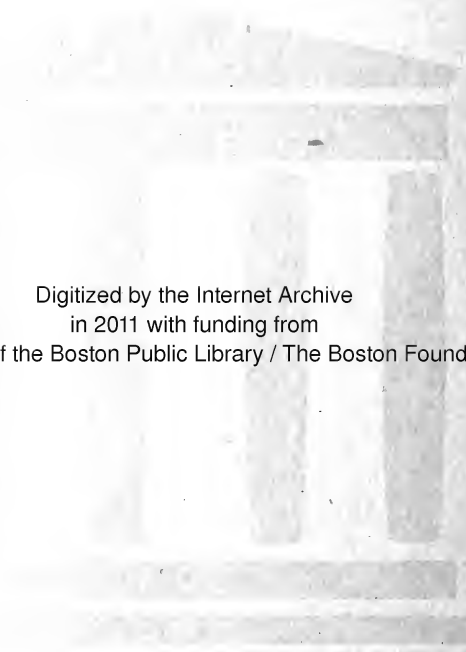


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THE  
AMERICAN  
ANTI-SLAVERY  
ALMANAC,  
FOR  
1839,



EMANCIPATION, RUIN—SLAVERY, SALVATION!!

A West India paper, in 1838, says: "Institutions undreamt of in the days of slavery, have been founded for agricultural, literary and scientific purposes. New villages and towns are rising in various parts of the island; new streets and houses are daily being erected in the old; and new churches and chapels are rearing their heads in almost every district of the colony. A heathen is now as rarely to be met with, as was a Christian ten years since. Hundreds of children are brought weekly to the baptismal font; thousands are daily receiving the rudiments of education. The vices peculiar to slavery are gradually wearing away; nightly orgies and licentious practices are fast falling into disuse; concubinage is receding before matrimony, and the long night of superstition rapidly evanishing before the sun of Christianity."—*The West Indian, Spanish Town, Jamaica.*

NEW YORK & BOSTON:

NEW YORK: S. W. BENEDICT.—BOSTON: ISAAC KNAPP.

## THE FRONTISPIECE,

On the cover, represents the present state of things, (Aug. 1, 1838,) in the British islands,—provinces of a monarchy—where slaveholders are abolishing the last vestige of slavery. The whip has disappeared,—the severed chain is laid aside,—laborers work for wages—the father instructs his children—the happy mother clasps HER OWN infant to her bosom—all are rejoicing.

The picture on the title page gives a glimpse at the contrast exhibited by the free states of this republic. A woman having been punished for her misfortunes, by being kept in jail in Philadelphia, is torn from her child, born in jail, and delivered, by a northern constable, to the exasperated slaveholder. The scene at the right, on the same picture, illustrates northern servility and the discrimination of prejudice. A respectable colored citizen asked admission for himself and children to a public exhibition where colored SERVANTS were freely admitted. He was not only refused, but BEATEN WITH A CANE for remonstrating with the door-keeper. Our prejudice, impiously called an "ordination of Providence," admits colored servants,—however ignorant, degraded, or vicious,—to closest contact, but furiously thrusts away an intelligent Christian!!!

Another illustration of the same truth occurred in Ct. on a cold dark night in December, 1833. The mistress of the steamboat hotel at New London, turned from her doors three colored girls who had just arrived in the steamboat, because they were going to school. She said she should accommodate *gentlemen* travelling with their *servants*.

## THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

Was formed Dec. 4, 1833. In May, 1834, it had 60 auxiliaries, most of which existed before the American society was formed; May, 1835, 226, May, 1836, 527, May, 1837, 1006, May, 1838, 1350, including state societies in each free state, except Indiana and New Jersey. The Society received in the part of a year ending May 1834, \$1,048 05; year ending May 1835, \$9,831 29;—1836, \$25,866 30;—1837, \$38,304 89;—1838, \$44,094 07. Total, \$119,144 60. Abolitionists have given less to this Society in 4½ years than the nation has spent in the Florida war in five days, (\$25,000 per day.) They can give and collect \$200,000 in a year, all of which could be used, and is greatly needed to supply the increasing demands of the cause. Will they refuse to do it?

### ANTI-SLAVERY PERIODICALS.

WEEKLY. EMANCIPATOR, 143 Nassau st., New York, Joshua Leavitt, Editor, \$2 in advance. COLORED AMERICAN, 2 Frankfort st. N. Y., Samuel E. Cornish Editor, \$2 LIBERATOR, 25 Cornhill, Boston, William Lloyd Garrison, Editor, \$2 50. HERALD OF FREEDOM, Concord, N. H., N. P. Rogers Editor, \$1. FRIEND OF MAN, 56 Genesee st. Utica N. Y., William Goodell, Editor, \$2. PHILANTHROPIST, N. W. Corner of Main and 6th streets Cincinnati O., Gamaliel Bailey Jr. Editor, \$2. PENNSYLVANIA FREEMAN, 29 North 9th st. Philadelphia, John G. Whittier, Editor, \$2. CHRISTIAN WITNESS, 7, Fifth st. Pittsburg, Pa. Wm. H. Burleigh, Editor, \$2.

SEMI-MONTHLY. ADVOCATE OF FREEDOM, Brunswick, Me. 50cts.

MONTHLY. HUMAN RIGHTS, 143, Nassau st. N. Y., 25 cts. CHARTER OAK, Hartford, Ct. 25 cts. SPIRIT OF ROGER WILLIAMS, 14½ Westminster st. Providence, R. I. 25 cts.

IMPORTANT PUBLICATION. Human Rights extra, Containing the most interesting facts from the West Indies, up to August 1, 1838. Abolitionists should immediately place it in every family in the U. S. Price \$1, per hundred.

## CATALOGUE OF PUBLICATIONS,

For Sale at the Depository of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 143, Nassau Street, and at the Depositories in Boston, Hartford, Providence, Philadelphia, Utica, Cincinnati, Pittsburg, Concord, N. H., &c.

### BOUND VOLUMES.

	pp.	Sin.	Hund.	Doz.
Anti-Slavery Manual, 18mo.	162	25	20 00	2 50
Alton Riots, by Pres. Beecher, of Illinois College,		62	45 00	6 00
Alton Trials, 12mo.	158	50	37 50	5 00
American Liberties and American Slavery,	464	1 00	75 00	10 00
Anti-Slavery Record 12mo.	174	31	25 00	3 13
Appeal by Mrs. Child 12mo.	216	37	33 00	3 75
Ball, Charles, 12mo.	517	1 25	100 00	12 50
Bourne's Picture of Slavery, 18mo.	228	50	37 50	5 00
Chloe Spear, 18mo.	108	25	17 00	2 50

—VOL. 1. No. 4.—

THE  
AMERICAN  
ANTI-SLAVERY  
ALMANAC,

*Wm Brewster, Esq.  
Aug. 2, 1839*

FOR

1839,

BEING THE THIRD AFTER BISSEXTILE OR LEAP-YEAR, AND THE  
63D OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. CALCULATED FOR  
BOSTON; ADAPTED TO THE NEW ENGLAND STATES.



What has the North to do with Slavery ?

“ Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them.”

NEW YORK & BOSTON :

PUBLISHED FOR THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

NEW YORK : — S. W. BENEDICT, 143, NASSAU ST.

BOSTON : — ISAAC KNAPP, 25, CORNHILL.

## ECLIPSES, &amp;c.

There will be two Eclipses this year, both of the Sun, and both invisible to the United States. The first will happen on the 15th of March, and the last, on the 7th of September. The first will be total and visible in South America. The last will be annular and visible in the great Pacific Ocean.

Venus will be Evening Star from the beginning of the year till the 6th of October, and thence Morning Star to the end of the year. Jupiter will be Morning Star till the 3d of April, thence Evening Star till the 22d of October, thence Morning Star to the end of the year.

## REMARKS.

We still adhere to our plan of giving our astronomical calculations in *apparent time*; and for the very good reason, that, so far as we can learn, our readers generally prefer it. There are few clocks, and fewer watches, capable of keeping a uniform time, and where occasional adjustment, or *setting*, is necessary, it is much more convenient to have them keep with the sun, as they may then be set by a *noon-mark* or dial without the trouble of applying an equation. In the country, we like to determine the beginning and end of our day by the rising and setting of the sun; and our noon, by the sun's passing the meridian.

If you wish to set a clock to keep *mean* time, observe when the sun is on the meridian by a noon-mark or sun dial; then if the sun is *slow*, add the equation, if *fast*, subtract it from 12, and it gives the true clock time. Thus you will find at apparent noon, Jan. 31, the true time is 12h. 13m. 46s.; Oct. 31, it is 11h. 43m. 47s.

In the present number, the calculations for the sun's rising and setting, and the lengths of the days, will be found to differ materially from those for last year, as allowance is made for the refraction of the atmosphere and for the sun's semi-diameter; so that our *sun-rise* and *sun-set* indicates the instant the UPPER POINT OF THE SUN'S BORDER is on a level with the ocean horizon, under average atmospheric circumstances.

We have continued our *guessing* at the weather, but would caution our readers against confiding too much in our prognostications. We would advise them to proceed in the business of *seed-time* and *harvest* without much regard to *almanac* weather, though founded on the experience of such men as Doct. Herschel and Doct. Adam Clark. In addition to the *guesses* in the calendar pages, we will here hazard the conjecture on our *own* responsibility, that the months of January and first part of February will be generally milder and less stormy than is usual at this season;—that the latter part of February, the month of March, and the first part of April, will be characterized by more than a usual degree of blustering stormy weather;—that from this period to September, the weather will be of an unusually uniform character, giving a warm and favorable season;—that the autumn will be generally warm and mild;—and that the winter will come in rather late, with little very cold or stormy weather to the end of the year. J. D.

## TIDES.

In addition to the column giving the time of high water at N. Y. occasional remarks respecting the height of the tides are made in the miscellaneous column. To consider the subject more particularly, the highest tides in each lunation, or interval between two successive changes of the moon, are those which happen a day and a half, or the third tide after the change and full. These are called Spring Tides. The lowest are those which happen about a day and a half after the moon's quadratures, and which are called Neap Tides. In the former case, the attractive forces of the sun and moon combine to produce the greatest effect on the waters of the ocean, and in the latter, the least, as these forces then operate in a manner against each other. These circumstances are again affected by the distances of the luminaries from the earth and their declinations; the greatest spring tides following those syzygies which happen when the sun and moon are in the equinoctial, and at their least distances from the earth. The highest spring tides, therefore, happen about the equinoxes, and the lowest at mid-summer and mid-winter. It is important to know when to expect these very high tides on account of their inundation of lands on the coast, and of their interference with some of the labors and operations of sea ports. We therefore insert the following table, founded on the formula of the distinguished French Astronomer Laplace. It exhibits the probable height of the tides at each new and full moon, throughout the year, at the most important places on our coast.

TABLE I. - HEIGHT OF EACH SPRING TIDE FOR 1839.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	ft.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.
New York,	5	4 3	5 2	4 6	5 9	5 6	4 0	3 10
Providence,	5	4 3	5 2	4 6	5 9	5 6	4 0	3 10
Newport,	5	4 3	5 2	4 6	5 9	5 6	4 0	3 10
Nantucket,	5	4 3	5 2	4 6	5 9	5 6	4 0	3 10
Cape May,	6	5 1	6 2	5 5	6 11	6 7	4 10	4 4
New Haven,	8	6 10	8 3	7 2	9 2	8 10	6 5	5 10
Portland,	9	7 8	9 3	8 1	10 4	9 11	7 2	6 7
Kennebec,	9	7 8	9 3	8 1	10 4	9 10	7 2	6 7
Newburyport,	10	8 6	10 4	9 0	11 6	11 0	8 0	7 4
Portsmouth,	10	8 6	10 4	9 0	11 6	11 0	8 0	7 4
Boston,	11	9 4	11 4	9 11	12 8	12 1	8 10	8 0
Plymouth,	11	9 4	11 4	9 11	12 8	12 1	8 10	8 0
Cape Ann,	11	9 4	11 4	9 11	12 8	12 1	8 10	8 0
Salem,	11	9 4	11 4	9 11	12 8	12 1	8 10	8 0
Mt. Desert,	12	10 2	12 4	10 10	13 10	13 2	9 7	8 9
Machias,	12	10 2	12 4	10 10	13 10	13 2	9 7	8 9
Eastport.	25	21 3	25 9	22 6	28 9	27 6	20 0	18 3

The dates indicated by the figures at the head of the columns, are as follows.

Jan. 15 New Moon, (2)	May 13 New Moon, (1)	Sept. 7 New Moon (4)
" 29 Full " (2)	" 28 Full " (8)	" 23 Full " (6)
Feb. 13 New " (3)	June 13 New " (2)	Oct. 7 New " (2)
" 28 Full " (4)	" 26 Full " (8)	" 22 Full " (6)
Mar. 15 New " (5)	July 10 New " (2)	Nov. 6 New " (7)
" 29 Full " (2)	" 26 Full " (2)	" 20 Full " (1)
Apr. 13 New " (6)	Aug. 9 New " (4)	Dec. 5 New " (8)
" 28 Full " (7)	" 24 Full " (1)	" 20 Full " (4)

The first column is about the average rise of the spring tide, as given last year.

EXAMPLES. You wish to know the height of the spring tide following the New Moon of March 15, at Newburyport, Ms. You see above the figure (5) opposite March 15. You therefore look at column (5), and opposite Newburyport, find 11 feet 6 inches, the height of the tide required. In the same way you find the height of spring tide following Dec. 5, column (8), to be, at Newburyport, but 7 feet 4 inches, at N. Y. 3 ft. 10 inches, at Boston, 8 feet, &c. Though storms may cause a very great variation from the above table, it is believed that it will be found an improvement on any thing of the kind ever before published in this country. The tides at the different dates referred to in the same column will not be precisely alike, but, under ordinary circumstances the variation will in most cases be less than one fiftieth part of the whole rise of the tide.

The Calendar pages show the time of high water at Boston. For other places add or subtract the numbers in the following table.

TABLE II.

Albany, . . . . .	add 4H 12M	Philadelphia, . . . . .	add 2H 57M
Nantucket, . . . . .	add 0 30	Portland, . . . . .	sub. 0 45
New Bedford, . . . . .	sub. 3 53	Portsmouth, N. H. . . . .	sub. 0 15
New London, . . . . .	sub. 2 36	Providence, . . . . .	sub. 3 05
New York, . . . . .	sub. 2 21	St. Johns, N. B. . . . .	add 0 30
Newburyport, . . . . .	sub. 0 15	Vineyard Sound, . . . . .	sub. 0 30

TABLE III. ASTRONOMICAL CHARACTERS.

☉ Sun,	♃ Vesta,	♃ Jupiter,	♃ First Quar.	♃ Conjunction,
☿ Mercury,	♃ Juno,	♃ Saturn,	☾ Full Moon,	♃ Opposition,
♀ Venus,	♃ Pallas,	♃ Uranus,	☾ Last Quar.	♃ Ascending Node,
♂ Mars,	♃ Ceres,	♃ N. Moon,	☐ Quartile,	♃ Descending Node.

SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC.

Sun. Sping.	♈ Aries,	Ram,	Head,	Wint. Ant.	♎ Libra,	Scales,	Reins,
	♉ Taurus,	Bull,	Neck,		♏ Scorpio.	Scorpion,	Secrets,
	♊ Gemini,	Twins,	Arms,		♐ Sagitarius,	Archer,	Thighs,
	♋ Cancer,	Crab,	Breast,		♑ Capricornus,	Goat,	Knees,
Sun.	♌ Leo,	Lion,	Heart,	Wint.	♒ Aquarius,	Waterman,	Legs,
	♍ Virgo,	Virgin,	Belly,		♓ Pisces,	Fishes,	Feet.

## EXPLANATION OF THE CALENDAR PAGES.

The important Anti-Slavery matter, adapted to the present state of the cause, has claimed so much room as to urge to the strictest economy in the astronomical department. We have, however, tried to atone for small type and narrow columns, by clear print on good paper.

The 1st and 2d columns are the days of the month and week. The 3d shows the time of the Sun's rising and setting. N. B. A little practice will make it as convenient to find the time of sunset in this column as if another had been added, and sometimes more so. For instance, 2 minutes before 5, (See Jan. 31.) is much more intelligible than 58 minutes after 4 would be. The 4th column shows the length of each day, 5th, equation of time, 6th, the sun's declination, 7th, moon's southing, 8th, moon's rising or setting, 9th, High Water, 10th, positions of the stars, observations upon the tides, weather, elections, meetings of legislatures, &c.

## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN A. S. SOCIETY.

Arthur Tappan, *President*,

James G. Birney, }

Elizur Wright, jr., } *Cor. Secretaries*,

Henry B. Stanton, }

John Rankin, *Treasurer*,Joshua Leavitt, *Rec. Secretary*,

Samuel E. Cornish,

Lewis Tappan,

Duncan Dunbar,

Simeon S. Jocelyn,

La Roy Sunderland,

Theodore S. Wright.

## NORTHERN LABORERS.

You have a deep interest in the principle for which we are contending. Southern statesmen now defend slavery, not on the ground that white men have a right to hold black men as property, but that LABORERS are rightfully the PROPERTY of capitalists. One of them told Senator Morris, (see his letter to the trustees of Pa. Hall,) that it was "one of the unchangeable laws of Providence that ONE MAN should live upon the labor of ANOTHER, and that American slavery was the *best modification of that unalterable decree.*" By opposing abolitionists, you defend the principle that a nation's LABORERS and their wives and children should be ARTICLES OF TRAFFIC. In the following advertisements you may see the working of this principle, which you and your children will feel, if abolitionism is defeated.

## GREAT BARGAINS. SPLENDID PROPERTY ON LONG CREDIT.

\* \* A full set of FIRST RATE MECHANICS, a large stock of horses, mules, &c. [Vicksburg, (Mi.) Register, Sept. 26, 1836.] H. STIDGER.

FOR SALE, a MAN who is well acquainted with running a steam saw mill.

Those wishing to obtain so valuable a BOY, &c. THO. H. MERRILL.  
[North Alabamian, Tuscombina, May 11, 1838.]

WANTED to purchase two first rate SEAMSTRESSES, not over 22 years of age. Apply to

DOUGLAS &amp; PHILPOT.

[Mobile Morning Chronicle, June 8, 1838.]

The following phrases are all copied from advertisements of PROPERTY.

Stevadore, boat hand, carpenter, drayman, cartman, axeman, sawyer, carter, butcher, farmer, seamstress, ostler, washer and ironer, coachman, cooper, blacksmith, gardener, driver, bricklayer, steamboat fireman, sadler, teamster, laundress, porter, tailor, cabin boy, wagoner, pilot, midwife, plaiter, child's nurse, cook.

Here a mother and child are advertised to be sold "separately" or "in lots."

WILL be sold at Public Auction, without reserve, Elliott, 35 years of age, Tom, 14 years of age, yellow, Claring, 17 years of age, with child, born Aug. 17, 1837, Charlotte, 19 years of age, Mahaly, 13 years of age. Will be sold together, or separately, in lots to suit purchasers. F. H. DOLBEARE & Co., Auctioneers.  
[Enquirer, Columbus, (Geo.) May 24, 1838.]

\$20 REWARD.—Ranaway a man named HAMBLETON, limps in his left foot, where he had been shot but a few weeks ago, WHILE RUNAWAY.

[Vicksburg Register, June 13, 1838.]

THOMAS HUDNALL.

RUNAWAY, MARY, a black woman, has a scar on her back and right arm near the shoulder, caused by a RIFLE BALL. ASA B. METCALF.

[Southern Argus, Columbus, (Mi.) June 5, 1838.]

If you imagine your complexion will secure you and your children from being the subjects of similar advertisements, read the following from the N. Orleans Bee.

DETAINED in jail, MARIA, pretending herself FREE, round face, CLEAR WHITE complexion. The OWNER of said SLAVE, &c.

[New Orleans Bee, July 4, 1837.]

P. BAYHI, Captain of the Watch.



"WHAT HAVE THE FREE STATES TO DO WITH SLAVERY?"

Majorities rule. The free states have always had the majority in Congress—consequently the power and responsibility. How have we used this power? We have maintained slavery and the slave trade at the seat of government 48 years—legalized slave auctions there—built prisons and hired jailors to keep safely runaway slaves and kidnapped free blacks, and sold both for jail fees—adopted laws inflicting death on a slave who breaks into a storehouse and steals *five shillings'* worth of tobacco, and ordaining, that a slave setting fire to a building, shall have his head cut off, his body cut into quarters and set up in the most public places—inflicting death on slaves for more than *twenty crimes*, not punishable with death to others—depriving free colored persons of suffrage and of the free use of the Post Office—and imprisoning such as have not a "certificate of register" and selling them to pay costs. (See Repts. Coms. 2d Sess. 19 Cong. No. 60. pp. 6-8—also 2d. Sess. 20 Cong. v. 1. No. 43. Also Wash. City Laws, p. 249, and Act Cong. May 26, 1820.) We legalized the African slave trade for 20 years—gave southern "property" a representation, by which S. C. with a white population 32,000 less than Vt. has 9 members of Congress and 11 votes in the election of President, whilst Vt. has but 5 members and 7 electoral votes—promised to send back slaves that flee to us, and to help their masters *kill* them, if they struggle for liberty. We robbed free colored citizens of jury trial by the act of '93—denied naturalization to colored foreigners by act Cong. April 14th 1802—have made desperate efforts to re-enslave 10,000 Canadian freemen and to get Great Britain to deliver up all who flee thither from republican slavery—(See Instructions of Mr. Clay, when Secretary of State, to Messrs. Gallatin & Barbour ministers to Great Britain,)—surrendered to slavery all the national territory south of 36½° north latitude—added 7 slave states to the Union—bought territory to enlarge the slave market and to keep slaves from running away, La. for 15 millions and Florida for 5 millions, besides 12 millions just spent in killing the Florida Seminoles, because they retaliated when slaveholders kidnapped their wives and children—made treaties to kidnap slaves, who had fled from us to other nations—chosen slaveholding presidents for 10 out of the first 12 terms—chosen slaveholding speakers of the House of Representatives for 25 out of the last 27 years—removed the seat of government from a free to a slave state—passed a law, Jan. 1810, for the forcible removal of slaves from one part of the District to the other—made the direct tax a *lien* on slaves,—(Laws U. S. v. 3. p. 96—98,) and authorized the U. S. Collector to seize and sell them, and if sold for less than the debt, "the Collector shall purchase the same in behalf of the U. S. for the amount aforesaid"—(Act of Cong. 1813, Sec. 24,)—passed laws for transporting from one state to another slaves to *sell*, also for *selling* under State laws recaptured Africans—*repealed* in 1805 the act prohibiting the introduction of slaves into La. and throughout our national legislation have sustained slavery by the *phraseology* of acts of Congress, in which slaves are called "property," "articles," "goods," "effects," "merchandize." Finally, Dec. 21, 1837, we voted that the petitions of 300,000 citizens of the free states should "be laid on the table without being debated, printed, read, or referred." These are a few of the things which the free states "have had to do with slavery" in their *political capacity*, as *parts of the Union*. We will now specify some things which they have done as *separate communities*.

Most of the free states have been *slave states*, and in Conn., R. I., N. J. and Pennsylvania, slaves *are still held*. Illinois has a system of 'indentured apprenticeship,' a soft name for slavery. The Legislature of Indiana struggled hard to make that a slave state—memorialized Congress on the subject, &c. (See Jour. H. R. 10th Cong. p. 44.) The states of N. Y., N. J., Penn., and Indiana, have laws authorizing slaveholders to bring their slaves into the state, and hold them; N. Y. for nine months, Penn., N. J., and Ind. for six months. In most of the free states colored citizens are deprived of suffrage and civil office, and in Ohio, of the benefit of the school fund, and of their oath in courts of law. Though our own colored sailors are imprisoned in southern ports for their *complexion*—though our white citizens have rewards offered for them by southern legislators, and are lynched and hung by slaveholders without judge or jury—though slaveholding magistrates and postmasters by thousands, have turned mail-robbers, rifled the U. S. mail bags, and are continually stealing packages and pilfering letters, yet not one of the free states has uttered a syllable of remonstrance against such outrageous violations of the U. S. Constitution, in the shape of the meanest and most despicable public thieving. [Continued on p. 7.]

RATES OF POSTAGE.

"Render unto all their dues."

On a single letter, weighing less than 1 ounce, not more than 30 miles, 6 cts.; 30 to 80, 10 cts.; 80 to 150, 12½ cents; 150 to 400, 18 3-4 cts.; over 400, 25 cts. Double, triple, and quadruple letters, 2, 3, and 4 times these rates. Letters weighing one ounce, are charged the same as quadruple letters, and if heavier in proportion.

Newspapers. Less than 100 miles, or any distance within the state, 1 cent; over 100 miles, if not within the state, 1 1-2 cts.

Magazines and Pamphlets. Periodical, less than 100 miles 1 1-2 cts. per sheet, (not periodical, 4 cts.) over 100 miles, 2 1-2 cts. per sheet, (not periodical, 6 cts.) Small pamphlets not exceeding half of a royal sheet, half of the above rates. The cover is not included in any case.

Franking. Members of Congress can receive any package, weighing not more than two ounces, free of postage, and petitions of any weight, if marked "petitions" on the wrapper.

PETITIONS TO CONGRESS.

Congress meet Dec. 3, 1838. Their session must close, March 3, 1839.

Every American patriot should petition them,

1. To abolish slavery in the District of Columbia immediately.

"Congress shall have power to exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district, (not exceeding ten miles square,) as may \* \* become the seat of government of the United States" Const. Art. I. Sec. 8, Clause 17.

"Thus saith the Lord, Deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor." Jer. 22 : 2.

MOON'S PHASES.

☾ Last Quarter,

D. H. M.  
7 4 14 a.

☽ New Moon,

15 10 0 m.

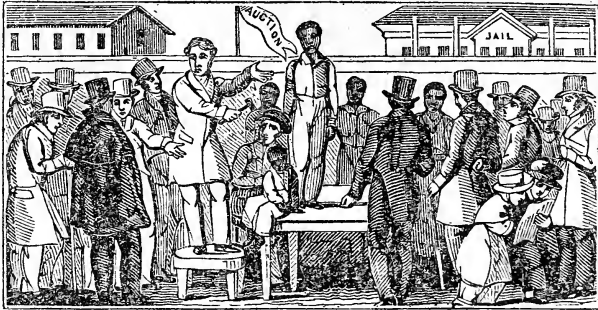
☽ First Quarter,

D. H. M.  
22 6 22 m.

☽ Full Moon,

29 10 43 m.

D. M.	D. W.	☉ R.	☉ S.	Lgth. Days	☉ Slow	☉ Dec.	☽ So.	☽ Rises	High Wa.	MISCELLANEOUS.
					m	o s. /	m	a	m	
1	Tu.	7 26 5	9 7	3 49	23 2	1 8	6a13	0 18	N. Y. Legislature meets.	
2	We.	7 26 5	9 9	4 16	22 57	2 1	7 24	0 56	Me. and Miss. Legists. meet.	
3	Th.	7 25 5	9 10	4 44	22 51	2 48	8 32	1 31	Clear and cold. Slaves	
4	Fri.	7 24 5	9 11	5 11	22 45	3 32	9 34	2 12	Capella S. 9 59 a. suffer	
5	Sa.	7 24 5	9 12	5 39	22 39	4 12	10 35	2 38	Aldebaran S. 9 26 a. much.	
6	S	7 23 5	9 14	6 6	22 22	4 51	11 35	3 8	♂ ♂ ☽. Cold with snow or	
7	Mo.	7 22 5	9 15	6 32	22 24	5 29	m.	3 42	Michigan Leg. meet. rain	
8	Tu.	7 22 5	9 16	6 59	22 17	6 9	0 35	4 35	☽ ☽ ☽. Rather low tides.	
9	We.	7 21 5	9 17	7 23	22 8	6 51	1 37	5 41	♂ greatest ht. lat. n. Slave	
10	Th.	7 21 5	9 18	7 48	22 0	7 35	2 43	7 1	Rigel S. 9 39 a. holders	
11	Fri.	7 20 5	9 19	8 12	21 50	8 22	3 47	8 12	☽ ♂ ☽. growing more calm.	
12	Sa.	7 20 5	9 21	8 36	21 41	9 16	4 56	9 14	Betelgeux S. 10 10 a. Nou	
13	S	7 19 5	9 22	8 58	21 31	10 13	6 0	10 4	♀ ♂ ☽. ♀ ♂ ☽. prepari	
14	Mo.	7 18 5	9 24	9 20	21 21	11 11	6 55	10 49	♀ in Aphelion. ☽ stationary.	
15	Tu.	7 17 5	9 25	9 42	21 10	0a 9	s ets.	11 33	♀ ♂ ☽. Middling tides. for	
16	We.	7 16 5	9 27	10 3	20 58	1 5	6a 1	0a14	* S. 744 a. blustering weather	
17	Th.	8 16 5	9 29	10 24	20 47	1 58	7 16	0 55	Aldebaran S. 8 28 a. Some	
18	Fri.	7 15 5	9 30	10 43	20 35	2 48	8 32	1 33	♂ ♂ ☽. Rather high tides.	
19	Sa.	7 14 5	9 32	11 2	20 23	3 36	9 46	2 13	☽ Perigee. squalls in congress.	
20	S	7 13 5	9 34	11 20	20 10	4 24	11 1	2 54	Capella S. 8 53 a. An immense	
21	Mo.	7 12 5	9 35	11 37	19 57	5 12	m.	3 40	☽ enters ☽. No. of petitions	
22	Tu.	7 11 5	9 37	11 54	19 43	6 3	0 15	4 30	Betelgeux S. 9 28 a. More	
23	We.	7 10 5	9 39	12 9	19 29	6 57	1 32	5 58	Canopus S. 9 50 a. snow.	
24	Th.	7 9 5	9 41	12 24	19 15	7 53	2 49	7 27	Sirius S. 10 4 a. Frequent	
25	Fri.	7 8 5	9 43	12 38	19 0	8 52	4 0	8 40	Capella S. 8 33 a. Anti-slavery	
26	Sa.	7 7 5	9 45	12 51	18 45	9 51	5 9	9 46	♂ great elongation. W.	
27	S	7 6 5	9 48	13 4	18 30	10 48	6 5	10 35	♂ South 3 30 m. meetings.	
28	Mo.	7 5 5	9 50	13 16	18 15	11 42	6 49	11 15	☽ South 4 29 m. Mon. concert.	
29	Tu.	7 4 5	9 52	13 26	17 59	m.	rises	11 50	Betelgeux S. 8 58 a. Mild	
30	We.	7 3 5	9 54	13 36	17 42	0 31	6a 7	m.	Mass. A. S. Society An.	
31	Th.	7 2 5	9 56	13 46	17 26	1 16	7 13	0 42	Meeting.—Changeable.	



THE NATION'S ACT. MAN AUCTION AT THE CAPITAL. A FREEMAN SOLD.

As the District of Columbia was set apart to promote the interests and honor of the nation, its institutions should conform to the will of the nation. THEY DO. *It is the nation's will* that any colored man in the District should be liable to arrest and imprisonment, without evidence, oath or warrant against him, on the simple pretence that he has been robbed of his liberty, and even when this has been virtually proved false, it is the nation's will that he be sold to pay the cost of this cruelty.

The following appeared in a Washington paper, July, 1834.

NOTICE. Was committed to the prison of WASHINGTON Co., D. C. \* \* David Peck. He says he is FREE. The owner or owners are requested, &c., or he will be sold as the LAW DIRECTS. JAMES WILLIAMS, *Keeper of the Prison.*

In 1831, a free colored coachman, whose wife was confined, started to go for a midwife. He was seized and imprisoned by the patrol, notwithstanding his tears and entreaties. In the morning his wife was found dead,—a victim to the nation's cruelty.—See *Letter from Washington, in the Genius of Universal Emancipation.*

We will now show what the PEOPLE of the free states "have had to do with slavery." And first, the preceding acts of their representatives were *their acts*, and show their *feelings*. Further: when slavery ceased as a system in their respective states, many sold their slaves to southern traders. The free states monopolized the African slave trade, and snatched at the price of blood up to the hour when it became in law a felony. From 1804 to 1807 little Rhode Island had *fifty-nine* vessels prowling for prey round the African coast. Northerners *now* drive the domestic slave trade coastwise to our southern ports. We hire the slaveholders to rob the slaves by buying their stolen goods. Multitudes of our ministers, teachers, merchants, mechanics, pedlars, &c. go south and become slaveholders; presidents and professors in southern colleges, and influential clergymen in southern cities are mainly from the free states; northern families generally have relations in the slave states, mostly slaveholders. Slaveholders are treated with more consideration than non-slaveholders—witness our watering-places, public dinners, political meetings, religious anniversaries, steamboats, rail cars, places of public amusement, and houses of worship. Almost all our pulpits are wide open to clerical slaveholders, and our communion tables to slaveholding professors. Our religious and benevolent societies sanctify slavery, by soliciting its robberies as donations to the Lord's treasury, and they bribe slaveholders to persist in robbery by giving them offices, honors, and emoluments. Our churches, with few exceptions, have a "negro seat," where colored persons, even clergymen in churches of their own denomination, are *compelled* to sit, or leave the house. Almost all our literary institutions exclude colored applicants for admission, while the sons of slaveholders are eagerly beckoned in. Colored persons, whatever their respectability, are driven from the cabins of our steamboats and packets, from our rail cars, stages, hotels, boarding houses, tables, theatres, (except the upper gallery,) reading rooms, libraries, museums, and from the platforms of our religious anniversaries, from the learned professions, from literary societies and corporations, from scientific and professional lectures, from military and fire compa-

2. Immediately to prohibit the internal slave trade.

"Congress shall have power to regulate commerce \* \* among the several states."

Const. Art. I. Sec. 8, Clause 3.

3. To abolish slavery in Florida, and prohibit its introduction in any other territory.

"Congress shall have power to \* \* make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory \* \* belonging to the United States. Const. Art. IV. Sec. 3.

4. To reject all propositions for the annexation of Texas to the Union.

5. To acknowledge the independence of Haiti.

6. To join with Great Britain and France in breaking up the foreign slave trade.

7. To repeal the Act of 1793, which enables kidnappers to enslave free citizens.

THE STATE GOVERNMENTS

Should be petitioned, (I.) to DECLARE that Congress can, and ought immediately to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and the territories, prohibit the inter-state slave trade, acknowledge the independence of Haiti, refuse to admit Texas, or any new slave state, and repeal the act of Feb. 12, 1793. THIS IS IMMENSELY IMPORTANT. (II.) To abolish all laws which graduate men's rights by their color. The principle of such laws is more detestable than that of any hereditary aristocracy. To reward men for the good fortune of their parents is ridiculous, but to punish them for their looks is abominable injustice, and mean malignant spite. The following are a few of the cases in which this is done.

1. *Trial by jury.* The U. S. Const. provides that "in suits at common law where the value in controversy shall exceed \$20, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved." Yet a law of Congress, passed Feb. 12, 1793, empowers any state magistrate to decide the question of any man's liberty who may be claimed as a slave. This manifestly unconstitutional law has been set aside in N. J., Mass.

MOON'S PHASES.

☾ Last Quarter,  
☽ New Moon,

D. H. M.  
6 1 42 a.  
13 10 29 a.

D. H. M.  
☽ First Quarter, 20 2 51 a.  
☾ Full Moon, 28 3 38 m.

P.M.	D. W.	☉ R.	☽ S.	Lgth. Days	☉ Slow	☉ Dec.	☽ So.	☽ Rises	High Wa.	MISCELLANEOUS.
						☉ N. /	m	a.	m.	
1	Fri.	7 1 5	9 59	13 54	17 9	1 59	8 15	0 52	♂ Stationary.	♄ in ☿.
2	Sa.	6 59 6	10 1 14	1 16 52	2 39	9 16	1 22	♂ ♂ ☽.		Congress needs
3	S.	6 58 6	10 3 14	8 16 34	3 18	10 19	1 50	♂ Stationary.		watching.
4	Mo.	6 57 6	10 6 14	14 16 16	3 57	11 19	2 17	☽ Apo. ♃ ♂ ☽.		Rain or snow.
5	Tu.	6 56 6	10 8 14	19 15 58	4 38	m.	2 51	Sirius S. 9 21 a.		The Session draws
6	We.	6 54 6	10 10 14	23 15 40	5 21	0 23	3 33	♀ greatest ht. lat. S.		to a close.
7	Th.	6 53 6	10 13 14	27 15 21	6 8	1 29	4 30	Castor S. 10 0 a.		More rain.
8	Fri.	6 52 6	10 15 14	30 15 2	6 57	2 33	5 47	♃ ♂ ☽.		Danger of their old tricks.
9	Sa.	6 51 6	10 18 14	32 14 43	7 51	3 39	7 22	Procyon S. 9 58 a.		Clear and Mild.
10	S.	6 49 6	10 20 14	33 14 24	8 49	4 38	8 41	Pollux S. 9 58 a.		Friends of liberty are needed at their posts.
11	Mo.	6 48 6	10 23 14	33 14 4	9 47	5 31	9 41	Sirius S. 8 57 a.		
12	Tu.	6 47 6	10 25 14	33 13 45	10 45	6 11	10 31	♄ in Aph. ♃ ♂ ☽.		
13	We.	6 46 6	10 28 14	32 13 25	11 40	sets.	11 31	Castor S. 9 36 a.		
14	Th.	6 44 6	10 31 14	30 13 4	0a34	6a 5	0a 0	♀ ♂ ☽.		
15	Fri.	6 43 6	10 34 14	27 12 44	1 29	7 25	0 28	☽ Per. ♃ ♂ ☽.		
16	Sa.	6 42 6	10 36 14	22 12 22	2 15	8 42	1 10	Pollux S. 9 36 a.		
17	S.	6 40 6	10 39 14	20 12 2	3 5	10 2	1 48	Procyon S. 9 37 a.		
18	Mo.	6 39 6	10 42 14	15 11 41	3 56	11 20	2 29	Alph. S. 11 12 a.		
19	Tu.	6 37 6	10 45 14	9 11 20	4 50	m	3 16	☉ enters ☿.		
20	We.	6 36 6	10 47 14	3 10 58	5 47	0 37	4 14	Sirius S. 8 23 a.		
21	Th.	6 35 6	10 50 13	56 10 37	6 45	1 59	5 30	Castor S. 9 5 a.		
22	Fri.	6 33 6	10 53 13	49 10 15	7 44	3 3	7 7	Procyon S. 9 8 a.		
23	Sa.	6 32 6	10 56 13	41 9 53	8 42	4 2	8 34	Pollux S. 9 8 a.		
24	S.	6 31 6	10 59 13	32 9 31	9 36	4 49	9 36	Sirius S. 8 7 a.		
25	Mo.	6 29 6	11 1 13	22 9 10	27 5 26	10 21	10 21	Alphard S. 10 45 a.		
26	Tu.	6 28 6	11 4 13	12 8 47	11 13	5 55	10 59	Regulus S. 11 21 a.		
27	We.	6 26 6	11 7 13	1 8 24	11 56	6 20	11 31	Castor S. 8 46 a.		
28	Th.	6 25 6	11 10 12	50 8 1	m.	rises.	m.	Procyon S. 8 43 a.		Stormy.



### JOHN BULL'S MONARCHY A REFUGE FROM BROTHER JONATHAN'S SLAVERY.

Facts. Our GOVERNMENT has tried to enslave many thousand persons who are enjoying their inalienable rights in Canada. May 10, 1828, the following resolution was adopted in the U. S. House of Representatives, and as appears from the journal without opposition, or the calling for the yeas and nays.

*Resolved*, That the President of the U. S. be and he is hereby requested to open a negotiation with the British Government, in the view to obtain an arrangement whereby fugitive slaves who have taken refuge in the Canadian provinces of that Government, may be surrendered by the functionaries thereof to their masters, upon their making satisfactory proof of their ownership of said slaves."—Jour. H. R. 1 Sess. 20th Cong. pp. 715 and 720.

nies, from the jury box, and from all civil offices. They are refused all licenses in most of our cities, and generally, the benefit of all asylums and public charities. Merchants will not take them as clerks, nor lawyers and physicians as students, nor mechanics as apprentices, nor benevolent societies as agents. The people of the free states mob down discussion on slavery, and pelt with stones repentant slaveholders who have emancipated their slaves, resigned honorable and lucrative stations, consecrated their lives to the advocacy of liberty, become exiles from their homes, and suffered the loss of all things. They break up anti-slavery meetings, burn the buildings where they were held, break open the houses of abolitionists and burn their furniture, put halters on their necks and lead them through the streets, drag them from their beds at night, bind, gag, disfigure, and transport them at the dead of night to unfrequented places. They tear down anti-slavery churches, break in pieces anti-slavery presses, and maim and kill their conductors. All these outrages have been perpetrated in free states within the last three years, and scarcely one of the perpetrators has been brought to justice. Hundreds of other outrages upon the rights, persons, and property of abolitionists have been committed, many of them at noon-day—the officers of the law quietly looking on, governors, judges, mayors, aldermen, members of Congress, and attorneys general, *conniving*, and in some instances openly aiding and *leading*. But our space fails us, and we stop mid-way in the enumeration. In the place of farther details exhibiting the pro-slavery public sentiment of the free states, we insert the testimony of slaveholders in the United States Senate. Hear them.

Mr. Leigh of Va. in his speech on the abolition memorials, when showing the sympathy of the great body of the people of the free states with slaveholders, said: "I have never conversed with a single northern gentleman whose opinions on this subject gave me any dissatisfaction." Mr. Benton of Missouri in the same discussion, showing how the public sentiment of the free states favored slavery, said: "He confessed that he could find no words in the scope of language to express his admiration of the conduct of the North. When he saw the spirit of the Northern States, and Ohio also, which pervaded the whole mass of the population, he felt at ease."

Mr. Preston of S. C. said: "Sir, I feel, with the Senator from Missouri, the most profound respect for the talent and integrity, the ability, boldness, and zeal of the

and Vt. (in 1837,) and in Ct. (in 1838,) by laws granting a jury trial. Let the Legislatures of other states be urged to do likewise *immediately*.

2. *Continued Slavery.*—In N. Y. slaves may be held 9 months, at one time; in Pa. and Ind. 6 months; in R. I. indefinitely as domestics. In Ct. those who were over 25 in 1784, are slaves for life. In N. J. children of slaves may be held till they are 28. In Illinois, the constitution provides for indentured apprenticeship, and speaks of the 'owners' of apprentices. Let their several Legislatures be petitioned to make all these states FREE by abolishing every vestige of slavery.

3. *Oppressive Laws.*—Ohio has servilely copied from the statute books of the slave states some of their worst laws against the free colored people. She brands all colored people as liars, by denying them their oath in her courts;—she exacts from them their proportion of the school tax, and excludes them from the benefit of her schools—thus taxing colored people for the instruction of white children.

In Louisiana, the old Spanish and French laws have not yet been *republicanized* to such a refinement of cruelty as to rob a free colored man of his oath. [See Wheeler's Law of Slavery, p. 195.] Let the Legislature of Ohio be petitioned to rise to the level of slaveholding morality.

4. *Taxation without Representation.*—In Connecticut, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, colored men are, by constitution, denied the right of voting for their rulers, and in New Jersey by statute. In New York, they cannot vote unless worth \$250 in real estate. In Pa. the constitution now in force, [July 1838] gives to colored people the right of suffrage. The constitution just framed by the convention, which is to be submitted to the people, Oct. 9, 1838, deprives them of the right.

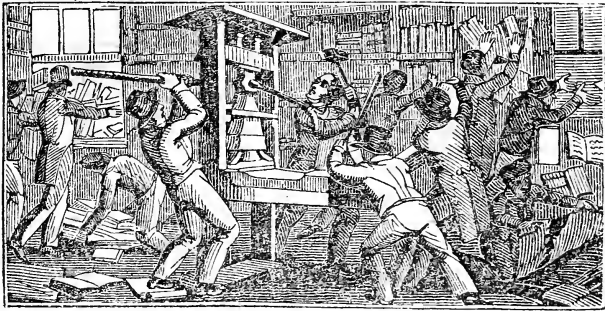
MOON'S PHASES.

☾ Last Quarter,  
● New Moon,

D. H. M.  
8 8 36 m.  
15 9 19 m.

D. H. M.  
☽ First Quarter, 22 0 37 m.  
○ Full Moon, 29 9 29 m.

D. M.	D. W.	☉ R.	☉ S.	Lgth. Days.	☉ Slow	☉ Dec.	☽ So.	☽ Rises	High Wa.	MISCELLANEOUS.
					<i>m s</i>	<i>o s.</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>m</i>	
1	Fri.	6 23 6	11 13	12 39	7 39	0 37	7 6		<i>m.</i>	♂ ♂ ☽. <i>Dreadful cruelties</i>
2	Sa.	6 22 6	11 16	12 27	7 16	1 17	8 9	0 26	♂	♂ in Aphelion. <i>in the internal</i>
3	S	6 21 6	11 19	12 14	6 53	1 56	9 10	0 52	☽	Apogee. ☽ ♂ ☉. ♀ ♂ ☽
4	Mo.	6 19 6	11 21	12 1	6 30	2 37	10 18	1 24	♂	great. ht. lat. s. <i>slave trade.</i>
5	Tu.	6 18 6	11 24	11 47	6 7	3 19	11 13	1 54	♂	Castor S. 8. 19. <i>Families</i>
6	We.	6 16 6	11 27	11 33	5 44	4 3	<i>m.</i>	2 33	♂	Pollux S. 8. 7. <i>sundered</i>
7	Th.	6 15 6	11 30	11 19	5 21	4 52	0 24	3 18	♂	♂ ☽. <i>Gangs driven in</i>
8	Fri.	6 13 6	11 33	11 4	4 58	5 44	1 28	4 13	♂	♂ ☽. <i>Fair and frosty.</i>
9	Sa.	6 12 6	11 36	10 49	4 34	6 39	2 31	5 23	♂	Procyon S. 8 a. <i>chains.</i>
10	S	6 11 6	11 38	10 33	4 10	7 35	3 17	6 51	♂	Very low tides. <i>Many slaves</i>
11	Mo.	6 9 6	11 41	10 47	3 17	8 33	4 9	8 18	♂	South. 0 12 m. <i>perish.</i>
12	Tu.	6 8 6	11 44	10 1	3 23	9 29	4 45	9 22	♂	♂ ☉. <i>N. H. Elections.</i>
13	We.	6 6 6	11 47	9 45	3 0	10 22	5 16	10 11	♂	in suspension. ♂ ☉.
14	Th.	6 5 6	11 50	9 28	2 36	11 15	5 43	10 53	♂	♂ ☽. <i>Grows cooler</i>
15	Fri.	6 3 6	11 53	9 11	2 12	0a 7	sets	11 33	☉	eclipsed, invisible. ♂ ♂ ☽
16	Sa.	6 2 6	11 56	8 54	1 49	0 58	7a41	0a14	♂	perigee. ♀ ♂ ☽. <i>very. with</i>
17	S	6 1 6	11 59	8 37	1 25	1 50	9 2	0 51	♂	High tides. <i>snow.</i>
18	Mo.	5 59 7	12 2	8 19	1 1	2 46	10 26	1 35	cor.	hydrae S. 9 27 a.
19	Tu.	5 58 7	12 5	8 1	0 38	3 44	11 44	2 19	Regulus	S. 9 40 a.
20	We.	5 56 7	12 7	7 43	S. 14	4 44	<i>m.</i>	3 10	♂	Stationary.
21	Th.	5 55 7	12 10	7 25	N. 10	5 45	1 1	4 11	♂	en. ♀. <i>Spring commences.</i>
22	Fri.	5 53 7	12 13	7 7	0 33	6 44	2 5	5 29	♂	South 0 56 m. <i>Rain.</i>
23	Sa.	5 52 7	12 16	6 48	0 57	7 39	2 55	6 53	♂	♂. <i>The North becomes</i>
24	S	5 50 7	12 19	6 30	1 21	8 31	3 36	8 18	low	tides. <i>aroused.</i>
25	Mo.	5 49 7	12 22	6 11	1 44	9 18	3 57	9 15	cor.	hydrae S. 8 59 a. <i>m. con.</i>
26	Tu.	5 48 7	12 25	5 53	2 8	10 2	4 32	9 59	Regulus	S. 9 44 a.
27	We.	5 46 7	12 27	5 34	2 31	10 43	4 53	10 35	♂	South 10 46 a.
28	Th.	5 45 7	12 30	5 16	2 55	11 23	5 12	11 6	♂	♂ ☽. ♂ in Perihelion.
29	Fri.	5 43 7	12 33	4 57	3 18	<i>m.</i>	rises	11 36	♂	South 0 28 m. <i>Blustering</i>
30	Sa.	5 42 7	12 36	4 38	3 41	0 2	7a 8	<i>m.</i>	♂	☉ ☽. <i>with</i>
31	S	5 40 7	12 39	4 20	4 5	0 43	8 12	0 5	♂	Apogee. <i>snow.</i>



#### A PRINTING PRESS DEMOLISHED AT SLAVERY'S BIDDING.

The people of the free states have attacked "the tyrant's foe, and the people's friend."—Oct. 1835, at Utica, July 1836, at Cincinnati, O., Aug. 1837 at Alton, Ill. and finally shot E. P. Lovejoy, because he would not basely surrender "THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS, THE PALLADIUM OF ALL OUR LIBERTIES."

leading men of the North during the last summer. I thank them for checking the excitement there as soon as they were able.

Mr. Brown of S. C. said, "What are the facts as to the *public opinion* of the North on this subject? He had been assured since his arrival here, by gentlemen representing the Northern States, that an abolition discourse could not be delivered among those whom they represented, without endangering the safety of the person attempting it." Mr. Calhoun of S. C. said, "He with others felt, as ought to be felt, for the open, manly, and decided course of a large portion of our northern brethren during the last summer."

All this testimony of slaveholders was given in the U. S. Senate on the *same day*, Jan. 7, 1836, (see Washington Globe) and shows what the sentiments of the people of the free states "have to do with slavery," slaveholders themselves being judges. In the U. S. H. of Representatives, Feb. 16, 1835, Mr. Wise of Va. said, "I appeal to southern gentlemen for the truth of the remarkable fact, that the emigrants from the north to the south are *as ready to become masters as any who are hereditary masters.*"

#### WHAT THE NORTH SHOULD HAVE TO DO WITH SLAVERY.

Now, reader, ponder the facts embodied in this article and learn what the free states have had to do and are doing not only *with* slavery but *for* it. Do you ask what they *ought* to do *now*? We answer, What they *never have done*.—*Act against slavery*—denounce it, not as bad policy merely (slaveholders do that) but as bad *morals*—as a crime, always, everywhere, a crime *in itself*—an impious outrage on reason, right, law, justice, republicanism, man and God. Let them utter this and *act it out*—**ACT IT OUT**—Abolish slavery immediately on their great plantations the District of Columbia and the territory of Florida, where Congress has "power of exclusive legislation," and repeal the act of '93, which takes from human beings jury trial. Let each of them abolish slavery immediately within its own bounds—repeal the laws which permit slaveholders to bring their *slaves* to free states and hold them—demand the repeal of those laws which imprison our colored sailors in southern ports, demand the legal prosecution and punishment of the lynchers and murderers of our citizens at the south—let them indict and bring to trial the thousands of northern rioters that have mobbed abolitionists, or instigated mobs against them—the magistrates mayors, judges, members of Congress, attorneys general, clergymen and all. Let them repeal those laws which graduate men's rights by their *skins*—throw open to persons of color seminaries of learning, churches, professions, trades, civil offices, public conveyances and places of resort, and all literary, religious, political and commercial associations, corporations, honorary distinctions, and public charities. Let them expunge the pro-slavery dialect of our laws, and substitute therefor *free, honest* words. Let the people of the free states overwhelm with political retribution, those traitors to liberty, who have cloven down the sacred right of petition

SCHOOLS, &c.

Look well to your summer schools. They are the hope of the nation. Let your children be taught to love liberty and abhor caste. Let none be excluded for their color,—either by the insults of the children or the vote of the parents.

Of the 137,507 free people of color in the free states in 1830, 68,074 (nearly one half,) were scattered through 2,265 towns, averaging about 30 in each. Of course separate schools cannot be established for them. By suffering them to be shut out from your school, you are taking the straightest course to make them your enemies and the enemies of their country. Ignorant men are prone to be the foes of law and order, but those who are made ignorant by an exclusive prejudice, will naturally be the worst kind of foes. The good conduct of the colored people under their disadvantages and provocations is wonderful. It shows that kindness on your part may make them your best friends and their country's most patriotic citizens. "Thou shall not respect persons." Deut. 16: 19. "Have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ with respect of persons." James 2: 1. "If ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin." James 2: 9.

In selecting your laborers for the season, do not forget to encourage colored men to form habits of industry. We can never do so much to raise them as we have done to crush them. Will you deny them an opportunity to raise themselves?

Slaveholders carefully observe our treatment of our colored neighbors, and they are glad to see us strive to perpetuate the inferiority, from which they argue unfitness for freedom. Will you strengthen the hand which fastens the chain, wields the whip, puts out the eyes of the soul, crushes the intellect and breaks the heart?

MOON'S PHASES.

☾ Last Quarter,  
● New Moon,

D. H. M.  
6 11 46 a.  
13 6 33 a.

☽ First Quarter, 20 0 10 a.  
○ Full Moon, 28 2 13 a.

D. M.	D. W.	R. ☉	S.	Lgth. Days	☉ Slow	☉ Dec.	☽ So.	☽ Rises	High Wa.	MISCELLANEOUS.
1	Mo.	5 39 7	12 42	4 2	4 28	° N. /	m.	a	m	Mid. tides. Ct. Elections.
2	Tu.	5 38 7	12 44	3 43	4 51	2 8	10 20	1 2	31	Regulus S. 9 13 a. Liberty triumphant.
3	We.	5 36 7	12 47	3 25	5 14	2 56	11 26	1 34	♀ in Ω.	
4	Th.	5 35 7	12 50	3 7	5 37	3 45	m.	2 11	♂ ☉. ♀ ☽	
5	Fri.	5 33 7	12 53	2 49	6 0	4 38	0 29	2 57	Alkes S. 9 54 a.	Rain or snow.
6	Sa.	5 32 7	12 56	2 32	6 23	5 33	1 25	3 53	Low tides.	
7	S	5 31 7	12 59	2 14	6 45	6 29	2 16	5 7	♂ gr. ht. lat. N. ♀ gr. elon. E	
8	Mo.	5 29 7	13 1	1 57	7 8	7 24	2 49	6 34	♀ Favorable for observation.	
9	Tu.	5 28 7	13 4	1 40	7 30	8 16	3 22	7 54	♂ South 9. 46 a. Slaveholding	
10	We.	5 26 7	13 7	1 24	7 52	9 9	3 48	9 0	♂ South 11 36 a. becomes bet-	
11	Th.	5 25 7	13 10	1 7	8 14	9 59	4 11	9 49	♂ ☽. ter understood and	
12	Fri.	5 24 7	13 13	0 51	8 36	10 50	4 37	10 32	♂ South 314 m. more detested.	
13	Sa.	5 22 7	13 15	0 35	8 58	11 42	sets.	11 13	☽ Perigee. Fair with frost.	
14	S	5 21 7	13 18	0 20	9 20	0 38	8 a 6	11 59	High tides.	
15	Mo.	5 19 7	13 21	slo. 5	9 42	1 35	9 30	0 a 39	♂ ☽ ☽. ♀ ☽ ☽.	
16	Tu.	5 18 7	13 24	fa. 10	10 3	2 37	10 48	1 26	Mirach on mer. 9 11 a.	
17	We.	5 17 7	13 26	0 25	10 24	3 39	11 59	2 13	♂ Stationary. Fair for	
18	Th.	5 15 7	13 29	0 39	10 45	4 42	m.	3 7	Dubhe on mer. 9 5 a. some	
19	Fri.	5 14 7	13 31	0 53	11 6	5 41	0 59	4 8	Alkes S. 8 59 a.	
20	Sa.	5 13 7	13 34	1 6	11 27	6 34	1 42	5 15	☉ enters ♄. days.	
21	S	5 12 7	13 37	1 19	11 47	7 23	2 16	6 33	Low tides. Money needed	
22	Mo.	5 10 7	13 39	1 31	12 8	8 9	2 42	7 46	Denebola S. 9 50 a. for the	
23	Tu.	5 9 7	13 42	1 43	12 28	8 50	3 6	8 43	♂ ☽ ☽. ♂ stat. Anti-Sla-	
24	We.	5 8 7	13 44	1 55	12 48	9 30	3 25	9 29	Zavijava S. 9 34 a. very cause.	
25	Th.	5 6 7	13 47	2 6	13 7	10 9	3 44	10 7	Algorab S. 10 14.	
26	Fri.	5 5 7	13 50	2 17	13 27	10 48	4 1	10 43	♂ ☽ ☽.	
27	Sa.	5 4 7	13 52	2 27	13 46	11 29	4 19	11 14	☽ Apogee. ♀ in Inf. ♂ ☉.	
28	S	5 2 7	13 55	2 36	14 5	m.	rises.	11 45	♂ South 8 31 a. Monthly con.	
29	Mo.	5 1 7	13 58	2 45	14 24	0 13	8 a 19	m.	Middling tides. Rain.	
30	Tu.	5 0 7	14 0	2 54	14 42	0 59	8 54	0 15	♀ in Ω.	





COLORED SCHOLARS EXCLUDED FROM SCHOOLS.

"If the free colored people were generally taught to read, it might be an inducement to them to remain in this country. WE WOULD OFFER THEM NO SUCH INDUCEMENT."—*Rev. Mr. Converse, a colonizationist, formerly of N. H. now editor of the Southern Religious Telegraph.*

In those parts of the country where the persecuting spirit of colonization has been colonized, such exclusion has ceased.

in Congress, and in the state legislatures, and fill their places with those who will reverence it. Let liberty be justified of her children! Let churches shut slaveholders out of their pulpits and away from their communion tables. Let ecclesiastical judicatories, instead of electing slaveholding moderators as the Presbyterian church delight to do, silence and excommunicate those who rob the poor,—let religious and benevolent societies no longer employ slaveholders as agents, nor elect them to office, nor invite them to make speeches at their anniversaries, nor insult God in laying on his altar "robbery for burnt offering," by systematically gathering into his treasury the plunder of the poor.

Finally. Let all who buy of the slaveholder what he steals from the slave, and thus make him their agent and proxy to perpetrate robbery, to ply the whip and clutch for them the blood-smear'd product—cease to be "partakers of other men's sins," and no longer incur the curse of God's indignant charge, "When thou sawest a thief, thou consentedst with him."

Can any man in his senses ask what the north has to do with slavery, when a Virginia Senator, at the head of the southern bar, in habits of contact with the leading men of the north for 20 years, could say: "I have never conversed with a single northern gentleman whose sentiments on the subject of slavery gave me any dissatisfaction?"

Who does not know that every year our Saratogas, Ballstons, Niagaras, Trentons, Catskills, Nahants, Long Branches, our hotels, public conveyances, promenades, theatres, and fashionable churches are thronged with slaveholders, men whose daily business it is to steal the labor of poor men and children, flogged by a "driver," up to the top of their strength,—men who kidnap babes from their mothers and breed them for the market,—men whose glossy broadcloths and glittering jewelry and burnished equipage were tortured out of the forced, whipped, blood-wet toil of the unpaid slave—and yet the wealthy, the fashionable, the literary, the professedly religious of the free states mingle with these plunderers of the poor, lavish on them their complacent smiles, and choicest courtesies, accompany them on pleasure excursions, laugh, sing, dance, attend races and drink toasts with them, make parties for them, regale them on their richest wines and viands, give them public dinners, make them the orators at political meetings, assign to them posts of honor on the platforms of religious anniversaries, and call them to speak and pray in religious assemblies?

What has the north to do with slavery? Just what the boon companion of thieves, revelling over their plunder, has to do with stealing,—what the accomplice in crime has to do with the principal—he who harbors traitors, and "gives aid and comfort" to rebels, with the enemies of his country.

HINTS TO ABOLITIONISTS.

1. Do you take an Anti-Slavery Almanac? I think so, else probably you would not be reading these hints. And I dare say you would not be without one any more than a hinge upon your door. But there is one thing more—do you take an Anti-Slavery Newspaper? If not, TAKE ONE, pay for it in advance, read it, let all the family read it—then lend it—keep it going until it is worn out.

2. Do you pray for the enslaved? We don't mean once a year, or at the monthly concert for the enslaved merely, but *without ceasing*?

3. Do you always carry anti-slavery publications in your pocket? If you do not, arm yourself with these pocket pistols forthwith, and keep shooting every chance you can get. Have one for a slaveholder, one for a colonizationist, one for a child, &c. Have them as you go to church, as you go to mill, as you go to town meeting, as you journey, as you ride or walk.

4. Do you ever get subscribers to anti-slavery publications? If not do so, and send the names on with the money. Suppose you get one every week—52 a year! And it is easily done. Try. You will thus uphold the paper, encourage the editor, benefit the new subscriber, and probably set him to do as you did.

5. "O, for a lecturer! We never have had a lecture here." Haven't you? Then lecture yourself, my friend. An abolitionist carpenter went from this city to Long Island. The people began to talk about anti-slavery movements. He proposed having a discussion to talk over the matter. A day was appointed. He went to work and prepared an address himself; plain, good home-spun abolitionism. It did execution. He had anti-slavery books, he had seen mobs, he

MOON'S PHASES.

☾ Last Quarter,  
● New Moon,

D. H. M.  
6 11 2 m.  
13 2 30 m.

☽ First Quarter, D. H. M.  
20 1 46 m.  
☉ Full Moon, 28 6 4 a.

D. M.	D. W.	☉ R. S.	Lgth. Days.	☉ Fast	☉ Dec.	☽ So.	☽ Rises	High Wa.	MISCELLANEOUS.
1	We.	4 59 8	14 3	<i>m s</i> 3 2	<i>o N</i> 15 1	<i>m</i> 1 48	<i>a</i> 10 26	<i>m</i> 0 47	☽ ☉ ☽. Ct. Legis. meets.
2	Th.	4 57 8	14 5	3 9	15 19	2 40	11 33	1 22	Zavijava S. 9 22 a. Slave-
3	Fri.	4 56 8	14 8	3 16	15 37	3 34	<i>m.</i>	1 53	Algorab S. 9 42 a. holders
4	Sa.	4 55 8	14 10	3 23	15 54	4 28	0 10	2 57	☽ South 1 47 m. begin to
5	S	4 54 8	14 13	3 29	16 12	5 22	1 2	3 41	Denebola S. 8 56 a. come
6	Mo.	4 52 8	14 15	3 35	16 29	6 15	1 29	4 46	☽ gr. ht. lat S. ♀ in Perihe.
7	Tu.	4 51 8	14 17	3 40	16 46	7 7	1 57	6 5	Algorab S. 9 28 a. North.
8	We.	4 50 8	14 20	3 44	17 2	7 54	2 19	7 24	Low tides. ☽ ☉ ☽. Fair.
9	Th.	4 49 8	14 22	3 47	17 18	8 42	2 41	8 28	☽ Stationary. Warm.
10	Fri.	4 48 8	14 24	3 50	17 34	9 32	3 3	9 23	Alioth on mer. 9 37 a.
11	Sa.	4 47 8	14 26	3 52	17 50	10 24	3 27	10 10	☽ in Ap. ☽ ☉ ☽. Symptoms
12	S	4 46 8	14 29	3 54	18 5	11 20	3 54	10 56	☽ Perigee. of mobs.
13	Mo.	4 45 8	14 31	3 55	18 20	0a20	sets	11 43	☽ South 9 17 a. Cooler with
14	Tu.	4 44 8	14 33	3 56	18 35	1 23	9a41	0a31	Rather high tides. wind
15	We.	4 43 8	14 35	3 56	18 50	2 27	10 48	1 19	☽ ☉ ☽. and rain.
16	Th.	4 42 8	14 37	3 55	19 4	3 30	11 39	2 6	Cor Ca. S. 9 15 a. Meetings
17	Fri.	4 41 8	14 39	3 54	19 18	4 28	<i>m.</i>	2 55	☽ South 0 53 m. in Philadel-
18	Sa.	4 40 8	14 41	3 53	19 31	5 20	0 16	3 42	Middling tides. phia.
19	S	4 39 8	14 43	3 51	19 44	6 7	0 48	4 35	Alioth on mer. 9 2 a.
20	Mo.	4 38 8	14 45	3 48	19 56	6 52	1 13	5 39	Spica S. 9 44 a. More rain.
21	Tu.	4 37 8	14 47	3 45	20 8	7 31	1 35	6 45	☉ enters II. ☽ ☉ ☽.
22	We.	4 36 8	14 48	3 41	20 20	8 10	1 51	7 50	Cor Caroli S. 8 51 a.
23	Th.	4 35 8	14 50	3 37	20 32	8 49	2 9	8 45	☽ to be seen in the morning.
24	Fri.	4 34 8	14 52	3 32	20 45	9 30	2 27	9 35	☽ Apogee.
25	Sa.	4 33 8	14 53	3 27	20 55	10 11	2 45	10 12	☽ greatest elong. W.
26	S	4 32 8	14 55	3 21	21 6	10 56	3 8	10 47	☽ South 9 22 a. Showers.
27	Mo.	4 32 8	14 56	3 15	21 16	11 44	3 34	11 21	Spica S. 9 0 a. N. E. Con-
28	Tu.	4 31 8	14 58	3 8	21 26	<i>m.</i>	rises	11 57	☽ ☉ ☽. ☽ ☉ ☽. N. E. Con-
29	We.	4 30 8	14 59	3 1	21 36	0 35	9a18	<i>m.</i>	Rather Annual Meeting
30	Th.	4 30 8	15 1	2 53	21 45	1 29	10 10	0 34	of the Ohio A. S. Society.
31	Fri.	4 29 8	15 2	2 45	21 54	2 24	10 54	1 14	high tides.



### COLORED SCHOOLS BROKEN UP, IN THE FREE STATES.

When schools have been established for colored scholars, the law-makers and the mob have combined to destroy them;—as at Canterbury, Ct., at Canaan, N. H., Aug. 10, 1835, at Zanesville and Brown Co., Ohio, in 1836.

### IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION.

Aug. 1, 1834, 30,000 slaves were emancipated in Antigua. Without any apprenticeship, or system of preparation, preceding the act, the chains were broken at a stroke, and they all went out FREE! It is now four years since these 30,000 slaves were "turned loose" among 2,000 whites, their former masters. These masters fought against the emancipation bill with all their force and fury. They remonstrated with the British Government—conjured and threatened,—protested that emancipation would ruin the island, that the emancipated slaves would never work—would turn vagabonds, butcher the whites and flood the island with beggary and crime. Their strong beseechings availed as little as their threats, and croakings about ruin. The Emancipation Act, unintimidated by the bluster, traversed quietly through its successive stages up to the royal sanction, and became the law of the land. When the slaveholders of Antigua saw that abolition was inevitable, they at once resolved to substitute immediate, unconditional, and entire emancipation for the gradual process contemplated by the Act. Well, what has been the result? Read the following testimony of the very men who, but little more than four years ago, denounced and laughed to scorn the idea of abolishing slavery, and called it folly, fanaticism, and insanity. We quote from the work of Messrs. Thome and Kimball, lately published, the written testimony of many of the first men in Antigua,—some of whom were among the largest slaveholders before August, 1834. It proves, among other points, that

#### EMANCIPATED SLAVES ARE PEACEABLE.

**TESTIMONY.** "There is no feeling of insecurity. A stronger proof of this cannot be given than the *dispensing, within five months after emancipation, with the Christmas guards, which had been uninterruptedly kept up for nearly one hundred years—during the whole time of slavery.*

"I have never heard of any instance of revenge for former injuries." *James Scotland, Sen. Esq.*

"Insurrection or revenge is in no case dreaded. My family go to sleep every night with the doors unlocked. There is not the *slightest* feeling of insecurity—quite the contrary. Property is more secure, for all idea of insurrection is abolished forever." *Hon. N. Nugent, Speaker of the House of Assembly.*

"There has been no instance of personal violence since freedom. I have not heard of a single case of even meditated revenge." *Dr. Daniell, member of the Council, and Attorney for six estates.*

"Emancipation has banished the fear of insurrections, incendiarism, &c." *Mr. Favey, Manager of Lavicount's.*

"I have never heard of an instance of violence or revenge on the part of the negroes." *Rev. Mr. Morrish, Moravian Missionary.*

had employed a colored journeyman, he knew what freedom was by experience. Couldn't he talk about liberty? So can you.

6. Do you teach your children what abolitionism is? Do not overlook them.

7. Have you read this Almanac through? What a question! Do you suppose I would buy an almanac and not read it? Very likely, for many do just so. Read it now or probably you never will. Then ask every neighbor to get one and read it.

8. Do you give away Anti-Slavery Almanacs? Such presents go a great way.

9. Are you and all your family regular and liberal contributors to the Anti-Slavery Society? Can you not be a collector also? We believe truth, spread by the use of money, will deliver the slaves. Those who collect and give are therefore the slaves' liberators. Will you not have a large share in this work and its reward?

QUESTIONING CANDIDATES.

Our batteries are pointed at slavery. Whatever political party crosses their range must calculate upon grape and canister. The right of voting is a sacred trust to be used for liberty. No one will get the votes of abolitionists who does not TAKE SIDES against slavery. Let the following questions, or others equivalent, be put to all candidates for the U. S. House of Representatives.

1. Are you in favor of the immediate abolition, by Congress, of slavery in the District of Columbia, and in the territory of Florida?

2. Are you in favor of the immediate abolition of the inter-state slave trade?

3. Will you oppose the annexation of Texas, and the admission of any new slave state to the Union?

4. Will you use your influence in favor of recognizing Haitian independence?

MOON'S PHASES.

( Last Quarter,	D.	H.	M.	) First Quarter,	D.	H.	M.
● Full Moon,	4	6	55 a.	○ New Moon,	18	5	16 m.
	11	9	59 a.		26	7	13 m.

D. M.	D. W.	☉ R.	☉ S.	Lgth. Days	☉ Fast	☉ Dec.	☽ So.	☽ Rises	High Wa.	MISCELLANEOUS.
1	Sa.	4 28	8 15	4	2 36	22 2	3 18	11 28	1 52	☽ South 7 58 a. "Rob not
2	S	4 28	8 15	5	2 27	22 10	4 9	11 56	2 33	Spica South 8 36 a. the
3	Mo.	4 27	8 15	6	2 18	22 18	4 59	m.	3 19	☽ South 11 35 a. poor."
4	Tu.	4 27	8 15	7	2 8	22 25	5 47	0 21	4 13	☽ ☽ ☽. Fine and fair.
5	We.	4 26	8 15	8	1 59	22 32	6 34	0 43	5 16	N. H. An. Meeting and Legis-
6	Th.	4 26	8 15	9	1 48	22 39	7 22	1 5	6 33	Rath. high tides. lature meets.
7	Fri.	4 25	8 15	10	1 38	22 45	8 11	1 26	7 46	☽ ☽ ☽. Jury trial in
8	Sa.	4 25	8 15	11	1 27	22 50	9 2	1 50	8 52	Arcturus .S 0 8 a. questions of
9	S	4 24	8 15	12	1 15	22 56	9 59	2 20	9 46	☽ Perigee. personal freedom
10	Mo.	4 24	8 15	12	1 3	23 1	11 0	2 58	10 38	☽ ☽ ☽. granted.
11	Tu.	4 23	8 15	13	0 51	23 5	0a 4	sets.	11 29	Spica S. 8 0 a. Changeable.
12	We.	4 23	8 15	14	0 38	23 9	1 8	9a24	0a33	Rather high tides.
13	Th.	4 23	8 15	15	0 26	23 13	2 10	10 24	1 6	Abolitionists speak
14	Fri.	4 22	8 15	15	0 13	23 16	3 5	10 42	1 47	☽ ☽ ☽. often for the
15	Sa.	4 22	8 15	16	fa. 1	23 19	3 55	11 9	2 23	Alphacca S. 9 53 a. slaves,
16	S	4 22	8 15	16	slo. 12	23 22	4 41	11 33	3 4	Mirach S. 9 0 a. and
17	Mo.	4 22	8 15	16	0 25	23 24	5 23	11 49	3 44	☽ ☽ ☽. give liberally
18	Tu.	4 22	8 15	17	0 37	23 25	6 2	m.	4 27	☽ ☽ ☽. to sustain labors for
19	We.	4 22	8 15	17	0 50	23 26	6 42	0 9	5 22	☽ in ☽. ☽ ☽ ☽. their
20	Th.	4 22	8 15	17	1 3	23 27	7 22	0 26	6 30	Rather low tides. relief.
21	Fri.	4 21	8 15	17	1 16	23 28	8 3	0 45	7 45	☽ ent. Summer begins.
22	Sa.	4 22	8 15	17	1 29	23 28	8 47	1 7	8 45	Alphacca S. 9 24 a. Rain.
23	S	4 22	8 15	17	1 42	23 27	9 33	1 31	9 35	Middling tides.
24	Mo.	4 22	8 15	17	1 55	23 26	10 24	2 1	10 21	Monthly Concert.
25	Tu.	4 22	8 15	17	2 8	23 25	11 17	2 31	11 1	☽ South 9 58 a.
26	We.	4 22	8 15	16	2 20	23 23	m.	rises.	11 42	Antares S. 9 58 a. Fine sum-
27	Th.	4 22	8 15	16	2 33	23 21	0 12	8 15	m.	☽ in sup. ☽ ☽. mer weather.
28	Fri.	4 22	8 15	16	2 45	23 19	1 7	9 23	0 20	Rather high tides. "Relieve
29	Sa.	4 22	8 15	15	2 57	23 16	2 1	9 54	0 57	Alphacca S. 8 55 a. the
30	S	4 23	8 15	15	3 9	23 13	2 51	10 20	1 45	☽ South 9 36 a. oppressed."

Elijah F. Lovejoy was killed



at Alton, Illinois, Nov. 7, 1837.

## THE FLORIDA CODE OF LAW,

To be sanctioned by the free states if we admit Florida into the Union, while she cherishes a system which is both the offspring and parent of LYNCH LAW.

**R**ANAWAY, a negro fellow named BEN ; 18 years of age, rather thin in flesh &c. As I have traced him out in several places in town, I am certain he is harbored. This notice is given that I am determined, that whenever he is taken, TO PUNISH HIM until he informs me who has given him food and protection, and I SHALL APPLY THE LAW OF JUDGE LYNCH, TO MY OWN SATISFACTION, on those concerned in his concealment. A. WATSON.  
[See p. 25, and III, V, VIII, pp. 31, 32.] Florida Herald, (St. Augustine,) June 23, 1838.

"The general conduct of the negroes has been worthy of much praise. Their demeanor is peaceable and orderly." *Ralph Higinbotham, U. S. Consul.*

"There is no possible danger of personal violence from the slaves : should a foreign power invade our island, I have no doubt that the negroes would, to a man, fight for the planters." *H. Armstrong, Esq., of Fitch's Creek.*

The sense of personal security is universal. I know not of a single instance in which the negroes have exhibited a revengeful spirit. *S. Bourne, Esq., of Millar's.*

"We have no cause now to fear insurrections ; emancipation has freed us from all danger on this score." *David Cranstoun, Esq.*

Messrs. Thome and Kimball add : "The Governor said he had been well acquainted with the country districts of England, he had also travelled extensively in Europe, yet he had never found such a peaceable, orderly and law-abiding people as those of Antigua."

"A gentleman in St. John's said he had long been desirous to remove to England, his native country, and had slavery continued much longer in Antigua, he certainly should have gone ; but now the security of property was so much greater in Antigua than it was in England, that he thought it doubtful whether he should ever venture to take his family thither."

LORD BROUGHAM, in his speech before the House of Lords, Feb. 20, 1838, speaking of the slaves emancipated in 1834, said : "The slave has shown, by four years' blameless behavior and devotion unsurpassed by any English peasant, to the pursuits of peaceful industry, that he is as fit for his freedom as any lord whom I now address."

## EMANCIPATED SLAVES ARE INDUSTRIOUS.

**TESTIMONY.** "The most general apprehension prior to emancipation was, that the negroes would not work after they were made free. Time, however, has proved that there was no foundation for this apprehension. The estates were never in better order than they are at present. *We can always depend upon the laborers.* On account of the stimulus to industry which wages afford, there is far less feigned sickness than there was during slavery. When slaves, the negroes were incessantly feigning sickness. The sick-house was thronged. After '34, it was wholly deserted. The negroes would not go near it."—*Hon. N. Nugent.*

The Governor told Messrs. Thome and Kimball that "he was assured by planters, from every part of the island, that the negroes were very industriously disposed."

"My people have become much more industrious since they were emancipated."  
—*Mr. Watkins, of Donovan's.*

5. Will you use your influence in favor of more efficient measures for the suppression of the foreign slave trade?

6. Will you advocate the repeal of the act of 1793, which takes away the right of jury trial when a man's liberty is at stake?

He who does not, with manifest sincerity, return affirmative answers to all these questions will be sure to lose the votes of abolitionists.

STATE LEGISLATURES

Choose United States Senators. Your vote for representative to the legislature may therefore determine who shall be senator from your state for six years, and that Senator may turn the scale on a question involving the liberty of millions. The list, on page 36, shows when the terms of northern Senators expire, but deaths or resignations may make a choice necessary at an unexpected time. For this, and other weighty reasons, look well to the candidates for the State Legislature. Let them be called upon to give public answers to questions like the following.

1. Will you, if elected, advocate the repeal of all laws which graduate men's rights by their complexion? N. B. This question may be made more full and definite. See pp. 6, 8, and 10.

2. Will you advocate the passage of resolutions declaring; That Congress have the power, and that it is their duty immediately to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia? N. B. Similar questions should be asked touching all the points mentioned in pp. 6 and 8.

3. Will you oppose the election of any man to the U. S. Senate unless you have good reason to believe he will heartily carry out the spirit of such resolutions?

MOON'S PHASES.

☾ Last Quarter,	D. 4	H. 0	M. 26 m.	☽ First Quarter, 18	D. 10	H. 12	M. m.
☾ New Moon,	10	6	12 a.	☽ Full Moon, 26	6	35	m.

D. M.	D. W.	☉ R.	☉ S.	Lgth. Days.	☉ Slow.	☉ Dec.	☽ So.	☽ Rises	High Wa.	MISCELLANEOUS.
1	Mo.	4 23	8 15	14	3 21	23 9	3 40	10 43	2 11	Unuk S. 8 54 a.
2	Tu.	4 23	8 15	13	3 32	23 6	4 26	11 3	2 52	☽ ☽ ☽. ☽ ☽ ☽.
3	We.	4 24	8 15	13	3 43	23 1	5 13	11 24	3 37	Ras Algethi S. 10 17 a.
4	Th.	4 24	8 15	12	3 54	22 55	6 0	11 47	4 32	Earth farthest from the sun.
5	Fri.	4 25	8 15	11	4 5	22 50	6 50	m.	5 50	Antares S. 9 21 a. Rain.
6	Sa.	4 25	8 15	10	4 16	22 44	7 44	0 15	7 3	Ras Alhague S. 10 25 a. "The
7	S	4 25	8 15	9	4 26	22 38	8 41	0 48	8 22	☽ Perigee. hope of reward
8	Mo.	4 26	8 15	8	4 36	22 32	9 42	1 30	9 29	Middling tides. sweetens
9	Tu.	4 27	8 15	7	4 45	22 25	10 45	2 25	10 28	Rastaben S. 10 38 a. labor."
10	We.	4 27	8 15	6	4 54	22 18	11 47	sets.	11 17	☽ South 8 52.
11	Th.	4 28	8 15	5	5 3	22 10	0a45	8a34	0a 2	☽ ☽ ☽. Warm and sultry.
12	Fri.	4 28	8 15	3	5 11	22 2	1 39	9 4	0 41	☽ in ☽. "A man should
13	Sa.	4 29	8 15	2	5 19	21 53	2 27	9 30	1 16	REJOICE
14	S	4 30	8 15	1	5 26	21 45	3 12	9 49	1 49	☽ ☽ ☽. in his works, for
15	Mo.	4 30	8 14	59	5 32	21 36	3 52	10 9	2 18	Ras Alha. S. 9 48 a. that is
16	Tu.	4 31	8 14	58	5 38	21 26	4 33	10 25	2 52	Middling tides. his portion."
17	We.	4 32	8 14	57	5 44	21 16	5 12	10 44	3 26	☽ ☽ ☽. ☽ ☽ ☽. —Solomon.
18	Th.	4 33	8 14	55	5 49	21 6	5 53	11 4	4 13	Rastaben S. 10 2 a. Showers.
19	Fri.	4 33	8 14	53	5 54	20 55	6 36	11 27	5 11	☽ Apogee. ☽ ☽ ☽. Slaves,
20	Sa.	4 34	8 14	52	5 58	20 44	7 23	11 57	6 31	Vega S. 10 32. driven to un-
21	S	4 35	8 14	50	6 1	20 33	8 11	m.	7 54	☽ ☽ ☽. paid toil under a
22	Mo.	4 36	8 14	48	6 4	20 21	9 4	0 31	9 2	Altair S. 11 36. burning sun,
23	Tu.	4 37	8 14	47	6 6	20 9	9 59	1 16	9 57	☽ enters ♃. rejoice not, but
24	We.	4 38	8 14	45	6 8	19 57	10 54	2 11	10 44	☽ in ☽. in Hope.
25	Th.	4 38	8 14	43	6 9	19 44	11 49	3 16	11 23	Mid. tides. Monthly Concert.
26	Fri.	4 39	8 14	41	6 10	19 31	m.	rises.	m.	Ras Al. S. 8 52 a. Frequent.
27	Sa.	4 40	8 14	39	6 10	19 18	0 43	Sal19	0 3	☽ in ☽. ☽ greatest elong. E.
28	S	4 41	8 14	37	6 9	19 4	1 33	8 38	0 40	Ras Al. S. 8 56 a. Showers.
29	Mo.	4 42	8 14	35	6 8	18 50	2 21	9 6	1 13	☽ ☽ ☽. "Open thy mouth
30	Tu.	4 43	8 14	33	6 6	18 36	3 9	9 27	1 50	Rastaben S. 9 12 a. for the
31	We.	4 44	8 14	31	6 3	18 21	3 56	9 50	2 28	Vega S. 9 48 a. dumb.



#### A NORTHERN FREEMAN ENSLAVED BY NORTHERN HANDS.

Nov. 20, 1836, (Sunday,) Peter John Lee, a free colored man of Westchester Co., N. Y., was kidnapped by Tobias Boudinot, E. K. Waddy, John Lyon, and Daniel D. Nash, of N. Y., city, and hurried away from his wife and children into slavery. One went up to shake hands with him, while the others were ready to use the gag and chain. See *Emancipator*, March 16, and May 4, 1837. This is not a rare case. Many northern freemen have been enslaved, in some cases under color of law. Oct. 26, 1836, a man named Frank, who was born in Pa., and lived free in Ohio, was hurried into slavery by an Ohio Justice of the Peace. When offered for sale in Louisiana, he so clearly stated the facts that a *slaveholding* court declared him FREE—thus giving a withering rebuke to northern servility.

“Throughout the island the estates were never in a more advanced state than they now are. I have frequently adopted the job system—the negroes accomplished twice as much as when they worked for daily wages, *because they made more money*. On some days they would make three times the ordinary wages.”—*Dr. Daniell*.

“On my estate, cultivation is more forward than *ever* it has been at the same season. The laborers have *done well*.”—*Mr. Favey, of Lavicount's estate*.

“Emancipation has almost wholly put an end to the practice of *skulking*, or pretending to be sick.”—*James Howell, Esq.*

“I find my people much more disposed to work than they formerly were. The habit of feigning sickness to get rid of going to the field, is completely broken up. My people say, ‘*they have not time to be sick now*.’ My cultivation has never been so far advanced at the same season. I have been encouraged by the *increasing industry* of my people to bring several additional acres under cultivation.”—*Mr. Hatley*.

“I get my work done better than formerly, and with incomparably more cheerfulness. My estate was never in a finer state of cultivation, though I employ fewer laborers than during slavery.”—*D. Cranstoun, Esq.*

EMANCIPATED SLAVES ARE EASILY CONTROLLED BY LAW.

TESTIMONY. “I have found that the negroes are readily controlled by law.”—*David Cranstoun, Esq.*

“They are as pliant to the hand of legislation, as any people.”—*Wesleyan Miss'y.*

“Aggression on private property, such as breaking into houses, cutting canes, &c., are *decidedly fewer* than formerly.”—*Dr. Daniell*.

Messrs. Thome and Kimball add: “Similar sentiments were expressed by the Governor, Hon. N. Nugent, R. B. Eldridge, Esq., Dr. Ferguson, James Scotland, Jr., Esq., and numerous other planters, managers, &c.”

In connection with the above, we present extracts of a letter from the SUPERINTENDENT OF THE POLICE, addressed to us, dated St. John's, Feb. 9, 1837.

“The laborers have conducted themselves generally in a highly satisfactory manner to all the authorities. They are peaceable, orderly, and civil. *It is a due fear of, and a prompt obedience to the authority of the magistrates, is a prominent feature of the lower orders*. To judge of the past and present state of society throughout the island, I presume that the *lives and properties of all classes are as secure in this, as in any other portion of his Majesty's dominions*.” R. S. WICKHAM, *Superintendent of police*.

ABSTINENCE FROM SLAVE PRODUCTS.

By denying ourselves the use of slave products, we give power to our testimony against slaveholding, quicken our sense of its guilt, create a market for free products, thus securing a supply, and set an example, which, if followed generally, would abolish slavery. Who that remembers the slave *as bound with him*, can freely consume the product of his blood and tears, eat the food which tantalized his hunger, or wear the cotton for which he went naked and scarred? To the slaveholder we say: "Let him that stole steal no more;" and to him that purchases the products of unrequited toil, Let him that encourages thieves to steal, by buying their stolen goods, BE THEIR CUSTOMERS NO MORE.

THE BAPTIST CHURCH IN AMERICA

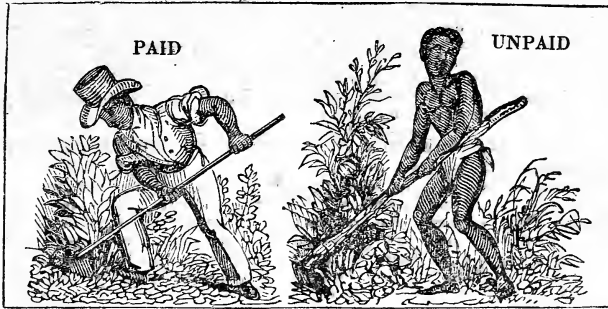
Sprung into being on the principles of liberty. Roger Williams and his persecuted friends, and early followers, abhorred all oppression. "How is the gold become dim!" Sept. 1, 1834, Lucius Bolles, D.D. Cor. Sec. Am. Bap. Board for For. Missions, in a *defence* of the Baptist Church, says: "There is a pleasing degree of union among the multiplying thousands of Baptists throughout the land. \* \* Our southern brethren are GENERALLY, both MINISTERS and PEOPLE, SLAVEHOLDERS." In 1835, the Savannah River Baptist Association, deliberately invited and encouraged slavery to trample on the marriage relation, by nullifying the first marriage of a slave if a slaveholder should choose to separate him from his wife.

Baptists of the north, if you fellowship, such enormities, your "independent"

MOON'S PHASES.			D.	H.	M.		D.	H.	M.	
☾	Last Quarter,		2	4	59 m.	○	Full Moon,	24	4	51 m.
●	New Moon,		9	4	28 m.	☾	Last Quarter,	31	10	3 m.
☽	First Quarter,		17	3	49 m.					

D. M.	D. W.	☉ R.	☉ S.	Lgth. Days	☉ Slow.	☉ Dec.	☽ So.	☽ Rises	High Wa.	MISCELLANEOUS.
						☉ N. /	m	a.	m.	
1	Th.	4 45 8	14 29	6 0	18 26		4 45	10 15	3 14	☽ Perigee.
2	Fri.	4 46 8	14 27	5 57	17 51		5 37	10 46	4 8	Ras Alhague S. 8 37. Rather cool for the season.
3	Sa.	4 48 8	14 25	5 53	17 36		6 33	11 25	5 16	
4	<b>S</b>	4 49 8	14 23	5 48	17 20		7 32	m.	6 46	Middling tides. Ill. and Ind.
5	Mo.	4 50 8	14 20	5 43	17 4		8 33	0 16	8 15	☽ greatest elong. E. Elect.
6	Tu.	4 51 8	14 18	5 37	16 48		9 34	1 16	9 24	☽ in Aphelion.
7	We.	4 52 8	14 15	5 31	16 31		10 33	2 26	10 20	Rastaben 8 42.
8	Th.	4 54 8	14 13	5 24	16 14		11 29	3 41	11 6	☽ Stationary.
9	Fri.	4 55 8	14 11	5 17	15 57		0a19	sets.	11 43	Altair S. 10 25 a. Change-
10	Sa.	4 56 8	14 8	5 9	15 40		1 5	7a54	0a18	Rather high tides. able.
11	<b>S</b>	4 57 8	14 6	5 0	15 22		1 48	8 12	0 48	☽ ☽ ☽. Northern cities thronged with slave-
12	Mo.	4 58 8	14 3	4 50	15 4		2 29	8 30	1 16	☽ ☽ ☽. holders:
13	Tu.	5 0 7	14 1	4 40	14 46		3 9	8 48	1 43	Vega S. 8 59 a. slave-
14	We.	5 1 7	13 59	4 29	14 28		3 49	9 7	2 10	☽ ☽ ☽. holders:
15	Th.	5 2 7	13 56	4 18	14 9		4 32	9 30	2 58	☽ Apogee. ☽ ☽ ☽. Look out for mobs.
16	Fri.	5 3 7	13 54	4 6	13 50		5 17	9 56	3 29	Altair S. 9 59 a. Continues unsettled.
17	Sa.	5 4 7	13 51	3 54	13 32		6 4	10 26	4 26	Low tides.
18	<b>S</b>	5 6 7	13 49	3 41	13 12		6 55	11 9	5 44	☽ ☽ ☽.
19	Mo.	5 7 7	13 46	3 28	12 53		7 48	m.	7 18	☽ Stationary.
20	Tu.	5 8 7	13 43	3 14	12 33		8 44	0 0	8 37	Vega S. 8 31 a.
21	We.	5 10 7	13 41	3 0	11 53		9 40	0 59	9 37	Altair S. 9 42 a.
22	Th.	5 11 7	13 38	2 45	11 53		10 34	2 10	10 23	Middling tides.
23	Fri.	5 12 7	13 35	2 30	11 33		11 26	3 23	11 4	☉ enters ♄. Rainy.
24	Sa.	5 14 7	13 33	2 14	11 13		m.	rises.	11 42	Deneb on mer. 10 24 a.
25	<b>S</b>	5 15 7	13 30	1 58	10 52		0 17	7a12	m.	☽ ☽ ☽. Abolitionism spreading.
26	Mo.	5 16 7	13 27	1 42	10 31		1 6	7 35	0 19	Altair S. 9 24 a.
27	Tu.	5 18 7	13 25	1 25	10 10		1 55	7 57	0 53	☽ Perigee. ☽ in Aphelion.
28	We.	5 19 7	13 22	1 8	9 49		2 46	8 24	1 34	Middling tides.
29	Th.	5 20 7	13 19	0 50	9 28		3 38	8 53	2 17	Deneb on mer. 10 4 a.
30	Fri.	5 22 7	13 17	0 32	9 7		4 33	9 29	3 1	☽ at greatest brilliancy.
31	Sa.	5 23 7	13 14	0 14	8 45		5 32	10 16	4 1	Alderamir S. 10 38 a. Fair.





## EMANCIPATED SLAVES CAN TAKE CARE OF THEMSELVES.

TESTIMONY. "Since their freedom, the negroes cultivate habits of carefulness and economy."—*Mr. J. Howell.*

"There is an increasing attention paid by the negroes to cultivating their private lands. They are very acute in making bargains."—*Dr. Daniell.*

"The negroes show a great deal of shrewdness in every thing which concerns their own interests. To a stranger it must be utterly incredible how they can manage to live on such small wages. They are very exact in keeping their accounts with the manager."—*H. Armstrong, Esq.*

"The emancipated people manifest as much cunning and address in business, as any class of persons."—*Mr. James Howell.*

"The capabilities of the blacks for education are conspicuous; so also as to mental acquirements and trades."—*Hon. N. Nugent.*

## ANTIGUA SLAVEHOLDERS PREACHING THE FAITH THAT ONCE THEY DESTROYED.

Till 1834 the Antigua slaveholders cursed abolition; since then, they have blessed it, rejoiced, and gloried in it. HEAR THEIR OWN CONFESSIONS!

TESTIMONY. "We all resisted VIOLENTLY the measure of abolition, when it first began to be agitated in England. But we are now rejoiced that slavery is abolished."—*Dr. Daniell, Member of the Council.*

"I do not know of a single planter who would be willing to return to slavery. We all feel that it was a great curse."—*D. Cranstoun, Esq.*

"Before emancipation, there was the bitterest opposition to it among the planters. But after freedom came, they were delighted with the change."—*Mr. J. Howell.*

"There was the most violent opposition in the legislature, and throughout the island, to the anti-slavery proceedings in Parliament. The humane might have their hopes and aspirations; but they did not dare to make such feelings public. They would have been branded as the enemies of their country!"—*Hon. N. Nugent.*

"Whoever was known, or suspected of being an advocate for freedom, became the object of vengeance, and was sure to suffer, if in no other way, by a loss of part of his business."—*James Scotland, Sen., Esq.*

Messrs. Thome and Kimball say: "The GOVERNOR said that the planters all conceded that emancipation had been a great blessing to the island, and he did not know of a single individual who wished to return to the old system."

"Distinguished abolitionists are spoken of in terms of respect and admiration. A distinguished agent of the English anti-slavery society now resides in St. John's, and keeps a bookstore, well stocked with anti-slavery books and pamphlets. The bust of GEORGE THOMPSON stands conspicuously upon the counter of the bookstore, looking forth upon the public street."

"Anti-slavery is the popular doctrine among all classes. He is considered an enemy to his country who opposes the principles of liberty. The planters hailed the arrival of French and American visitors on tours of inquiry as a bright omen. In publishing our arrival, a St. John's paper remarked: 'We regard this as a pleasing indication that the American public have their eyes turned upon our experiment with a view, we may hope, of ultimately following our EXCELLENT EXAMPLE.'"

churches cannot cast the blame on any church judicatory. Your churches are now a refuge for slavery. Rev. Basil Manly, a clerical man-seller recently preached in your Churches, in various parts of New England, and the scores of clerical Baptist slaveholders that visit the north every summer, are invited to occupy your pulpits. If you would enjoy the smiles of him who came to “preach deliverance to the captives,” renounce all “fellowship with the unfruitful works” of slavery, that you may, in word and deed REPROVE them.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,

Organized in 1789, adopted the “judgement” of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, in favor of “universal liberty,” in 1793,—adopted the note to the eighth commandment in its Catechism, calling those who “keep” slaves *men-stealers*, and classed with “sinners of the first rank,” in 1794. But as the influence of the revolution died away in the nation, the church became more pro-slavery in practice, and even began to renounce its former professions. In 1816, the Gen. Assembly, while it called slavery a “mournful evil,” directed the ERASURE of its anti-slavery note to the eighth commandment. In 1818, it adopted an “expression of views,” in which slavery is called “a gross VIOLATION of the most precious and sacred RIGHTS of human nature,” but instead of requiring the instant abandonment of this “VIOLATION OF RIGHTS,” the Assembly exhorts slaveholders “to continue and increase their exertions to effect a total abolition of slavery,” with “no greater delay than a regard to the public welfare demands,” and recommends that if a “Christian professor,” “shall sell a slave who is also in communion with our church,” without the consent of the slave, the seller should be “suspended till he

MOON'S PHASES.		D.	H.	M.		D.	H.	M.
☉	New Moon,	7	5	39 a.	○	Full Moon,	23	2 33 m.
☾	First Quarter,	15	9	20 a.	☾	Last Quarter,	29	6 a. 5

D.-M.	D. W.	R.	S.	Lgth. Days	☉ Fast	☉ Dec.	☽ So.	☽ Rises	High Wa.	MISCELLANEGUS.
1	S	5 25	7 13	11	0 4	8 23	6 33	11 14	5 16	<i>The laborer is worthy of his hire.</i> <i>Vt. Elect.</i> <i>Slaveholders don't pay their laborers.</i> <i>♄ ☽ ☉.</i> <i>Rainy.</i> <i>Me. Elect.</i> <i>Station.</i> <i>This means</i> <i>ness begins to</i> <i>make</i> <i>talk.</i> <i>Fine Autumn</i> <i>weather.</i> <i>Earnest</i> <i>discussions</i> <i>in stages.</i> <i>steam-</i> <i>boats, acad-</i> <i>emies and lyceums.</i> <i>Autumn begins.</i> <i>A storm of wind</i> <i>and rain.</i> <i>Continues unsettled.</i> <i>Mon. Con.</i>
2	Mo.	5 26	7 13	8	0 22	8 1	7 34	m.	6 48	
3	Tu.	5 27	7 13	5	0 41	7 39	8 34	0 22	8 15	
4	We.	5 29	7 13	3	1 0	7 17	9 29	1 33	9 19	
5	Th.	5 30	7 13	0	1 20	6 55	10 19	2 46	10 7	
6	Fri.	5 31	7 12	57	1 40	6 33	11 7	3 57	11 0	
7	Sa.	5 33	7 12	54	2 0	6 11	11 50	sets.	11 24	
8	S	5 34	7 12	52	2 20	5 48	0a32	6a42	11 55	
9	Mo.	5 36	7 12	49	2 40	5 25	1 13	7 0	0a23	
10	Tu.	5 37	7 12	46	3 1	5 2	1 53	7 21	0 50	
11	We.	5 38	7 12	43	3 22	4 40	2 35	7 41	1 18	
12	Th.	5 40	7 12	40	3 43	4 17	3 19	8 6	1 47	
13	Fri.	5 41	7 12	38	4 4	3 54	4 5	8 35	2 24	
14	Sa.	5 43	7 12	35	4 25	3 31	4 54	9 11	3 8	
15	S	5 44	7 12	32	4 26	3 8	5 47	9 57	4 6	
16	Mo.	5 45	7 12	29	5 7	2 44	6 40	10 52	5 21	
17	Tu.	5 47	7 12	26	5 28	2 21	7 34	11 57	6 50	
18	We.	5 48	7 12	23	5 49	1 58	8 29	m.	8 13	
19	Th.	5 50	7 12	21	6 10	1 35	9 22	1 8	9 16	
20	Fri.	5 51	7 12	18	6 31	1 11	10 13	2 23	10 3	
21	Sa.	5 53	7 12	15	6 52	0 48	11 3	3 39	10 43	
22	S	5 54	7 12	12	7 13	0 25	11 53	4 56	11 23	
23	Mo.	5 55	7 12	9	7 24	N. 1	m.	rises.	m.	
24	Tu.	5 57	7 12	6	7 55	S. 22	0 44	6a33	0 0	
25	We.	5 58	7 12	3	8 16	0 46	1 37	7 2	0 41	
26	Th.	6 0	6 12	1	8 36	1 9	2 34	7 38	1 25	
27	Fri.	6 1	6 11	58	8 56	1 32	3 33	8 21	2 11	
28	Sa.	6 3	6 11	55	9 16	1 56	4 35	9 17	3 3	
29	S	6 4	6 11	52	9 36	2 19	5 38	10 23	4 5	
30	Mo.	6 5	6 11	49	9 55	2 43	6 38	11 33	5 21	



**SOUTHERN ARGUMENTS TO STOP THE MOUTHS OF NORTHERN GUESTS.**

A northern man goes south, sits at a table loaded from the slave's unpaid toil,—who eats his corn bread in the sun,—marries a slaveholder, and then—finds out that slavery is a divine institution, and defends it in southern and northern pulpits, religious newspapers, &c. For examples,—consult memory or observation.

**ILLUSTRATION OF THE NOW PREVALENT FEELING IN ANTIGUA.**

We insert a note from the Governor of the island, inviting Messrs. Thome and Kimball, the delegates of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to dine with him. "If Messrs. Kimball and Thome are not engaged Tuesday next, the Lt. Governor will be happy to see them at dinner, at six o'clock, when he will endeavor to facilitate their PHILANTHROPIC inquiries, by inviting two or three proprietors to meet them.—*Government House, St. John's, Dec. 18, 1836.*"

**STATISTICS OF THE BRITISH (FORMERLY SLAVE) COLONIES,**

Mostly from official returns for 1829. Slaves in Antigua, Barbadoes and Jamaica from returns of the Commissioners on Compensation, in 1834. Their returns state the whole number of slaves liberated or *apprenticed*, August 1, 1831, at 780,993. By the *Abolition Act*, the apprenticeship was to expire Aug. 1, 1840. Barbadoes, Jamaica, and most of the other colonies adopted *entire freedom* Aug. 1, 1838.

Possessions.	Date of acquit.	Extent. sq. m.	Population.			In. to sq. m.			Exports to Great Britain.	Imports from G. Britain.
			White.	Slaves.	F. Col.	W.	Sla	FC		
Anguilla,	1650	.....	365	2,388	327	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Antigua*	1632	108	1,980	29,537	3,895	18	209	36	£285,500	£166,657
Bahamas,	1629	4,400	4,240	9,268	2,991	1	2	7	17,915	51,524
Barbadoes,	1625	166	14,959	82,807	5,146	90	499	31	489,214	369,828
Bermudas*	1611	22	3,905	4,608	738	177	209	34	4,901	24,817
Dominica,	1783	275	840	15,392	3,606	3	56	13	141,911	27,478
Grenada,	1783	125	801	24,145	3,786	6	193	30	350,813	93,015
Jamaica,	1655	6,400	37,000	311,692	55,000	6	49	9	3,741,179	2,761,483
Montserrat,	1632	47	330	6,262	814	7	133	17	40,958	8,362
Nevis,	1628	20	700	9,259	2,000	35	468	100	78,278	25,223
St. Christophers,	1632	68	1,612	19,310	3,000	24	284	44	192,280	97,234
St. Lucia†	1803	58	972	13,661	3,718	17	235	64	157,533	51,505
St. Vincent,	1783	130	1,301	23,589	2,824	10	181	21	414,548	99,891
Tobago,	1763	187	322	12,556	1,164	2	66	6	158,385	51,368
Trinidad†	1797	2,400	4,201	24,006	15,956	2	10	6	694,001	361,077
Tortola, or Virgin Isles,	1666	.....	800	5,399	607	.....	.....	.....	33,239	5,666
<b>Total, B. W. I.</b>	.....	14,406	74,328	593,879	105,572	4½	41	7½	6,809,655	4,195,066
Cape of Good Hope†	.....	.....	43,000	35,500	29,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Guiana {	.....	.....	523	20,645	1,161	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Demerara†	1803	.....	3,006	65,556	6,360	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Essequibo,	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Hendurast	1650	62,750	250	2,100	2,300	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mauritius†	.....	.....	8,000	76,000	15,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<b>Total,</b>	.....	.....	129,107	793,650	159,393	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

† Crown colonies, having no local legislature.  
\* Adopted entire emancipation, August 1, 1834.

should repent and make reparation." Since 1818, slavery has continued to nestle and breed in the Church unbuked. A Presbyterian in the Southern Religious Telegraph of March 16, 1838, speaking for his southern brethren, says: "So long as this law, (that of 1818,) stands unrepealed, we must either co-operate with the abolitionists or maintain the attitude of REBELS against church authority." Referring to the clause against SELLING A BROTHER IN CHRIST AGAINST HIS WILL, he says, it can **NEVER** "never be carried into effect in our country!!!"

Let all Presbyterians, of both schools, who agree with Dr. Ely, that a man should "starve, beg, or be crucified, rather than commit any one known sin," immediately petition the General Assemblies which meet May, 1839, to carry out their own principles, and cease to uphold and encourage, by fellowship, the VIOLATION of "precious and sacred RIGHTS."

TEXT. "Contrasting the condition of white slaves in New England with our slaves in the South is like comparing Egyptian bondage under Pharaoh's taskmasters with Millennial glory. Mild slavery at the south is heaven on earth to the tyranny of the spindle at the north."—*Rev. J. C. Postell of S. G.*

COMMENT. **FIFTEEN DOLLARS REWARD** for Liby, about 30 years old, and VERY MUCH SCARRED about the NECK AND EARS occasioned by WHIPPING. Had a handkerchief tied round her ears, as she COMMONLY wears it to HIDE THE SCARS. ROBERT NICOLL, Dauphin St. between Emanuel and Conception. [Mobile (Ala.) Commercial Advertiser.]

Reader, how many such advertisements have you seen for N. E. factory girls, in which the advertiser, without shame or fear, carefully described his residence?

MOON'S PHASES.

● New Moon,	D. 7	H. 9	M. 41 m.	○ Full Moon,	D. 22	H. 0	M. 3 a.
☾ First Quarter,	15	1	55 a.	☾ Last Quarter,	29	3	32 m.

D. M.	D. W.	R. ○	S.	Lgth. Days.	○ Slow.	○ Dec.	☽ So.	☽ Rises	High Wa.	MISCELLANEOUS.
						○ N	' m	m.	m	
1	Tu.	6	7	6	11 46	10 14	3 6	7 23	6 49	Low tides.
2	We.	6	8	6	11 44	10 33	3 29	8 26	0 46	8 6 Alderamin S. 840. R. I Leg.
3	Th.	6	10	6	11 41	10 52	3 53	9 14	1 57	9 6 "Runaways" pulling foot
4	Fri.	6	11	6	11 38	11 10	4 16	9 57	3 4	9 43 Markab S. 10 17 a.
5	Sa.	6	12	6	11 35	11 28	4 39	10 39	4 10	10 28 ♀ in Inf. Canada for
6	S.	6	14	6	11 32	11 46	5 2	11 20	5 14	11 1 ♀ ☽ Mid.
7	Mo.	6	15	6	11 29	12 3	5 25	0a 0	sets.	11 32 ♀ ☽ Michigan Election.
8	Tu.	6	17	6	11 27	12 20	5 48	0 41	5a55	0a 0 Ohio, Pa. and N. J. Elections.
9	We.	6	18	6	11 24	12 36	6 11	1 25	6 18	0 32 High tides. Changeable.
10	Th.	6	20	6	11 21	12 52	6 34	2 10	6 50	1 11 ☽ Apogee. Vt. Legislature.
11	Fri.	6	21	6	11 18	13 7	6 57	2 58	7 19	1 36 ☽ ☽ ☽ "Hide the outcasts."
12	Sa.	6	22	6	11 15	13 22	7 20	3 48	8 0	2 14 ☽ ☽ ☽ "Beuray not him
13	S.	6	24	6	11 13	13 37	7 42	4 41	8 50	2 59 Middling tides. that wan-
14	Mo.	6	25	6	11 10	13 51	8 5	5 34	9 51	3 52 Fomalhaut S. 9 31 a. dereth."
15	Tu.	6	27	6	11 7	14 4	8 27	6 26	10 58	5 2 ♀ in Sup. ☽ ☽ Fair.
16	We.	6	28	6	11 4	14 17	8 49	7 18	m.	6 23 Low tides. Thou shalt not
17	Th.	6	29	6	11 1	14 29	9 11	8 8	0 8	7 43 Markab S. 9 28 a. deliver
18	Fri.	6	31	6	10 59	14 41	9 33	8 58	1 22	8 45 Alpherat S. 10 28 a. unto his
19	Sa.	6	32	6	10 56	14 52	9 55	9 46	2 37	9 36 ☽ ☽ ☽ master the servant
20	S.	6	33	6	10 53	15 2	10 17	10 36	3 53	10 22 Algenib S. 10 25 a. that
21	Mo.	6	35	6	10 50	15 12	10 38	11 28	5 11	11 I Harvest Moon. escapes.
22	Tu.	6	36	6	10 48	15 21	10 59	m.	rises.	11 45 2 ♀ ☽ N. J. Legislature.
23	We.	6	37	6	10 45	15 30	11 20	0 32	5a36	m. ☽ Perigee. ☽ enters ♀.
24	Th.	6	39	6	10 42	15 38	11 41	1 24	6 21	0 32 ♀ Stationary. Continues
25	Fri.	6	40	6	10 40	15 46	12 2	2 27	7 13	1 21 Fomalhaut S. 8 44 a. Fair.
26	Sa.	6	41	6	10 37	15 53	12 23	3 31	8 17	2 8 Middling tides.
27	S.	6	43	6	10 34	15 59	12 44	4 35	9 28	3 2 Markab S. 8 49 a.
28	Mo.	6	44	6	10 32	16 4	13 4	5 34	10 41	4 0 Alp. S. 9 49 a. Mon Concert.
29	Tu.	6	45	6	10 29	16 8	13 24	6 28	11 53	5 6 Algenib S. 9 50 a. Stormy.
30	We.	6	47	6	10 26	16 11	13 44	7 17	m.	6 22 Maine A. S. Society
31	Th.	6	48	6	10 24	16 13	14 3	8 2	1 2	7 33 Low tides. Annual Meeting.



THE NATION ROBBING AN INDIAN CHIEF OF HIS WIFE.

When monarchical Spain governed Florida, many slaves fled thither from republican oppression, and found shelter. One of them, having married an Indian chief, their **FREEBORN** daughter became the wife of Ocoela. She was seized as a slave, in 1835, by a person, (who had probably never seen her,) holding the claim of her mother's former master. Ocoela attempted to defend his wife, but was overpowered and put in irons, by General Thompson, (our government agent,) who commanded the kidnapping party. What marvel that an Indian Chief, as he looked on his little daughter, and thought of his stolen wife, vowed vengeance on the robbers?

WILL THE FREE STATES MAKE A NEW SLAVE STATE?

They must do it if it is done. They cannot do it without *enslaving themselves* while they fasten the chains on others. We have already made 7 new slave states, with a territory  $\square$  16,000 SQUARE MILES LARGER THAN THAT OF ALL THE FREE STATES, which when as thickly settled as Mass., if proportioned like S. C., will hold nearly 20,000,000 slaves. These states use their power in Cong. to stifle the voices of states that gave them being, thus trampling on *them* as they do on their own slaves.

When the Constitution provided for the representation of slaves, it was supposed that the South had not her share of power in the Senate, and that slavery would soon cease. Now, when 4,000,000 free inhabitants of the South have the same power in the Senate with 7,000,000 at the north, the people of the South have 24 representatives for their "property." In 1833, 3,797,577 free inhabitants of the slave states had the same power in Cong. as 5,854,133 free inhabitants of the free states, i. e. 2 at the South *overbalanced* 3 at the North, and this disproportion constantly increases. Thus we give them power over us as a *bounty* on slaveholding.

If northern freemen were as largely represented as southern slaveholders were in 1833, 4,525,879 inhabitants would be entitled to our whole power in Congress, thus leaving 2,450,965 virtually UNREPRESENTED, a population which, at the average of southern representation, would be entitled to 15 Senators, and 63 representatives.\* The effect, in all questions where freedom and slavery come in collision, is the same as if all New England and Ohio were unrepresented!!!

But why make Florida a slave state? Because, forsooth, it is the *slaveholders'* WILL. Florida was no part of the original union. She cannot pretend that we have made a "compromise" with her, promising to sacrifice liberty and justice at her bidding. Till 1819, the territory being under the gov't of Spain, occasioned great vexation to slaveholders, by affording a "refuge" from slavery. After "protracted negotiations," it was brought under "republican" government, at a cost of \$5,000,000.

Hungry men-stealers soon snatched at their prey. Hon. Horace Everett, M. C. from Vt. in a speech in Congress, June 3, 1836, quotes from Gen. Thompson's letters, as follows: "Oct. 28, 1834. There are many likely negroes in this nation; some

\* The power of the North in 1833 was  $\frac{24}{48} = \frac{1}{2}$  of the Senate,  $+\frac{141}{240}$  of the House,  $=\frac{261}{480}$  of the whole power of Congress, while by the census of 1830, the North had more than  $\frac{310}{480}$  of the free population. At the same time the power of the South was  $\frac{219}{480}$ , while her free population was less than  $\frac{170}{480}$  of the whole.

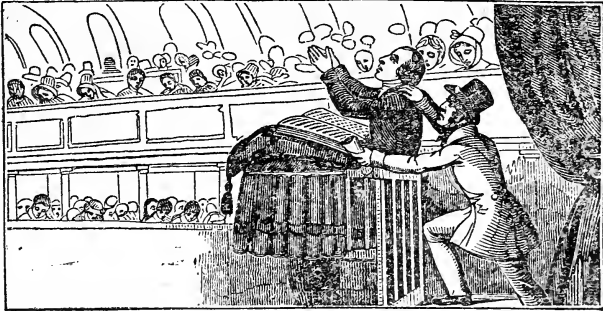
THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

In the United States, was organized in 1784, by the followers of John Wesley, its founder, who called slavery "complicated villany," and American slavery "the vilest that ever saw the sun." "Methodism at that period," says a Southern Farmer "was IDENTIFIED with the most DEADLY OPPOSITION TO SLAVERY." Having previously acknowledged "slavery to be contrary to the laws of God," they adopted rules to drive it from the church. But they yielded to the sin they should have conquered, and first suspended, then altered their rule. Still they call slavery a "great evil," and have rules professedly designed for its extirpation. But the Rev. Mr. Smylie, of Mississippi, asserts a notorious fact, when he says that these rules are "in the south, a dead letter." He also says that "if buying, selling or holding a slave FOR THE SAKE OF GAIN, is a heinous sin, then three-fourths of all the Episcopalians, METHODISTS, Baptists, and Presbyterians in 11 states are of the Devil." In May 1836, the General Conference, of which a majority of members are from the free states, instead of condemning the horrible practices and doctrines of slaveholders, passed a resolution, (120 to 14) over which Judge Lewis, a slaveholder of Louisiana, exults, as an "invaluable testimony in their favor," a testimony," says he, "which they could not have given if they had considered slavery a sin." They condemned those of their brethren who preached against what Dr. Clark calls "a CRIME for which perdition has hardly an adequate state of punishment," and disclaim "any right, or wish to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave." The Southern Conferences felt encouraged by this manifestation of sympathy with slavery to defend it as they never did before. The Georgia Conference, (Dec. 1837.) resolved that "slavery is not

MOON'S PHASES.

	D.	H.	M.		D.	H.	M.
☉ New Moon,	6	3	43 m.	☽ Full Moon,	20	9	43 a.
☾ First Quarter,	14	4	44 m.	☾ Last Quarter,	27	5	54 a.

P. M.	D. W.	☉ R.	☉ S.	Lgth. Days	☉ Fast	☉ Dec.	☽ So.	☽ Rises	High Wa.	MISCELLANEOUS.
1	Fri.	6 49	6 10	21 16	15 14	23 8	44 2	8 33		Abolitionists
2	Sa.	6 51	6 10	19 16	17 14	42 9	24 3	11 9	21	♀ ♂ ☽. ♀ in Aph. grow more
3	S	6 52	6 10	16 16	17 15	44 10	4 4	12 10	0	Middling tides. zealous.
4	Mo.	6 53	6 10	14 16	16 15	20 10	44 5	14 10	37	New York Election.
5	Tu.	6 54	6 10	11 16	15 15	38 11	26 6	17 11	9	Cheering signs of success.
6	We.	6 55	6 10	9 16	13 15	56 0a	10 sets.	11 42		☽ Apogee. Cold with rain.
7	Th.	6 57	6 10	7 16	10 16	14 0	57 5a	24 0a	13	♀ ♂ ☽ ☽ Ev. Schools, Lyceums
8	Fri.	6 58	6 10	4 16	6 16	32 1	47 6	2 0	46	♂ ♂ ☽, &c. established free
9	Sa.	6 59	6 10	2 16	1 16	49 2	38 6	50 1	21	♂ ♂ ☽. from caste.
10	S	7 0	5 9	59 15	55 17	6 3	30 7	45 2	0	♀ at greatest brilliancy.
11	Mo.	7 1	5 9	57 15	48 17	23 4	22 8	48 2	41	Mid. tides. Mass. Election.
12	Tu.	7 2	5 9	55 15	41 17	40 5	13 9	56 3	33	Deneb Kaitos S. 9 25 a.
13	We.	7 4	5 9	53 15	33 17	56 6	2 11	5 4	29	R. I. Annual Meeting.
14	Th.	7 5	5 9	50 15	24 18	12 6	49 m.	5 37		♀ in Ω. Symptoms of
15	Fri.	7 6	5 9	48 15	14 18	27 7	35 0	16 6	53	♂ ♂ ☽. Low tides. snow.
16	Sa.	7 7	5 9	46 15	3 18	43 8	23 8	4 8	28	♂ ♂ ☽. Remember the
17	S	7 8	5 9	44 14	51 18	58 9	12 2	43 9	1	Algenib S. 8 34 a. poor.
18	Mo.	7 9	5 9	42 14	39 19	12 10	4 4	0 9	52	Deneb Kaitos S. 9 0 a.
19	Tu.	7 10	5 9	40 14	26 19	26 11	1 5	22 10	41	Mirach on mer. 9 22 a.
20	We.	7 11	5 9	38 14	13 19	40 m.	11 rises.	28 11	28	☽ Perigee. Becomes cold.
21	Th.	7 12	5 9	36 13	58 19	54 0	2 4a	55 m.		Rather high tides. American
22	Fri.	7 13	5 9	34 13	42 20	7 1	8 5	54 0	20	☉ enters ♄. ♃ sta. name
23	Sa.	7 14	5 9	32 13	26 20	20 2	14 7	5 1	9	♂ greatest ht. lat. s. becomes
24	S	7 15	5 9	31 13	9 20	32 3	17 8	20 1	58	Mirach on mer. 9 0 a. more
25	Mo.	7 16	5 9	29 12	51 20	44 4	15 9	36 2	44	and more
26	Tu.	7 16	5 9	27 12	32 20	56 5	8 10	48 3	31	Menkar S. 10 36 a. odious.
27	We.	7 17	5 9	26 12	13 21	7 5	57 11	54 4	22	Mira S. 9 56 a. Fine for
28	Th.	7 18	5 9	24 11	53 21	18 6	38 m.	5 20		Low tides. November.
29	Fri.	7 19	5 9	22 11	32 21	28 7	19 0	58 6	27	Mirach on mer. 8 40 a.
30	Sa.	7 20	5 9	21 11	11 21	38 7	58 2	2 7	30	♂ greatest elong. E.



#### A MINISTER ARRESTED FOR PREACHING AGAINST SIN.

Dec. 14, 1835, Rev. George Storrs, who was invited to address the Anti-Slavery Society at Northfield, N. H., was dragged from his knees while at prayer by *David Tilton* deputy sheriff. He was also arrested in the pulpit, March 31, 1836, (fast day,) at Pittsfield, N. H., by the authority of a writ issued by *Moses Norris, Esq.*, Gov. Isaac Hill sanctioned the outrage by reappointing Norris.

of the whites in the adjacent settlements MANIFEST a RESTLESS DESIRE to obtain them." "April 27, 1835. The negroes in the nation DREAD the idea of being sold from their present state of ease and comparative liberty to bondage and hard labor under overseers on sugar and cotton plantations. They have always had a great influence on the Indians. An Indian would almost as soon sell his child as his slave." John Lee Williams, in his "Florida," published in 1837, though evidently disposed to conceal the worst part of the truth, says: "Great exertions have been made to get the Indian negroes away, by FALSE CLAIMS, and MANY negroes have been taken away by FORCE and FRAUD." The Washington correspondent of the N. Y. Journal of Commerce, June 3, 1836, says it was stated on the floor of Congress and uncontradicted, that our Government recognized the claim of the slaveholders, and SENT AGENTS TO KIDNAP THE CHILDREN OF THE SEMINOLES. Jan. 27, 1835, Gen. Thompson called for more forces, and the war begun. It has been protracted on one side, by the desperation of fugitive slaves, preferring death to slavery; and the following, from a Mobile paper of March 28, 1838, shows why it is continued on the other. "It is the power to entice away and instruct in bush-fighting so many of our slaves that we would wish to annihilate. These Seminoles cannot remain in the peninsula of Florida, without threatening the internal safety of the south." Southern men have estimated the expense of this war at \$20,000,000!!! Of its destruction to life, the Army and Navy Chronicle says: "Apprised as we have been of the DEADLY service in Florida in which our gallant army has been, since 1835, engaged, we were not a little SURPRISED to learn the GREAT MORTALITY among its officers and men."

Freemen of the north, have you done enough for slavery in Florida? Will you strangle the honor and prosperity of your country, and bury them with your children's liberty? Let the north open her dumb mouth,—cut the string of her tied tongue—rebuke in thunder her doughfaced politicians, and make them warning beacons to the betrayers of liberty, in all coming time,—a certain sign of perdition to all political Judases, who impiously sell their MASTERS. Let the PEOPLE rescue Florida from slavery, and secure it for LIBERTY.

#### COLONIZATION.

At a public meeting in Philadelphia, May, 1838, Rev. R. J. Breckenridge said their cause was "too great to be managed on any ONE set of PRINCIPLES." Accordingly its friends deny, in one place, what they assert in another. Thus:

"Into their accounts, the subject of emancipation does not enter at all."—*African Repository, (the Society's official organ),* vol. 4. p. 306.

"Our efforts, our money, our plans, ALL contemplate emancipation."—*Address of Colonizationists to citizens of Washington Co., Pa.,* 1836.

1839.] DECEMBER—TWELFTH MONTH. [31 DAYS.

a moral evil," and the S. C. Conf. (Jan. 18, 1838,) resolved that it is not a "proper subject for the action of the church." The Baltimore Conference (in 1837,) passed a resolution defending the slave trade as not, *in itself*, wrong. Rev. Samuel Dunwoody, in a sermon published at the request of the S. C. Conf. in 1837, says "slavery is RIGHT in the Church." p. 19.

But there are signs which betoken a glorious resurrection of ancient Methodism. The first Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Society was formed in New York, Oct. 1834, by Rev. La Roy Sunderland, consisting of 7 persons, when it was not known that 5 Methodist ministers or 25 lay members sympathized with them. Zion's Watchman was commenced Jan. 1836. Now 50,000 church members and nearly 2000 travelling and local preachers, including a majority of 4 conferences, and probably of 2 others, are decided abolitionists. The N. E. Conference has recommended to the next General Conference (which meets May 1, 1840,) so to alter the discipline as not to admit slaveholders to the church.

Of the 29 Annual Conferences, 16 are in the free states. Their meetings at which they choose Delegates to the General Conference are as follows:

N. Y., May 15, 1839, N. E., June 5, Troy, June 5, Maine, June 26, N. H., July 3, Pittsburg, July 17, Black River, Aug. 7, Erie, Aug. 7, Oneida, Aug. 28, Michigan, Sept. 4, Genesee, Sept. 18, Ohio, Sept. 25, Ill. Oct. 2, Ind. Oct. 23, Phil. [They meet also, April 3, 1839,] April 1, 1840, N. J. [April 24, 1839,] April 15, 1840.

Let all members of the church, who desire to "spread scriptural holiness over these lands," petition the several annual Conferences to concur with their brethren in New England, and petition the Gen. Conf. to comply with their recommendations.

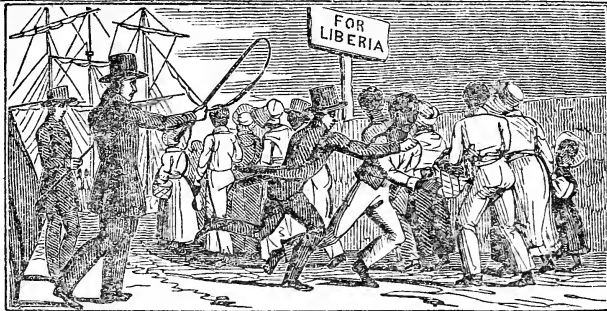
MOON'S PHASES.

☉ New Moon, D. H. M. 5 10 26 a.  
☽ First Quarter, 13 5 10 a.

○ Full Moon, D. H. M. 20 8 2 m.  
☾ Last Quarter, 27 0 0 m.

D. M.	D. W.	☉ R. S.	Lgth. Days	☉ Fast	☉ Dec.	☽ So.	☽ Rises	High Wa.	MISCELLANEOUS.
1	S	7 20 5	9 19	10 49	21 48	8 38	3 2	8 31	Middling tides. [tures meet.
2	Mo.	7 21 5	9 18	10 46	21 57	9 20	4 4	9 22	Ohio, Ind. and Ill. Legisla.
3	Tu.	7 22 5	9 17	10 2	22 6	10 2	5 8	10 3	☽ Apogee. Pa. Legisla.
4	We.	7 22 5	9 16	9 38	22 14	10 48	6 12	10 44	Mira S. 9 28 a.
5	Th.	7 23 5	9 14	9 13	22 22	11 36	sets.	11 18	☽ ☽ ☽. Wind
6	Fri.	7 23 5	9 13	9 4	22 30	0a27	4 40	11 53	Rather high tides. and snow.
7	Sa.	7 24 5	9 12	9 22	22 37	1 18	5 32	0a26	☽ ☽ ☽. Northern people
8	S	7 24 5	9 11	7 55	22 43	2 11	6 34	1 3	☽ ☽ ☽. begin to understand
9	Mo.	7 25 5	9 10	7 28	22 49	3 2	7 40	1 42	☽ Stationary. the folly of de-
10	Tu.	7 25 5	9 9	7 1	22 55	3 50	8 48	2 22	Middling tides. fend-
11	We.	7 26 5	9 9	6 33	23 0	4 37	9 57	3 1	Menkur S. 9 38 a. slav-
12	Th.	7 26 5	9 8	6 5	23 5	5 22	11 6	3 45	☽ in ☽. Mild.
13	Fri.	7 26 5	9 7	5 37	23 10	6 7	m.	4 38	☽ ☽ ☽. Rainy.
14	Sa.	7 27 5	9 7	5 9	23 14	6 52	0 16	5 41	Algol on mer. 9 29 a. They
15	S	7 27 5	9 6	4 41	23 17	7 41	1 30	7 0	Algenib on mer. 9 38 a. get
16	Mo.	7 27 5	9 6	4 11	23 20	8 33	2 42	8 13	☽ gr. ht. lat. s. ☽ gr. elon. W.
17	Tu.	7 27 5	9 5	3 42	23 22	9 31	4 8	9 19	☽ in Perihelion. fit wages
18	We.	7 28 5	9 5	3 12	23 24	10 30	5 26	10 13	☽ in Inf. ☽ ☽. for such mean
19	Th.	7 28 5	9 5	2 42	23 26	11 38	6 41	11 9	☽ Perigee. ☽ ☽ ☽. business.
20	Fri.	7 28 5	9 4	2 12	23 27	m.	rises.	m.	Agol on mer. 9 5 a. Snow
21	Sa.	7 28 5	9 4	1 42	23 28	0 44	5a41	0 1	Rather high tides. Slavery.
22	S	7 28 5	9 4	1 12	23 28	1 45	7 0	0 46	☽ en. W. Win. begins. left
23	Mo.	7 28 5	9 4	0 42	23 27	2 43	8 15	1 31	7* S. 9 31 a. undefended.
24	Tu.	7 28 5	9 5	fa. 12	23 27	3 33	9 26	2 9	Algenib on mer. 9 2 a. yields
25	We.	7 28 5	9 5	slo. 18	23 25	4 20	10 33	2 47	Agol on mer. 8 45. to truth.
26	Th.	7 28 5	9 5	0 48	23 23	5 2	11 36	3 24	Aldebaran S. 10 5 a.
27	Fri.	7 27 5	9 5	1 17	23 21	5 43	m.	4 7	☽ greatest ht. lat. n. Clear
28	Sa.	7 27 5	9 6	1 46	23 19	6 23	0 38	4 57	Rather low tides. and cold.
29	S	7 27 5	9 6	1 15	23 16	7 4	1 42	6 1	7* S. 9 5 a. The jubilee is
30	Mo.	7 27 5	9 7	2 44	23 12	7 45	2 38	7 16	Monthly Concert. at hand.
31	Tu.	7 26 5	9 7	3 13	23 8	8 30	3 48	8 22	☽ Apo. Earth nearest sun.





“ NUISANCES ” GOING AS “ MISSIONARIES,” “ WITH THEIR OWN CONSENT.”

Having driven colored people from school, we next DRIVE them to Liberia. “ They sent out two shiploads of vagabonds that were COERCED away as truly as if it had been done with the cartwhip.”—*R. J. Breckenridge, 1834.* “ I am acquainted with several, who informed me that they received SEVERAL HUNDRED LASHES to make them WILLING to go.”—*Thomas C. Brown, from Liberia, 1834.* “ When emancipated, the slaves should be colonized in Africa, or somewhere else, WHETHER THEY BE WILLING OR NOT.”—*Rev. T. Spicer, of the Troy (Meth.) Conference, Letter to Z. Watchman, Jan. 20, 1836.* In 1836, when an agent of the society was attempting to colonize 65 emigrants from Ky. and Tenn. 22 of them escaped, (at Pittsburgh, and at N. Y.) not having been made “ WILLING to go.

The Society has one principle, viz. a desire to get rid of the free people of color. This unites all its members, and COLONIZATION HAS ALWAYS BEEN MOST ACTIVE WHEN COLORED PEOPLE HAVE BEEN MOST BITTERLY PERSECUTED. In 1831-2, Md., Va., N. C., S. C., Ga., Ala., Florida, &c., passed very cruel laws against the free people of color, and almost the whole nation seemed moved by the *spirit of persecution*. In the 15th Annual Report of the Am. Col. Soc. published in 1832, this fact is hailed in the following language: “ The WHOLE American community appears to be awakened, as by ONE powerful spirit, to the consideration and adoption of measures, for the more complete accomplishment of the great objects of the American Colonization Society.” The most rancorous persecutors of the people of color were the men whom Colonizationists delighted to honor. ANDREW T. JUDSON, in the midst of his persecutions of Miss Crandall’s school, was appointed orator and agent of the Windham County Colonization Society. The following language from the official organ of the Society shows its feeling towards the free people of color: “ A race of beings the most debased upon earth.” [Af. Rep. v. 7, p. 230.] “ They maintain a precarious existence by PETTY THEFTS and PLUNDER.” [Af. Rep. v. 6, p. 135.] In the article last referred to (copied with approval, from the Religious Herald, of June 25, 1830,) the writer, after enlarging in defamation of the colored people, illustrates the “ missionary ” character of the Society by saying: “ THIS CLASS of our population, it is the object of the Colonization Society to remove.”

The “ missionary ” character of the Society, burlesque on common sense as it is, is now trumpeted forth as its chief recommendation. Men who were “ scarcely reached in their debasement by the heavenly light,” are to enlighten Africa. Men whose “ dishonest habits ” exert a “ malign influence ” at home, [Va. Col. Memorial,] their hearts inflamed by burning wrongs, received in a Christian (!) nation, are to extend the triumphs of the cross. Have the colonization emigrants such pre-eminent qualifications as to form an exception to the notorious fact stated by Rev. Mr. Binney, at a recent London Missionary meeting? “ All mere secular colonists, the whole world over, have been to the colored man, like the DEATH BLAST OF THE DESERT.” [See N. Y. Observer, Jan. 27, 1838.] Let their rum trade, their wars, their cannon balls spending their force “ in a mass of living human flesh,” answer. Here space fails, but we need not enlarge. The united condemnation of colored Americans is the society’s death-warrant.

# Statistics of the United States.

States.	Date of admission.	1790			1800			1810			1820			1830			1839			1840*		
		Free Whites.	Slaves.	Free Colored.	Slaves.	Free Whites.	Slaves.	Free Colored.	Slaves.	Free Whites.	Slaves.	Free Colored.	Total.	Extent Square Miles.	No. of Whites.	No. of Slaves.	No. of Free Colored.	Reps.	Free Inhabitants.	Slaves.	Estimated by the rate of increase shown in the latest census, i. e. that of 1830, except Ms. Mich. & Mi. 1837, & N. Y. and Ill. 1835, and Mo. 1836.	
Maine,	1820	96,032	.....	538	.....	297,406	.....	6	1,171	399,437	35,000	12	30	5	9	535,519	.....	9	.....	.....	.....	
N. H.	1789	141,111	159	630	3	243,375	.....	5	602	269,328	9,491	30	5	6	296,575	.....	6	.....	.....	.....		
Vermont,	1791	85,144	17	255	.....	234,561	.....	.....	881	289,657	7,800	28	5	6	334,066	.....	5	.....	.....	.....		
Mass.	1780	373,254	.....	5,463	8	516,547	.....	.....	.....	610,408	7,800	85	12	14	744,333	.....	12	.....	.....	.....		
R. Island	1789	64,089	992	3,469	1	79,491	48	14	3,564	96,539	1,295	72	2	2	113,746	.....	2	.....	.....	.....		
Ct.	1789	232,576	2,764	2,801	5	267,301	97	25	8,047	297,075	4,800	65	6	7	321,961	.....	6	.....	.....	.....		
N. York,	1789	314,142	21,324	4,654	6	1,333,445	10,088	76	44,969	1,918,008	46,000	42	4	4	2,404,800	.....	4	.....	.....	.....		
N. Jer.	1789	169,954	11,423	2,762	4	1,254,303	7,357	2,254	18,303	320,823	7,400	41	28	31	1,733,025	.....	28	.....	.....	.....		
Penn.	1789	424,099	3,737	6,537	8	1,019,040	211	403	37,930	1,348,333	47,000	28	19	19	2,470,569	.....	19	.....	.....	.....		
Ohio,	1802	.....	.....	.....	.....	576,711	.....	6	9,568	937,903	44,000	23	10	10	1,512,918	.....	10	.....	.....	.....		
Indiana,	1815	.....	.....	.....	.....	145,758	190	.....	3,629	343,031	36,500	10	7	8	799,569	.....	7	.....	.....	.....		
Illinois,	1818	.....	.....	.....	.....	53,837	917	.....	747	157,445	53,480	3	3	3	508,166	.....	3	.....	.....	.....		
Michigan,	1837	.....	.....	.....	.....	8,722	.....	32	261	31,639	34,000	1	1	1	318,040*	.....	1	.....	.....	.....		
F. States,		1,900,971	40,375	37,109	35	5,034,052	19,108	3,575	137,507	7,012,926	336,496	20	142	159	10,051,347	.....	159	.....	.....	.....		
Delaware	1789	46,312	8,587	3,899	1	55,282	4,509	.....	3,292	76,748	2,100	36	57	1	79,070	.....	1	.....	.....	2,403		
Maryland,	1789	208,649	103,036	8,043	6	260,222	107,398	.....	102,994	447,040	9,350	45	333	8	396,229	.....	8	.....	.....	97,433		
D. C.	1790	.....	.....	.....	.....	22,514	6,377	.....	6,119	39,834	100	.....	.....	.....	42,633	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....		
Virginia,	1789	442,115	293,427	12,766	10	603,324	425,153	.....	469,757	1,211,405	70,000	18	676	21	859,136	.....	21	.....	.....	5,871		
N. Caroli.	1789	288,204	100,572	4,975	5	419,200	205,017	.....	245,601	737,987	50,000	15	520	13	588,961	.....	13	.....	.....	519,040		
S. Caroli.	1789	140,268	107,004	1,801	5	168,824	196,365	.....	315,401	581,185	30,000	18	192	9	394,864	.....	9	.....	.....	294,218		
Georgia,	1789	52,886	29,264	398	3	196,370	258,475	.....	217,531	516,523	62,000	8	733	6	289,201	.....	6	.....	.....	384,864		
Kentucky	1792	61,733	11,830	114	4	189,570	149,656	.....	165,213	687,917	40,500	17	319	13	468,171	.....	13	.....	.....	316,189		
Tennessee	1796	32,013	3,417	361	.....	434,322	126,732	.....	217,531	581,185	30,000	18	192	9	634,428	.....	9	.....	.....	215,378		
Alabama,	1819	.....	.....	.....	.....	339,979	80,107	.....	44,535	681,904	45,000	17	319	12	851,823	.....	12	.....	.....	250,307		
Mississip.	1816	.....	.....	.....	.....	65,451	41,879	.....	117,549	309,527	52,000	6	617	5	498,443	.....	5	.....	.....	329,945		
Louisiana	1812	.....	.....	.....	.....	42,171	32,814	.....	65,659	136,921	48,000	3	932	3	195,700	.....	3	.....	.....	215,742		
Missouri,	1821	.....	.....	.....	.....	34,660	69,004	.....	109,588	215,529	48,320	5	1,228	2	133,598	.....	2	.....	.....	173,268		
Arkansas,	1836	.....	.....	.....	.....	55,757	10,292	.....	25,091	140,455	64,000	2	218	2	321,729	.....	2	.....	.....	55,396		
S. States,		1,271,680	657,437	32,357	30	857,095	1,163,854	.....	1,989,974	5,813,362	579,830	10	546	100	5,310,175	.....	100	.....	.....	2,873,028		
Total,		3,173,551	697,812	59,466	65	893,041	1,191,364	7,865,841	1,538,128	10,513,107	1,226,389	14	189	242	242	15,361,522	.....	242	.....	.....	.....	

## STATISTICS.

The foregoing table has been carefully prepared from the best sources. The 13 original states are marked 1789, the date of our present form of government. The particulars of the different kinds of population in 1790, and 1830, will enable the reader to see the comparative progress of each. In estimating the increase of the free colored inhabitants of the free states, the slaves of those states must of course be added to the number for 1790. We have left out the territories entirely, as we could not obtain accurate returns from Wisconsin and Iowa. We have thus given a fair comparison of the free and slave states. In 1830, Florida, with 55,680 square miles, had 18,385 free whites, 844 free colored persons, and 15,501 slaves.

The increase of slaves in the slave states, was, from 1790 to 1800, 30.4 per cent; from 1800 to 1810, 35.8; from 1810 to 1820, 30.5; from 1820 to 1830, 31 per cent; showing that the slaves in the slave states have increased faster since the slave trade was abolished than from 1790 to 1800.

In the column headed "Extent," the reader will see that the slave states have nearly TWICE as much territory as the free. The column headed "*I. to s. m.*," shows the whole number of inhabitants to a square mile. The free inhabitants in the slave states average about 6 to a sq. mile. The next column shows that the slaves in 1830 exceeded the whites in two states. A later census shows an excess of 20,000 in Mississippi. The next two columns contrast the present apportionment of representatives with what it would be, if the present number were apportioned on the basis of the FREE population only, by which we may see how large a part of our own JUST RIGHTS in the U. S. H. R. we have given to slavery. The contrast between the two columns is increased by the fact that the Representative number (47,700) fixed by Cong. in 1832, left 263,000 free persons at the north unrepresented. Of these Vt. has 42,157, Ms. 38,000, N. J. 33,000, Ohio 31,000, &c. If 42,750 free persons sent one representative, the total (242) would be the same, and the fractions less. The estimate for 1840, is probably not very far from the truth. Wherever a census has been taken since 1830, it has, (except in N. Y.) shown a more rapid increase, both of slaves and free persons, than from 1820 to 1830.

## A PEEP AT SLAVERY.

I. A JAIL PREFERRED TO SLAVERY. "The tender care and protection of the master elicit an affectionate attachment from the slave, which will be looked for in vain from the hired servant of a more northern clime."—*Charleston Courier*.

**\$100** REWARD.—Ranaway a negro man named JOHNSON; he has a GOOD MANY MARKS of the WHIP on his back: he was confined in jail last summer; lay once in jail six months, within ten miles of his master, but would not tell his name.  
CORNELIUS D. TOBIN.

[Mobile Morning Chronicle, June 8, 1838.]

II. HARD TO CATCH. A circle of relatives famous for "affectionate attachment."

**\$30** REWARD will be paid by the subscriber to whoever will put in jail, HER negro woman MILLY.

She is an old hand at running away, and tolerably hard to catch, being once concealed 9 months in this Borough, and at another time one year. She is wife to one Daniel Murray, has numerous relations about town, all from report "quick on the heel." The law will be STRICTLY ENFORCED against any one secreting, harboring, or carrying away said slave. A. FAUQUIER.

[Am. Beacon, (Norfolk, Va.) Sept. 15, 1836.]

Think of a woman scornfully threatening VENGEANCE on any one who shall shelter a defenceless wife.

III. A CARPENTER BRANDED. "Civilization and Christianity have spread over it (slavery,) their humanizing influences."—*Charleston Courier*.

**\$50** REWARD for the delivery of my fellow EDWARD, in Jacksonville, E. F.; has a scar near the corner of his mouth; he has two cuts on his hand and arm—a carpenter by trade—the letter E, and some other letters not recollected on his arm—about 19 years of age.  
THOMAS. LEDWITH.

Jacksonville, E. F. May 25, 1838.

[Darlen (Ga.) Telegraph, June 5, 1838.]

This youth of 19, marked, cut, and BRANDED with several letters, if retaken, will be held under the authority of the United States Government, by those who compel him to work without wages. Reader, if you do not oppose the admission of Florida as a slave state, you SANCTION SUCH ENORMITIES.



IV. A "DOG COLLAR" USED TO ENFORCE "CONTENTMENT!" "Slavery with us is a parental relation."—*Charleston Courier*.

**R**ANAWAY, a negro boy named LONDON, about 12 years old; had round his neck when he left, a chain dog collar, with "De Yampert" engraved on it. March 3. [Mobile Morning Chronicle, May 21, 1838.] T. J. DE YAMPERT.

V. "DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS" DIVIDED AGAINST THEMSELVES.

**\$20** REWARD.—Ranaway a negro man named HARRISON. It is supposed that he will make for South Carolina in pursuit of his wife, in possession of Capt. D. Bird.

CORNELIUS BEAZLY.

[Florida Watchman, Tallahassee, May 12, 1838. Motto, "Principle and the People."]

VI. PUBLIC MURDER—"The only legitimate object of gov't is to secure to each individual the enjoyment of LIFE, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. These cannot be forfeited without crime."—*Mississippian*, June 8, 1838.

**\$100** is subscribed, and will be punctually paid by the citizens of Onslow, to any person who may safely confine in any jail in this State, a certain negro man, named ALFRED. The same reward will be paid, if satisfactory evidence is given of his having been KILLED. He has one or more SCARS caused by his having been SHOT. THE CITIZENS OF ONSLOW.

[Wilmington (N. C.) Advertiser, June 1, 1838. Motto, "Be just and fear not."]

In the same paper is a proclamation offering a reward to any one who will murder a husband for attempting to join his stolen wife. Read it. "Domestic slavery contributes to form and preserve the chivalrous and highminded character of our people, and gives to the African race, domesticated among us, christianity, civilization, and peace."—*Charleston Courier*.



**R**ANAWAY my negro man RICHARD. A reward of \$25 will be paid for his apprehension DEAD OR ALIVE. Satisfactory proof will only be required of his being KILLED. He has with him in all probability, his wife ELIZA, who ran away from Col. Thompson, now a resident of Alabama, about the time he commenced his journey to that State. DURANT H. RHODES.

These facts, and scores like them, are coolly spread out in southern newspapers,—quite too common occurrences for comment. "Shall I not visit for these things? saith the Lord. Shall not my soul be AVENGED ON SUCH A NATION AS THIS?"

VII. THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT A PARTNER IN ROBBERY AND SHARING THE PLUNDER. Here we see our republican government, by their agent, driving the meanest kind of robbery, forcing poor men to work without wages. "The privileges, civil and religious, of the humblest individual, are sacredly protected."—*President Van Buren's Message*, March 4, 1837.

"Slavery is not a national question at all."—R. J. Breckenridge.

### NEGROES WANTED.

**T**HE undersigned wishes to hire SIX NEGRO MEN, to work on the U. S. Arsenal to be erected at Little Rock. Liberal wages will be paid for good working hands. I also wish to purchase a good OX, well broke to the off-side, &c. Little Rock Arsenal, Feb. 5, 1838. R. B. LEE, *Bt. Maj. U. S. A.*

[Times and Advocate, Little Rock, Ark. April 2, 1838.

After his day's work, we will suppose one of these "good working hands" meets our democratic president, and holds the following dialogue. *Laborer*. I understand I have been working for the government to-day, shall I be paid? *Pres*. No: you are a slave:—we pay your master. *Laborer*. You know my master does not pay me. Is this the way you show your love for the working classes, by forcing me to work for nothing, and paying money to the man that robs me of my earnings?

VIII. THE UNITED STATES NAVY A SLAVE-CATCHER.

**T**AKEN up and delivered into my custody, a negro man named ISAAC. Was taken up by the boats of the Boston sloop of war at the mouth of the Manatee River, South Florida—says he was sold by a Mr. Roberts of Norfolk, Va., to a slave dealer, and that in passing through Florida, he made his escape. The owner is requested, &c. or he will be dealt with as the law directs. HENRY J. WIGGINS.

[Pensacola Gazette, May 19, 1838.

In the same paper Mr. Wiggins advertises Jacob in precisely the same language. Here we see two men, casting themselves upon the ocean to escape from slavery under the U. S. Government, and men paid by us; seize them, and "deliver" them to be kept in jail for the "owner," or sold for jail fees.

**ROLL OF INFAMY.**

*The Political Creed of Abolitionists.*—WE WILL VOTE FOR NO MAN WHO VOTES AGAINST LIBERTY.

The North has always had a majority in the U. S. House of Representatives.

Thus:

Year.	1789	1793	1803	1813	1819	1823	1833	1839
North.	35	57	77	103	105	124	141	142
South.	30	50	65	79	81	90	99	100
Maj.	5	7	12	24	24	34	42	42

In the Senate the North had a majority of 2, (except from 1796 to 1802,) till 1812, when the admission of Louisiana equalized the representation in that body. Still the North, having power to choose the Vice-president, may have the *casting vote*. It follows that every act of the nation is AN ACT OF THE FREE STATES. THEY ARE VIRTUALLY THE NATION. Whatever Congress does, or refuses to do, the *final* responsibility rests upon the free states. The only way to absolve ourselves from the guilt and shame of our national crimes is to discard those who perpetrate them, and choose men to represent us who will not vote down the foundation principles of our government. To assist northern freemen in this work, we insert from the Congressional journals the names of a few who have voted against liberty.

## I

Jan. 18, 1805. The following resolution was moved in the U. S. H. R.

*Resolved*, That from and after the 4th of July, 1805, all blacks, and people of color, born within the District of Columbia, or whose mothers shall be the property of any person residing within said District, shall be free, the males at the age of \_\_\_\_\_, and the females at the age of \_\_\_\_\_ . Lost, yeas 31, nays 77.

Northern men against it.

N. H. Samuel Hunt, Samuel Tenny, 2 of 5; Vt. Gideon Olin, 1 of 4; Mass. Jacob Crowninshield, Manasseh Cutler, Wm. Eustis, Simon Larned, Wm. Stedman, Samuel Taggart, 6 of 17; Ct. Simeon Baldwin, John Davenport, Calvin Goddard, Roger Griswold, 4 of 7; N. Y. Henry W. Livingston, Samuel Riker, Geo. Tibbetts, Philip Van Cortlandt, Killian K. Van Rensselaer, Daniel C. Verplanck, 6 of 17; N. J. Adam Boyd, William Helms, James Mott, Henry Southard, 4 of 6; Pa. Frederic Conrad, Joseph Heister, John Hoge, John B. Lucas, John Stewart, 5 of 18.—Total, 28 of 77.

## II.

The Missouri question came up Feb. 2, 1818, and was finally settled in the House, Feb. 26, [Senate 29,] 1821. For names, see opposite page.

The marks designate the votes of northern Representatives, as follows:

\* Feb. 16, 1819. Against a clause prohibiting the further introduction of slavery into Mo. Carried, (i. e. the clause against slavery prevailed,) yeas 87, nays 76.

† Against a clause for the future emancipation (at 25) of slaves born in the state. Carried, yeas 82, nays 78.

‡ Feb. 18, 1819. Against a clause prohibiting the future introduction of slavery into Arkansas. Lost, yeas 70, nays 71.

§ Against the future emancipation of slaves born in Ark. Carried, yeas 75, nays 73.

¶ For reconsidering last vote. Lost, yeas 77, nays 79.

¶ Feb. 19, 1819. Against the future emancipation of slaves born in Arkansas. Tried twice (in different forms) the same day. First trial, there was a tie, 88 to 88, and HENRY CLAY,\* of Kentucky, gave the casting vote in favor of perpetual slavery. The second trial, it was carried, yeas 89, nays 87.

◇ Same day. Against prohibiting the further introduction of slavery into Ark. (Mr. Taylor of N. Y. having renewed his proposition lost on the 18th.) Lost, y. 86, n. 90.

□ March 2, 1820. For *striking out* the clause prohibiting the extension of slavery in Missouri. Carried, yeas 90, nays 87. This was the test question, in deciding which, NINETEEN northern men bartered their own characters, the rights of the North, and the liberty of unborn thousands for \_\_\_\_\_ an *understanding* that no new slave state should afterwards be admitted, extending north of the south line of Missouri. Any two in the House might have turned the scale. Those marked thus, (□) have been since re-elected, (the figures show how many times) their constituents thus assuming their GUILT AND SHAME.

\* While he professes to believe that slavery is "a curse to the master, and a grievous wrong to the slave."—See Colonization Speech made in Kentucky, in 1836.

NORTHERN REPRESENTATIVES.

**Me.** (Then a District.)  
 ☐ Mark L. Hill,  
 ☐ John Holmes, \*†|||†††††  
**N. H.**  
 John F. Parrott, \*†|||†††††  
**Mass.**  
 ☐ Jonathan Mason, \*†|||†††††  
 ☐ Henry Shaw, \*†|||†††††  
 Ezekiel Whitman, †  
**R. I.**  
 James B. Mason, †  
 ☐ Samuel Eddy. †  
**Ct.**  
 ☐ Samuel A. Foot, †  
 ☐ James Stevens.  
**N. Y.**  
 Daniel Cruger, \*†††††  
 ☐ Henry Meigs,

David A. Ogden, \*†††††  
 James Porter, †  
 ☐ Henry R. Storrs, \*†|||†††††  
**N. J.**  
 ☐ Joseph Bloomfield, \*†|||†††††  
 ☐ Charles Kinsey, \*†††††  
 ☐ Bernard Smith,  
 John Linn, †  
**Pa.**  
 ☐ Henry Baldwin, †  
 ☐ David Fullerton,  
**Ohio.**  
 Philemon Beecher, †|||†††††  
 John W. Campbell, †††††  
 WM. H. HARRISON, \*†|||†††††  
**Ill.**  
 John M'Lean, \*†|||†††††

NORTHERN SENATORS.

Those with this mark, (☐) voted, March 2, 1820, for striking out the clause prohibiting the extension of slavery in Missouri. Carried, yeas 27, nays 15.

Those with this mark. (\*) voted against a clause for restricting slavery to the east side of the 17th or 94th degree of W. Longitude. If that resolution had passed, slavery would still have had full sweep through nearly the whole of the present state of Arkansas. By rejecting it, Congress deliberately threw open to the monster the immense uninhabited territory from the Mississippi to Mexico.

The whole Illinois delegation voted for slavery on their own borders. Mobs killing free citizens and destroying free presses have been their fit reward. James Noble has been Governor of Indiana.

**N. H.**  
 ☐ John F. Parrott. \*  
**R. I.**  
 ☐ Wm. Hunter.  
**Ct.**  
 ☐ James Lanman.  
**Ill.**  
 ☐ Ninian Edwards, \*  
 ☐ Jesse B. Thomas. \* †

**Pa.**  
 Walter Lowrie, \*  
 Jonathan Roberts. \*  
**Ind.**  
 James Noble, \* †  
 Waller Taylor. \*  
**Vt.**  
 Wm. A. Palmer. \*

On the 6th of January, 1829, Charles Miner of Pa. submitted the following resolution to the H. R., accompanied with a preamble, describing "enormities starting enough to wake the dead."

*Resolved*, "That the Committee [on D. C.] be further instructed to *inquire into the expediency* of providing by law for the gradual abolition of slavery within the District, in such manner that the *interest* of no individual shall be injured thereby."

The following northern men voted against *considering* this resolution. *Me.* James W. Ripley, *N. H.* Jonathan Harvey, *N. Y.* Samuel Chase, *Pa.* George Kremer, Daniel H. Miller, and John Mitchell, *Ohio*, William Stanberry.\* *Rollin C. Mallory* of *Vt.*, voted against the *adoption* of the resolution.

POLITICAL REGISTER—TWENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS, &c.

"By their fruits ye shall know them."

In giving a catalogue of the northern members of the 25th Congress, we have carefully marked those, who by their votes have linked the gathering infamy of slavery to their own names. Freemen of the north, will you make their guilt and infamy your own by re-electing them?

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The names above the dash under each state, are present members, whose term expires March 3, 1839. The marks signify:

\* Those who voted to lay petitions on the table Jan. 2, 1835,—against the motion of J. Dickson of N. Y. to refer them. Carried, 117 to 77. Majority 40.

† Voted "That Congress ought not to interfere in any way with slavery in the District of Columbia." Feb. 8, 1836, passed, 132 to 45. m. 87.

\* Two from Maryland, and one each from Del., Va., and N. C. voted for considering.

- † Voted for Pinckney's gag resolution, May 26, 1836. Carried, 117 to 68. m. 46.  
 † Voted for the admission of Arkansas as a slave state, June 13, 1836. Carried 138 to 56. m. 82.  
 † Voted for Hawes' gag resolution, Jan. 19, 1837. Carried, 115 to 57. m. 58.  
 It will be noticed that those whose names are decorated with the above marks have nearly all failed of re-election. Let others beware.  
 † Voted for Patton's gag, Dec. 21, 1837, which follows:  
 "Resolved, That all petitions, memorials and papers touching the abolition of slavery, or the buying, selling, or transferring of slaves in any state, district, or territory of the United States, be laid on the table, without being debated, printed, read or referred, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon."  
 Carried, 122 to 74. m. 48.  
 † Voted that J. Q. Adams was out of order, because, in illustrating the contempt cast upon the right of petition, he referred to a petition purporting to be from slaves. June 23, 1838. Carried, 115 to 36. m. 79.

**Maine—8.**

\* 4, † 6, † 5, † 5, † 5, † 4, † 3.  
 Hugh J. Anderson †!  
 Thomas Davee!  
 George Evans,  
 John Fairfield † † †!  
 Joseph C. Noyes,  
 F. O. J. Smith \* † † †  
 Virgil D. Parris,  
 Edward Robinson.

Leonard Jarvis \* † † †  
 Jonathan Cilley †  
 Timothy J. Carter †  
 Rufus McIntire \*  
 Gorham Parks \* † † †  
 Joseph Hall † † †  
 Moses Mason † † †

**New Hampshire—5.**  
 \* 1, † 5, † 4, † 5, † 5, † 5, † 4.  
 C. G. Atherton †!  
 Samuel Cushman † † † †!  
 James Farrington †!  
 Joseph Weeks † † †  
 Jared W. Williams †!

Franklin Pierce \* † † †  
 Benning M. Bean † † †  
 Robert Burns † † †

**Vermont—5.**

Heman Allen,  
 Horace Everett,  
 Isaac Fletcher,  
 Hiland Hall,  
 William Slade.

**Massachusetts—12.**

\* 2.  
 John Q. Adams,  
 Nathaniel B. Borden,  
 George N. Briggs,  
 William B. Calhoun,  
 Caleb Cushing,  
 Richard Fletcher,  
 George Grennell,  
 William S. Hastings,  
 Levi Lincoln,  
 Wm. Parmenter,  
 Stephen C. Phillips,  
 John Reed.

Benjamin Gorham \*  
 John Davis \*

**Rhode Island—2.**

Robert B. Cranston,  
 Joseph L. Tillinghast.

**Connecticut—6.**

† 5, † 3, † 5, † 2, † 3, † 5.  
 Elisha Haley † †!  
 Orrin Hoyt †  
 Samuel Ingham † † †!  
 Launceiot Phelps † † † †!  
 Isaac Toucey † † †!  
 T. T. Whittlesey † †!

Andrew Judson † †

**New York—40.**

\* 16, † 28, † 27, † 27, † 28, † 21, † 22.  
 John T. Andrews †!  
 Bennet Bicknell †  
 Samuel Birdsall †!  
 John C. Broadhead †!  
 Isaac H. Bronson!  
 A. D. W. Bruyn †  
 C. C. Cambreleng \* † † † †!  
 Timothy Childs,  
 John C. Clark,  
 Edward Curtis,  
 John I. De Graff †!  
 John Edwards †!  
 Millard Filmore,  
 Henry A. Foster,  
 Albert Gallup,  
 Abraham P. Grant!  
 Hiram Gray!  
 Ogden Hoffman,  
 T. B. Jackson!  
 Nathaniel Jones!  
 Gouverneur Kemble †  
 Arphaxad Loomis †!  
 Richard P. Marvin,  
 Robert McClellan †!  
 Charles F. Mitchell,  
 Ely Moore † † †!  
 Wm. H. Noble †!  
 John Palmer †  
 Amasa J. Parker †!  
 Wm. Patterson,  
 Luther C. Peck,  
 Zadoc Pratt †!  
 John H. Prentiss †!  
 David Russel,  
 Mark H. Sibley,  
 James B. Spencer †  
 William Taylor † † † † †!  
 Obadiah Titus †!  
 Henry Vail †!  
 Abraham Vanderveer!

Mathias J. Bovee † † †  
 John W. Brown † † †  
 G. H. Chapin † † † †  
 John Cramer \* † † † †  
 Ulysses F. Doubleday † † † †  
 Valentine Eifner † †  
 Dudley Farlin † † † †  
 Wm. K. Fuller \* † † † †  
 R. H. Gillet \* † † †  
 Nicoll Halsey \*  
 S. G. Hathaway \*  
 Abel Huntington \* † † † †  
 Gerrit Y. Lansing \* † † † †  
 Gideon Lee † † † †  
 Joshua Lee † † †  
 Stephen B. Leonard † † † †  
 Abijah Mann, Jr. \* † † † †  
 Wm. Mason † † † †  
 John McKeon † † † †  
 Charles McVean \*  
 Rutger B. Miller †  
 Henry Mitchell †  
 Sherman Page † † † †  
 Job Pierson \*  
 Joseph Reynolds \* † † † †  
 Wm. Seymour † † † †  
 Nicholas Sickles † † † †  
 Joel Turrill \* † † † †  
 Aaron Vanderpoel \* † † † †  
 J. B. Van Houten †  
 Aaron Ward † † †  
 Daniel Wardwell † †

**New Jersey—6.**  
 \* 1, † 3, † 1, † 2, † 5.

John B. Ayer †!  
 Wm. Halstead,  
 J. P. B. Maxwell!  
 James F. Randolph!  
 Charles G. Stratton!  
 T. Jones Yorke!

Philemon Dickerson \* † †  
 Ferdinand S. Schenck † †  
 Wm. N. Shinn † †

**Pennsylvania—23.**

\* 1, † 15, † 9, † 11, † 10, † 14, † 13.  
 William Beatty †!  
 Richard Biddle,  
 Andrew Buchanan † † †!  
 Edward Darlington,  
 Edward Davies,  
 Jacob Fry Jr. † † † † †!  
 Robert H. Hammond †  
 Thomas Henry,  
 Edward B. Hubley † † † † †

Samuel Barton † † † †  
 Abraham Bockee † † † †

George M. Kimbrell !  
 John Klingenberg mith + § !!  
 Henry Logan - + § !!  
 Charles McClure !!  
 T. M. T. McKennon,  
 Matthias Morris,  
 Samuel W. Morris !!  
 Charles Naylor,  
 Charles Ogle,  
 Lemuel Painter !!  
 David Petriken !!  
 Arnold Plummer !  
 Wm. W. Potter !  
 David Potts,  
 Luther Reilly !!  
 John Sergeant,  
 Dan Sheffer,  
 George W. Tollard,  
 David D. Wagener + + § !!

Joseph B. Anthony + §  
 Michael W. Ash + + §  
 Andrew Beaumont + §  
 George Chambers +  
 John Galbraith + + §  
 Joseph Henderson +  
 John Laporte +  
 Job Mann + + §  
 Jesse Miller + + +

H. A. Muhlenburg + + § !!  
 Joel B. Sutherland +  
 J. G. Watmough \*

**Ohio—19.**

\* 7, + 11, + 7, + 6, § 10, || 1 ! 6.  
 J. Alexander, Jr.  
 John W. Allen !  
 Wm. K. Bond +  
 John Chaney \* + + §  
 Thomas Corwin,  
 Alexander Duncan,  
 Patrick G. Goode,  
 T. L. Hamer \* + + § !  
 Alexander Harper,  
 Wm. H. Hunter !!  
 Daniel Kilgore + + §  
 D. P. Leadbetter !  
 A. W. Loomis !  
 Samson Mason §  
 Calvary Morris,  
 J. Ridgeway,  
 Matthias Shepler !  
 Taylor Webster §  
 Elisha Whittlesey.  
 William Allen \*  
 Elias Howell \* + +  
 Robert Mitchell \*  
 Wm. Patterson \* + §

Total, \* 37, + 82, + 61, + 63, § 70, || 52, ! 62.

David Spangler \* + §  
 Benjamin Jones +  
 Wm. Kennon + + §  
 Jeremiah McLene + + + §  
 Bellamy Storer +  
 John Thompson + §

**Indiana—7.**

\* 4, + 6, + 2, + 2, § 5, || 1, ! 1.  
 Ratliff Boon + + § !!  
 George H. Dunn,  
 John Ewing,  
 William Graham,  
 William Herod,  
 James Rariden,  
 Albert S. White.

John Carr \* + §  
 E. A. Hannegan \* + §  
 George L. Kinnard \* + +  
 Amos Lane \* + §  
 John W. Davis + §

**Illinois—3.**

\* 1, + 3, + 3, + 2, § 3, || 3, ! 2  
 Zadoc Casey + + § !!  
 William L. May \* + + § !!  
 A. W. Snyder !!

John Reynolds + + §  
**Michigan—1.**  
 Isaac C. Crary !

## NORTHERN SENATORS.

Their terms of office, (which continue six years,) expire March 3, in the years opposite their names. The marks signify as follows :

- \* Mar. 10, 1836. Voted to lay Anti-Slavery petitions on the table. Carried, 24 to 20.  
 + Mar. 1, 1837. Voted in favor of recognizing the independence of Texas. Car. 23 to 19. March 2, Mr. Ruggles of Me. moved to reconsider. Lost, 24 to 24.  
 + Dec. 18, 1837. Voted to lay on the table the question of receiving Anti-Slavery petitions. Carried, 25 to 20.  
 † Jan. 6, 1838. Voted for Calhoun's third resolution, that the general government is bound "to give increased stability and security to the domestic institutions of the states." Carried, 31 to 11.  
 § Jan. 9, 1838. Voted for Calhoun's fourth resolution, that systematic attacks on slavery are "a violation of solemn obligations, moral and religious." Car. 34 to 5.  
 || Jan. 10, 1838. Voted for Clay's resolution against the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Carried, 36 to 9.  
 ¶ Jan. 10, 1838. For Clay's resolution against abolition "in any territory of the United States." Carried, 33 to 9.  
 □ Jan. 10, 1838. Voted to lay on the table a resolution (proposed by Mr. Smith of Indiana,) in favor of FREEDOM OF SPEECH, and of THE PRESS, and the RIGHT OF PETITION Carried, 23 to 21.  
 ⊞ Jan. 16, 1838. Voted to lay on the table the Vt. resolutions. Lost, 12 to 26.  
 ! March 21, 1838. Voted against considering Morris's resolutions proposing an inquiry in reference to the slave trade with Texas. Lost, 31 to 8.

**Maine.**

1841 John Ruggles +  
 1843 Reuel Williams + § !! ¶

**New Hampshire.**

1841 Henry Hubbard + § !! ¶  
 1843 F. Pierce + § !! ¶

**Vermont.**

1839 Benjamin Swift \*  
 1843 Samuel Prentiss \*

**Massachusetts.**

1839 Daniel Webster  
 1841 John Davis \*

**Rhode Island.**

1839 Asher Robbins +  
 1841 Neh. R. Knight \*

**Connecticut.**

1845 Dennis Kimberly  
 1839 J. M. Niles + § !! ¶  
 1843 Perry Smith + § !! ¶  
 1837 Gideon Tomlinson \*

**New-York.**

1839 N. P. Tallmadge !!  
 1843 Silas Wright + § !! ¶

**New-Jersey.**

1839 S. L. Southard \* !  
 1841 Garrett D. Wall

**Pennsylvania.**

1839 Samuel McKean \*  
 1841 Jas. Buchanan + + § !! ¶

**Ohio.**

1839 Thomas Morris  
 1843 William Allen + § !! ¶  
 1837 Thomas Ewing \* +

**Indiana.**

1839 John Tipton !!  
 1843 Oliver H. Smith  
 1837 Wm. Hendricks +

**Illinois.**

1841 J. M. Robinson + + § !! ¶  
 1843 R. M. Young + + § !! ¶

**Michigan.**

1839 Lucius Lyon + + § !! ¶  
 1841 J. Norvell + § !! ¶



## PRO-SLAVERY OBJECTIONS.

The doctrines of abolitionists are self-evident truths ; their *measures* are these doctrines *acted out*. If there were no other proof of the truth of our doctrines, than the absurdity of all the objections made to them, they might well be considered settled. When intellect and passion from the chair of state, the bench and the pulpit, down to the ditch, have joined forces against our principles,—when pride, caste, lust of power, political corruption, ecclesiastical usurpation, and dogmatism, on the one hand, and truckling sycophancy on the other, have been put to their possibles in self-defence ; when our doctrines have for years poured such a raking fire into their very thickets and nestling places, and smote with such a ruining hand among their lifted crests, and through their joints and marrow, as to keep them in ceaseless throes, and goad them to their utmost in aggression, if after all the joint product of all these be mere puerility and emptiness, our principles may be regarded as among “the things that cannot be shaken.” We speak of these objections just as we feel. Not one of them has in it even the elements of an *argument*. They are shallow, sophistical, contradictory, generally mere assumptions, always rife with ignorance, and often with falsehood. We leave it with the next generation to say if this be a false accusation. But further preface aside, we proceed to notice some of the reasons urged against the emancipation of the slaves. Slaveholders will have it that slaves are contented and happy.

## ARE SLAVES CONTENTED AND HAPPY ?

The question is not, what is the actual condition of slaves ? but, how do *they* regard it ?—what feelings does it produce in them ?—do they like it, or dislike it ? To argue such a question seems like playing a farce, and yet there is so much prating about the contentment and happiness of slaves, that many take it for granted, and help slaveholders to ring the changes upon the absurdity, ridiculous and shallow as it is. Yet no man in his senses really *believes* that slaves are contented and happy. The phraseology which men use every day in talking upon a subject, often shows their *real opinions* better than any formal declaration of them. The very men who tell us that the slave is contented, that he is *willing* to be a slave, will in nine cases out of ten, if called upon to define slavery, say it is *involuntary* servitude, that is, that the slave works *against his will*. Let any man analyze his own associations with the word slave, and he will find that he invariably associates with it the idea of a person kept in a condition *against his will*. Let him try to contemplate slavery as a condition into which men go of their own accord, and the slave as one *choosing* to become such in preference to being a freeman, and he will find himself doing as great violence to his convictions, as if he should try to contemplate convicts in solitary cells, as persons who had *broken into them* out of sheer love to handcuffs, and a dungeon for life, six feet by four, in preference to going at large. How can slaves be contented and happy, when the first step in the process that makes them slaves, is to take them from under the direction of their own free wills, and move all the machinery of their bodies and minds by a mainspring *out of themselves* ? A man's own will is the natural mainspring for moving all the machinery of his body and mind ; to propel it by any other moving power makes every part grate with friction. Would a watchmaker be such a fool as to put into a watch a power acting against the mainspring, forcing the wheels in one direction, while that pushed in the other ? Every piece of mechanism has its own moving power ; when its movements are directed by that power, all is harmony ; when by any other power acting against that, all is jargon. The first desire of human nature is to *direct its own movements*. To say that a man can be contented and happy, while all his movements are directed by the will of another, is to prate nonsense. Unsatisfied

desire is, so far as it goes, unhappiness, and if permanent, and embracing a variety of objects, is misery. The first desire of the slave, like that of all other men, is to use his own body and mind, and to control their movements. This desire is counteracted every moment; all his movements are controlled by another. He does, not what he likes, but what another likes to have him do. He goes, not where he wills, but whithersoever his master wills. He eats what his master pleases. The quality, quantity, time of meals, and number each day, are as the master likes to have them. He wears such clothes, of such texture, color, cut, &c. as the master pleases. His times of labor and rest, accommodations in sickness, his whole intercourse with wife, children, and friends; the place of his abode, when and how he may leave, or change it, the improvement of his mind, the exercise of his conscience, the use of his limbs, yea even of his voice and of his five senses, all these are under the control, and subject to the momentary caprice of another. His own will must be constantly counteracted, and he consequently *unhappy*, not merely because the thousand momentary wishes of every day are frustrated, but because the great, permanent, constitutional desire of his being, to use himself for the advancement of his own interests is all the time counteracted. To call such a man happy, is to prostitute language and libel human nature.

#### MEN DON'T LOVE TO WORK.

But again: no man ever loved *work* for its own sake. It is human nature to shrink from labor, unless something is to be got by it beyond the mere labor. The muscular effort itself, unless casual and temporary, is always regarded with aversion. True, men work, and are happy in working, not in the toil itself, but because thereby they gain other objects; those objects aside, and habitual labor would be habitual misery; the hope of bettering one's condition is the natural, appropriate lure to labor, makes it tolerable and pleasant; but take away this lure, quench hope, let the laborer be assured, that though he may work at the top of his strength, he cannot better his condition, that he is doomed for life, and his posterity through all time, to utter poverty, that no amount of toil can make him the owner even of his own hands; in a word, force him to work without a single lure of hope, or without procuring thereby one cherished object of desire, and you pour into his cup misery to the brim. Habitual labor, extorted from such a man, would be the mere phrensiad struggle of fear and despair—their joint product. The scripture saith, what every man's experience confirms, "Fear hath torment." Yet fear is the only stimulus under which the slave works; his labor is extorted from him by appeals to his sense of pain, either by actual infliction, or by the certainty of it, if he refuse. During his whole life *fear*, FEAR is the motive that goads him to effort, and "Fear hath torment." It is befitting that slaveholders should call those persons who direct the labor of their slaves, "DRIVERS." Slaves contented and happy!! and yet driven their weary round from day to day while life lasts, stung to the quick by FEAR; forced to be, to do, to suffer, to go, to stay, to eat, to drink, to wear, to have, just what, and when, and as, and only as, *another* pleases, and yet, contented and happy!!!

But we shall be told that the slaveholders, who know far better than we do, say that their slaves are contented and happy. Answer: this question so nearly concerns slaveholders, that they are of all men the most incompetent witnesses. Courts of law take no man's testimony in his own case, unless he insists on testifying against himself; in that case his testimony is the most conclusive of all evidence. Slaveholders are under the strongest inducements to assert the contentment and happiness of their slaves; consequently, whenever they, in the face of all these inducements, deliberately and solemnly assert that the slaves are dis-

contented and miserable, their testimony is entitled to the highest credit, for it is deliberately given *against themselves*, against their own benevolence, their justice, honor, and character, and calculated to excite against them the indignation of all just minds, for forcibly holding human beings in a condition, which, according to the voluntary testimony of the wrong-doers themselves, is full of misery.

#### TESTIMONY OF SLAVEHOLDERS.

Reader, look at the following testimony of slaveholders. They declare in the strongest language, that the slaves long for liberty, and that instead of hugging their chains, they writhe and toss in them.

Abolitionists are charged with over-statements in describing the horrors of slavery, but when slaveholders voluntarily take the pencil, who will accuse *them* of high coloring in drawing the picture ?

It is well known that in the winter of 1831-2, the Legislature of Virginia was engaged more than two weeks in discussing the question of slavery. We give a few extracts from that debate. MR. MOORE said, "they (*the slaves*) will *always* be disposed to avail themselves of a favorable opportunity of asserting their natural rights.\* \* \* \* It may be safely assumed, that, wherever the slaves are as numerous as the whites, it will require *one half of the effective force of the whites to keep them quiet* ; such is the fact as to the whole of Eastern Virginia."

In another part of the same speech he said : "I lay it down as a maxim *not to be disputed*, that our slaves are now, and will ever be, actuated by the *desire of liberty*."

MR. McDOWELL. "Sir, you may place the slave where you please—you may oppress him as you please—you may dry up to your uttermost, the fountains of his feeling, the springs of his thought—and *the idea that he was born to be free will survive it all*. It is allied to his hope of immortality—it is the ethereal part of his nature which oppression cannot reach."

MR. PRESTON. "My old friend from Halifax, (Mr. Bruce,) told us that the Virginia slave was happy and contented. Mr. Speaker, *this is impossible ; happiness is incompatible with slavery*. The love of liberty is the *ruling passion of man* ; and he cannot be happy if deprived of it."

MR. CAMPBELL. "The ever-abiding spark of liberty, silently, but surely exists in the bosom of even the most degraded, oppressed, and humble slave on earth."

MR. GHOLSON, in describing the attempts to keep the slaves from gaining their liberty, said : "And think you, Sir, that this attempt will not be resisted?—Just as sure as a love of freedom and the immediate prospect of attaining it *will inflame the heart and inspire revolution—the love of freedom will be armed with desperation*."

MR. DANIEL. "The slaves cannot long remain ignorant of the sentiments which are thus publicly expressed, and it would indeed be strange if they did not *greedily* adopt expressions so favorable to *their cause*."

The preceding extracts are from speeches made in the legislature of Virginia on the 16, 18, 19, 20, 23, and 26 of Jan. 1832, as reported in the Richmond Whig.

The late JUDGE TUCKER of Va., professor of law in the University of William and Mary, published a letter to a member of the Va. Legislature in 1801, in which he says :—"The love of freedom, sir, is an inborn sentiment. At the *first favorable moment* it springs forth and defies all check. Whenever we are involved in war, if our enemies hold out the lure of FREEDOM, they will have, in EVERY NEGRO, a *decided friend*."

HON. B. W. LEIGH, late Senator in Congress from Va., in a series of letters to the people of that state in 1832, speaking of the slaves, says : "The peculiar interest they *must* take in the subject we may be sure makes their hearing *very acute*. It is the most combustible matter that takes fire the soonest." p. 77.

HON. P. P. BARBOUR of Va. now a judge of the U. S. Sup. Court, said in a speech in Congress in Feb. 1820, (see Nat. Intell. of that date,) "Slavery, disguise it as you will, is still a *bitter draught*."

GOVERNOR GILES, in his address to the legislature of Virginia, 1827, speaking of the number of crimes punished by sale into slavery, says : "*Slavery must be admitted to be a PUNISHMENT OF THE HIGHEST ORDER* ; and according to every

just rule for the apportionment of punishment to crime, it would seem that it ought to be applied only to crimes of the highest order."—[Men are punished to the utmost, by inflicting "happiness" upon them !]

In 1787, every slaveholder in Congress voted for the following resolution : " There shall be neither slavery, nor involuntary servitude in the territory north-west of the Ohio, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes."

HENRY CLAY, at a meeting of the Am. Col. Soc., Jan. 1818, said : " He has placed a false estimate upon liberty, who believes that many [slaves] would refuse the boon even when coupled with such a condition."\* [Banishment to Liberia.]

REV. J. D. PAXTON of Virginia, who had always lived in the midst of slaves, and held them, says in his " Letters on Slavery," p. 153, " THE SLAVES, MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD, ARE LONGING FOR FREEDOM."

PATRICK HENRY of Va. in his letter to Robert Pleasants, dated Jan. 18, 1778, says : " Let us transmit to our descendants a pity for their (the slaves') unhappy lot." " Let us treat the unhappy victims with lenity."

JEFFERSON, in his notes on Va., p. 71, says that the slave " entails his own MISERABLE condition on the endless generations proceeding from him." In his published Correspondence he says : " When the measure of their TEARS is full—when their GROANS have involved heaven itself in darkness, doubtless a God of Justice will awaken to their DISTRESS." [Contentment and happiness ?]

WASHINGTON, in his letter to Robert Morris, April 12, 1786, says : " I hope it will not be conceived that it is my wish to hold these unhappy people, in slavery."

MCCALL, in his history of Georgia, says : " This class of people, (slaves,) who could not be supposed to be CONTENTED in slavery, and who would grasp with avidity at the most desperate attempts that promised freedom," &c.

In the Kentucky Convention of 1790, MR. RICE called the slaves' condition a " wretched situation," " a miserable state"—said that he was consigned to a " bottomless gulf of wretchedness," and added, " The laws confine him in misery."

The Editor of the Maryville (Tenn.) Intelligencer in his paper of Oct. 1835, speaking of slaves in the South-western states, says, " their condition is second only to that of THE WRETCHED CREATURES IN HELL." In a subsequent number the editor says : " We, of the South, are surrounded by a dangerous class of beings—who, if they could but once entertain the idea that immediate death would not be their portion, would re-act the St. Domingo tragedy. But a consciousness that a ten-fold force would gather from the four corners of the United States, and slaughter them, KEEPS THEM IN SUBJECTION. But to the non slave-holding states, we are indebted for a permanent safeguard against insurrection. Without their assistance, the white population of the Southern States would be too weak to quiet that innate desire for liberty, which is ever ready to act itself out."

The Minutes of the American Convention convened at Baltimore, Oct. 25, 1826, contain a communication from two delegates to that body from N. C., Messrs. M. & W. Swain, in which, speaking of the slaves in the eastern part of that state, they say, " THEIR SITUATION IS WRETCHED BEYOND DESCRIPTION."

In the Convention that framed the Constitution of Va., in 1829, Mr. Campbell said : " In the year 1814, when all the militia east of the Blue Ridge, were chiefly employed in patrolling the counties on the sea-board, and generally east of the Ridge, to prevent insurrections among your own discontented population."

Having given a little of the testimony of slaveholders in words, we now give the

#### TESTIMONY OF SLAVEHOLDERS BY THEIR ACTIONS.

The whole system of slavery is constructed on the presumption that slaves are unwilling to be slaves. All its laws and regulations pre-suppose and assume that they must necessarily be discontented, and will constantly strive to escape. Hence the laws prohibiting their leaving the plantation without a pass, and authorizing any one to give twenty lashes to those who have none, laws against such as harbor runaways, and the penalty of DEATH to be inflicted on any slave who aids another

\* What a condemnation of his casting vote reaching forward twenty-five years, to enslave human beings not then born! See his vote on slavery in Arkansas, page 33.

to run away. Hence the nightly patrols and daily vigils—the citadels and guard-houses, the ordinance in all southern cities, forbidding slaves to leave their masters' premises after a certain hour in the evening. The law of S. C. authorizing any person who finds more than seven slaves together in the highway without a white person, to give them each twenty lashes, also 39 lashes in Va., Ky., and Mo. for any slave carrying a *club*,—penalties for the crimes of reading and writing,—assembling to worship God, unless a majority of white persons are present—also prohibiting all *evening* meetings—also for “being found in another person's negro quarters, 40 lashes,” “for being on horseback without the written permission of his master, 25 lashes,” “for keeping a dog, 25 lashes,” “for taking away a boat or canoe from where it is made fast, for the first offence 35 lashes, and for the second shall have cut off from his head one ear.” For all the preceding laws, see 2 Brev. Dig. 231. Prince's Dig. 447. Rev. Code of Miss. 371. 2 Mo. Laws, 751. Del. Laws, 104. Haywood's Manual, 78. Martin's Dig. 622.

We give a specimen of another class of laws by a quotation.

By the laws of Louisiana, “No man can emancipate his slave, unless the slave has attained the age of thirty years, *except a slave who has saved the life of his master, or his master's wife, or one of his master's children*; such a one may be emancipated at any age.”

In a number of other slave states, emancipation is forbidden in all cases except for “*MERITORIOUS SERVICES*.” Thus the Legislatures of slave states declare that the *gift of liberty* is the greatest reward they can bestow upon a slave for services the most important to the state, and that it is the *greatest motive* they can hold out to prompt other slaves to like services. A few years since, a slave, at great hazard, saved the State House at Milledgeville, Ga., when in flames. The Legislature purchased him of his master, and set him free, paying for him \$1800. In 1822, a slave gave information of a projected insurrection in Charleston, S. C. The Legislature held out to other slaves the *strongest possible motive* to do likewise in similar cases, by giving him his *freedom*. During the revolutionary war, the Legislature of New York passed an act granting freedom to all slaves who should serve in the army for three years, or until regularly discharged. See 2 Kent's Com. p. 255.

All these, and a multitude of other laws in slave states are based upon the *admitted fact* that slaves are, and must inevitably be, discontented with their condition, and constantly trying to get out of it; they proclaim also, that all slaveholders *know* this, and therefore strive to the utmost to prevent it. The laws of slave states, their swarms of patrols, their guard-houses, citadels, alarm bells, vigilance committees, chain gangs, written passes, advertisements for runaways, trained blood hounds, fortified churches,\* their whips, yokes, fetters, branding irons, &c. prove as clearly that the slaveholders *know* that their slaves are *unwilling* to be slaves, and will do their utmost to escape, as the handcuffs, bolts, bars, iron doors, and massive walls of our prisons prove that the government know that those who are sent to prison are *unwilling* to be prisoners, and will do their utmost to escape.

#### RUNNING AWAY FROM CONTENTMENT.

Men are apt to show by their actions what they like and dislike. If slaves are contented and happy in slavery why do they run away from it every chance they can get? When prisoners break jail we are apt to think they are not “contented and happy” to stay there, and when they are all the while *trying* to break jail, whether they get out or not, it would be an odd notion to interpret all these struggles as so many capers of contentment and happiness. Why are the slaves con-

\* In Charleston, S. C., a guard with fixed bayonets is stationed on the Sabbath before the door of every church, during the hours of service.

stantly running away? Doubtless it is because they are so happy they don't know what to do with themselves, and so, in their glee, fall to kicking up their heels, as babies dance up and down, and shake their hands at the sight of sugar plums. But then their kicking up their heels being all in *one* direction, *away* from the plantation, rather than *toward* it, and the fact that when away, they *stay* away, and are always trying to get their friends away,—these are mysteries about which poor human reason is doomed to puzzle itself in vain! When a horse happens to jump out of rich clover into a mullen field, he is sure to jump back again, but horse-instinct is no standard for human reason. A *rational* horse would have *stayed* in the mullen field contentedly munching the stems.

We give a few extracts from the American State Papers, to show how slaves prefer slavery to freedom.

The Va. and Md. claimants under the 1st art. of the treaty of Ghent set forth that,

"In July and August 1814, the enemy made several landings on the northern neck of Virginia. On a sudden an order came, that all the troops should be marched to the defence of Washington, and this neck, of 18 miles wide, was emptied of all its efficient forces for nearly six weeks. During the absence of the forces there was nothing to *restrain* our slaves, and they *flocked* in hundreds to the enemy." See their memorial.—*St. Pap. 2 Sess., 20th Cong. v. 5, No. 190. p. 4.*

Extracts from the instructions of Mr. Clay, when Secretary of State, to Mr. Gallatin, Minister to Great Britain, dated June 19, 1826.

"You are instructed to propose a stipulation for a mutual surrender of all persons held to service or labor under the laws of one party, who escape into the territories of the other. Our object in this stipulation is to provide for a *growing* evil. Persons of the above description escape principally from Virginia and Kentucky into Upper Canada. In proportion as they are *successful* in their retreat to Canada, will the *number of fugitives increase*. The motive for getting them back is the desire which is generally felt to prevent the example of the fugitives becoming *contagious*.

"The states of Virginia and Kentucky, are *particularly anxious* on this subject. The General Assembly of the latter has *repeatedly invoked* the interposition of the U. S. Government with Great Britain. You will therefore *PRESS* the matter."

Mr. Barbour to Mr. Clay. "I endeavored to impress on him, (the British Minister,) the importance of the subject—stating that the mischief was by no means confined to the number that escaped, but acted on, and much impaired the value of those who remained,—the successful attempts at elopement being a strong allure-ment WITH ALL to abscond."—*St. Pap. 2 Sess. 20th Cong. vol. 1. No. 19.*

#### A "REFUGE" FROM HAPPINESS.

"Dec. 18, 1826. Mr. Brent (of La.) offered the following.

"*Resolved*, That the president of the United States be requested to inform this House whether any measures have been taken to obtain the runaway negro slaves from Louisiana and elsewhere, which have taken *refuge* in the territories of Mexico."—*Journal H. R. for 1826-7, p. 70.*

#### A MUD FORT IN THE WOODS *vs.* PLANTATION "HAPPINESS."

In 1816 the U. S. Gov't instructed General Jackson to inform the governor of Pensacola that some hundreds of fugitive slaves from the U. S. were occupying a fort in his territory, and that they furnished an *asylum* to other fugitive slaves from the neighboring states, &c. April 8, 1816. Gen. Jackson ordered Gen. Gaines into Florida to destroy the fort, alleging as a reason that it afforded a *refuge* to runaway slaves from the United States.

In a letter from Commodore Patterson to the Secretary of the Navy, August 15 1816, speaking of the destruction of this fort, he says :

"The service rendered by the destruction of this fort, and the band of negroes who held it, is of *great and manifest importance* to those states bordering on the Creek nation, as it had become the general rendezvous of runaway slaves,—an asylum where they were assured of being received. This hold being destroyed,

they have no longer a place to go to, and will not be so liable to abscond." Further on he says: "The forces were *daily increasing*, and they felt themselves so strong and secure that they had commenced several plantations on the fertile banks of the Apalachicola, which would have yielded them every article of sustenance, [can slaves take care of themselves?] and which would consequently in a short time have rendered their establishment quite formidable, and highly injurious to the neighboring states."—*St. Pap. 2 Sess. 15th Cong. v. 6. No. 119. p. 12.*

The despatches to the Secretary of War assert that there were in the fort, 300 negroes, men, women and children, and 20 Indians!

THE FASCINATIONS OF AN "ALMOST IMPENETRABLE" SWAMP.

In 1837, the New Orleans Picayune, reporting the capture of a leader of fugitives called Squire the "Brigand of the swamp," says: "While they can support a gang and have a camp, WE MAY EXPECT OUR NEGROES TO RUN AWAY." In the same article he says the place whose delights had kept "Squire" "a long time" from the happiness of slavery, and to which the "happy" slaves would of course escape, was a "marsh ALMOST IMPENETRABLE to our citizens."

"HAPPY" SLAVES SOWING THEIR WILD OATS.

During our two wars with Great Britain, a multitude of slaves fled from their masters and joined the British forces. To furnish the reader some data for judging of the number that escaped during the revolutionary war, we insert the following extract from Ramsay's History. "When the British evacuated Charleston, S. C. in 1782, Governor Matthews demanded the restoration of *some thousands* of negroes who were within their lines. \* \* \* \* \* These, however, were but a *small part* of the whole taken away at the evacuation, but that number is very inconsiderable when compared with the *thousands* that were lost from the first to the last of the war. It has been computed by good judges that between the years 1775 and 1783, the State of South Carolina lost TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND NEGROES." [At least a fifth part of all the slaves in the state at the beginning of the war. See page 30.]—*Ramsay's Hist. S. C. v. 1. p. 473-4.*

Dr. Ramsay being a native and resident of Charleston, S. C. enjoyed every facility for ascertaining the facts in the case; but his testimony does not stand alone. Col. Lee of Va. in his "Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department," v. 2. p. 456, says, of "the negroes *seduced* and taken from the inhabitants of S. C.,"

"It is asserted upon the authority of the best informed citizens of S. C. that *more* than TWENTY THOUSAND slaves were lost to the state in consequence of the war."

Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, after escaping from Williamsburg in 1775, to a vessel in James river, offered liberty to those slaves who would join him. It appears from the history that *one hundred* of them are soon after enumerated among his forces. How many more joined him does not appear.—*Burke's Va., v. 3. p. 431.*

Extract of a letter from Mr. Jefferson, then Secretary of State, to Mr. Hammond, Minister of Great Britain, dated Philadelphia, Dec. 15. 1791. "On withdrawing the troops from New York, a *large embarkation* of negroes, the property of the inhabitants of the U. S. took place. \* \* \* A *very great number* was carried off in private vessels, without admitting the inspection of the American Commissioners."—See "Political Correspondence," Papers relative to Great Britain, p. 4.

The following may enable the reader to form some judgment of the number that escaped during the last war.

Extract from the Report of the Com. of Ways and Means, to the House of Representatives, Jan. 5. 1819. "At the conclusion of the war in 1815, it being known that *MANY THOUSANDS* of the slaves of our citizens had been carried off by the British ships of war," &c.—*Am. St. Pap. F. Rel. v. 4. p. 114.*

Extract of a letter from Hon. John Quincy Adams to Lord Castlereagh. Feb. 17. 1816. "In his letter of the 5th Sept. the undersigned had the honor of enclosing a list of 702 slaves carried away after the ratification of the treaty of peace from Cumberland Island, and the waters adjacent; \* \* \* \* \* a number perhaps still greater was carried away from Tangier Island in the state of Virginia, and from other places.—*Am. St. Pap. 2d Sess. 16th Cong. No. 82. p. 82.*

## FREAKS OF "CONTENTMENT" IN 1732.

"There were at the Natchez on the plantations a considerable number of negroes, nearly all of whom had joined the murderers of their masters *in order to gain their freedom*, and had followed their new friends among the Chickasaws. This circumstance, and their consequent emancipation, were known to their former companions, and suggested the *possibility* of their own release from bondage. They became *restless and indocile*."—*Martin's History of La.*, v. 1. p. 294. date, 1732.

## SLAVES OPPRESSED BY "HAPPINESS," FIND "PROTECTION!"

"This property has heretofore been of little value near the Ohio river, because runaways receive aid and PROTECTION from the people in the new territories and states."—Speech of Mr. Doddridge in the Va. Con. Oct. 28. 1829, *Deb.* p. 89.

Dec. 17. 1821. "Mr. Wright of Md. laid before the house an attested copy of a resolution, passed Feb. 16, 1821, by the General Assembly of the state, complaining of the PROTECTION afforded by the citizens of Pennsylvania to the slaves who abscond and go into that state," and calling for an act of Congress to prevent the continuance of the evils complained of. They say that "the present state of things, [PROTECTION given to the "happy" fugitives,] is not only vexatious to the master, but *extremely pernicious*, and calculated to DESTROY THE CONTENTMENT AND HAPPINESS of slaves."—*Am. St. Pap. Class 10. vol. 2. No. 506, p. 752.*

## "CONTENTED" SLAVES BAD PROPERTY.

"Their vicinity to non-slave-holding states, *must forever* render this sort of property *precarious and insecure*."—Speech of Judge Upshur in the Va. Conv. Oct. 28, 1829. See *Deb. Va. Con. p. 76.*

"From the vicinity of the country through which this (the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal) passes to Pennsylvania, slaves *cannot be held there*."—Speech of Mr. Scott in the Va. Convention, 1829, *Deb. p. 126.*

## "CONTENTMENT" OF JUDGE WASHINGTON'S SLAVES.

Hon. Bushrod Washington, nephew of Gen. Washington, and Judge of the Sup. Court of the U. S., sold 54 of his slaves, to be taken to Louisiana, in August 1831, while he was Pres. of the Am. Colonization Society. In a letter published in the Balt. Telegraph, Sept. 18, 1831, he says: "I called the slaves together, and assured them I had no intention to give freedom to any of them. That the DISAPPOINTMENT caused by this declaration should lead to the consequences which followed *was to be expected*. \* \* \* \* I had good reason for anticipating the escape of ALL THE LABORING MEN OF ANY VALUE to the Northern States as soon as I should leave home."

## SLAVES KNOW WHEN TO SEEM MOST "CONTENTED."

But perhaps we shall be told that the slaves *say* that they do not wish to be free. True—and the more they wish to be free, and are laying plans for it, the more they will *profess* to be contented and happy, lest they should be more closely watched. That is human nature. When the convict who has been trying to break jail all night, hears the turnkey coming, he crowds on his handcuffs, slips in the sawed bars, and begins to snore, or, if in the day time, shows his *contentment* by striking up a tune. Slaves are not such fools as to exhibit discontent and a longing for liberty, either to their master or to his guests.

## TESTIMONY OF JAMES BRADLEY AN EMANCIPATED SLAVE.

He bought his freedom in 1832, when nearly 30 years old. In an account of his life in the "Oasis," speaking on this point, he says: "I do not believe there ever was a slave who did not long for liberty. \* \* I was never acquainted with a slave, however well he was treated, who did not long to be free. There is one thing about this, that people in the free states do not understand. When they ask slaves whether they wish for their liberty, they answer 'No;' and very likely they would say they would not leave their masters for the world. But, at the same time, they desire liberty more than any thing else. The truth is, if a slave shows any discontent, he is sure to be treated worse, and worked the harder for it; and every slave knows this. When they are alone, all their talk is about liberty—liberty! It is the great thought and feeling that fills the mind full all the time."

And yet it should be remembered that this liberty, the thought of which "fills the mind full all the time," does not deserve the name. The freedom which emancipated slaves enjoy at the South, is only another name for oppression.



True, it is vastly more tolerable than slavery, but still it is loaded with grievous privations, and liabilities to outrage without redress. Some slaves there may possibly be, slaves of very mild masters, hardly held *practically* as slaves at all, who might hesitate to exchange their situation for that fettered, unprotected, persecuted freedom, which is all that the iron code of the slave states metes out to the free colored man. But even such cases, if any there be, are very rare exceptions. Listen to a slaveholder on this point. Mr. McDowell, in his speech in the Va. House of Delegates, Jan. 23, 1832, (see Richmond Whig,) says: "As to the idea, that the slaves in any considerable number of cases, can be indifferent to freedom, it is wholly unnatural. The truth is, sir, that although there are special cases of slaves who are willing to forego the benefits of *complete* freedom for certain other benefits which they enjoy under a *nominal* slavery, yet the cases, *from their very nature*, must be limited—they can extend only to a favored few."

But we are told further that slaves show *by their actions* that they are happy—they sing, laugh, dance, and make merry. He is a shallow smatterer in human nature, who does not understand this, that mirth is often rather the effort of the mind to throw off trouble, than the evidence of happiness. It shows that a man *wishes* to be happy, and is *trying for it*, and is oftener the *means* used to get it than the proof that it *exists*. And as to *singing*—why do prisoners sing in jails? We have all heard them. Does it prove solitary cells a paradise? Do jail walls, dingy light and solitude make men so happy that they sing for joy? They sing to *make* pleasure for themselves, not to *give vent* to it. Their singing indicates a mind *seeking* amusement rather than one *content with what it has*—a mind conscious of a *want*, and striving to satisfy it, rather than one rejoicing in a full supply. In illustration of this we insert a fact stated by the Rev. Dr. Channing of Boston in his late work on slavery, first edition, p. 161.

"I once passed a colored woman at work on a plantation, who was *singing apparently with animation*, and whose general manners would have led me to set her down as the *happiest* of the gang. I said to her, 'Your work seems pleasant to you.' She replied, 'No, Massa.' Supposing that she referred to something particularly disagreeable in her immediate occupation, I said to her, 'Tell me then what part of your work is most pleasant.' She answered with much emphasis, '*No part pleasant. We FORCED to do it.*'"

The celebrated Dr. Rush of Philadelphia, in one of his published medical papers, entitled "An account of the diseases peculiar to the negroes in the West Indies, and which are produced by their *slavery*," says:

"We are told by their masters that they are the happiest people in the world, because they are 'merry.' Mirth and a heavy heart, I believe, often meet together, and hence the propriety of Solomon's observation, 'In the midst of laughter the heart is sad.' Instead of considering the songs and dances as marks of their *happiness*, I have long considered them as *physical symptoms of melancholy*, and as certain proofs of their *misery*."—*Am. Museum*, vol. 4. p. 81.

Finally, if slaves were contented and happy, that fact alone should be the everlasting condemnation of slavery, and hunt the monster from human society with curses on its head. What! does it so paralyze the soul, subvert its instincts, blot out its reason, crush its upward tendencies, and murder its higher nature, that a man can be "contented and happy," though robbed of his body, mind, free choice, liberty, time, earnings, and all his rights, and while his life, limbs, health, conscience, food, raiment, sleep, wife and children, have *no protection*, but are subject *every moment* to the whims and passion-gusts of an owner, a *manstealer*? Nobly was it said by Burke, in reply to a vaunting slaveholder, who boasted that his slaves were "contented and happy:" "If you have made a *contented slave*, you have made a **DEGRADED MAN.**"

"WE SHALL BE OVERRUN WITH THEM."

If ghosts were flesh and blood, and flew in flocks, the spectres of beggary and crime conjured up by "*We shall be overrun with them,*" would darken all our northern air.

This objection, when urged against our *measures*, implies the conviction that they will be *successful*. When urged against *emancipation* it implies that slaves are kept where they are against their wills. It implies also that those who make it would keep the slaves in their chains rather than run the risk of having here and there a colored neighbor. If the objector were to see a slaveholder knocking off the chains, throwing away the whip, and giving wages to his laborers he must needs cry out: "Stop! stop! if you pay your laborers and treat them well, they will quit you and rush to the north."

Who makes this outcry? An AMERICAN, who, while he boasts that his country is an asylum for the oppressed of *all nations*, would perpetuate the oppression and robbery of his *own countrymen*, lest some of them should find an asylum in his neighborhood.

But this objection is a bald prophecy, based on no facts, and contradicted by history, and by human nature. If slavery were abolished, the slaves would choose to stay at the south as hired laborers, rather than come to the north. Reasons:

1. *They are already there.* And the trouble, expense, distance to be travelled time necessary for the journey, &c. would forever dissuade the main body from migration to the north.

2. There is far more *room* for them in the slave-holding portions of the U. S. than in the non-slaveholding. In the former there is one-third more *territory* and one-third *less* population than in the latter.

3. The climate of the south is congenial to them, that of the north *uncongenial*.

4. There is far less *prejudice* against the colored man there than at the north.

5. They are remarkable for their *local* attachments. This is one of their peculiarities everywhere—wherever they are to be found, their aversion to a change of residence, especially to a distant removal, is *proverbial*. All travellers in Africa unite in this testimony.—Edwards' History of the West Indies—Walsh's Sketches of Brazil—Matheson's "Notices of Jamaica"—Dr. Dickson's "Mitigation of Slavery"—Sturge and Harvey's "West Indies in 1837"—Thome and Kimball's "Six months in Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica"—abound with testimony to this trait.

We insert from the latter work, a few testimonies of ex-slaveholders in Antigua. "The negroes are not disposed to leave the estates on which they have lived, unless they are forced away by bad treatment."—*H. Armstrong, Esq.*

"*Nothing but bad treatment* on the part of the planters has ever caused the negroes to leave the estates on which they were accustomed to live."—*S. Bourne, Esq.*

"The negroes are *remarkably attached to their homes.*"—*James Howell, Esq.*

"The negroes are peculiar for their attachment to their homes."—*S. Barnard, Esq.*

"Love of home is very remarkable in the negroes. *It is a passion with them.*"—*Dr. Daniell, Member of the Council.*

An aged planter said: "They have *very strong local attachments.* They love their little hut, and will endure almost any hardship before they will desert that spot."

Messrs. Thome and Kimball say: "Such are the sentiments of West India planters; expressed, in the majority of cases, spontaneously, and mostly in illustration of other statements. We did not hear a word that implied an opposite sentiment. One gentleman observed that it was a very common saying, with the negroes,—'*Me nebber leave my bornin' ground.*'—i. e., birth-place."

6. The slaves rarely run away from *mild* masters *now*. When they become *their own* masters and are protected by just laws, why should they leave their native region to roam among strangers in an uncongenial clime?

7. Slaves, when emancipated in the South, stay there, unless *driven* out.

There were in 1830, 44,000 more free colored people in the slave states than in the free states; and this notwithstanding all the barbarous laws of the slave states, made expressly to oppress and drive them out. From 1820 to 1830, the free colored population of the slave states increased 35.1 per cent, while the colored population of the free states increased only 19.1 per cent, *but little more than half as fast*, and this in spite of expulsion laws, and notwithstanding the removal by the Colonization Soc. of 1008 from the slave states and only 155 from the free states.

The utter aversion of the slaves, when free, to migrate from the state, was asserted by Gen. Broadnax, an advocate of colonization, in his speech in the Virginia Legislature, in 1832, in favor of a bill for the forcible removal of free colored people. He said: "It is idle to talk about not resorting to FORCE.\* \* They must be COMPELLED to go.\* \* ALL OF US LOOK TO FORCE, OF SOME KIND." Another member, Mr. Fisher, said: "If we wait until the free negroes *consent* to leave the state, we shall wait till time is no more."

If they are reluctant to leave *now*, while slaveholding laws crush them to the dust, will they be *more* disposed to leave when slavery is abolished, and with it that bloody code against the free colored people which slavery made "necessary?"

Further. When the slaves are emancipated, the present masters would *choose* to employ them as hired laborers in preference to any other class.

1. *They must have laborers.*—They cannot dig, (the present generation at least,) and to beg they are ashamed. The fact that these laborers *are already on the ground* would be to the planters a strong motive to *keep* them there rather than to get others.

2. *They have always been accustomed to them.* Many of the slaveholders in the West Indies, enraged at the passage of the Emancipation Act, and in hot haste to verify their own predictions of ruin, imported white laborers to supply the places of their emancipated slaves. But a brief experiment let off their zeal; meanwhile the importation came to a stand, their wrath got cold enough to swallow; and instead of paying a hundred per cent premium for the reputation of *prophets*, and after all having their labor and losing their cash for their pains, they turned their foreign laborers adrift and were glad to hire those to whom they had always been *accustomed*.

3. The slaves are *acquainted with all kinds of plantation labor*—the raising of the southern staples, preparation of the soil, getting in the crops, modes of cultivation, curing for market, with the times and seasons of all, the causes affecting them, &c. Any other class of laborers would have all these things *to learn*, and it would take some years fully to *get the run of them*. Thus, for a time at least, they would be much less profitable laborers than those who had been all their lives engaged in this kind of labor.

4. The slaves are *fitted to the climate* both by constitution and by long residence, habituating them to it. Any other class of laborers would be obliged to go through a process of acclimation, generally long and severe, and in a multitude of instances *fatal*, especially in all the *far south* and south-west. What a rush is made to the north every summer by men of business in the far south who are not *natives*. They dare not encounter the sickly months. If to stay there would be hazardous to men whose business calls them little into the sun, and is not exhausting, men too, who are able to live *without labor* during the sickly season, how would it be with the poor northern, or foreign laborer, who, instead of being able to take a furlough during those months, would be obliged to bear *double burdens*? for the *press* of labor there is in the sickly months. How long would he be able to bear up under the foggy mornings, burning noons, and dew-drenched nights?

5. The planters would prefer their present slaves as hired laborers, for the additional reason that *they could get them cheaper* than any others. They have been accus-

tomed to such a manner of living, that they could support themselves at half the cost necessary for any other laborers. Instead of having a host of artificial wants and appetites crying for a supply, (and crying the louder because they *are* artificial,) as would be the case with any other class of laborers—their allowance when slaves, of a peck of corn a week, with a bit of bacon at Christmas, has engendered no such clamorous brood: consequently, with their simpler habits and fewer wants, and smaller doctor's bills, they could and would work for lower wages.

6. The slaveholders would employ their present slaves as hired laborers, if for no other reason, because they *could get no others*. Where could they get 2,000,000 of laborers? or 1,000,000? or even 100,000? Suppose slavery abolished to-day and an agent of some large plantation, a quondam overseer perchance, should spur up to the north, and bustle through our country towns, beating up for recruits among our young farmers to take the places of the late slaves as laborers. Who would put on the uniform, and wait marching orders for the south? Who would abandon the north where labor is honorable, where *working* men constitute a majority of our legislators, and *hire out* where labor is disgraceful, and the farmer or mechanic who lives by his own work is spurned with contempt? where a Senator in Congress could say, as did B. W. Leigh of Va. in the Convention of that state in 1829: "Those who depend on their daily labor for their daily subsistence *never do, never will, and never can enter into political affairs?*" Who of our free northern or western young men, would take his stand in the place just vacated by the slave, and brook the disdainful airs and lordly domination, and supercilious scorn of those, who have been taught, from their infancy, to look upon labor as a disgrace, and the laborer as a handy tool to serve their convenience?

But even if our northern yeomanry could overcome their repugnance on this score, the objection on the score of climate would be *insuperable*. Besides, while the best land that the sun ever shone upon, land made ready for the plough by the hand of nature, can be had at the west for a dollar and a quarter an acre, what youth from the free states would break away from the attraction of such a magnet, for the sake of working in a Carolina rice swamp ankle deep in water, or sweltering twelve hours a day in an Alabama cotton field, or a Louisiana cane patch? But enough—we only say in conclusion, that the abolition of slavery, so far from increasing the colored population of the north, would, in all probability, lessen it. We know personally not a few of our own colored citizens, who would of choice make the south their home if slavery, and the laws it has given birth to, were done away.—We shall not be suspected of saying this in order to appease, by a peace-offering northern prejudice and pro-slavery. We say it because we believe it to be a fact, and therefore relevant to the case in hand. By way of a parting salutation to "we shall be overrun with them," we say, that in meanness, prejudice, shrivelled selfishness, and calculating cruelty, this objection is not a whit behind the very pink of slaveholding chivalry.

#### CONCLUSION.

Deeming it important to demonstrate the falsity of these objections, we have, in spite of contraction and condensation, left no room for the swarms of their relations, equally the REVERSE OF THE TRUTH. What must be thought of the loud professions of opposition to slavery made by those who eagerly seize and circulate such absurd falsehoods for the sake of riveting the fetters of the slaves? Let those who have tried to quiet a nation's uneasy conscience, to silence the plea for the perishing, to turn their hopes into despair by fastening anew the loosening chains, thus increasing the nation's guilt, and consequent danger of the "exterminating thunder" feared by Jefferson—if they are convinced of their error—bring forth fruits meet for repentance, by REDOUBLED DILIGENCE IN SPREADING TRUTH.

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The Negro's Complaint,			2	1 00	19
Letter Paper. 2 cts. sheet, 50 cts. quire, \$9 00 one ream,					
Anti-Slavery Cards,			2&3	10 car.	19
Portrait of W. L. Garrison,			1 00	75 00	10 50
Bird's-eye View of American Slavery,			6	3 00	50
Printer's Picture Gallery,			4	3 00	40
MUSIC. Freedom's, Alarm,			4	3 00	40



