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ANNEX

THE NEW YORK GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

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EDITED BY R. LUNDY—PUBLISHED IN WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE—\$1.00 PER ANN.
ASTOR, LENOX AND

"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.*

TALBOT FOUNDATIONS

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 a 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 I 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 that 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 human flesh and blood, is about to be exploded among the honest devotees of republicanism,—as that of the divine right of kings, and the infallibility of prelates, has in the modern schools of 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, as 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 also 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 best 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 its 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 recover if 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 beauty of address have hitherto adorned and enriched the "*Ladies' Repository*," will continue to supply her department as usual. Our friends are, therefore, expressly 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.

Of 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

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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 slumber, and pour into the Congressional chamber 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 sit in the halls of the National Legislature. The members of that body will obey the voice of their constituents, in the case before us, when the 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 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 retired, after the exhaustion of so many hours, without presenting the petitions with which they were intrusted.

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 sixteen 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 cogently 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 not serving up milk to stomachs, illly prepared to bear 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 says:

"The idea of slavery, when associated with cruelty and injustice, is revolting to every philanthropic mind; but when that idea is associated with justice, and benevolence, slavery, commonly so 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 broken between the ideas of slavery, and injustice, is extremely difficult to conceive.

Those, however, if any such there be, who can elevate their conceptions to this point, will find no difficulty with this paragraph, or that which succeeds it; except being "of the common class of whites, denominated free," they might repine a little at their degradation below the condition of a black slave:—that they are "more corrupt; less productive; and yield less support and benefit to the State than the slaves, may be true—and the intelligent philanthropist perceives 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 indispotion. 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, and frequently a relaxation, or want of natural excitement 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, after 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 degradation 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 us, 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 quartermen 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 fallacious, 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 contrivance!—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 noticed 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 Dr. Silas Hamilton stands enrolled among the genuine philanthropists of the age. Why was not the name of his equally worthy Lady also 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 neighborhood of Natchez. He had not owned them long before he felt it his duty to manumit them, but how to accomplish this consistently with the interests of the community, 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 them 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 paid them a visit, and saw painful reason to fear that he had conferred upon them a very equivocal benefit.

But his feelings and the feelings of his amiable wife had become so much interested in their behalf, and in behalf of their unfortunate race, that they determined to devote the remainder of their lives and fortune to the improvement of their condition. To this end, they purposed purchasing land in Illinois, and establishing 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 pursued by the illustrious Fellenberg of Hofswyl in Switzerland. Dr. H. informed the writer that he could without difficulty procure gratuitously any number of young slaves, say 80 or 100, in Mississippi and Louisiana, from masters who would esteem it a privilege to make so good a 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 thirty 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 his

project. He had purchased a tract of land near the junction of the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, was erecting his buildings, and had with him a portion of his emancipated slaves. I have not since heard from him, but think it of importance to communicate even thus much to the public, both for the sake of the example, and that Dr. Hamilton 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 sentiments, from the editor of the Boston "*Liberator*," he says:

"We regret that he should oppose the only practicable means of raising the black man from a servile state.—The condition of the blacks in the Northern 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 surely it requires no argument to show, that plain oral instruction is the most direct way to give 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 greatest clog to the wheel of reform—they place the heaviest incubus on the bosom of humanity—they point the deadliest shaft to the heart of philanthropy—in short, they are the most inveterate foes of justice and equity. With all the influence of their "holy office," arising from the respect accorded to their sacerdotal functions, they trample, with iron heel, the rights of their fellow men, and anathematize their brethren in bonds. It is in vain they attempt, by words, to disclaim the odious tyranny of soul, while their acts speak, with trumpet tongues, the oppression they exercise.

I will now take leave of this *reverend* gentleman, after quoting another short article from the "*Liberator*," in which he is, deservedly, handled without mittens.

INSTRUCTION OF THE BLACKS.—In our last number we promised to an-madvrt upon some outrageous doctrines maintained by the editor of the Richmond Religious Telegraph, affecting 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 arguments reiterated and at greater length. Our limits 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 inallible 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) endorse 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. ~~It~~ We would offer them no such inducement." Here is the love-foot of colonization—here the spirit that is hubbing 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 these 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—trafficking 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 every individual who uses the produce of slave labor encourages the slave-holder, becomes also a participator in his wickedness, and gives 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. Lundy; he stated many important things, for our 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 this meeting be given to those white friends, who have honored us with their presence and advice. 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 those 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 observe, 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. James 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 this 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, relating 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 limits are too narrow to review it at present. This, 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 enable us to present our readers, shortly, with an interesting view of the prospects of our Colored Sister Republic. The tone of public sentiment, there, relative to the system of slavery, and the

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. *Oh! 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, Boekcastle 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. Yantis, 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 Presbyterian; 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 meted 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 Essequibo, 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

tens 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 malediction rolls from eternity's breath,
And her battle-song breathes of defiance and death!"
To use the language of the great Jefferson, well may we "tremble for our country, when we reflect that *God is just*, and that his justice cannot 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 negroes 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 not 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 PRINCE, 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 stupor 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 rife you too, of your heart's brightness? Ob, 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 demonic 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 conscience of some cruel barbarian. Think how you would tread 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 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 visit, 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 never, 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 dimly.

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

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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. Lætitia 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. Lætitia 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*,

Lætitia 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 thro' 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,
Hath touch'd my spirit like a spell,
And sooth'd me back to joy and mirth,
When darkness else had round it fell.

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 but 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,
The bosoms of others with pain to wring—
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 fetter, 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 vaporing 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 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 villainess, 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

Plat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

Its proud folds in the dust, or only float
The gates 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 thy 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 wail in 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—
Until 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. V. R.

"The *American Spectator* is connected with the African Education Society. The Society are 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.—Those, therefore, 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 pecuniary interests. Its general character, however, will remain unaltered; and with regard 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 repeat, and we hope it will not be forgotten, will, 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! far thee I fondly cherish
Th' experience 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 Raby, 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 Raby 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 Havans, 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 1799 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, or 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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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. (G) Post-masters will please attend to this notice. The Post-Office in Washington forwards the paper under this regulation.

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. 2. VOL. II. THIRD SERIES.] JUNE, 1831. [WHOLE NUMBER 266. VOL. XII.

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 yet 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 but another evidence, that nothing short of unremitting perseverance, can accomplish the righteous work—and such can say "come brother" 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 coerced, 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—nor is this 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 exercise 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 same 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 ethicks 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 us, because we cannot point out our Statesmen, and Lawyers, we are called an inferior race."

"Finally, we hope that those who have so 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 not be removed but "with their own consent."—Can they blame us if we attach the same credit to the declaration, that they mean to colonize 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 their deliberations. Our space does not permit us to go into detail; we will not, however, resist the desire to extract a resolution offered by the 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 the part of the several governments of christendom, and that both Humanity and Religion, invoke all conscientious and enlightened statesmen to consider and adopt more effectual measures, for putting down forever this abominable traffic."

We can most heartily respond to the sentiment of this resolution; and we remain to be, as we have ever been, of opinion, that though all means may "work together for good," the most effectual, for "putting down the traffic" abroad, is TO PUT IT DOWN AT HOME.

The preacher who says, "do as I say—not as I do," may be praised for his wit; but he, who shews in his practice, that he believes his own precepts, gives proof of wisdom—he makes proselytes. The permission of the domestic, and interdiction of the foreign slave trade, is ob-

Fiat 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, Berbice, 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.
Bermuda,	5,500	4,650	500
Bahamas,	4,000	9,500	2,800
Jamaica,	15,000	331,000	40,000
Virgin Isles,	860	5,400	607
St. Christopher's	1,809	19,500	2,500
Nevis,	800	9,000	1,800
Antigua,	2,000	30,000	4,500
Mont-Serra,	500	6,000	700
Dominica,	800	14,500	3,600
Barbadoes,	15,000	81,000	5,000
St. Vincent's,	1,300	23,500	2,000
Grenada,	800	24,500	3,700
Tobago,	350	12,700	1,200
<i>Crown Colonies.</i>			
St. Lucia,	1,100	12,500	4,000
Trinidad,	12,500	23,000	16,000
Honduras,	300	2,450	2,800
Demerara,	3,000	70,000	6,000
Berbice,	600	21,000	1,000
C. Good Hope,	43,000	35,000	29,000
Mauritius,	8,000	76,000	15,100
Total,	108,150	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 mix'd blood	426,000	
Free Blacks	159,000	
		1,428,000
Black Slaves	1,725,000	
Slaves of mixed blood	202,000	
		1,930,000
Indians		259,400
		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 practice 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, to 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 jubilee, 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 vexatious tyranny over the persons and properties of every colored person, whose oath can in no case be admitted as evidence against a white person. Policy and self-preservation require, to render the co-operative system beneficial, that slaves must be kept under wholesome and just restraint, which must always create some degree of resistance more or less to Patriarchal authority; to counterbalance which, the interest and co-operation of the free colored people, is absolutely necessary, when the white population is scanty."

"The Policy generally pursued by our own 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 in 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, must still remain a slave! and what a dreadful feeling of general resentment must originate from such a source of injustice! No wonder (with such laws) at the universal antipathy and detestation against slavery, thus identified with tyranny and the most oppressive cruelty."

In page 12 he asks—and as we think, from a well reasoned conviction of human wants—a

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 purport 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 arraying 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 least 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.

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 insidious 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—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 despised, 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 meed of our thanks to the "slaveholder who has offered the gratuitous use of a farm, for the accommodation 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 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, once 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 most emphatic to release this heaven-born desire from its prison house, and let it again proceed with its work of beneficence—a work which by every other instrument may be attempted in vain. It is certain that to improve the condition of liberated slaves, it is necessary to elevate 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;—

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 liberality of sentiment which needs but to be diffused through the ramifications of society, to make our country *really and truly*, what it is *nominally*, a Republic, whose advantages are dealt out by even-handed justice;—whose citizens know no dependence, 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.

MR. 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 long, 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 evinced 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 all appearance 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 so 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 all 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, in spite of 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, or rather to conform to the letter of the law;—if, 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, law considers him free. If now, he has 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 by profession a dealer in human stock; he sends him to some southern market,—and thus, he 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. We will only state facts: if others want comments they must make them.

"OUR JAIL."

"There were recently committed to our jail, as slaves, two colored persons who have proved 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 leathsome 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. But as these individuals have been detained in defiance of law, we say to their oppressor, LET

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 shows 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 \neq 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 sympathized, 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 comport with their popularity."

The essayist again adverts to the obstacles interposed by sectarian 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 accordance 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 superintendance, 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 advocates 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 intemperate 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 hedges 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? If 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 gulf 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 as this would, indeed, be unwomanly, and though many of our countrywomen have been, for a time misled, by misrepresentation, habit and 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 much more disgraceful to the character of the sex. If 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, assumes the claim of ownership over her brethren and sisters, and the right to task, to scourge, and to

sell 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 a desire to escape from a participation in the guilt of their bondage! Is it less suited to the woman'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 horsewhip to incessant toil in the open fields 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 awaken 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 apineness of our own white countrywomen. The one enter 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. Ligonney, 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 "Noa" 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 reiterate is slavery! this is the slavery of the United States! this is the slavery for which they are all in 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 forrest 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 unsepulchred!—and drive
The newly blest ones from their scarce found joys
Of home and social love to be again
Sed 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 arm
And goods his sinews to their daily toil,
With the keen lash, or, in the market place,
Bids him be numbered with the brute and sold!

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 FEEL that the acknowledgement 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 ebon 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 in 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 shades—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. S.

From the Liberator.

THE BLACK AT CHURCH.

God, 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?
 This 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.

In that blest fount have I an equal claim
 To bathe, with all who wear the stain of sin?
 Or, 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,
 To which the master and the servant go
 To sing the praise of thine eternal love.

There, will my buyer urge the price of gold
 Which here, for this uncomely clay, he gave,

That be 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.

Ah! while we are richly blest,
 They are wretched and distrest!
 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 unbiased 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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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, 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 in Washington forwards the paper under this registration.

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. 3. VOL. II. THIRD SERIES.] JULY, 1831. [WHOLE NUMBER 267. VOL. XII.]

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 other 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, shall stalk on the one hand, and apathy, with chilling scowl, sit frowning on the other.—*Fidus et 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 fifty* new subscriptions have been received within 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 printer 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 advertg 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—injuring in bacchanalian carousals, and chanting pems 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—say, 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 *secrecy* and *plain dealing* will rouse our countrymen from the stupor of lifeless apathy into which the great

mass of them have 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. *U—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 soul-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 Persecution*—more than have gone to Africa in thirteen years!

The northern colored people are more friendly to this plan of removal than any yet proposed. Their sentiments, generally, are pretty fairly expressed in the address of the Convention, published by J. W. Allen, (not the son of Bishop Allen, as erroneously reported,) and 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 the

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 pious 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
Is 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!
And so 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 awhile,
A 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.
Still 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 laid
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 hoghead 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 hoghead of Molasses, on one of the wharves in the city of Boston, a few years since!

● ● AFFAIRS IN HAITTI.

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 cix. 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 the 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 or sentient beings, capable of rights; but as chat-

*Stephen. †African Observer.

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

teils, the civil character of which was absorbed in the dominion of the owner."²

"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.'"³

The same idea prevails in regard to the negro slave of the United States. He is treated in all respects as chatties, 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 anything 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."⁴ 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."⁵ 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

²Reeves on the Colonial Slave Laws.

³Stephen. ⁴African Observer. ⁵Stephen.

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*, "soth 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 Rust 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 consummation 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, by 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 our acquaintance to join with us in attempting to mollerate the situation, to instruct, to enlighten, and to save."—*Mrs. Judson's appeal for Burman Missionaries.*

The above forcible and eloquent appeal cannot apply more strongly to the situation of those for 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 Burmah, 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 own 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 and 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 grasp 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, unspeaking 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.

TRIPLES.

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 wonted 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 deep

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 us 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.

Woe 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 warm 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.

Woe 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.

Woe for the dark brow'd slave!
Bow'd to the dust beneath 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 hush with pealing shout, [bells,
And cannons 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 softer 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 conquerors. 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 it 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 splendid palaces and her exquisite scenery, 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 wearing 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 rose-hues of the sunset fade from the height of her pinnacled glaciers. Returning at length to the land of our own home, we go back to the scenes of her early days. Her romance consists not in antiquities—it is in her freshness—her vast unpeopled 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, that lay moored beside her shores, seeming to the minds of the untutored natives like a being sent from Heaven. Alas! how soon were those 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 unrelenting hatred! Then comes up the remembrance of another scene. The first Slave Ship 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 human 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 them; and the echo of the driver's keen thong went up to heaven mingled with the groans of his tortured victims. And these are the recollections which our country has to offer for our hours of reverie! Injustice, bloodshed, and oppression! Well may we turn our thoughts away from her past years, when her early light was so soon darkened by the foul blot that still rests upon her with its deep stain of iniquity.

BERTHA.

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 hoard,

Bearing no trace of man's cruelty—save
The red life-drops of his human slave.

List thee, lady! and turn aside,
With a loathing heart from the feast of pride;
For mixed with the pleasant sweets it bears,
Is the hidden curse of scalding tears,
Wrung out from woman's bloodshot eye,
By the depth of her deadly agony.

Look! 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.

Yet 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
Muse. 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;
Unled 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 ascend,
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-
nate 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 estab-
lishment of mercantile stores, in various
places, for the purpose of vending such articles,
by 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.

New 'tis evn,

And on the pearly sky her lustrous star
Gleams in its brilliancy, like a bright thought
In a rich page of poetry—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,
Wrung 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 no man is justifiable in depriving us of the one more than of the other. If a slave holder takes the life of his slave, he is amenable to the laws 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 query 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 obviate 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 that "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 U. States, and one by no means uninteresting to your colored and neglected countrymen.—On this great festival of civil and religious lib-

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, sir, 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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Joel Wierman—York Springs, Adams Co. do.
Lindley Costes—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 Willson, Jr.—Alamoucky P. O. Sus-
sex County, do.
Mahlon Day—No. 376 Pearl-st. N. Y. City.
John Lockwood—Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
James Adams—Albany, do.
Charles Marriott—Hudson, do.
Abijah Purinton—Troy, do.
Thomas Shotwell—Marengo, do.
John I. Wells & Son—Hartford, Conn.
R. T. Robinson—Vergennes, Vt.
William Lloyd 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, 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 in Washington forwards it under this regulation.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED BY E. 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 listless apathy of careless unconcern, or the turmoil of party strife! Do they consider that it is yet *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 Chalmers, Esq. Mathew Hines, Ulysses Ward, Wm. Drake, George Crandle, Benjamin Lundy, William Greer, Philip Williams, Samuel Shryock, 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 signers. 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: yet 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 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 figers 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.

Reverberate 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 prone
His form upon the earth, thy chilling gloom
Sorn'd to the wretch the sentence of his doom—
Say bear'st thou witness to no heart-wrung groan,
Bursting from silent bosoms, when the hand
Of tyrant power hath sever'd from the band
Of the earth's boldest and bravest 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!

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

Tege her, 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 shud!

Not 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 vices, 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 contumacy; that every peal
Of triumph, may be answer'd with a shout
Of biting mockery, and our stary flag,
Our glorious banner! may, dishonor'd, drag
Its spread folds in the dust, or only float
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 filthy 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 stones
Is dashed by thy shadows—and the cry
That thrills so fearfully upon the air,
Which 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 of "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 reformations have been promoted, and this 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 the slavery existing in the southern states; and I ardently wish some plan could be fallen upon, or 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 so 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 do

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. 14th, 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 drawing 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 unequal privileges by their own free acts, except it be for an especial purpose, and but for a limited time."

Another gentleman, 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 hand 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."

1827 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 adventing 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 *plague*, and the occasion, which had often witnessed their peculiar gestures.

It is not to be supposed that slave-holders, who fill the stations 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 spoliator 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 thus endeavouring to whitewash the character of this 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 we regard the highly improper conduct of this Clergyman and his assistant. Without notice, without the least suggestion, without legal warrant, they burst into the house of Dr. Barber, one of our most respectable citizens, seized on the girl who was his hired servant, and although she made no resistance and begged not to be ill treated, immediately put her in irons (tho' they were taken off soon after.) So sudden an invasion of the sacredness of a pri-

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, say 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 *læthifera*, 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 in vain 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 such 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. Chambers, and the woman as the slave of Wilmer. The infant, being born in New Jersey, is free by law. They were afterwards imprisoned in Kokersperger’s tavern, in Federal street, near the arsenal, and from thence removed to the debtor’s apartment 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.

COLORED 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 Swain, 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 un-earthly region with his pestilence, or to shatter its strong foundations and overturn their rock-bound Isle! Even the Haytian 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;

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 500,000 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 rise out of tep. 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 Magney, 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 Cacics 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 300 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 are considered by the great mass of the people as 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 Mexicans, but the wealth and knowledge of the Creoles will perhaps balance for a long while the numbers and votes of the Indians. The Mestizos, although siding with the Indians, form a mutual link of 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 Bentin's project for the acquisition of Texas.—Ed. G. V. E.

Ladies' Repository.

Philanthropic and Literary.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

CRUELTY.

"I would not number in any 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 un pitying 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 restless 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, untingering 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 such action to their wishes, as may enable justice to know her own adherents; and can they be otherwise 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—that we recollect at present never—conversed with any person upon the subject, who did not acknowledge that if abstinence from slave produce 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 fine 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

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, a 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 groaned 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 pluck their cause, to set the captive free.
Lo! 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.
Come feeling heart and view the tragic scene,
Come 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,
Or while the sultry hours by them are spent,
In pretty prattle, by some golden brook,
Or 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 wo,
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 wafted o'er!
Or why this western world at all explor'd,
To prove the seat of wo—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 Clarkson's 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—then peace shall flow.
God bless our states, unite them in a band.

We are pleased with 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, bushing 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.

ELIA.

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 exertions amount only to a cypher? Do they anticipate the future, and see ascension 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 retreating; 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.

ELIA.

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.

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.

33-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 laid.
Feelings, to nature true,
Have prompted the tear to start;
List! 'tis a mother's 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 years, 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 be, 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 unstrain'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 transferred 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 runaway; 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 steambos 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.

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 villainies 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 kidnaping and the slave trade have doubtless always and in all countries accompanied slavery.

There is a law in Exodus (21: 16) against kidnaping,—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 kidnaped and sold when a child. The crime evidently was not unrequent 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 ABNE GREGGORE.—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 enapture 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.—C. V. 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, Sommersville, 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 PRINCE, 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.

33—A few copies of the Eleventh volume, complete, for sale.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED BY E. 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. 5. VOL. II. THIRD SERIES] SEPTEMBER, 1831. [WHOLE NUMBER 269 VOL. XII.

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 Parker's house, before day, to their disposition 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 last 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, the 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 negroess 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 entering 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 assure 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 allude to 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 he 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 represented, 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 last day of July being a Sunday, and not as the negroes in Southampton 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 set 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	3,043
Greenville,	2,056	4,802
Sussex,	4,153	7,729
Surry,	2,642	3,952
Ile of Wight,	4,904	5,735
	19,884	30,261

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 in 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 confusion 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 10th inst. speaking upon this subject, has the following remarks. We are glad to see a little mercy mingled with the sweeping prescription 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 Welch Bards. On occasions like the present, however, when the public mind is excited, and alarm becomes 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 seasonable 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 superintendent,) 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 gang, 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-Indian husbandry. "He offered two-pence halfpenny (currency), or about three-halfpence (sterling,) per day, with the usual allowance to holders of a dram with molasses, to any twenty-five of his Negroes, both men and women, who would undertake to hole for canes an acre per day, at about 96 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 infirmity and inability; but the ground having 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 exp-

* In corroboration of the practicability of such a plan of operations, we here insert the following. It 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 eagle'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 his 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 he soon found they did not do as much work as half that 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 into 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, next 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 so 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 these

ments 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 volutary system, became the general practice of the estate.

In the year 1785, it appears that he adopted the system of working by the piece. 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 Villeinage, which, he says, was "the most wise and excellent mode of civilizing savage slaves." There were in those days three classes of villeins. The first or lowest, consisted of villeins in gross, who were alienable at pleasure. The second of villeins regardant, who were *adscripti glebe*, or attached as freehold property to the soil. And the third or best, of copyhold bond men, who had tenements of land, for which they were bound to pay in services. The villeins 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 100 yards of the building, he saw his labourers all on the spot, who immediately enquired: "Mansa T. what shall I do?—Mansa 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 caprice 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 villen 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 traveller’s purse wrested from his hand—the ocean freebooter, for the crews, 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.” “Liberally” 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 it 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 it is to be carried through your country by secret agents, who are to come amongst 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 circulating 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.

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 gentry, 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 Guechupins, next Republicans and Imperialists, latterly Federalists and Centralists, under the nicknames of Scots and Yeknow; but now, in 1833, two great parties are springing up, much more likely to divide the whole popu-

lation, while formerly Creoles and Spaniards were the main partisans. These two now (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 most population. They are nicknamed *Genes racionales*, or unsocial folks, by the Creoles, whom they call in return, *Sons of the Guechupins*.—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 Cortes; they say their ancestors the Mexicans, were overthrown by their foes the Tlascalans 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, starved 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 imposing upon them new saints or idols. But now these tyrant Guechupins 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 senate.

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 Guechupins or Spain, no money paid for the acknowledgment of independence, or so Guechupins 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 exemptions of the priests, paying them a moderate stipend. This sentiment has many partisans 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; say, 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 pretences are offered. Many liberal Creoles are joining themselves to the country party, and others are joining 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 Nestor, 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 Bustamante, who, although a man of talents, is too autocratic, 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 sided 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, *untenable to the Constitution*, of 160 millions of acres, or 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 Mexicans to buy or pawn 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 scalps 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 sit on the base 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 America vessels; and some disabled ones allowed to rot in New-Orleans, the Spanish troops well received, retrained, 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 alienate 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 youth, 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 10,000 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 Choctaws, 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 asylum, 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 wherein 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 2d, 3d, 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, port-folios, 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, where works on the subject of Slavery have not yet found their way, or have obtained little or no attention to their contents; 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, 11, 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,
 - Shooting 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 Port-folio, contain 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.

Silk Work Bags,	2. d.
Do. with clasps,	7 0 each:
East India Cotton Bags,	8 6
Albums,	2 6
Port-folios,	12s. 6d. & 10 6
Port-folios with Engravings,	6s. 0d. & 5 0
Purses,	7 6
Seals, (a Negro, Legend, "Am I not a Man and a Brother," or "Am I not a Woman and a Sister,")	1s. 6d., 2s., 2 6
Sermon, "Relieve the oppressed,"	1 0
Evening at Home,	9 0 doz.
Yambs, by Mrs. H. More,	0 4½ each
Short Review of the Slave Trade and Slavery,	0 6 doz.
Memoirs of a West India Planter, by the Rev. J. Riand,	2 6 each.
The System, by Charlotte Elizabeth,	5 0
Cropper's Map,	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 REWLEY, 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, Haggot-street;
- BEEKE, Angier-street;
- RYAN, Inns-quay, &c. &c.
- KINAHAN, & Co. Carlisle Buildings;
- SANDFORD, Great Britain-street;
- WELSH, Dams-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 Barbice; 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-

deserving 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 strength, 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 1823, 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 towns 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 unalienable right—until that liberty we boast of shall be possessed, in its purity, by everyone who inhabits 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 laws—upon 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 abhorrence." More particularly, we "call upon the venerable prelates of our religion to do away this iniquity, let them perform a lustration to purify the country from this deep and deadly sin."

AMELIA.

Philadelphia, 3th 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 doubtless 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 and importance of the moral reformations which might be effected, through the combined exertions of her gentle influence and steady

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 the negro boy had been brought into S. I.'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 my body 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 I have 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
Have 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 Africa'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,
When'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 woudest not I weep,
Within 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-wave
shone;
Then gasping in the slave-ship's hold we lay,
And wished each groan might bear our lives away.

Ah! thou canst never know
Of all our sufferings in that leathsome den,
And from the cruel and hard-hearted men,
Who mock'd at all our anguish and our woe;
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 cover'd 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 woudest 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.

"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 sull'rens languish,
Doom'd to slavery's galling chain?
'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 sull'ring 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—and how
It sweetens life—how dress, and deodates
Would be this terrene world; how dull, how sad,
How wretched mankind, without this cement
Of the soul. We also talk'd 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.
Turn 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 dream'd of misery or woe.
Nor manacles, nor chains, nor dungeon's glooms.
We talk'd of those, who for foul, desperate,
And dreadful crimes, 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 talk'd 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, fild 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 reprobation, 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?

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 Freeman 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 miscreant 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 an 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 erase a syllable which the paragraph contains.

"No one laments more the occurrence of such scenes as the Southampton massacre, than the writer of this 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 were the Southampton negroes guilty? Of putting to death men, women, and children. For what object? Plunder? No—there is no evidence that such was their object. On the contrary, almost all the accounts concur in stating that they expected to emancipate 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 deciding one another.

Ed. G. U. Egan.

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 errons.*

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 "Bahama 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 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, September 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. Ed. 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 Criterion 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 individuals:—Mrs. Elizabeth Greenfield, near Natchez, Mississippi, 18; Mr. Williams, of Elizabeth City, N. C., 8; Gen. Jacobs, 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. Cesar 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, authorizing 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 portage

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 enterprises 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 such 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 150,000, 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 six 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 conspired 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 an inch 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 PIRACE, 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 the 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 ten dollars remitted to the Editor, in current money of the United States.

All letters and communications intended for the 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 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 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 vainly 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 a 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 beneath 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 pacific means? Do the fierce tempests of passion, aided by physical violence, or the softer appeals of reasonable argument and moral persuasion, tend most to humanize the savage heart of man?

IGNORANT 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 ignoramus, whom chance has elevated to public notice, or the accompaniments of wealth and flexibility of principle have endowed with impudence 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 hitherward. 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 slavish 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 affected admission of ignorance, with a little mean ridicule of contemporary opponents, suit the prosing dullards far better than a manly, spirited, intelligent defence of 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 paragon*—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.—"Et in 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 responses of

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 siding 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 Colonizationism. 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 opposer 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 Inquiries," 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 unskilful 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 reparitions, 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, red 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 to boot!

This leads to a survey of Mexican agriculture. No country is more favored by nature. Lowlands 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 or 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, and other places, where Indians are land holders upon a moderate quit rent. These estates are variously appropriated; some are mere cattle 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, mango, vanilla and cochineal are also perennial staples, well cultivated by the Indians in some districts. The other agricultural produce are indigo, pimento, tobacco, 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 best land 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.—Thus 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 as usual in the train. Between two great oceans, they will turn their attention after the peace to greater 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 Americans, 95 English, 50 French. The English trade has since greatly increased. Several ports are open on the east and west shores, yet it is said that the imports and exports have fallen in amount since the revolution. This may be ascribed to the cheaper value of the imports, and the 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 19 per cent. before. 2.—Quicksilver for amalgamation has been made duty free. 3.—Several local mints have been established; formerly all the bullion was to be coined in Mexico alone. Besides 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; North 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 seeded 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 lately, 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 *Citizien* 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 billion of population: it was 290,000 in 1528. 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, Zaacatecas, Hunzatecas, 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 clever, 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 Comanches, 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 at once 40 miles inland, if he comes in summer, will be perfectly safe. The *Venito* priet, or Black Vomit, 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. Nine tenths of the country are healthier than the most healthy parts of the United States, not being liable to consumptions, fevers, nor rheumatisms.

Taking every thing connected with this subject into view—the advantages enjoyed by colored people, in the Mexican Republic, and their present precarious situation here—we feel warranted in devoting a considerable space in our pages to an illustration of the state and condi-

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 slaves 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 ungenial 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 *slavistic* character and logic (as far as it goes) was never presented to the public. We could indulge in a little mirth at the expense 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 strook
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 beside 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 withheld 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 sterile 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 be left upon another, that shall
not be taken away." ANELIA.

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 channels
sleep,

While lights and shades play on them with
each breath

That moves the calm still waters; when the fly
Skims o'er the surface and all things beneath
Gleam brightly through the flood, and fish
glance by

With a quick flash of beauty—when the sky
Wears a deep azure brightness, and the song
Of matin gladness lifts its voice on high,
And mingled harmony and perfume throng
On every whispering breeze that lightly floats
along.

'Tis sweet to wander forth at such an hour,
And drink the spirit of its loveliness;
While on the brow no shadowing care-clouds
lower,

And on strong wing the free thoughts upward
press;

Yet there are those whom nature cannot bless,
With all her varied beauty;—such are they,
Whose cup is drugged with pain and sore
distress

By their own brothers' hand, and the quenched
ray
Of whose lost hopes spread gloom across the
brightest day.

Lo! where, like cattle driven by the lash,
Forth to their wearying task in groups they go;
The mother, lifting up her hand to dash
The tear-drops from her cheek, that still will
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 eve.

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 oppress,
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 hardy-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 erred 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.

E. A.

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.”

Barlow’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 Olio.

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.—ED. G. V. 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 careless 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 wretched laurel bears;"

if his highest ambition be to grovel with brutes; 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 are 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 colored, and the other white: he who works the cheapest and best, will get the most custom. In making a bargain, the color of a man will never be consulted. Now, there can be no reason why your sons should fail to make as ingenious and industrious mechanics as any white apprentices; and when they once get trades, they will be able to accumulate 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 43 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 7*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 copyhold-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 be 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 reviewer 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 it 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 these profits consisted.

Mr. Steele informs us, that his superintendent had obliged him to hire all his hoiing at 3*l.* currency, or 2*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.* sterling, per acre. He was very much displeas'd at these repeated charges; and then it was, that he put to trial, as I have before related, the question whether he could not obtain the labor of his Negroes by

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 allowances, 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 seasons. 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 be learned as a theory, and to men as a paradox, that the paying of slaves for their labor 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 full 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. At the Abolition, Manumission, Anti-Slavery, and Free Produce Societies, in the United States, are invited to a representation, and are invited to participate.

On behalf of the Convention,

ROBERT P. ANDERSON, Sec'y
CHARLES S. COPE, Sec'y

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. 3d. 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 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 is 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, of 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 E. 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 respectable 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 \$30, 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 numerously 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 centennarian. 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 deprecated 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 as 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 15th 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 of 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 that portion of the petitions should be referred to the 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 it 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 here

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 unflinching 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, 832,902
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, 639,963
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,	312,676
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—896,284
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, 23,262
of 55 "	100, 11,475
of 100 and upwards,	266—153,493
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—165,862
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

569601

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, - 295
 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, advertising 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-

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 implicate 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

zens 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 clearer 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 awaking 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 insured 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 reformation soon dispel the gloom of anxiety and boding 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 *Richmond 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 being from home, we have not yet seen it.

THE CONFESSIONS OF NAT TURNER.—Mr. T. R. 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 fact. A report obtained credit that a conspiracy had been formed among the slaves near Claiborne, in Alabama. A letter from that place, in noticing 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 hand of his 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 furnish 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 *sheerless* 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 *then* 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 from 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 *St. Louis Beacon*, with the signature of *Americanus*, 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 negotiator 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 a 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 negotiator 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 non-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 *pari passu* in numerical strength with those which inhibit 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 news-

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 set 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 starts 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 hair-breadth 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 23 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 Indian 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 pecul, 133 lbs., of sugar produced. This superintendent hired people from the adjacent villages to takeoff 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 pecul. Thus the renter knew with certainty what every pecul 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 be-lieve 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

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.'

*Another case, showing that this presumption is a positive truth, susceptible of the most incontestable proof, is related by a late southern writer. We give his own words below.—Ed. G. U. Encom.

"I was informed by a gentleman who lived near the Fishdamford, 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."

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,) that no Negro works like a day-laborer in England. Another (Sir John Dalling,) that the general work of Negroes is not

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 proposed 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

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.

* That skipping is more fatiguing, and will wear out the man sooner, than moderate voluntary labor, must be admitted by all.—G. U. Eman.

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 ruffian 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 ought 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 advertent 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." If 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 no 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 abridge. 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 in 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 beautiful-
ly 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-bung 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 an-
guish spread!

Hath God's rich mercy formed the earth so beau-
tifully 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 cru-
elty and guilt?

No! never hath he meant that those within whose
forms are shrouded,
The rich and deep capacities of an undying mind,
Should 'neath a brother's foot be crushed, be load-
ed with his chains,
And drain to feed his riot waste the life-blood from
their veins!

GERTRAUDE.

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 chrystals 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 astrociously 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 of 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 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, in the bitterness of successive disappointment,

* 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 refuge 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.

* See Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society.

† See "A Picture of the Slave Colonies, drawn by the Colonists themselves."

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

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 Ethiopia. "Our community," said the legal gentleman, "is divided into two great classes: the whites, who are Cuffers, 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 as engaged for the next succeeding one, and their bills will be forwarded accordingly.

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All letters and communications intended for this office, must be addressed, free of expense, to BENJAMIN LUNDY, Washington, D. C.

It is a few copies of the Eleventh Volume, complete, for sale.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED BY E. 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 DOBDRIDGE! 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 discussed, 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. DOBDRIDGE, 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 memorial 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 bigoted 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 required 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 alarms, 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 fine 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 had spent about two years in Texas, and had 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, Coahuila 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. Emson.

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 Atascosito 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 intervals 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 these 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 as 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 pre-

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, sheephead, 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 Sabé 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 Wecos (Wacos,) whose principal village is situated on the Brazos, about 200 or 250 miles in a direct line from its mouth; and Tabuacanos (Tiwakanics) 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 Bahía. 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 endemic 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

* May, 1826.

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. 28 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 Guadalupe 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 or 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 to certain proceedings in the Virginia Legislature, on the 14th inst. Two petitions had been presented, by Mr. Ronne, 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. E.*

"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 of 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 remote 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 set out its wishes. Events 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 unreservedly, 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."

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED BY E. 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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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 *Africa 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 compensation) 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 surplus, 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 Dupré, 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 returns 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 is 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 I 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 Coahuila 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 Alamán*, 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 pretenses to make themselves master of the country, as was the case in

the Florida, 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 slaves, 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 ensure 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 lie 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 "Federation 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 seceders, 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 antagonistic 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 *moö 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, AROUSE 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 exorcise 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 vagabonds 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 Cerrill, — 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 braggadocios 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 Courier* 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 indemnity 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!

an enthusiastic as he should be. Some of the "yan-dee" 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 insertion; but (thank Heaven!) it is *too long for our limits*, this month.

DEFINITION OF THE TERM "FREEMEN."

The people of Fayetteville, North Carolina, are resolved to have a new Dictionary!—They have been scandalized long enough by the latitudinarianism of the term FREEMEN!!! Hear them!—

"A Memorial address to the legislature of this State, protesting against the right of emancipated, or as they are usually called *free negroes*, to vote for members of the General Assembly, and praying 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 sundry letters, threatening personal violence, and cautioning him to be on his guard, &c. That there are lawless wretches, who would willingly commit outrages of this nature, the editor of this work has also long since been convinced, even by "occasional demonstration." Many letters, couched in the most indecent and menacing language, and others, in the kindest spirit of anxious concern and friendly warning, have been received, from time to time. This is, indeed, calculated to discourage *chicken-hearted reformers*. It is a cheap method for bullying blackguards to vent their malignant 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 as ever. Those who embark on the stormy sea of reformation, must, first, be satisfied of the rationality and justice of their cause, and even be willing to suffer martyrdom if necessary; they will then 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 subscribed for the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*), to show the sensitiveness prevailing among some even of liberal sentiments there, at this juncture. Many 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 label, "Mad dog!" put round his neck. It cannot

travel south under such a title; nor do I recommend it to you known as its Editor to do so.—Your friends as well as yourself would be implicated.—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 BRITAIN.

The Society for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British dominions, earnestly request your attention to the present state of the question. The Dissolution 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 exertions now made, as far as human wisdom may foresee, mainly depends the continuance 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 repugnant to the precepts of the religion we profess to acknowledge. We pray you to rouse yourselves to strenuous, persevering and well-organized exertions; and we suggest for your consideration the following 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 decidedly favourable to the extinction of Slavery, but whether or not he will attend the Debates in Parliament when that question shall be discussed; herein taking special 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 remotest chance of occasioning such a calamity 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, this 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 it 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 the unalterable determination of this Meeting to leave no lawful means unattempted for 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 undeviating 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 slave 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 storekeeper 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 offer 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 detestation of slavery. How illy do such protestations 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 unfrequently the very same, reasonings in favor of his conduct. And though we would not judge harshly, and are willing to make all due allowances 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 breath'd "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 bruise'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 fetter'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 doth
swoon,
And captive lead the humble streamlet's force;
And feels secure: but when the lightning's blaze
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 shook
Beneath the Helot's grasp; and Hayti's firm
And new-born vigor the bare sceptre struck
From her oppressors' hold. Thence springs a
germ,
Which threat'ning, warns us to beware the
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
Within it tremble at a haughty word?
Approach Cupidity, with all thy gail,
And Pride and Avarice, all, ye motley herd!
Is not that fraise 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 nameless
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 *Aze*, and *Crime*?
A guilty skin hath seized, and doth unfold
His writhing body in its poison'd fold!

Say, thou pale shrinking, bloated, mass of pride,
Why dost thou shake, as tho' thy frighted soul
Would fly its prison, when the storm doth ride
In darkness round thee? Does the thunder's
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 hungry
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 slaves.

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
 Of their 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 convening, petitions are again preparing, to re-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 hope, 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 in 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 enterprise, 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 a "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 impatience of the subject. To banish it from our thoughts will only accelerate the process of our obduration. Having once become acquainted with the dreadful extremes of moral degradation and physical wretchedness which slavery entails, we shall seek in vain to secure the undisturbed enjoyment of our own immunities by 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 the love of our neighbors as ourselves. The love of our Creator and the love of our 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 true happiness is extinguished with it. When 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 in a heart incrustated with selfishness. But 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, IT 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 full weight in time or eternity. It may be long ere we have any very *alarming* perception of the advances of this retributive justice, but we may be already sensible of the rapid progress of its certain precursor

—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 Ohio.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

A TOUCH OF THE COMIC!

In a late number of the *Greenborough Patriot*, of N. C. is what purports to be a vision of "Wide Awake," in which he overhears the conversation between "Guzzle," an elector, fond to excess of a drop of the "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 highest the pinnacle of perfection, than all the 'semblies that ever succeeded us. We past several acts 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 durn'dest to keep us from it: but they could'nt do it. Some said it was poorly wuth while to send missionaries to the Injuns, and heathens, while we're a tryin to make heathens of our nigurs. And that it was scandalous to our 'semblies to pass such a law; and a shame to try to make folks believe they might come over here, and 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 our nigurs would be more likely to raise ructions 'mong us if we kept them ignorant, and in a savage state; and that they have nothing to prevent them from cutting our throats, while we're all asleep. But, 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'd 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 naturlly 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 goin 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.

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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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GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED BY E. 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 psalms 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 tyrannise 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

&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; E. Lundy, of Washington City; W. L. Garrison, of

* Willing to give all credit wherever it is due, we cheerfully state, that he did emancipate one slave—a woman, named Hannah—to whom he bequeathed the sum of two hundred dollars per year, during the term of her natural life.

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—may, 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 reveling amid ruined palaces and castles; strewn 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, a 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 expositions, predictions, and warnings, conveyed through the channels above mentioned, were just delineations and faithful heralds, to arouse them from their wicked apineeness, 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 this 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

habilitments 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 a 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 is 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 in 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 to act the part of wise men? Heaven knows we are no fanatics!—we detest the madness which actuated 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 W'ig*, of the 2d inst. contains the 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 so, 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 one 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 *cess*, 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 fearfully 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 illa 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?”—*Porter'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 necessaries, 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 all 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 embarrassments, 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,.....	396,255	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,.....	289,624	8,064	23	297,711	297,701
New-York,.....	1,868,382	45,080	46	1,913,572	1,913,489
New-Jersey,.....	300,226	15,307	2,246	320,779	403,761
Pennsylvania,.....	1,309,286	37,990	386	1,347,672	1,347,517
Delaware,.....	57,605	15,829	3,305	76,739	75,417
Maryland,.....	291,093	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	142,379	684,222	627,570
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	65,639	136,806	110,542
Louisiana,.....	89,379	16,753	109,659	915,791	171,997
Tennessee,.....	637,930	4,513	-	684,222	627,570
Kentucky,.....	518,678	4,816	165,300	688,844	622,704
Ohio,.....	928,093	9,286	-	937,679	927,679
Indiana,.....	338,080	5,562	-	344,382	341,582
Illinois,.....	155,176	1,653	746	157,575	157,276
Missouri,.....	114,552	546	24,286	140,081	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. Slaves! 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 SWAIN, 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 Swain 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 slaves, 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,' will at 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 type 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,—yet 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 purpose, 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 views 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; but 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 1817.

"Its 13th Annual Report has just reached this country.

"Its object as expressed by itself (see 13th Report, page 41, app. 3, 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 uninterrupted, 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:—

"SYNOPSIS OF PRECEDING CALCULATIONS.	
2,000,000	Number of acres in the United States.
500,000	Number of free persons.
50,000	Yearly increase of both.
150,000	Transported yearly by A. C. S.
\$8000	Total transported in 13 years by A. C. S.
728,000	Total increase in 13 years at \$6,000 yearly.
728,000	Excess of increase transported.
50	Average expense of transporting each.
1,150,000	Expense of transporting the annual increase of 50,000.
2,000,000	Expense of transporting 100,000 in order to catch the annual increase of 30,000.
\$0,000,000	Purchase of 100,000 yearly, at 200 dollars each.
\$2,000,000	Expense of transportation and purchase of 100,000 yearly.
30	Time that slavery would still last.
2,000,000	Number that could still be purchased in slave-ry.
	Men, Women, and Children.

* Little more than half the average price of a grown slave.—Ed. G. U. Exam.

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 Test, 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 extra 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-

trass 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 for 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 then 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. Ward, 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 India 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 Cuantla Amil-

pas, which supplies a great part of the federation with sugar and coffee, although not 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 calculated to show both the scale upon which these estates are worked, and the complete success with which the abolition of slavery has, in this instance, been attended.

"The valley which extends almost uninterruptedly from Cuernavaca to Cuantla Amilpas and Jyncar (covering a space of 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 southwest commences, about fifty miles from the Capital.

"It is about 2,000 feet lower than the Table Land of Mexico. The difference of 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, until there is now hardly an acre of ground on the whole plain which is not turned to account.

"The cultivation was originally carried on entirely by slaves, who were purchased at Vera Cruz, at from 300 to 400 dollars each.

"It was found, however, that this system was attended with considerable inconvenience, 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 temperature, to which they were exposed on the journey from Vera Cruz to Cuernavaca, 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 laborers, who might be employed when a supply of slaves was no longer to be obtained.

"This plan proved so eminently successful 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 before that period saw themselves abandoned, 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, retained, even during the worst times, a sufficient 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 development of British skill in the cultivation of the soil; the almost certainty that those fiscal regulations 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 prospect of an early removal of the other restrictions 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 sugar by free labor in Mexico; and the rapid extension of the manufacture of beet root sugar in France; a prelude as we conceive, to its introduction into this country 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 misrepresentations of all the slave holders in the world, with all their clamorous partisans in this country, cannot avert, or even long retard."

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 interesting experiments nearer home may be obtained.*

Respectfully submitted,

B. LUDY, 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 horse-whip—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 “ “	36,186,082
of 36 “ “	35,111,753
of 55 “ “	100,41,422
of 100 and upwards,	668

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 dew 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 of 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. All 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 so desirable an object.

THE NEW YEAR.

There is no season more calculated to dispose 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, that 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 anticipation. 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 heavily 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 year opens with no brighter hopes than the many weary ones that have gone by since first he wore 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 yet lift up a free brow to hail the light of some future year. We ask of them at this season, to send 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 an opportunity of advancing its interests has been suffered to pass by unimproved—if indolence, or indifference or weariness has not sometimes stolen upon them, and given a listlessness to their exer-

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

tions? 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.

Night! with its thousand stars, and the deep hush
That makes its darkness solemn! The winds
rush

In troubled music, o'er the wooded hill,
-And the wide plain, where creeps the fetter'd rill,
In wintry silence; but a softer sound
Of melody from man's lit halls swells round.
No 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,
Or the home circle gathers round the hearth,
Or swelling upwards from the house of prayer,
The voice of praise concludes the passing year.
'Tis almost midnight now;—hark! hush!—the
bell!—

At once a note of triumph, and a knell!
A sudden silence—the quick breath is quelled,
The speaker's voice in mute suspension held,
What thousand thoughts are in that moment
press'd—
Past, present, future, crowding on the breast,
As 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!

So speeds time on! Scarce seems a moment sped,
Since first we hailed the year that now has fled.
So speeds time on—but hath it left no trace,
That future hours shall never more efface?
Go 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?
Who 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 enchain'd and
sold,

For a base fittance 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, fendlike, 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
bond

Becomes a deadly weapon in his hand!
Our brethren found it such;—in southern halls,
The cold damp foot of desolation falls;
Young gleamsome 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 age—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 we 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 least 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.

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. That great object which by strenuous exertions 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 and to aggravate old ones." We have seen the insolent scorn with which Lord Bathurst's very cautious propositions have been rejected by the colonists. To conciliate the planters to disarm their pecuniary 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-

don, 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 suffer 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 unrestricted 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 indispensably requisite for the accomplishment of our object, yet we can imagine no other of 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,—that they cannot plead for themselves,—that they have none in the land of their captivity to plead for them." Let us remember the horror which the first faithful delineation of their sufferings excited. Let us remember that though our feelings may be blunted by familiarity with the often repeated story of their oppression, that oppression remains unmitigated; their bodily torture from the lacerating scourge and galling chain—their mental anguish from the reckless tearing asunder of all the strongest ties of nature, are in no degree abated by the abatement of our sympathy. Let us also remember that we have all participated in their oppression by consuming its produce. This consideration ought to lay us under peculiar obligations to *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 *rigorous* 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 Olio.

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. Caesar and his Lady, members of the Episcopal Church.

We are further pleased to learn that Mrs. Caesar 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. Caesar'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; court martials are held in all parts for the trial of the blacks. The governor had visited several of the disturbed districts which had produced the happiest effects. The details given of the destruction of lives and property is most distressing. On the 22d Jan. martial law was continued for 30 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 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.*

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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 R. 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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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. &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 thus 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 much that we were enabled to gather in that way was uncertain and contradictory; of course little dependance could be placed upon it. We now can vouch for the correctness of what we lay before our readers.

The Wilberforce Settlement is situated on the river *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 this road crosses it, north of which the colored people have made but one opening. The distance from York, U. C., to the settlement, by way of London, is one hundred and forty-eight miles—from Queenston, or Niagara Falls, by the head of Lake Ontario, and London, about the same distance—from Buffalo, (preceeding up Lake Erie to Port Talbot, at the mouth of Kettle Creek,) perhaps little more than one hundred miles, thirty-seven miles, only, of which is travelled by land—from Sandwich opposite Detroit, by London, 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, beech, 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-

Fiat Justitia Ruet Cælum.

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 sterile "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 their 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 Sable, within the precincts of their settlement, and, of course, they will hence have no difficulty in procuring lumber for building. (Their dwellings are, as yet, constructed of logs—some of them hewed—and a few have well 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 their children; one of which is under the charge of Thomas J. Paul, son of the Rev. B. Paul, a youth of fine promise.* In the summer season a daugh-

* Such are the excellent regulations, and so 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 the good conduct, &c., of its superintendent, is highly

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 actuated 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 very 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 him 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 forchanded, 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,	18	—	S.
12,	18	—	S. W.
13,	15	—	N.
14,	16	—	S.
15,	19	—	W.
16,	20	—	S.
17,	26	—	W.
18,	27	—	S.
19,	23	—	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 degree 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 we expressed at the heroic exertions of the Parisians, in their recent struggle for liberty, and the sympathy we professed to feel for the suffering Poles, 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 as 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, for 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 June,

* 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 at liberty to act*, though he had not before. Let a majority of the constituents of the Hon. J. Q. Adams also speak out their sentiments, and he too will feel at liberty to change his tune!—*Gen. U. Egan.*

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 60 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 eleven 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 come 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 ROLLS!

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 unexpected 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 "invidious" periodicals, who have, by their "intolerance," and their "fanaticism," roused them from their stupid insensibility. We must have more such "invidious 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 labor 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 intimated 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 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 infatuation, that can induce slumber upon a volcano."

"The law above mentioned has the following section:

"Be it further 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 Gendarmierie, 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 Patuxent. 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 1816. 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 indentured 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 ankles; 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, remuneration 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 querulous 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 woe. 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 unremitting 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 bloodthirstiness! 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 bribes 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 this effected so much, that we think they may well be inspired 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 is 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;
A 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,
Then 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;
A father, brother, husband, son, who shared
My freedom, and my we in bondage.
A childless widow now, a friendless slave,
What shall I ask of thee, since I have sought
To lose but life's sad burden; nought to gain
But heaven's repose—these are beyond thy power,
Me thou canst neither wrong nor help; what then?
Go in 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.
Then at the altar of your household joys,
Vow one by one, vow altogether, vow
With heart and voice, eternal enmity
Against oppression by your brethren's hands;
Till 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 our 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 also some months since organized by some of the colored females of Philadelphia. We wish them both 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 embued,
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 crush'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 wisest 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 ere 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 pathway, 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 therefore 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 besought 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 mournest 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. c.

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. 3. 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. c. 16.

RHODE ISLAND THE FIRST AGAINST SLAVERY.

From the Providence American.

Our venerable fellow townsman, Moses 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 the blacks. It is honorable to the state.—Our respected correspondent accompanies the copy, with some appropriate remarks, exhibiting a remarkable instance of vigorous intellect and active philanthropy, at 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 now have; and that too, at a time when Roger Williams was gone to England, so not 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 assignees 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 longer 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, from 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 Bowett, Gen. Sergeant.

The Commissioners were, from Providence, Robert Williams, Gregory Dexter, Richard Waterman, Thomas Harris, William Wickenden, and Hugh Bowett.—From Warwick, Samuel Gorton, John Wickes, 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 41, 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.

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.

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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.*

No. 11. Vol. II. THIRD SERIES.]

APRIL, 1832.

[WHOLE NUMBER 275. VOL. XII.]

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 or 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 prolixity 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 into 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. Although 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. Catharines, 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, beech, 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 "Yankoes." 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 traversed 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 as 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 proud eminence, 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 cast. 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 time it will, probably, be more noted for classical reference, 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 pass through a country considerably diversified, as relates to soil and settlement. In some places the pine timber is very plenty; in others the general varieties of oak, &c., &c., prevail. Some particular sections are well watered and fertile, and some are sandy and barren. There are numerous fine farms on the road.

After a few hours' ride, we come to the thriving village of Brantford. This place is situated twenty-five miles west of Hamilton. It takes its name from *Brant's Ford*, across Grand River, im-

mediately in the neighborhood of the town. Here 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 our 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 held 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, too far, and even behaving with impropriety. But when the whites, themselves, clear their skirts of the guilt of being "saucy," in their deportment towards the blacks, I apprehend that we shall hear little more of this kind of complaint. Indeed, if our 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 *linga* "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., predominate. There is, also, some hazel to be seen, in places. Although the general appearance is unfavourable 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 farther 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 came 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 southward. The regular and elegant *swell 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 a 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 noble 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 all the free states, we were laughed at by many who were opposed to emigration. But how stand facts at present? Ohio has put her prohibitory laws, which were suffered to go unenforced, into 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 all 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 be 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," is 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 *willful 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 climate. 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 Venetian 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 slave 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 hearings 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 TOMES 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, *demonic* 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 bedimmed 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 will, 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 off 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, *further 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 \$90,000 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 letter, *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 slaves.

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 no ordinary 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 or removal of its evils.

Your Memorialists believe a provision by legal enactment for gradual abolition to be the most equitable, and only effectual remedy for the evil of Slavery. And this year 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 at this day, and before an assembly of American Legislators, to show the injustice of Slavery—its unholy character is admitted, with but 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 his own industry has acquired, afford a guaran-

tee 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, 1832, 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 *catates* 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 *à 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, denouncing 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. Slavites 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 be prevailed upon to offer the sum of "\$35,000" as 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 free blacks to foreign countries. There would be no 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 *ship "property,"* &c., and the substitution of a little *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 that 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 Jaffery, N. H., "for preparing, on a large scale, *sugar and molasses from potatoes*, which are worth on the spot 17 cents per bushel. It is calculated that a net profit of 20 cents per bushel will be made. A bushel will yield 7 lbs. of sugar." The last number of *Silliman's Journal* gives the process of manufacturing sugar from potatoes.

Let the *Slaves* look out! "*Dianna 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 find the following abstract or analysis of the laws in question running the rounds of the Press, and as a matter of information, have laid them before our readers, until such time as our leisure (as heretofore 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 6,329,345 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, 165,963, are nominally free; but they do actually suffer from a species, if 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 dark hue 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, now the regions of Slavery, frequently endangers their 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 then is it permitted to disgrace our country with its villainy? 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 it

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 rid 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! there 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. McCrea, 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 numerously 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 seem
Of 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 not 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 threatening 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 enthral 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 only 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 *sine*,
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 references 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 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 E. 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. 12. VOL. II. THIRD SERIES.)

MAY, 1852.

[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 *Fourth of July*. In the meantime, a supplement, of four pages, will be printed, with the title-page and index, and forwarded to subscribers in the course of the month of June.

In consequence of the Editor's absence, he has been unable to attend to many important subjects that 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.—This subject will lose none of its interest by a few months' postponement. We hope soon to be in a situation to examine it fairly, and to expose the fallacious and anti-republican doctrines of certain conspicuous characters, who are now looked up to as the oracles of democracy and the very pillars of our country's fame. One of them has, indeed, assumed the office of Conservator General of the public peace, and to show his tact at compromise, 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 due subjection to their lordly, self-styled "*owners*." Others have, also, acted in a manner quite as exceptionable; for which they will not be forgotten.

The handsome addition made to our subscription list within a few months past, gives the assurance that our labors will not go unrequited, entirely, 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 holy work progresses to which it is, and will be, strictly devoted.

TOUR IN UPPER CANADA.

(Concluded from page 172.)

January 17th.

I took an early breakfast this morning, and after making some little arrangement relative to my

baggage, set out, on foot, for the village of London. I had to go back, the way we came the day before, 11-2 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 plum, thorn, elder, sumach, and other shrubbery, common to the richest soil. Several kinds of burs 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 "dabbing" (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 southwesterly, 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 no where 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—and 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 twelve or fifteen inches wide. When used it is laid flat 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 it. 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 settlers at Wilberforce, and attending a public meeting of 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, with whom I had been acquainted in Baltimore, resides with 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. 10, page 153, of the present volume.)

January 21st.

We have a clear and cold morning. My kind 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 all of which he made no charge. I could not brook this; and after thanking him for his kindness, with difficulty prevailed on him to accept a small sum, in the way of compensation. Such hospitality is not always met with among strangers. The name of this gentleman is Henry O'Neal. He was one of the earliest settlers in that particular sec-

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 site 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 houses 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 gunsmith; one tanner and currier; one cooper; three tailors; 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, brick-layers, 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 blocks 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 of 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 the lakes, Erie, St. Clair, and Huron, &c., &c., are sufficient to convince the intelligent observer, that London must, ere long, become a place of wealth and importance. It is situated but about twenty miles from Port Talbot, on Lake Erie; and there is a good road the whole distance. Heavy articles of produce, lumber, &c., may be taken down the Thames; and indeed, with the aid of a few

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 as crazy a 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 farther 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, beech, &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 to change horses.

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 *Americas* 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 *Morasias* 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 school-master. I did not understand that they had more than one school among them. Their church, or 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 lies handsomely,) appears rather sandy, and consequently must be of somewhat an inferior quality. Passing through this reservation, we came to fine farms; and, after travelling a few miles, arrived at Howard's bridge, 20 miles from Ward's tavern, a little before dark. Here we crossed the south side of the Thames, again. There is a store kept at this place, by an Englishman, who was once 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. He 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 not large, but of sufficient depth to float vessels of considerable burthen.

January 25d.

The stage passengers were called up again before day; and we got on our way at about half 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 McGregor'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 aged French Creole. He was kind and communica-

tive; 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 is 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. Goss. 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 little 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.—Some African descendants are, likewise, scattered through their settlements. As we proceed down the river, the banks are lower, and the country around is more flat, and somewhat marshy. After travelling in this way, about sixteen miles, we came to the estuary of the Thames, and went seven miles, southwardly, on Lake St. Clair. We kept along near the shore, for the greater part of the time, though we occasionally bove off nearly a mile from it. The lake was frozen 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 "knewed 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 talk, 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 donkeys, 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 eloping wheel. It was well that this happened on the ice, as the axle-tree 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 15 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 or 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 all 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 us the last two days. She found her husband, as 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 and minutely described. And the peculiar advantages of that part of the country—its fine climate, variety of agricultural productions, convenience of markets,

sc., &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 Columbin, 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 2d, 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, seeming to touch the reins, and leaning forward with his cap extended in one hand, and a barbed goad in the other, (to stay nothing of the howls at his heels,) he thinks of neither rocks nor quagmires, 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 prow! at noon,—he must, at least, *pâterose* 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, *avoirpoids*! 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, next 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 of 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, at Richmond, Va., 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, that which is going on in America is the most important." Mr. WILBERFORCE said, "You have gladdened my heart by confining me that, sanguine as 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 this 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 our country of those evils. It opposes the only practicable means for effecting the great work; and

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 slave in Texas. The advocates of the bellish 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 exists in the outrageous crusade, a mine is sprung beneath the seat of slave 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 '*in-cendiary publication*.' This, no doubt, will go down very well, where the people are distracted with a political delirium, with wild vagaries about '*Nulification*,' '*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,' lasting 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 in to 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 wait 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. Sorely 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 Jaloo) 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." "Sandams, 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 teach a little Wolof to the children, and long to talk 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. *Deago Kerry*, on hearing a few sentences, exclaimed, 'Ah! that is Jaloo,' 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 Jaloo." 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 on-ly 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-

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,

Over 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! woe 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 Anamboo, 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 Scotch-woman, who, unknown to her master, taught him 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 Olio.

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.

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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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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, in 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 review of the state of things, there, may not be uninteresting 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 causes 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 ineligible 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 Anahuac, at the mouth of the Trinity river, and commands the harbor of Galveston 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 Brazos river, and proceeded directly towards Galveston 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 Anahuac. 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 Brazos 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 provisions *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 en-

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, there, and the prodigious feats of valor, which his fancy recognizes in a handful of colonists, in a 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 bowed 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 slave holder, 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. I entertain 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 its 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 a 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 Gouadeloupe."

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 of 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 a 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* 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,
Besighted 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 Amp, born at Guinea, took the degree of Doctor in Philosophy at the University of Wittenburg, 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 Hans 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 Sapeho 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 25th 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."

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J. Carpenter

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 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 a tour making collections in aid of this important settlement. We trust the hearts of all friends to 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 own 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 inherent right of all men, whatever may be the color of their skin.

THE "UNITED STATES" TELEGRAPH."

It seems that the celebrated Duff Green has not 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 his 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 this dismantled priest, and lame-duck politician, he takes up the pen, to plead for African tyranny, when his influence is waning, and "the sceptre hath departed from Judas." (The quotation may not be literal, but it reads well enough here.) When he published his pamphlet, in Missouri, to prove the legality of slavery, FROM THE SCRIPTURES! the sacerdotal robe had fallen from his shoulders, and if our information be correct, his Baptist brethren had placed another in the pulpit which he had previously occupied. So with his political friends at present.—They have discarded him from their councils.—None have confidence in one so unprincipled—so lost to christianity, 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 out of it—might as well essay to blow out the sunlight, as to extinguish the rays of moral and political reformation that are now penetrating the darkness of their despotism. Slavery must go down.—And then shall a free and industrious

yeomanry renovate the finished 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 fled 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 patronized.

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 the horse covered and fed with care on board of the steam-boat; but a colored man can have no place there to lay his head!!! We had to walk the deck half of the night, and the other part we laid amongst the pots in the kitchen, in order to be sheltered from the inclemency of the weather.

We believe, Mr. Editor, that all the evil, all 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 are employed in this work of death and destruction. No doubt but that they are hired to curse us, as Balsam 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 entreated? 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 the Cholera that threatens death and destruction at noonday. We remain, sir,

Your most humble and oppressed servants,
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 clearly 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 its distinguished author contemplated and advocated the ultimate overthrow of the 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 a

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 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 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. [1] 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 avo 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 tedious 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 S. C.," is used for "Virginia Society," &c. As, however, the term is afterwards correctly used, it must have been apparent to every careful reader that the title, "Virginia society," was an error of the press.

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