes answer."

And they did faithfully answer to the exhortation of the man of God. And the poor little offering was adopted by those who will endeavour to do her good, both body and soul. During the closing of the evening the following hymn was

As if to Afric's sable race
A fearful debt we justly owe,
Heaven's dread book record the trace
Of every deed and thought below—
And if for them the Christian prayer
Explores of God to guide and save,
Can let these helpless suppliants share
From mercy's store the mite they crave.
How deep for them the pitying breast,
And bounty's stream flow warm and free,
Who can tell, among the blest,
How sweet their harps of praise may be?

L. H. S.

London May 27, 1833.

the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

OBITUARY.

A truth, I perceive God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth him and doeth righteousness is accepted with him." Acts 10. 34, 35.

The writer of this brief memoir became ac-

quainted with SYBIL OLIVER during the winter of 1832. She was then afflicted with the painful disease which at length proved fatal on the 24th day of August, 1833. In my frequent visits, as a member of the Union Benevolent Society, to this poor African, I never found her impatient, but on the contrary she seemed to be in a thankful, resigned state of mind. The last time I conversed with her she was very weak in body, but said she was striving to press into the kingdom of rest and peace. The day after her departure, her friends kindly invited me to come and see her remains. In entering the apartment I found every thing neatly prepared for the solemn occasion, and a few respectable looking colored women sitting in silence round the room. I looked upon the sable face, and reflected that those eyes that have so often opened with pain and sorrow are now sealed up in the sleep of death, and she who on earth suffered so many conflicts is now singing the praises of redeeming love in that happy land, none of whose inhabitants can say I am sick. As I turned from the corpse, I observed the countenances of those around bespoke solemnity and peace, and my own spirit was clothed in sympathetic feelings. I interrupted the silence, by making some remarks respecting the deceased, and was informed by one of her attendants that she had been for some time expecting her final change, and in her last hour she exclaimed, "is there no praying people here?" Those who were with her immediately knelt round the bed, and one of them offered up a fervent prayer; when Sybil Oliver repeated with a distinct voice several lines of a hymn, and then closing her eyes said, "now children be still, for I am just going." One replied, "Lay hold on Christ," if it is but the hem of his garment—she answered "*I have hold*," and her redeemed spirit took its flight, we doubt not, to one of those mansions which the Saviour said was in his Father's house, prepared for all those who fear and love God, and keep his commandments. "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord."

QUESTIONS ON SLAVERY.

(Continued.)

Q. Did the Jewish law forbid the runaway bond-servant to be delivered again to his master?

A. "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee." Deut. xxiii. 15. "He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him." Deut. xxiii. 15, 16.

Q. For what great crime, besides idolatry, were the Jews carried into captivity?

A. "The people of the land have used oppression, and exercised robbery, and have vexed the poor and needy: yea, they have oppressed the stranger wrongfully. THEREFORE have I poured out mine indignation upon them; I have consumed them with the fire of my wrath; their own way have I recompensed upon their heads, saith the Lord." Ezek. xxii. 29, 31.

"Woe to her that is filthy and polluted, to the oppressing city." Zeph. iii. 1.

"Thus speaketh the Lord of Hosts, saying, execute true judgment, and shew mercy and compassion every man to his brother: And op-

press not the widow, nor the fatherless, the stranger, nor the poor; and let none of you imagine evil against his brother in your heart. But they refused to hearken, and pulled away the shoulder, and stopped their ears, that they should not hear. Yea, they made their hearts as an adamant stone, lest they should hear the law, and the words which the Lord of Hosts hath sent in his spirit by the former prophets: *therefore* came a great wrath from the Lord of Hosts. *Therefore* it is come to pass, that as he cried, and they would not hear, so they cried, and I would not hear, saith the Lord of Hosts: But I scattered them with a whirlwind among all the nations whom they knew not. Thus the land was desolate after them, that no man passed through nor returned; for they laid the pleasant land desolate." Zech. vii. 9—14.

Q. What is the heritage of oppressors?

A. "This is the portion of a wicked man with God, and *the heritage of oppressors*, which they shall receive of the Almighty. If his children be multiplied, it is for the sword; and his offspring shall not be satisfied with bread. Those that remain of him shall be buried in death: and his widow shall not weep. Though he heap up silver as the dust, and prepare raiment as the clay; he may prepare it, but the just shall put it on, and the innocent shall divide the silver. He buildeth his house as a moth, and as a booth that the keeper maketh. The rich man shall lie down, but he shall not be gathered: he openeth his eyes, and he is not. Terrors take hold on him as waters, a tempest stealeth him away in the night. The east wind carrieth him away, and he departeth: and as a storm hurleth him out of his place. For God shall cast upon him, and not spare: he would fain flee out of his hand. Men shall clap their hands at him, and shall hiss him out of his place." Job xxvii. 13, 23.

"He shall judge the poor of the people, he shall save the children of the needy, *and shall break in pieces the oppressor.*" Psalm lxxii. 4.

"The Lord executeth righteousness and judgment for all that are oppressed." Psalm ciii. 6.

Q. Ought not the descendants of Ahab to have restored to the descendants of Naboth their vineyard?

A. "Then it shall be, because he hath sinned, and is guilty, that *he shall restore that which he took violently away*, or the thing which he hath deceitfully gotten, or that which was delivered to him to keep, or the lost thing which he found." Lev. vi. 4. And the New Testament says—"Therefore, if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." Matt. v. 23, 24. If land should be restored, much more should *the unoffending captive* go free; for man is of more value than acres of land: he has that within him which is of more value than a thousand worlds.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
TO A CROCUS.

An' so ye've sped your leaves at last!
I've aften pitied ye, when fast
The drivin' snaw has o'er ye past,
Puir bonnie thing!
Ye darc'd too soon the moody blast,
This damp, cauld spring.

Ye lifted up your gouden head
Too soon, from off its wintry bed,
When late the faithless sunshine shed
A soft, warm gleam;
Then left ye, ere your leaves could spread
Beneath its beam.

Sic is the hapless doom of those,
Round whom her chains stern slavery thro'
Wha, born to nought but wrongs and wo'
An' mony a tear,
Find storms and gloom around them clae
In life's young year.

But o'er ye now the brightening sky
Is bending wi' a milder eye,
A satter breeze your buds will dry,
An' fan your bloom;
On them oppression's clouds still lie
In murky gloom.

Yet e'en for them a feeble light
Seems breaking o'er the horizon's night,
Distant and faint, yet pactly bright,
Wi' hope's blest beam,
Telling that soon across their sight
'Twill brightly gleam.

MARGARET

FREE PRODUCE.

JOSEPH H. BEAL has removed his store from 41 Fulton street, where he formerly kept, to 376 Pearl street, New York, where he intends to keep a general assortment of goods, the product of free labor; including Groceries, Goods, Cotton Cloths, Shirting, and Papers of linen rags, which he will sell, wholesale and retail, upon the best terms he can afford.

This establishment will probably be the most extensive of any of the kind in the United States, and the diligence, punctuality, and industry of the proprietor, who has engaged in the business from principle, will give satisfaction to all who have dealings with him. We hope this business will be extensively patronized.

Terms of Subscription

TO THE
GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION
VOL. XIII.

This work will henceforth be issued monthly in the CITY OF WASHINGTON. It will be printed on fine paper, and folded in the octavo form, each number making sixteen large pages. A title page and index will accompany each volume.

The price of subscription will be One Dollar per annum, *always to be paid in advance.*

Subscribers who do not particularly specify the time they wish to receive the work, or notify the editor (through the medium of a post-office order in some other way,) of a desire to discontinue before the expiration of the current year, will be considered as engaged for the next succeeding year, and their bills will be forwarded accordingly.

Any person remitting Five Dollars to the editor, in current money of the United States, will be entitled to six copies for one year.

All letters, communications, papers, &c. intended for this office, must be addressed, as usual, to BENJAMIN LUNDY, Washington, D. C. and forwarded *free of expense.*

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, WASHINGTON, D. C. AT \$1 00 PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration of Independence.*

No. 12. VOL. III. THIRD SERIES.]

OCTOBER, 1833.

WHOLE NUMBER 288. Vol. XII.

OUR OWN AFFAIRS.

The present number closes the thirteenth volume. There has been some delay in getting out two or three of the last numbers, the cause of which when explained, will be sufficient, it is presumed, to satisfy all who are interested. The proprietor has been absent for about six months. He has been detained much longer from home than he expected, by circumstances over which he had no control. It will be seen by a letter on another page, that he had nearly fallen a martyr to his zeal in the cause of an injured people. The detention which his illness occasioned, left me in a state of uncertainty. No provision had been made for defraying the expense of the publication longer than three or four months; and very few remittances were made by subscribers. Under these circumstances I knew not how to act—no funds on hand—and "as for this Lundy," who had turned his back on Egyptian bondage, and led the way to the promised land of freedom, "we wot not what had become of him."

The information, however, recently received from him, enables us to determine upon our future course. The paper will be continued as heretofore, upon the same plan—the same principles will be advocated, and the same doctrines promulgated. It will be issued *regularly* and *punctually* every month. The location, however, will be changed from Washington, D. C. to Philadelphia. To give a little time to make the necessary arrangements, the first number of the next volume will be issued in the month of January, 1834. After which, subscribers may depend upon receiving their papers punctually every month.

We think the reasons above assigned for the delay in sending out some of the late numbers will be deemed sufficient, and that our patrons will make due allowance for unavoidable contingencies.

NEW YORK ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A society has lately been organized in the city of New York, with the above title, of which Arthur Tappan is president, Elizur Wright, jr. corresponding secretary, and Charles W. Denison, recording secretary. The meeting for forming the society was called at Clinton Hall, by public notice, in which those friendly to immediate emancipation were invited to attend. A tremendous excitement was got up by the inflammatory remarks of some of the New York editors, in which the views and objects of the

abolitionists were grossly misrepresented. The citizens, and especially "southern gentlemen," then in the city, were called upon to assemble at the time and place of meeting, *to put down the abolitionists.* In consequence of the excitement thus produced, they were not permitted to meet at Clinton Hall. The abolitionists, however, met at another place, and transacted all their business peaceably, and adjourned without being molested. A mob collected at Clinton Hall, but not finding their prey, they were some time in finding out where the "FANATICS" were assembled. As soon as they discovered their place of meeting, they followed them more like maniacs than civilized men, uttering threats and denunciations as they went, against particular individuals whom they named. But they were again disappointed. The abolitionists had finished their business before they arrived.

These things happened—"oh! tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon!"—these things happened in NEW YORK—a city adorned with numerous Christian churches, and where the society for educating *ministers of the Christian religion* annually assemble, and the site of all the principal *benevolent* associations of the day.

But do these *practical heathens* think to *put down* abolitionists by such means? No man who deserves the name of a friend to universal emancipation, will be deterred from performing his duty to his country and to his God, by the savage yells of an infuriated mob, or the silly ravings of unprincipled editors?—such means for putting them down will only stimulate them to renewed zeal in the righteous cause, and prove to all sober and discreet men, the necessity of rallying around the standard of freedom, and sustaining the principles set forth in the declaration of independence. The moral pollution of slavery has spread far and wide, and must be opposed by moral remedies, or a just God will call us to a terrible reckoning for our wickedness.

We have not room to say more at present. The subject will be resumed hereafter.

GARRISON'S SPEECH.

We have given part of the debate at a public meeting held in London, on the subject of African colonization. As there has been a great deal of misrepresentation in some of our newspapers in regard to Garrison's remarks at that meeting, we have given his speech at length. Read

it and judge for yourselves. We would be glad to republish the speech of O'Connell, on the same occasion, but cannot, at this time for want of room. The introduction of this debate, and the extracts we have made from the pamphlet of Elizur Wright, jr. on the "Sin of Slavery," have excluded our usual variety. But we intend to commence in earnest with the new year, and have made our arrangements for furnishing our readers with a faithful exposition of the state of the anti-slavery cause in our future numbers.

A wide field is opened before us in which to labor. The enemies of human rights are vigilant and active. Every artifice which ingenuity can devise will be resorted to for the purpose of casting odium upon the friends of universal emancipation. Threats and denunciations will be fulminated against them. But no new thing has happened to us. Our lot is the lot of all the benefactors of the human race, from the Saviour to the least of his disciples. Their services have been rewarded by slander and persecution. But truth will eventually triumph over error and delusion. The light will yet shine out of darkness, and dispel the gloom that now prevails, and the thick darkness which now covers the land, in regard to the slavery of the African race.

The following letter from BENJAMIN LUNDY to the present editor of this paper, is the only account we have had from him for the last four months. It shows, in a forcible manner, his devotion to the cause in which he has been engaged for eleven years, and the privations and sufferings he is willing to endure to promote it. *St. Antonio de Bexar, (Texas,) 9th mo. 8th. 1833.*

Dear Friend—In the hope (and scarcely even hoping it, either) that this may reach thee, I pen thee a few lines. It is the first opportunity that I could yet avail myself of since my embarkation at New Orleans.

After a long and tedious passage, I reached Brazoria, in Austin's colony, in good health; but there, as at Nashville, I found that awful scourge, the cholera, raging violently, and was again immediately attacked by it myself. By the aid of Dr. Parrish's prescriptions, however, I held it in check, though I was sorely afflicted.

Many died while I was detained at Brazoria, which was several days, and more have since died, and fled. I understand, indeed, that the town is literally deserted by the inhabitants! The pestilence spared neither age, sex, nor condition—all were alike the objects of its fury, and undistinguishingly hurried to the grave! It was almost a miracle that I escaped. But although I got partially rid of it before I left that place, it attacked me several times since, and occasioned much suffering and detention. I travelled on foot and alone, often from ten to twenty-five miles, without a house, partly under the rays of a burning sun, and partly through drenching rains, with a knapsack weighing from twenty to twenty-five pounds; and it frequently compelled me to stop for a day or two, in order to

recruit my exhausted energies, worn by excessive fatigue and the wasting effects of cankering disease. Many a time I have been necessitated to sleep on the wet ground, in the open air, with no bedding but my thin cloak, while in this condition.

But time and paper would fail me to give thee an adequate idea of the difficult and dangerous vicissitudes through which I have passed. I am now at the former capital of Texas, in good health. The place is, in a direct line, about 400 miles west of the United States boundary; and (the way that I came) about 270 miles from the place at which I landed. From hence to the present seat of government of Coahuila and Texas, the distance is not much under 300 miles. One hundred and sixty miles of the road passes through an uninhabited country. This part of the journey I cannot venture to perform alone; and have waited here more than two weeks for company. I expect to have some in a week or ten days, and then hope soon to know the result of my mission. The prospect before me is flattering; and I shall press on until I know fully what may be accomplished. The country quite answers my expectations—indeed far exceeds them in many particulars. How soon I shall now have it in my power to return home, it is impossible to say; but in all probability I shall be able to make much better speed when I get into the settled country beyond the Rio Grande. It is probable that I may return by way of Matamoras, and thence by sea.

From the London Patriot.

AMERICAN SLAVERY AND AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

A public meeting was held at Exeter Hall on Saturday, the 13th inst. for the purpose of exposing the real character and objects of the American Colonization Society, JAMES CROPPER, Esq. in the chair.

The chairman commenced the proceedings by stating that the object of the present meeting was, the exposition of the real character and design of the American Colonization Society, and Mr. Garrison, the representative of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, would address the meeting, and furnish some information on the subject. He (Mr. G.) was a man very highly recommended, and very highly esteemed by the respectable part of the community in his native country, and who had devoted his whole time to procuring the emancipation of the American slaves. It was probably well known that an agent of the American Colonization Society had been collecting money in this country under the assumed character, and with the expressed declaration that the great object of that society was the ultimate extinction of slavery in the United States, and the civilization of Africa.—Notwithstanding that misrepresentation had been exposed, within a very short period a meeting had been held by Mr. Cresson, in which he (Mr. C.) had had the countenance of one of the blood royal; it therefore became necessary to adopt more public means for exposing the fallacy of that gentleman's statements. The American Colonization Society was avowedly established to colonize the free people of color in Africa, or any other place which congress might direct, and consequently the civilization of Africa was

not the real object of the institution, neither was it the abolition of slavery. On the contrary, Mr. Randolph, in speaking at its first formation, said, "So far from its being connected with the abolition of slavery, it would be one of the greatest securities to enable the master to keep in possession his own property." Now, those who were acquainted with the nature of slavery, knew that it could only exist where men were scarce, and where land was plentiful. As the population of any country multiplied, it would be utterly impossible to continue slavery. It was not necessary for him (Mr. C.) to state that in this country, even if the law would allow it, slavery could not exist. Many parishes in England were paying considerable sums to send away the population. Now, if the people were not of saleable value, but on the contrary, the country would give sums of money to get quit of them, slavery could not exist in such a community as that. An increase of population, or of any article of consumption, lessened its value, and an increase of slaves would lessen their value till they were worth nothing whatever. It was in the contemplation of that state of things that the slaveholders were alarmed. They saw the increase of the American slave population—they saw that in South America that circumstance was producing the natural effect which the beneficent Creator intended it should; namely, the bringing of slavery to its natural death. It was to prevent the fulfilment of that beneficent ordination of Providence that the American Colonization Society was formed; to use the language of its distinguished supporters, "it opened a drain to take off the excess beyond the means of profitable employment." What could that expression mean? It was quite true that the slave owners could not find a profitable employment for the slaves, but it was equally true that if they were increased a hundred fold, and their freedom were granted them, they would find profitable employment for themselves. It was known to most present that the laws against emancipation, the laws against every sort of instruction and improvement of the slave population, were far more severe in the United States of America than in any other country whatever; and what steps had the Colonization Society taken in reference to that subject? None, none whatever! In Louisiana the punishment of death was annexed to any attempt to instruct or improve the slave population (hear, hear.) Was emancipation the ultimate object which the Society looked for? What was the effect which it had already produced? In the year 1790 there were 50,000 free blacks in America, and emancipation was then going on with considerable rapidity, so that in 1810 they had increased to 186,000, and had they gone on in the same proportion for twenty years longer, they ought to have amounted to 584,000, but when the census of 1830 was made up, the number was only 319,000; so that, owing to some change of feeling in America, 265,000 were now left in slavery who would otherwise have been set free. The society had done every thing in its power to strengthen the prejudice entertained against the free colored population, (hear, hear.)

Mr. Thompson then introduced to the meeting Mr. W. L. Garrison, as the accredited agent of the New England Anti-Slavery Society.

The chairman begged to read a letter, which

he (Mr. Garrison) had received from T. F. Buxton. It was as follows:—

"My dear Sir,—I must trouble you with a line to excuse my non-appearance at the meeting to-morrow. The fact is, critical as has been the state of our great question often before, perhaps never was it so critical as now. My mind is intensely occupied, and every moment of my time so full, that I should be sacrificing my duty to this paramount object if I allowed any thing else, however pressing and interesting, to divert me from it at this the crisis of its fate. But you know my complete unity in the objects of your meeting, to which I most cordially wish all success. My views of the Colonization Society you are aware of. They do not fall far short of those expressed by my friend Mr. Cropper, when he termed its objects *diabolical*. Nor will you doubt my concurrence in the efforts of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, or any *Anti-Slavery* in the world.

"Wishing you therefore, all success, and entreating you to tell your countrymen, on your return, that we in England are all for the *Anti-Slavery*, not for the *Colonization* people, I am, my dear sir, with real esteem,

"Yours very faithfully,

"T. F. BUXTON."

"51, Devonshire-street, July 12, 1833.

Mr. GARRISON then rose and said, that he had long since sacrificed all his national, complexional, and local prejudices, upon the altar of Christian love, and breaking down the narrow boundaries of a selfish patriotism, he had inscribed upon his banner this motto: "My country is the world—my countrymen are all mankind." (Applause.) It was true, in a geographical sense, he was in a foreign territory; still it was a part of his country. He was in the midst of strangers, but still surrounded by his countrymen. (Applause.) There must be limits to civil governments and national domains.—There must be names to distinguish the natural divisions of the earth, and the dwellers thereon. There must be varieties in the form, color, stature, and condition of mankind. All these might exist, not only without injury, but with the highest advantage. But whenever they were made the boundaries of human disinterestedness, honor, friendship, and love, they were as execrable and destructive, as, otherwise, they were beautiful and preservative. No where, he was sure, would a more united response be given to these sentiments, than in that hall, and by those who were assembled on that occasion. (Hear.) What exclamation had they put into the mouth of the African captive, kneeling in his chains with his face turned imploringly heavenward? It was this—the most just, the most thrilling, the most irresistible—"Am I not a man and a brother?" (Cheers.) Yes! though black as murky night, though born on a distant shore, though degraded and enslaved, though ranked among the beasts of the field—still, "a man and a brother!" (Cheers.) Noblest device of humanity! Wherever, in all time, a human being pined in personal thralldom, the tones of that talismanic appeal uttered by him would be borne very swiftly by the winds of heaven over the whole earth, and stir up the humane, the brave, the honorable, the good, for his deliverance;—for the strife of freedom was no longer local, but blows were now struck for the redemption of the world. (Applause.) And glorious was the

FRAT JUSTINA KURT CALUMB.

prospect before them. Wherever they turned their eyes, they saw the earth quaking, and heard thunders uttering their voices. The Genius of Universal Emancipation was visible in every clime, and at her trumpet-call the dead slaves of all nations were starting into life, shaking off the dust of the tomb, and presenting an immortal beauty through the power of a mighty resurrection! (Cheers.) He had crossed the Atlantic on an errand of mercy, to plead for perishing millions, and to discharge in behalf of the abolitionist of the United States, a high moral obligation which was due to the British public, viz, by exposing the real character of the American Colonization Society. It would neither be modest nor proper for him to make a parade of the sacrifices of time, of money, or of health, he had made—nor of the perils he had risked, or the persecution encountered, or the sufferings endured, since he first stood forth as the advocate of his enslaved countrymen, not to banish them from their native land, nor to contend for their emancipation half way between now and never (cheers;) but to demand their instant emancipation, and their recognition as brethren and countrymen. (Cheers.) He should make no such lachrymal display of his losses and crosses in that holy cause; although he could give, perhaps, as long a list, and summon as many witnesses, and present as strong claims to the sympathy and regard of the meeting, as the agent of the American negro shippers in England; for he knew that in all things he came short, and he poured contempt upon all that he had endured for righteousness' sake. (Hear, hear.) Whatever might have been the trials, losses, and dangers encountered by that agent, they were such only as attended a popular cause. His (Mr. Cresson's) friends and supporters in the United States were as numerous as the oppressors and despisers of the colored population. He (Mr. G.) cherished not the least personal animosity toward that gentleman. He was sure that he could heartily forgive Mr. Cresson as often as he was wronged by him; for his memory could no more retain the impress of anger, hatred, or revenge, than the ocean the track of its monsters. (Applause.) He was sorry that the health of Mr. Cresson would not allow him publicly to discuss the principles and operations of his darling scheme, although it enabled him to hold *ex parte* meetings in favor of that scheme *ad libitum*; (hear, hear;) nay, he could even take the lead publicly in the formation of a British Colonization Society, (although it was repeatedly declared that it had not the least connexion with the American Colonization Society,) and make a long speech in its favor, at the very moment he assigned his utter physical inability as the reason why he could not hold a discussion with him, (Mr. G.) or with his gifted and eloquent friend, George Thompson, Esq.! Mr. Cresson had his best wishes for the speedy and complete recovery of his health. Mr. Cresson was constantly descanting, in the most lugubrious manner, upon the persecution which he had received in almost every part of England. And who had he arraigned among his persecutors? He (Mr. Garrison) was sure that the mention of their names would excite the smiles of that assembly. Excite their smiles, did he say? Rather let him say, excite their strongest indignation. (Hear, hear.) He who had given the noblest proofs of his devotion to the cause of

negro emancipation, whose time and talents were all consecrated to the relief of bleeding humanity, and who was conferring upon that meeting the honor of presiding as chairman—James Cropper was one of Mr. Cresson's persecutors! (Cheers.) And who was another? That most eminent and most venerable philanthropist, whose merits transcended the language of eulogy—Zachary Macaulay was a persecutor! Whose name came next on Mr. C.'s criminal calendar? A name that could not die—around which clustered the best associations of philanthropy and true greatness—Thomas Powell Buxton! And Mr. Cresson, on the principles which governed his conduct, might now rank among his persecutors another noble spirit, whose fame was as widely diffused as the air of heaven—William Wilberforce. (Cheers.) There was yet another champion of the negro race, who though named the best was not the least, and who, he (Mr. Garrison) had faith to believe, Mr. Cresson might very shortly place upon his list of persecutors—he alluded to Thomas Clarkson. (Hear, hear.) That Mr. Cresson had imposed upon the generous confidence of Mr. Clarkson was evident, inasmuch as the American Colonization Society had, from its organization, & claimed any intention of abolishing slavery, either gradually or immediately; and was pledged by its constitution to the prosecution of one object exclusively, the removal of free persons of color; and yet Mr. Clarkson, in his letter of December 1, 1831, addressed to Mr. Cresson declared, "this Society seemed to him to have two objects in view:—first, to assist in the emancipation of all the slaves now in the United States; and, secondly, by sending them to Africa, to do away the slave trade, and promote civilization among the natives there." Mr. Cresson was a respectable gentleman, but vastly overrated his own dignity and importance in supposing that he was a special object of persecution. He (Mr. G.) cherished as strongly a love for the land of his nativity as any man living. He was proud of her civil, political, and religious institutions; of her rapid advancement in science, literature, and the arts; of her general prosperity and grandeur. Still he must accuse her of insulting the Majesty of Heaven with the grossest mockery that was ever exhibited to the eyes of a just God, of proscribing nearly half a million of free colored people, and seeking to drag them thousands of miles across the ocean on a hypocritical plea of benevolence; of pursuing an extensive and laborious domestic traffic in human flesh; of kidnapping a hundred thousand infants annually the offspring of slave parents; of plundering two millions of human beings of their liberties and the fruits of their toil; and, finally, of a cold and cruel indifference to the accumulated wrongs and sufferings of her colored population, assiduous in extenuating her piratical acts, and determined to slumber upon the brink of a volcano which was in full operation. In reply to the miserable defence for her conduct, namely, that slavery was entailed upon her by great Britain, he would quote the burning rebuke of a distinguished advocate of freedom, who never spoke on that subject but he "showed words of fire and fire,"—he meant the eloquent Oration of Mr. Garrison. (Cheers.) Mr. Garrison then entered a minute account of the origin, progress, and tendency of the American Colonization Society. One of its vice-presidents and

influential supporters (General Mercer, of Virginia,) who was a slave holder, who had recently declared upon the floor of the Congress that he would not live in the United States if a general emancipation took place, and who voted for the admission of a new slave state (Missouri) to the Union, thus opening a territory of more than sixty thousand square miles for the unlimited sale and enslavement of his own species, had been styled, by Mr. Cresson, "the Wilberforce of the American Congress!" (Hear, hear.) Had not a greater aspersion been cast upon that venerable name by the enemies of the abolition of the foreign slave-trade? The hardihood of the act was equalled only by that of the managers of the American Colonization Society, in requesting that the portrait of its president (a slave-breeder, from whose plantation slaves had been sold and driven off in chains to the Mississippi) might be hung up in the Aldermanbury Anti-Slavery office, by the side of Thomas Clarkson's! Wilberforce associated with an unrelenting oppressor, who successfully exerted himself to open a new market for slaves—for the prosecution of that diabolical traffic which Wilberforce had spent the best energies of his life to destroy! And Clarkson, with a negro-breeder, who speculated in human flesh and sinews! The insult was not merely a personal insult; it was an insult to the British nation (cheers;) it was an insult to the virtuous and good throughout the world. (Cheers.) The emancipation of the slaves was an object foreign to the American Colonization Society; and surely it was not wonderful that an institution originating in a slave-holding state, managed by slave-holders, managed by slave-holders, and supported by slave-holders, should pledge itself not to seek the abolition of slavery. Nor is it wonderful that it should hold slaves as sacred property, or denounce abolitionists as incendiaries and fanatics, or slander the free blacks in order to justify the detention of the slaves in bondage, or reiterate the stupid falsehood that Africa was the native country of American-born persons, or applaud those diabolical laws which forbade the instruction of the blacks, or insist on the banishment of the liberated slaves. Nor is it wonderful that such a Society should defy justice, proclaim eternal hostility to the free people of color, discourage their improvement in the United States, deride the power of the Gospel, trample under foot the precepts of Christ, blaspheme the God who made the heavens and the earth. He (Mr. Garrison) could not stand, like Mr. Cresson of defraying his own expenses; for Mr. Cresson was opulent, but he was poor. All that he had, however, was dedicated to the cause of negro emancipation. But he was obliged to say that his mission was supported principally by the voluntary contributions of his colored brethren. He stood there as their birth-piece, and with their blessings resting upon his head. Persecuted, derided yet noble people never could he repay generosity and love to theirs. It was not possible for the mind to utter, or the tongue to utter, baser calumnies than the Colonization Society had propagated against their character. Their condition was as superior to that of the slaves, as the light of heaven was more cheering than the darkness of the pit. (Cheers.) They had flourishing churches, under the pastoral care of persons of their own color. They had public and private libraries. They had temperance, debating,

moral, literary, benevolent, and saving societies, and a multitude of kindred associations. They had infant, Sabbath, primary, and high schools. Many of their number were in highly affluent circumstances, and distinguished for their refinement, enterprise, and talents. (Applause.) Among them was taken a large number of daily and weekly newspapers, and of literary and scientific periodicals, from the popular monthlies up to the grave and erudite North American and American Quarterly Reviews. He had at that moment to his own paper, *The Liberator*, more than one thousand annual subscribers among the people, and, from an occupancy of the editorial chair for more than seven years, he could testify that they were more punctual in their payments than any five hundred white subscribers whose name he had placed indiscriminately in his subscription-book. (Great cheering.) In short, although mountains of prejudice were piled upon them, they were rising up from the earth with more than Titanian strength, and trampling beneath their feet the slanders of their enemies.

One of that calumniated class was then on the platform, the Rev. Nathaniel Paul, a gentleman with whom the proudest or best man on earth need not blush to associate. (Cheers.) He was happy in pointing to him as a specimen of that class, "out of which," the Colonization Society maintained, "no individual could be elevated, and below which none could be depressed." He (the Rev. Mr. P.) was the representative of the Wilberforce settlement in Upper Canada, which, though formed under appalling circumstances, was steadily advancing in prosperity, and which received the cordial approval of the abolitionists of the United States. To that asylum many a poor slave had already escaped, and others would follow in their track; and by its proximity to the slave system, it would hasten the downfall of oppression. (Hear, hear.) It richly merited the sympathies and charities of the British public. The American Colonization Society had inflamed and sanctified malignant and unholy prejudices, seared the consciences of the people as with a hot iron, in many cases directly prevented the instruction of the free blacks, and induced the enactment of laws prohibiting emancipation. The number of slaves annually liberated before the Colonization Society was formed, was at the rate of seven to three emancipated since that period. Thus the Society had evidently caused the detention of hundreds of thousands of slaves in worse than Algerine bondage. (Hear, hear.) He had pointed out to the meeting the great bastille of prejudice and oppression. He had given them a view of its dark front, its massive walls, its ponderous gates, and its wretched victims, who, through the iron grates of their cells, were making signals and uttering cries for relief! Let the people of England assail it with the battle-axe of justice; let their artilleries of truth, charged to the muzzle, blaze against it; let them dig a mine under it, and prepare a train for its destruction; and soon deliverance would be given to the captives, and the prison itself would be blown into countless fragments. (Cheers.)

After Wm. Lloyd Garrison had concluded, a few remarks were made by Thompson and Paul, after which O'Connell delivered one of his characteristic speeches, in which he did not spare his republican friends in this country.

THE SIN OF SLAVERY.

BY ELIZUR WRIGHT, JR.

Immediate Emancipation.

Since I have shown so little respect for a scheme considered by the bulk of Christian community, as the last resort, and the only hope against the system of slavery, it may be expected that I should point out something better. The expectation is reasonable and shall not be disappointed. Under the government of God, as exhibited in this world, there is but one remedy for sin, and that is available only by a *repentance*, evidenced by reformation. There is no such thing as holding on to sin with safety. It is not only to be renounced, but the very occasions of it are to be avoided at whatever sacrifice. If thy right hand cause thee to offend, cut it off—if thy right eye pluck it out. The dearest human relationships are to be broken through when they interfere with the relation which a man bears to God, and through him to his rational creatures. This being the case, we might naturally expect that the entire agency which God has provided to reclaim the world should be adapted to produce *immediate repentance*. It certainly is so, if we take the testimony of the Bible. When the Apostle of the Gentiles attacked idolatry, he said, "The times of this ignorance God winked at, (that is, used no special agency to prevent it,) but *now* commandeth *all men every where to repent*. The living ministry, instituted by the author of Christianity, and propagated from age to age, was designed to reform and save the world by preaching repentance—immediate, thorough repentance.—When it gives up this message, whatever other means it may use, it does any thing but reclaim men from sin. Throughout all the recorded messages of God to men, he expresses the utmost abhorrence of sin—there is no compassionate promise even, which is not based upon the condition that sin be forsaken as an abominable evil. The entire and total wickedness of men, is the subject of the first paragraph in every exposition of Gospel grace. Those men who are so excessively cautious not to disturb prejudice, who would remove sin while the wicked are asleep, stealing around the bed and affecting a *reformation* beforehand, so that the sinner may repent at his leisure without hindrance when he wakes, derive their authority elsewhere than from the word of God, as indeed they must derive their hope of success elsewhere than from the natural history of man. The doctrine of the immediate abolition of slavery asks no better authority than is offered by scripture. It is in perfect harmony with the letter and spirit of God's word.

The doctrine may be thus briefly stated. It is the duty of the holders of slaves immediately to restore to them to their liberty, and to extend to them the full protection of law, as well as its control. It is their duty equitably to restore them those profits of their labor which have been wickedly wrested away, especially by giving them that moral and mental instruction—that education, which alone can render any considerable accumulation of property a blessing. It is their duty to employ them as voluntary laborers, on equitable wages. Also, it is the duty of all men to proclaim this doctrine—to urge upon slaveholders *immediate emancipation*, so long as there is a slave—to agitate the consciences of tyrants so long as there is a tyrant on the globe.

Though this doctrine does not depend, in regard to the slave holder, upon the safety of immediate emancipation, nor, in regard to the non-slave-holder, on the prospect of accomplishing any abolition at all upon the commands of God, yet I shall attempt to establish it upon those lower grounds. I am willing to rest the cause on the truth of the following propositions.

1. The instant abolition of the whole slave system is safe, and the substitution of a free labor system is safe, practicable and profitable.

2. The firm expression of an enlightened public opinion, on the part of non-slave-holders, in favor of instant abolition, is an effectual, and the only effectual means of securing abolition in any time whatsoever.

1. *Immediate abolition is safe.*

Were I speaking to a Christian public, who believed half they professed, I would not insult them by a labored argument on this point. It would be enough to have shown that emancipation is the duty of slave-holders, to arouse these Christians to plead the cause of the oppressed, even at the peril of dungeons and gibbets. But the Christians of this age; must have not only a "thus saith the Lord," but a guarantee—safe as a real estate mortgage—that the performance of the duty shall not injuriously affect certain temporalities, which, taken together, little and great, are supposed to make up the public wealth. No matter how many millions writhe in the last distress, the public safety is the paramount claim, the supreme law, and of this public safety, not God, but the public, is to judge. With a thoroughgoing Christian of the apostolic school, whatever is right, is of course *expedient*; but with the modern baptized "gnat strainer and camel swallower," nothing is right, which cannot be wire-drawn through his own apprehension of expediency. For the special benefit of such, I proceed to this argument.

The immediate abolition of slavery is safe because without giving to slaves any motives to injure their masters, it would take away from them the very strong ones which they now have. Why does the white mother quake at the rustling of a leaf? Why, but that she is conscious that there are those around her, who have been so fully enough provoked to imbrue their hands in her blood, and in that of her tender infant at her breast? And this, while all is cringing servility around her—while every want is anticipated and the most menial services are performed with apparent delight. But well she knows, that it is a counterfeited delight. Well enough she knows, that were she subjected to the same degradation to which she subjects others, vengeance would fire her heart, and seek the first occasion to do its fellest deed. All the instincts of animal nature cry out, that oppression is dangerous; the natural history of man cries out that there is a point, beyond which endurance would be miraculous.

But the slaves are now, not only under the motives common to humanity, to throw off the yoke, but they are urged on by the boasts and taunts of their masters. They must either yield up every pretension to manhood, and contentedly think themselves brutes, or they must apply to themselves, and be aroused to action, by those panegyrics on liberty, and that proud contempt of slavery, which meet them on every side. No matter how many laws may be thrown around

slave to keep out every ray of knowledge—may prevent the knowledge of letters—you withhold the book of God, and every other good book—but you can no more shut out knowledge of the fundamental propositions of human rights, by laws—you can no more shut out the spirit of liberty, than you can, by law, prevent the sun not to shine, or the rain not to fall. In all their movements, their elections, their elections, their orations and congratulations, on all occasions—are living and preaching sermons to the slaves, on the value of knowledge. Does a tyrant, as for example the autocrat of all the Russias, who wishes to keep all his subjects quiet, harangue, in their hearing, the value of his own liberty to do as he pleases—does he condemn those who have the willingness to submit to his despotism? Or, does he speak of his love for his people, as having induced him to take this course or that? and attribute all his actions to an ardent devotion to the public weal? Manifestly, the latter. Why, might as well think of keeping powder for use amidst the sparks in a black-smith's shop, as of keeping slaves for ever in such a republic. It is said, and with evident truth—abolish the slaves, and they are free. The slave-legislatures, aware of this, and alarmed at some feeble individual attempts to communicate knowledge to the slaves, as if the universal justice and despotic power of the individual masters were not sufficient to repress the evil, have enacted LAWS AGAINST TEACHING THE SLAVES TO READ. This is a most capital blunder. It is a solemn pledge, that such tyranny as theirs shall be swept from the face of the earth; had they left the matter alone, or had they made laws for educating slaves, about as operative as the school laws of some of the states, the effectual degree of ignorance might have been secured. As they have, in effect, taught the slaves, in language which they can understand, what letters are good for—what printed books can do for men. And there will now be a desire to acquire letters, and to read printed books, which the inquisitorial power and skill of all the popes cannot repress. It might as well be expected to stop the ocean from wetting its shores, as to prevent the floods of printed books from reaching the slave population.

There is another very striking point of view in which these movements may be regarded. So long as the slaves are left entirely to the control of individual masters, some kind and lenient, some now and then a slave, and promising freedom to others, and exercising a sort of patriarchal authority, while others are, each in his own way, more harsh and severe, the unity of the slave population, as a body is broken. They have no common cause. Every conspiracy will be detected early, by means of those who, being kind-treated, have a blind attachment to their masters. But these legislative enactments are a new mode of non-oppression. They form the slaves into one single body, give them a common interest, and destroy the claim of individual kindness, as well as such, in the view of the slaves, an immeasurable importance to a knowledge of letters. They then, tyrants—connect into one mine of explosive materials beneath you—dry the powder—increase the pressure—lay trains of the most fulminating mixtures, and wait for the explosion, or the blow that is to annihilate you. Alas! you have your abused, outraged vassals such

motives to rid themselves of your yoke, that your knees smite together in spite of the boasted stoutness of your hearts. Go on, then, refuse to emancipate, add insult to injury—add stings to desperation—make death easier than bondage—for, in so doing, you assuredly hasten the day, when the American bill of rights shall mean what it says.

But if you recoil at the prospect—if sanity has not yet bid adieu to your heads, and the milk of human kindness is not quite dried up from your breasts—look at the other side. Immediate emancipation would reverse the picture. It would place a motive to love you in the room of every one which now urges the slaves to hate you. They would then become, for you well know how grateful they are for even the slightest favors, your defenders instead of you murderers. The law which now represses their crimes, would then more effectually secure their good behaviour, not being counteracted by the exasperating influence of individual, irresponsible oppression. Your fields which now lie sterile, or produce but half a crop, because the whip of the driver, although it may secure its motion, cannot give force to the negro's hoe, would then smile beneath the plough of the freeman—the genial influence of just and equitable wages. Mark, that I say nothing of the amount of human happiness which might be reared by Christian instruction on this ground of justice, mercy and equal rights applied to 2,000,000 of men. Your own estate would be worth double the cash. The capital which you have expended in slaves—scarcely less than the value of your land—is sunk; for your slave labor after all costs more than free. And besides, the waste arising from involuntary labor is prodigious. Make all labor free, and the purchaser can afford to pay for your land what he must now pay for your land and slaves together. Even in a pecuniary point of view the change from the slave to the free labor system would be profitable, and that upon your own comparison.*

Do you say these are idle speculations of men who know nothing of facts—the dreams of visionary enthusiasts? Do you say the remedy would be worse than the disease? that violence, rapine, murder—nay, universal massacre, would be the consequence of universal, immediate emancipation? Gentlemen, you mistake us much and our argument more. We are matter-of-fact people, and on the ground of well attested, unmagnified, undistorted facts, we defy you. Show us the stain of a single drop of any master's blood shed by any emancipated slave! Why silent? Why dumb? Why no motion of the finger?—Do you at length venture to point us to St. Domingo? It is too late. We have a better edition of the history of St. Domingo than yours, and one which you dare not impugn. The blood of the whites shed in St. Domingo was due either to the civil wars which preceded the act of emancipation, or to the unrighteous attempt of the French to reduce the negroes to slavery after they had quietly enjoyed their liberty for SEVERAL YEARS. Not one drop of it was shed by that act which in a moment made 500,000 freemen of as many slaves. Nay, it is testified by French proprietors themselves, that

*See the "West India Question, by C. Stuart," where this subject is admirably discussed and for ever settled.

the negroes, without a known exception, went directly to work for their former masters, on wages—and even without wages or overseers they quietly cultivated those plantations which had been deserted by the whites. St. Domingo is a blazing beacon in favor of instant abolition, and against that monstrous infatuation and fiendish cruelty, which would attempt to repress the upward tendencies of the human soul by brute force.

In the French colonies of Gaudaloupe and Cayenne, the slaves were liberated at once and with the same safety. Mexico made her slaves free at a blow—but with the galling drawback that the masters should be remunerated for *their loss!* and yet we have heard of no evil consequences.

Large bodies of slaves were emancipated at once, in Columbia, during the revolution—no blood was shed but that of the enemies of the republic. There are 600,000 enfranchised Africans in Brazil, diffused throughout the body politic, enjoying its *honors* as well as doing its labors—who are respected and happy—no blood shed. In the colonies of Sierra Leone and Liberia, it is notorious that considerable bodies of emancipated slaves have been incorporated into regular governments—and under very unfavorable circumstances.

I might fill a volume with instances, but I repeat it, we are not only matter-of-fact people, but we enjoy a complete monopoly of facts; that is to say of all *past* facts, for of the future we say nothing, any more positively than we would predict the sun's rising to-morrow. We would speak modestly here, and say, that inasmuch as the sun has always risen once in twenty-four hours, the probability is, to our minds, that he will rise again to-morrow. Those may doubt our prediction who please. Just this and nothing more we would say in favor of immediate, unprepared for emancipation. We *know* it always has been safe, and we confidently *expect* it will always be so. If such emancipations as I have referred to, in most or all of which justice was hampered and partial, were safe and happy, I beg to be told whether a complete and magnanimous act of justice on the part of our own country, by which the slaves should be placed under the equitable government and firm protection of law, and by which the balm of our disabused bill of rights, should be applied to their lacerated feelings, would result in ruthless violence and butchery! He who can be persuaded of any such thing—nay, he who can fancy it must be something else than a *natural* fool—he must have been *stultified* by *inoculation*.

Holders of stolen men! do you still point us to the degraded free blacks of the South, and say they are more miserable than the slaves? We deny the assertion. We appeal to yourselves whether there be any suffering even unto death which you would not endure rather than be slaves—rather than to be fed and fattened slaves—rather than to wear a single link of the slave's chain—rather than to submit to slavery even in the abstract principle, apart from all matters of reality. But granting the assertion to express a fact. You are not the men to plead it. You have made this fact with your own blood-stained hands—made it for the very purpose of disparaging the slave's freedom in the view of the slave, and the view of the world! This shall be proved from your own lips. J. A. M'Kinney,

Esq., says, "Let them [the free blacks] be treated ever so much, the law gives them no redress unless some white person happen to be present to be a witness in the case. If they acquire property, they hold it by courtesy every vagabond in the county; and sooner or later are sure to have it filched from them."

But what if it were true, that the free blacks at the South is more miserable than the slaves? It would be no argument against that emancipation for which we plead. We plead for no *turning loose, no exile, no kicking out of house and home, but for complete and honest justice*. Justice requires the masters who have shut out the light of knowledge from the slaves, should now freely communicate it; they should follow up their acts of emancipation by giving *employment* and affording the means of *education*. A wise and vigorous system of free labor, and of primary instruction, should be immediately erected on the dark pile of oppression, which we urge them instantly to demolish. Nothing like this has been done heretofore either at the South or the North, on any extensive and liberal scale. Is it a wonder then, that the poor enslaved men, when thus turned out, have in so many instances missed the path of moral and mental improvement? Is it not rather marvellous that they have not sunk, as a class, deeper in vice than we find them? We hold the masters bound, individually and in aggregate, first to **LIBERATE** and then to **ENLIGHTEN** the IMMORTAL MINDS that have been darkened and debased by their avarice and lust! Justice hitherto has been clogged, defaced, mutilated, but the day of her power rolls on.—Her sun is above the horizon!

Shame on you, *proprietors of men!* Do not add to your inhuman cruelty the useless hypocrisy of professing to wish the free blacks to be free for their own good! Say, in plain English, we cannot be much longer deceived, that your sole object is to rid yourselves of colored men, lest your slaves should be provoked to demand themselves men, and discover that they too have *rights*. Shame on you too, benevolent color-brothers! Do not add to your unchristian prejudice the gratuitous sycophancy of doing their deeds for men-stealers! Say in plain English, for it will be believed whether you say it or not, that you succumb to arrogance, and are obedient to the Master in whose name you have been baptized.

If, after reading these thoughts, any mind should feel a lingering doubt respecting emancipation, instant and unconditional, be it mine, I beg such a mind to hold its decision in suspense till further facts, which have been countably shut out from the public eye, be brought forward, which, I trust, will be in a distant day.

*See his speech in the African Repository. See also Mr. Brodoux's speeches before the Virginia legislature, and Mr. Archer's speech before the American Colonization Society.

INDIANS.

The Pottawattamic Indians have ceded their lands on the west side of Lake Michigan &c. being about 5,000,000 acres, and have agreed to move west of the Mississippi within five years.

Ladies' Repository.

Philanthropic and Literary.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

MATRON OF EASTERN VIRGINIA.

Over this signature, a lady of the south has published a very well written and pathetic appeal on the discussion of the question of abolition, abounding in all the phantasms of terror which have been conjured up to fright the friends of emancipation from the path of humanity and justice. We doubt not that, in the present instance, this panic has been deeply felt; and we regret the pain induced by the cause-terrors, while we scarce forbear to smile at the strange misunderstanding which is displayed in the designs and feelings of the northern abolitionists. We do not wonder that there should be dread and dismay in the bosoms of southern sisters at the thought of the slavery which exists among them; we do not think they have any cause for alarm, and we can sympathise warmly with their feelings; but we do think the danger is not in the discussion of the subject, but in seeking for security in adding length and weight to the fetters of the slave, instead of breaking them at once from his limbs. The peril cannot be removed by shutting their eyes to it, though it may enable the consciences of those whose injustice is the cause of all that danger, to still slumber on in the unperturbed slumber of guilt. It is these, it is all who have been concerned in upholding slavery, (and who our nation has not?) that the abolitionists of the north would rouse from their fatal slumber, and invite to the holy task of loosening the fetters of the oppressed. But deeply, ardently as they desire this liberty, they would shudder more deeply less than the southerners themselves at the attempt of the slave to enfranchise himself by violence; and they would deprecate, on far nobler and nobler grounds, the employment of any other means than the triumph of moral principle to effect that object. Those to whom the cause of humanity is dear as their own lives, do not but esteem as precious every drop that flows through the veins of those who, however guilty, are still their brethren; and still less could they cherish a thought of approval towards the theme of violence that would involve not only the oppressors themselves, but helpless woman and sinless infancy in its undistinguishing retribution. It is a peculiarly fortunate circumstance, proving the utter groundlessness of the allegations of the abolitionists aiming at the excitement of rebellion in those whom they commis-

serate, that they almost uniformly deny the lawfulness of all war; they cannot, therefore, wish to awaken it in its most horrible aspect, and in a cause in which they have no other interest than that which is stirred in their own hearts by the claims of humanity, justice, and religion.

We give below some paragraphs from the article of which we have spoken; and we cannot but repeat our regret, that any portion of our sisters of the south (for we cannot believe that all of them do so) should entertain such sentiments on the subject of slavery and emancipation.

"Shut your eyes no longer, my countrymen, *the Union is threatened*; and all the blessings it confers, and which our fathers suffered and died to attain, must perish with it. Scorn not the feeble voice of a woman when she calls on you to awake to your danger, ere it be for ever too late. We are told that the citizens of the north would arouse our slaves to exert their physical force against us—but we cannot, we will not believe, the shocking, foul, unnatural tale. What! have the *daughters* of the south inflicted such injuries on their northern brethren as to render them objects of deadly, exterminating hate? Have helpless age, smiling infancy, virgin purity, no claims on the generous, the high-minded, and the brave? Would they introduce the serpents of fear and withering anxiety into the Edens of domestic bliss, bathe our peaceful hearths with blood, and force us to abhor those ties which now unite us as one people, and which we so lately taught our sons to regard as our pride, and the very palladium of our prosperity? No, we cannot believe it. We cannot be so unjust to the enlightened and humane citizens of the northern states, as to suppose for a moment they approve of the course pursued by those reckless agitators who seek to inflict such cruel calamities on the south. The poor slave himself merits not at their hands the mischief and woe which his mistaken advocates would heap on his devoted head. No; the northern people are too well acquainted with historical facts, to condemn us for evils which we deprecated as warmly as themselves, but which were ruthlessly imposed upon us by the power of Great Britain."

Is the system of slavery still imposed upon the south "by the power of Great Britain?" If they still so "warmly deprecate its evils," why do they not make some effort to remove them? Why do they so dread the interference and assistance of the north? Let those who "side by side fought and bled in defence of their common country," whose "united wisdom was exerted to form our glorious constitution and those republican institutions, which (so justly) are our boast and the safe-guard of our liberties," once more unite, and remove from that bedeviled country the foul blot which disgraces her. Will they who dared and endured so much in resisting injuries, which in comparison with those inflicted on the slave, were less than the sting of the mosquito

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

to the tortures of the inquisition, do and dare nothing to retrieve their own injustice?

"Deluded emancipators of the north, we now appeal to you! We deprecate slavery as much as you. We as ardently desire the liberty of the whole human race—but what can we do? The slow hand of time must overcome difficulties now insurmountable. An evil, the growth of ages, cannot be remedied in a day."

True; lingering years will be insufficient to remove all the evils resulting from the system of slavery; but there must be a day for the commencement of the remedy, or it can never be applied; and if there is danger, now, in meddling with the subject, that danger will be still further increased by procrastination.

"Our virtuous and enlightened men will doubtless effect much by cautious exertions, if their efforts are not checked by your rash attempts to dictate, on a subject on which it is impossible that they can form a correct judgment."

It is strange, that with the precepts of the Christian gospels spread before them, the northern people should be told that they cannot form a correct judgment of what is right. If the minds of either party are liable to be warped into error, it must certainly be those on which interest and the prejudices of education and habit have the strongest claim.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

TO A*****.

My own Annette! my own Annette!
How often turns my thoughts to thee,
And those sweet hours when erst we met,
And shared our thoughts in converse free.

Around me the soft moonshine pours
A quiet flood of silver light;
And thus o'er memory's hoarded stores,
The star of thought is gleaming bright.

Yet, though long years have glided past,
Since last thy hand was clasped in mine,
The chain that friendship o'er us cast,
Hath felt no link of love untwine.

And we may meet in other hours,
And love where we have loved, again;
And talk of all the early flowers
We gathered on life's by-past plain.

But there are stronger ties than ours,
Remorseless rent by cruel hands;
Torn hearts, o'er which no future hours
Shall fling again the severed bands.

Oh! let us weep with those who weep,
Beneath oppressions crushing hand;
And in our thoughts their anguish keep
Who till in tears our guilty land.

GERTRUDE.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation

TO A STRANGER.

I know thee not, young maiden, yet I know
there must be,
Around that heart of thine sweet ties of clinging
sympathy;
Dwell'st thou not midst thy childhood's home
loved and loving one,
Around whose path affections light hath
sunshine thrown?

A sister's arm is round thee twined, perchance
oh deeply blest!
A parent's fond and holy kiss upon thy brow
pressed;
A brother's love—is that, too, thine—a gem
priceless worth,
To guard thee like a talisman amid the storm
earth?

Then blame me not, that I should seek, although
I know not thee,
To waken in thy heart its chords of holiest
pathy;
It is for woman's bleeding heart, for woman
humbled form,
O'er which the reeking lash is swung, with
red current warm.

It is for those who wildly mourn o'er man's
broken tie,
As sweet as those which swell thy heart
happiness so high;
For those whose hearts are rent and crushed
foul oppression's hand,
The wronged, the wretched, the enslaved
freedom's chosen land.

Oh lady! when a sister's cry is ringing
air,
When woman's pleading eye is raised in
nized despair;
When woman's limbs are scourged and
midst rude and brutal mirth,
And all affections holiest ties are trampled
earth.

May female hearts be still unstirred, and
their wretched lot,
The victims of unmeasured wrong be
forgot?
Or shall the prayer be poured for them, the
be freely given,
Until the chains that bind them now from
limb are riven?

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation

A DIALOGUE ON SLAVERY.

MARY AND RACHEL.

Mary. You are an emancipationist, Rachel, and yet you like not the Colonization Society by what means, then, would you get rid of slavery?

Rachel. By the simple act of doing justice by substituting freedom for bondage.

Mary. But how is this to be done? It is to talk of enfranchisement, but those who acquainted with the subject, speak of emancipation as a wild and ruinous scheme, which could be effected, would be productive of the greatest evils.

Rachel. There are some who profess to be acquainted with the subject, who will indeed tell you so; but reflect upon the subject for a few moments, and say if your own reason does not convince you of the unsoundness of their arguments. Will they who toil patiently for others, not labor for themselves? Would they whose forbearance is maintained under the pressure of severe injury, clutch the throats of their benefactors?

Mary. I should suppose not; but at present their labor is compulsory, and their forbearance enforced by the unlimited control of their masters; were they released from their present restraints, ungoverned as they must be by the stricter rules of moral discipline, what security would there be against the evils that have been apprehended. You have read Dr. Porter's opinion upon the subject?

Rachel. I have; but it has had no influence over my own. I still think immediate emancipation the wisest and safest, as well as the only upright course that can be pursued. I am aware that the slaveholders themselves at present do not think so, and that emancipation in the way I speak of, cannot be effected without their consent. But their sentiments may be changed, and do not at any rate affect the argument.—But do not, my dear Mary, bewilder your mind, as appears to be the case with some, by fancying that emancipation from the terrible slavery which now oppresses so many of our fellow creatures, signifies also an exemption from a judicious and necessary restraint, which must of course be more or less rigid as circumstances may dictate. The law which now yields to the master an unnatural degree of power over his fellow creatures, would lose no degree of its supremacy by transferring the power of punishment into the hands of the civil magistrate, and taking the slave under its own protection as a human being. And surely this might be done; they might cease to be ranked with the ox and the plough; the whip might be thrown aside, and the traffic in their flesh abolished, if their masters would consent, without danger of any violent convulsion. In the continuance of slavery there is *certain* peril; it *must*, if persisted in, sooner or later produce rebellion and massacre, while the terrors of the opposers of emancipation are excited only by an improbability, which they apprehend may recur, and are warranted by no precedent in history.

Mary. But the slaveholders will not consent to the immediate resignation of what they term their property.

Rachel.—And this, not the danger, forms the principal difficulty. But do they show any more willingness to accede to a system of gradual abolition, or abolition of any sort? Do they not cling to the whole guilt of slavery? The object then is to effect a change in their sentiments, and to bring their sentiments to influence their actions, and this may be done, I believe, as readily in favor of immediate as of gradual emancipation. And even if the whole point cannot be obtained, at least nothing will be lost by taking this ground. They must yield something to the public feeling; and if justice only, pure unwarped justice, is required, even though they should fall short of all they ought to do, they will probably yield more, and certainly not less, than if a lower standard had been adopted,

and the requisitions of justice made to succumb to prejudice and interest.

Mary.—I believe you are correct. I think after the first excitement is past, an unbending adherence to the principles of pure justice, and the religious precepts which enforce them, will win more respect, and create no more opposition, than a course more blended with worldly policy.

Rachel.—And I hope that both yourself, and every other female, will maintain only such sentiments in this cause as are consistent with the requisitions of the Christian gospel.

E.L.A.

FREE LABOR PRODUCTS.

We are truly glad to perceive that anti-slavery men are more generally waking up to the duty of abstaining from the products of slave labor. "By their fruits shall ye know them." Goods uncontaminated by the blood and tears of the bondman, may be obtained in this city, as advertised in our columns. It should be remembered that this is the lever which has been so effectual in moving public opinion in England. Let Christians ponder on a coming judgment, and do unto others as they would that they should do unto them.—*New York Emancipator.*

NEW PUBLICATION.

"An Appeal in favor of that class of Americans called Africans. By Mrs. Child, author of *The Mother's Book, The Girl's Own Book, The Frugal Housewife, &c.* Boston: Allen & Ticknor. 1833. pp. 232."

We have read this work with great satisfaction and delight. The author has taken up the subject of slavery from its commencement, and discussed it with her usual ingenuity and candor. The work is dedicated to the Rev. J. May, of Brooklyn, Conn. It is divided into eight chapters, with the following heads:

1. Brief history of slavery.—Its inevitable effects upon all concerned in it.
2. Comparative view of slavery in different ages and nations.
3. Free and slave labor—Possibility of safe emancipation.
4. Influence of slavery in the politics of the United States.
5. Colonization Society, and Anti-Slavery Society.
6. Intellect of negroes.
7. Moral character of negroes.
8. Prejudices against the people of color, and our duties in relation to the subject.

Mrs. Child is an abolitionist, and she has vindicated her sentiments in this work with great ability. She avows herself an opponent of the Colonization Society, and a friend of the Anti-Slavery Society. The remarks upon the comparative merits of the two societies evince a discriminating judgment, a philanthropic heart, and an independent mind.—*Liberator.*

Use of Tobacco.—It is stated in the French papers, that by mixing tobacco juice with the pitch and tar used in paying the seams in a ship's bottom, the attack of worms and destructive insects will be prevented, and coppering rendered unnecessary.

PRUDENCE CRANDALL.

This enterprising and philanthropic young lady has been *tried* and *convicted* by a court in the state of CONNECTICUT, after all the usual formalities of examining witnesses, hearing counsel, and the delivery of a charge from his Honor the judge, of—readers, what do you suppose? Not of stealing, nor breaking *the peace* and dignity of the state—but of teaching *young women to read and write*. Truly this is a very *enlightened age!* And CONNECTICUT, so far famed for her colleges, and seminaries of learning, has taken the lead in causing *her light to shine!!!* A jury of that *enlightened* state has convicted one of her daughters of endeavoring to impart literary instruction to females! Truly, “where the *light* that is in us becomes *darkness*, how GREAT IS THAT DARKNESS!!!” The greater the opportunities we possess of knowing what is right, the greater the depravity which can produce such palpable violations of the decencies of civilized society, as have been exhibited in the persecutions to which this virtuous young woman has been subjected.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison, on his return lately from New York to Boston, called to see P. Crandall, whence he proceeded to make a short visit to his friends at Brooklyn, Connecticut. He gives a short account of the *call* made on him while at the latter place, which we copy from the *Liberator*.

Acknowledgment.—Just before midnight, on Sabbath evening last, in Brooklyn, Connecticut, the deputy sheriff of Windham county, in behalf of those zealous patrons of colored schools, those plain, independent republicans, those high-minded patriots, those practical Christians,

**ANDREW T. JUDSON,
RUFUS ADAMS,
SOLOMON PAINE,
CAPT. RICHARD FENNER,
DOCTOR HARRIS,**

presented me with five indictments for a panegyric upon their virtuous and magnanimous actions in relation to Miss Crandall's *nigger school* in Canterbury, inserted in the *Liberator* of March 16, 1833. I shall readily comply with their polite and urgent invitation to appear at the Windham County Court on the second Tuesday of December, to show cause why, &c. &c. As they have generously given me *precept upon precept*, I shall give them in return *line upon line*—*here* (in the *Liberator*) a little, and *there* (in the *court room*) a great deal.

Miss Crandall's school is *not* broken up, but is “in the full tide of successful experiment.” It is worth a trip across the Atlantic to visit it. The editor of the *Liberator* had the pleasure of examining it last week, and means to tell something in its favor, more at length, in another number. He saw the stone which was thrown into the window by some unknown republican of Canterbury—the shattered pane of glass—the

window curtain stained by a volley of rotten eggs—and last, not least, a moral non-descript though physically a human being, named A—T—J—. He advised Miss Crandall to treasure up the stone and the curtain, and let the broken pane remain; but he thought it desirable that A. T. J. should be suffered to go large for the inspection of a curious public.—A

LEXINGTON, (Ky.) Oct. 23.

Singular Circumstance.—Late on Saturday night, a black man knocked at the dwelling house door of the mayor, and requested an interview with him. He was admitted by the servant, and his business being demanded, he requested of the mayor to be sent to jail; but made no explanation for so singular a request. The mayor stated to him that it would be difficult at that time to find the proper officer to commit him, but that if he would proceed to the jail, he did not doubt that he would obtain admission, and that if he did not, either of the watchmen, on application, would confine him in the watch house until morning. With this instruction the man proceeded to the jail, where Mr. Megowan, the jailer, and was admitted and confined. Early on Sunday morning, an inquiry was made to learn the cause of such extraordinary conduct, when it was ascertained that the negro belonged to Mr. Samuel Patterson, residing a few miles from the city, and that on the evening previous, in a fit of rage, he had struck at his wife with an axe, and inflicted a wound in the abdomen from which she soon after expired.

FREE PRODUCE.

JOSEPH H. BEAL has removed his store from 41 Fulton street, where he formerly kept, to 376 Pearl street, New York, where he intends to keep a general assortment of goods, the product of free labor; including Groceries, Dry Goods, Cotton Cloths, Shirting, and Paper made of linen rags, which he will sell, wholesale or retail, upon the best terms he can afford.

This establishment will probably be the most extensive of any of the kind in the United States, and the diligence, punctuality, and industry of the proprietor, who has engaged in the business from principle, will give satisfaction to all who have dealings with him. We hope this establishment will be extensively patronized.

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Vol. XIII.

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