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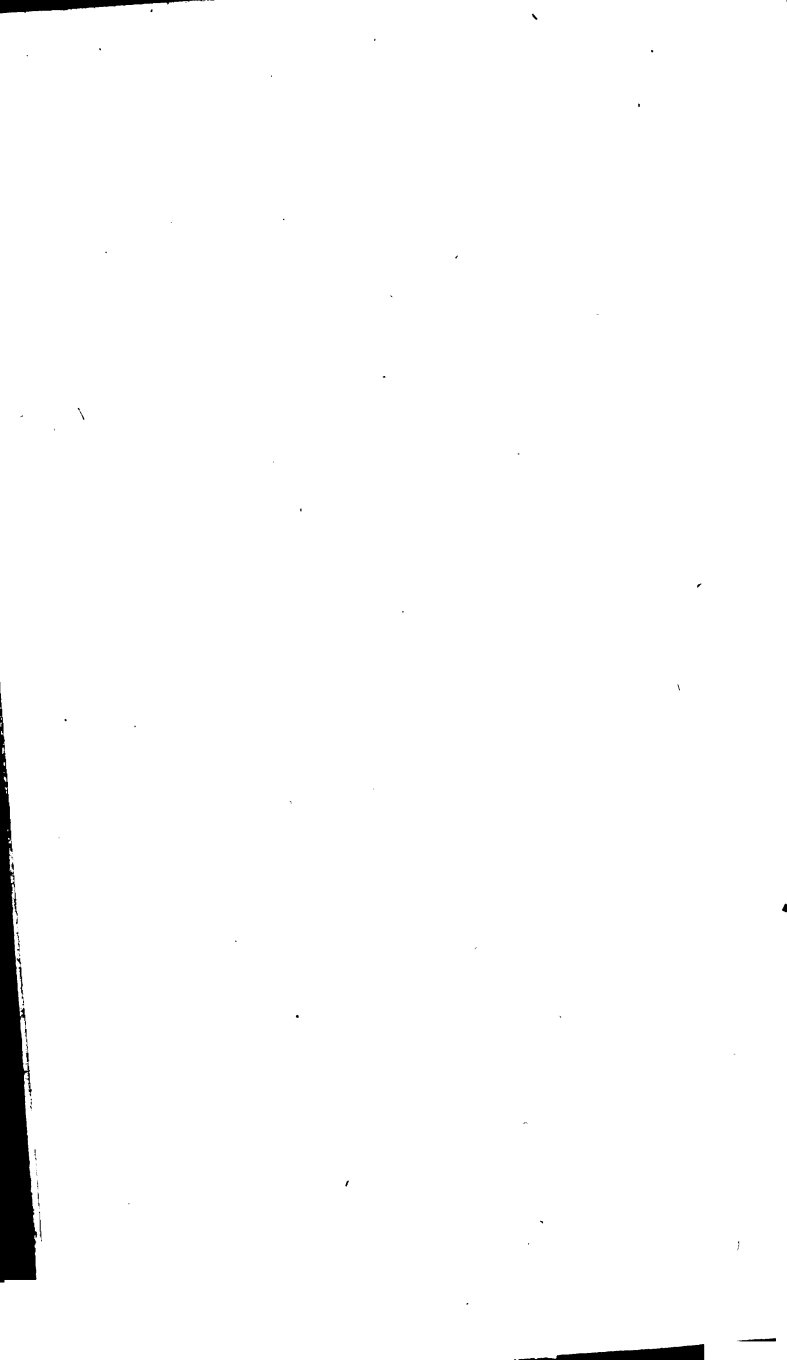
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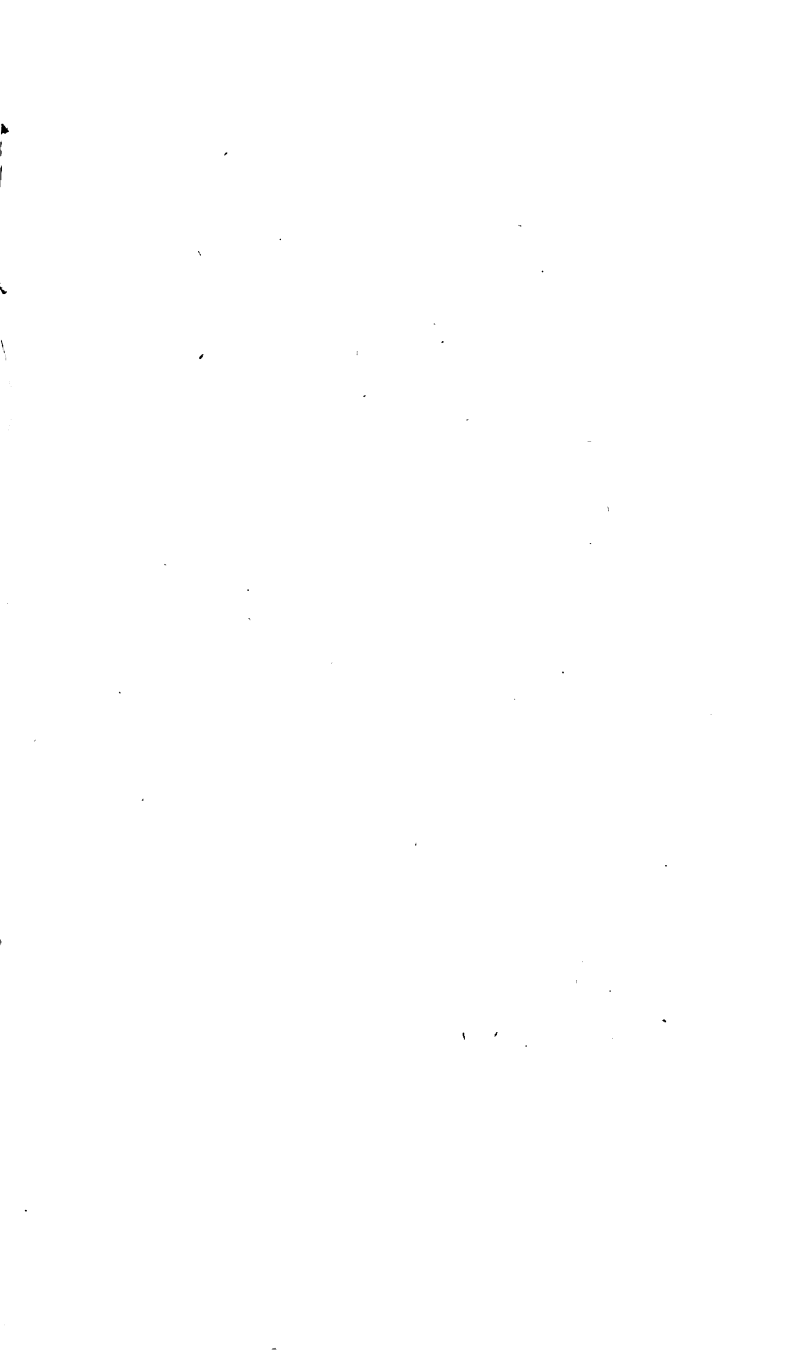
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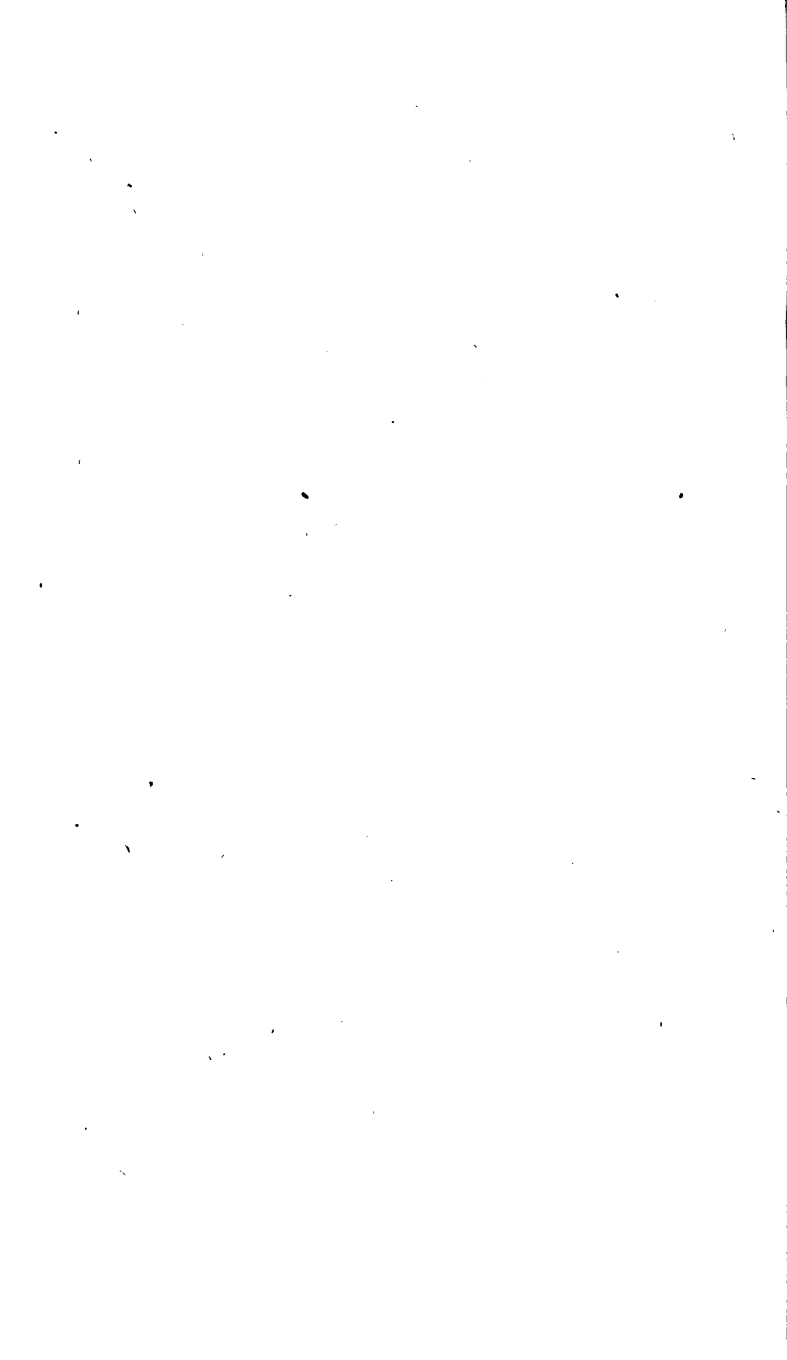
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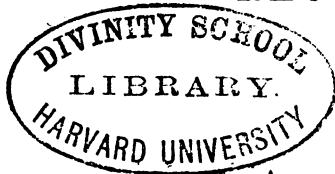




6

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.



" And tears and toil have been my lot,
Since I the white man's thrall became;
And sorer griefs I wish forgot—
Harsh blows and burning shame!"

PRINGLE.

VOL. I, FOR 1835.

NEW-YORK:

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1835.



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THE

ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

VOL. I.

JANUARY, 1835.

NO. 1.

Facts showing the safety of Emancipation.

It is objected to the American Anti-Slavery Society, that its scheme would "turn loose" upon the community two millions of savages, to plunder and destroy. To be more particular, the following things are feared.

1. The emancipated slaves, out of revenge, would murder their masters.
2. They would refuse to labor for wages.
3. They would starve, from inability to take care of themselves.
4. From these causes agriculture would be brought to a stand, and the country would be ruined.

There is an old adage, that "Honesty is the best policy," and it is said somewhere, that "*the Righteous shall prosper.*" But we shall not now argue the matter on this ground. The question is, whether the immediate abolition of *property in human beings*, and the substitution of impartial laws for despotic will,—*provided the slaveholders should make the change themselves*, would be safe and beneficial to all parties. Common sense will ask, has it ever been tried? What do *facts* show? We shall present some facts that are established on unquestionable authority, remarking in the first place, that history fails to present *any facts* which give the least countenance to any of the fears we have specified.

ST. DOMINGO.

The moment we speak of meddling with slavery at all, the "Horrors of St. Domingo" are held up, and we are warned against the repetition of those dark and bloody atrocities which have stained the soil and the history of that, it is said, ill fated island. But who is there that knows the story of St. Domingo? Who is there that can put his finger on the authorities, and teach us the true order of events, and the real causes of the bloodshed? Not those who would frighten us from Emancipation. It is to their

purpose to deal only in empty declamation. By a thorough investigation of history, the following facts are established.

1. Previous to 1790, the French National Assembly decreed equality of rights to all citizens. The *free people of color* in the French part of St. Domingo, many of whom were wealthy, petitioned the Assembly that the decree might also extend to them. It was so extended—partially and ambiguously, in 1790, and explicitly in 1791. This exasperated the *whites*. THEY took up arms, and trampling upon the national cockade, commenced the civil war. Camps were formed, and massacres and conflagrations ensued, so horrible that the Assembly thought best to rescind its decree in favor of the *free people of color*. This again exasperated the *colored*. Massacre and devastation commenced afresh. The Assembly, seeing that *injustice* was not more likely to make peace than *justice*, re-established its decree, and sent commissioners to restore order. The quarrel still continued, after the arrival of the commissioners. The public buildings were burned and thousands were slain in the streets. These were the "HORRORS OF ST. DOMINGO." Be it remembered, that up to this time, NO ACT OF EMANCIPATION HAD BEEN PASSED OR TALKED OF.

2. The commissioners, Polverel and Santhonax, finding themselves at the head of only one thousand troops, issued a proclamation to the slaves, promising "to give freedom to all who would range themselves under the banners of the Republic." Many availed themselves of the offer. This was done in the North. Polverel, on travelling to the West, found that this proclamation had begun to affect the minds of the slaves there, and that universal emancipation could not long be retarded. He, therefore, proposed to the *white planters* themselves to concur in such emancipation, for the sake of their personal safety. This proposition was almost unanimously acceded to. The proclamation of Polverel to the planters was dated in September, 1793. In February, 1794, the National Assembly, probably ignorant of what the commissioners had done, decreed the abolition of slavery throughout all the colonies of France. Thus at one blow were 500,000 slaves set at liberty, with no other preparation than a general concurrence on the part of the masters, and that too at a time of the greatest possible excitement.

3. THE RESULT. *It was peaceful and happy to all parties.* The following is the statement of the venerable Thomas Clarkson.

"With respect to those emancipated by Santhonax in the North, we have nothing to communicate. They were made free for military purposes only; and we have no clue whereby we can find out what became of them afterwards.

"With respect to those who were emancipated next in the South, and directly afterwards in the West, by the proclamation of Polverel, we are enabled to give a very pleasing account. Fortunately for our views, Colonel Malenfant, who was a resident in the island at the time, has made us acquainted with their general conduct and character. His account, though short, is quite sufficient for our

purpose. Indeed it is highly satisfactory.* 'After this public act of emancipation,' says he, (by Polverel,) 'the negroes remained quiet both in the South and in the West, and they continued to work upon all the plantations. There were estates, indeed, which had neither owners nor managers resident upon them, for some of these had been put into prison by Montbrun; and others, fearing the same fate, had fled to the quarter which had just been given up to the English. Yet upon these estates, though abandoned, the Negroes continued their labors, where there were any, even inferior, agents to guide them; and on those estates, where no white men were left to direct them, they betook themselves to the planting of provisions; but upon all the plantations where the Whites resided, the Blacks continued to labor as quietly as before.' A little further on in the work, ridiculing the notion entertained in France, that the Negroes would not work without compulsion, he takes occasion to allude to other Negroes, who had been liberated by the same proclamation, but who were more immediately under his own eye and cognizance.† 'If,' says he, 'you will take care not to speak to them of their return to slavery, but to talk to them of their liberty, you may with this latter word chain them down to their labor. How did Toussaint succeed? How did I succeed also before his time in the plain of the Cul de Sac, and on the Plantation Gouraud, more than eight months after liberty had been granted by Polverel to the slaves? Let those who knew me at the time, and even the blacks, themselves, be asked. They will reply, that not a single Negro upon that plantation, consisting of more than four hundred and fifty laborers, refused to work; and yet this plantation was thought to be under the worst discipline, and the slaves most idle of any in the plain. I, myself, inspired the same activity into three other plantations, of which I had the management.'"

From this period up to the year 1802, history furnishes no matter of complaint against the emancipated slaves. "The Colony," says Malenfant, "was flourishing under Toussaint.—The whites lived happily and in peace upon their estates, and the Negroes continued to work for them."

General Lacroix,‡ speaking of the state of things in 1797, says,

"The colony marched, as by enchantment, towards its ancient splendor; cultivation prospered; every day produced perceptible proofs of its progress. The city of the Cape and the plantations of the North, rose up again visibly to the eye."

4. In 1802, Bonaparte sent Leclerc, with a large army, to restore slavery. The freemen of St. Domingo refused to be slaves. Aided by the influence of their climate upon Europeans, they expelled

* *Memoire historique et politique des Colonies, et particulièrement de celle St. Domingue, &c.* Paris, 1814, 8vo. p. 58.

† Pp. 125, 126.

‡ *Memoires*, p. 311.

their invaders. Then it was that all the *whites*, as guilty of *perfidy*, were driven from the island.

5. Without the aid of any other people, and under the frown of the nations called civilized and Christian, the people who thus secured their freedom, have maintained their independence, to the present time.

6. They have organized a regular government, and the whole island, now called Hayti, is flourishing under its auspices, having doubled its population within the last *thirty years*.

The advocates of slavery are welcome to all the inferences AGAINST *emancipation* which they can derive from these facts. To us they prove, plainly, that *immediate emancipation*, in the worst possible circumstances, is safer than slavery. They prove that SLAVERY, not LIBERTY, is chargeable with all "THE HORRORS OF ST. DOMINGO."

Did the limits of this essay permit, we might speak of the emancipations which have taken place in Mexico, Colombia, the Cape of Good Hope, and in many other places, to a partial extent. In none of those cases have any ill effects followed, and yet, in none of them was there any *probation* or *preparation* of the slave for freedom. In several of the northern states slavery once existed and has been abolished. Though the process was gradual in reference to the mass of the slaves, yet this was only to satisfy the prejudices or the avarice of the masters. It cannot be pretended that any special means were used to *prepare* the slaves for freedom, nor do we think it can be said of any of them, that they were more fit to enjoy liberty on the day they received it, than when it was first determined to grant it to them. We pass to an examination of the more recent liberation of the slaves in the

BRITISH WEST INDIES.

On the First of August 1834, slavery was abolished throughout the British Dominions. This act extended to about 800,000 slaves, chiefly in the West Indies: It is remarkable, that as soon as the slaveholders saw that emancipation was inevitable, they forgot all their apprehensions of danger in their earnestness to secure the largest possible *compensation*. The mother country proposed to her colonies a system of apprenticeship, wherein the slaves should serve their masters six years longer without wages, subject to punishment only from special magistrates, that they might become accustomed to liberty *by degrees*. The islands of Antigua and Bermuda, had the good sense to prefer *immediate emancipation* to this absurd plan of coming at it by degrees. But in regard to *all* the colonies, we remark, that the experiment, thus far, has been perfectly *safe*. The former slaves have every where continued to labor, and with no interruption, except in some cases where *the masters have refused to yield the whip*. From the islands where emancipation was immediate and unconditional, no complaint has been heard. Let any candid reader peruse the following account

of the change from despotism to law as it occurred in Jamaica, and ask himself whether slavery can be abolished *too soon* for the good of all parties.

"THE FIRST OF AUGUST."

"Yesterday being the day on which, according to law, Slavery ceased in the West India Colonies, and which was declared to be a holiday by the act of last Sessions in aid of the abolition act, all the public offices in this town remained shut; but, instead of the noisy drumming which it was expected would usher in the day, all was quietness, and great numbers of the new apprentices, with a proper sense of feeling, attended divine worship in the Methodist and Baptist chapels of this town, which were opened to receive them, and both were excessively crowded. They were observed to listen most attentively to the excellent instructions they received, as to their future conduct, from the pulpits of both these places of worship, and we cannot doubt it will have the proper effect upon their minds. Soon after divine service, they assembled in numbers, with their usual instruments of music, before the king's house, and saluted his Excellency and family with several hearty huzzas, whom they also entertained by half an hour's exhibition of their usual gambols, when they proceeded to other parts of the town. These enjoyments were carried on until the signal bell rung at nine, when all became quiet; and the town, as well as the neighborhood, has continued so during this day. Many of them were observed this morning busy in their grounds and gardens, in this vicinity, as if nothing extraordinary had taken place, and we have not the least doubt that all will return cheerfully to their usual occupations on Monday morning. We have the most sanguine expectations that such will be the case throughout the colony, affording us reason to hope, with the help of Providence, that a glorious—a bloodless, and we trust, ultimately prosperous, revolution in our affairs will be effected."—*St. Jago Gazette, August 2.*

The following notices of the change in several different parishes of Jamaica, are taken from the *Watchman* and *Jamaica Free Press*, of August 9.

"*ST. CATHERINE'S.*—The much dreaded 1st and 4th August—days that were expected to usher in massacre, rapine, and all the horrors that the fears of weak and timid men could picture, have arrived, past, and were consummated most properly as days of religious thanksgiving. The churches and chapels of every denomination of christians that were opened in the country parishes, were crowded with a clean, cheerful looking peasantry, who, I am informed, shed tears of joy at the consummation of a day so devoutly wished for. This refers to St. Elizabeth's. In Manchester, I understand, they thronged Mr. Hall's chapel, and voluntarily entered into a liberal subscription to enlarge the building. Here we behold the first fruits of freedom. Slavery was never capable of such an act, and it would be contrary to reason to expect christianity to be allied to it. Now

that the monster has been exterminated, we may finally anticipate that the resources of this fine island will soon begin to be developed."

"CLARENDON.—At present I can only say, the most happy understanding seems to exist between the employers and their laborers."

"ST. GEORGE'S.—On Sunday an excellent sermon was preached by the Rector to a crowded congregation, and, I am happy to say, on Monday the apprentices turned out to work cheerfully. All the cane pieces in sight of this place seemed thronged with them, and they appeared to labor most willingly."

"ST. THOMAS' IN THE EAST.—What has become of the denunciations of the *pros*? Whither have fled all the fearful imaginings of the timorous? The Rubicon has been passed, and no conflagration! No cutting of throats—no plucking of beards, but peaceful, contented labor."

"TRELAWNY.—A conviction that you will be anxious to know how the *glorious first day of August* went off in the country and more populous parishes of this important island, induces me to send you the following account, which may assist to remove forever the false views and tormenting fears of persons whose minds, through the accursed and now forever defunct system of slavery, were involved in a thralldom the most odious and abhorrent to considerate and philanthropic men."

"ST. JAMES'S.—Things have gone off quite peaceably with us at Montego Bay. Such crowds of people as poured into the town on Friday and Saturday I never before saw. Joy and gladness were depicted in every body's countenance. Amongst all the people that thronged our streets, I did not see a single person in a state of intoxication."

Of the same nature are the accounts from all the parishes except St. Ann's. On the latter, the Editor of the *Watchman* thus remarks:—

"We are not a little concerned to hear of the unsettled state of things in the parish of St. Ann, and hope that no improper means have been employed to irritate the minds of the negroes in that quarter, though there is a rumor afloat that one of the honorable members of the House of Assembly for that parish has endeavored to induce his apprenticed laborers to enter cheerfully upon the new scheme, by turning his cattle into their grounds, in order that the whole of their provisions might be destroyed. We hope for his own sake that the gentleman alluded to will avail himself of the earliest opportunity of contradicting this statement, if it be untrue. But if the rumor be correct, we ask who can wonder at the dissatisfaction manifested by his former vassals. We could enlarge, but, till we hear more on this subject, forbear."

We have carefully examined the files of the *Watchman* from this time down to the 4th of October, and we find no contradiction of this "*rumor*."

From more recent accounts it appears very clearly, that, if the planters do not have labor sufficient to gather in their crops, they may thank their own avarice and obstinacy for the deficiency. From the facts already developed it appears, as indeed the slightest observation of human nature might teach us, that any approach towards freedom is better and safer than continuing in oppression.

If Emancipation was safe in St. Domingo, if it is safe in the British colonies, if it has been safe wherever it has been tried, why should it not be safe in the United States? We have 2,250,000 slaves, it is true; but they are not crowded into one mass. Nowhere does the black population much exceed the white—nowhere is it very dense; whereas in the small island of Jamaica, 331,000 slaves were crowded in with a population of only 15,000 whites! Now can it be believed that if *the slave-holders themselves*, and that is all we ask, should abolish slavery, they would find the least difficulty in the world, in keeping order and procuring all necessary labor?

AMALGAMATION.

The opponents of universal emancipation and equality of rights, say, "It would produce an *amalgamation* of the white and black races."

Q. Why do you dread such an amalgamation?

A. Because there is a *natural repugnance* between the two races.

Q. Then where is the danger of its taking place? Must *injustice* be added to *natural repugnance* to prevent a violation of *nature*? Cannot nature defend herself?

The colored people do not ask for intermarriages with the whites; nor do the abolitionists for them. They ask only for justice—mere equality of protection, from government. But, says the objector, your scheme, if carried into effect, will certainly produce amalgamation! Will it, indeed? What then has become of the "*natural repugnance*?" And, where will be the harm? Will the parties intermarrying be dissatisfied? Then why did they do so? Will the public? What business have the public to interfere with people's marriages? While every body does as he or she pleases, where is the cause of dissatisfaction?

O, says the objector, but it *will happen*. "If you educate the blacks, and treat them as you do the whites, there will be intermarrying. How rational! An overgrown baby sees its nurse sweetening a dose of rhubarb, and falls into a passion. What is the matter? The dose is not for you, child, says the good-natured nurse. No matter, no matter, put it up; if you keep sweetening it, by and by *I shall want to take it!*"

Again, *slavery* produces amalgamation at the most rapid rate possible. Witness the increase of mulattos at the South. The abolition of slavery would check amalgamation. Are the abolitionists, then, labouring to produce amalgamation?

Abolitionists have never taught that amalgamation is necessary

to the elevation of the colored people. They always teach the contrary. Believing, as they do, that the colored race is *not* inferior to the whites, they do not suppose that the colored people would be elevated by intermarriages. *This* notion always springs from the belief of their inferiority. Accordingly, the *opposers* of immediate emancipation have repeatedly asserted that the colored people cannot be elevated without intermarriages. And yet they profess to desire that emancipation may ultimately take place. Who, then, are in favor of amalgamation, the abolitionists or their opponents.

Wherever you find the colored people well educated, virtuous and enlightened, according to the wishes of the abolitionists, *there* you will find them living in families according to the institution of marriage, and forming alliances with those of their own color. The amalgamation taking place is connected with the degradation, and not with the elevation of the colored people. Why then should they be kept in degradation, for fear of amalgamation?

NATURAL EQUALITY.

The abolitionists hold with the Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal." What do they mean? That all men are physically equal? That one can have no more wealth than another? nor more learning than another? That the parent shall have no right to the services of his child? That the wife shall not be in subjection to her own husband? That criminals shall not be deprived of their liberty? No. They mean, according to the plain dictates of common sense, that, in coming into this world, and going through it, all men shall have an *equal and fair chance* to exercise all their powers of body and mind for their own happiness. Of course, they mean that no man shall encroach upon another. That one man shall have as good a right to acquire wealth as another. That one parent shall have as good a right to the services of his own children as another. That every wife shall be in subjection to her own husband, and to no one else; and that no man shall be deprived of his liberty for an alleged crime "without due process of law." Slavery violates natural equality in all these respects; and in the last respect it is not only contrary to our Declaration of Independence, but to the *Constitution of the United States*.

THE REMEDY FOR SLAVERY.

This is plain. Public opinion is now wrong. It holds that slavery is right *under present circumstances*, and *for the present* must be *continued*. This must be set right by presenting facts and arguments,—a *moral influence*. The reformation has commenced, both at the North and the South. The more the subject is discussed, by the pulpit, by the press, at the bar, in the legislative hall and in private conversation, the faster will the change proceed. When any individual slave holder is brought to believe that slavery is sinful, he will immediately emancipate his own slaves. When a majority

of the nation are brought to believe in *immediate emancipation*, Congress will, of course, pass a law abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia. When the people of the several slave states are brought upon the same ground, they will severally abolish slavery within their respective limits.

WHAT OTHER NATIONS THINK OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

REPORT OF THE BRITISH DELEGATES.—The London correspondent of the New-York Observer gives a brilliant account of the return of Drs. Reed and Matheson, and of their reception in London. We copy a part of the account of one meeting, where they touched on the subject of SLAVERY.

“As was very proper, they touched a little more upon our vices, and I hardly need tell you, that one grand one was slavery. They treated us very generously; but the mere mention of American slavery in England, throws a cloud over our reputation, and for a moment seems to extinguish the light of every virtue. In all but this, the meeting was as good as last night. The feeling was otherwise so delightful, I could have wished that this subject might have been left untouched. But alas! it is a sad and sore subject. It blights our character, and seems to leave nothing worth having, in the eyes of the world, as long as this remains. It was said to me to-day, ‘It is moral influence that has done it away with us; how can it exist in America, if there is such moral influence there as is pretended?’ O! I wish you, or some one, could have helped me out of this difficulty. Tell them—‘The nation cannot legislate on slavery.’ ‘But,’ they say, ‘does not the nation legislate over the District of Columbia? And besides, we speak of *moral influence*. Where is that? Can this living and active element of society exist among you in proper vigor, and in a wholesome state, and yet you tolerate slavery? It seems an inevitable inference, that you are unsound radically—at the core of your life. Boast not of freedom; talk not of the prosperity of religion; say nothing of the improvement of society among you, till this stain be blotted out.’”

CONTRAST BETWEEN THE MOSAIC SERVITUDE AND AMERICAN SLAVERY.

MOSAIC.

The Mosaic law regulating servitude had its foundation in generous compassion for the poor; and every one of its provisions is framed with a view to the relief of such; tends to encourage a kind and benevolent disposition in the rich and powerful; and to elevate the character of the poor.

AMERICAN.

The American slave laws had their origin in avarice; and are framed with a view to promote the secular interest of the master, and tend to produce and foster meanness of spirit in the slave, and a spirit of cruelty and tyranny in the master, and thus destroy every generous feeling in both.

SPECIFICATIONS.

1. Two thirds of all the servants in Israel were free at the end of six years; and the fiftieth year gave liberty to all. There was no hereditary servitude.

2. Jewish servitude was voluntary, except where it was the penalty annexed to crime.

3. Servants might contend with their masters about their rights; and to despise their cause was reckoned a heinous crime. Job xxxi. 13.

4. The law in Israel granted freedom to a servant who had been cruelly or unreasonably punished. Ex. xxi. 26, 27.

5. Servants in Israel were carefully protected in their domestic relations; so that husbands and wives, parents and children, must not be separated. In case the mother did not get her freedom as soon as her husband, the children remained with her; and the master was bound to receive him to service again, if he chose to live with them.

6. The law of Moses secured to servants the means of religious instruction and consolation.

7. The law of Moses required every one to love the stranger as himself, and forbade any one to vex or oppress him.

8. If a servant escaped from his master and fled to the land of Israel, the law commanded every one to protect him; and forbade any one to deliver him to his master.

SPECIFICATIONS.

1. American slavery is perpetual to the last moment of the slave's earthly existence, and hereditary to all his descendants to the latest posterity.

2. American slavery is involuntary, and inflicted for no other crime, than having a skin not colored like ours.

3. Slaves can make no contracts, and can have no legal right to any property. All they have and are, belong to their masters.

4. An American slave may be punished at his master's discretion without the means of redress. And the master can transfer the same despotic power to any other person: so that on the side of their oppressors there is power; but they have no comforter.

5. American slaves are entirely unprotected in their domestic relations; so that husbands and wives, parents and children, may be separated at the sovereign will of the master.

6. The operation of the laws in America tends to deprive slaves of religious instruction and consolation; for their whole power is exerted to keep slaves in a state of the lowest ignorance.

7. The American law views every black stranger an enemy, and considers him a slave until he proves his freedom.

8. If a slave escape from his master, and flee to any part of the United States, the law forbids any one to protect him; but commands that he be given up to his master.

THE LITTLE BLIND BOY.

There was a little boy who was blind. There was an Asylum for blind children in Boston, but the Directors refused to admit him because he was colored.

Mother, dear mother, do let me go!
 You promised last week that I should, you know,
 When you told me how happy the blind boys are,
 How they sport and play, and are free from care;
 How they learn with their finger ends to read,
 And go every where with no one to lead,
 And sing like a bird from its tight cage freed—

Mother, do let me go!

They pity the blind boy, they weep for his woe—
 I would, my son, but the men say, *No!*
 And love to give (if his skin is white,)
 To his darkened mind, truth's holy light;
 But how can they see through your sooty skin,
 To be perfectly sure there's a soul within?
 And to teach a brute—why, 'twould be a sin—

So the kind hearted men say, *No!*

But mother, I *know* I've got a soul!
 It burns in my breast like a living coal—
 It restlessly struggles, and pants to leap out
 From its prison so dreary to wander about:
 Let me go to the men, for although they can't see
 My soul through my skin, yet they *can set it free!*
 Oh, when I can read, how delightful 't will be—

But how gloomy 't is now!

My son, it would do you no good to go—
 I begged them with tears—but they answered, "*No;*
 For how can the children whose skins are white,
 In their studies and sports with a black boy unite?
 They would hate him so much that they could not stay;
 It would break up their work and spoil their play,
 And their parents would come and take them away."

So 't will do no good to go.

But how will they *know* I am not white?
 Can they learn (as they do to read and write,)
 By their finger ends? And, mother, did they
 Who gave them their houses and money e'er say,
 That a black outside was good reason why
 A blind boy's mind in darkness should lie?
 Did they do what they ought for the *soul* that can't die?

Or thought they alone of the *skin*?

I would tell you, my child, had I ever been taught;
 The same questions I asked, but they answered them not;
 They told me—and scornfully bade me go back—
 "They'd have nothing to do with a boy that was black."
 But though life's richest blessings you ne'er can enjoy,
 And still must remain a blind negro boy,
 Be contented, my son, for 'tis certainly true,
 That many with eyes are far blinder than you.—S. S. Instructor.

Albany, N. Y., collection in Mrs. Heely's school, . . . \$10 00	Norwich, Conn., mon. sub. 9 50
Colored people, . . . 14 62	Palmyra, N. Y., friend, . . . 0 50
Julius R. Ames, . . . 5 00	E. S. Townsend, . . . 10 00
A friend, . . . 5 00	Peekskill, N. Y. Dr. J. Brewer, 8 00
Athens, N. Y., Charles Mariot 5 00	Perry, " friends, . . . 2 50
Auburn, N. Y. colored people 17 49	J. Andrews, mon. sub. . . 12 00
Austinburgh, O. month. sub. 10 00	Mrs. L. L. Andrews, . . . 3 00
Bath, Me., John Taylor, 3 00	Perry Centre, " collection, 5 13
Boston, Mass., S. E. Sewall, 3 00	Perry village, " " 8 25
Brighton, N. Y., mon. sub. 4 63	M. H. Fuller and L. M'Kee, 1 00
H. Charter, 25, Barnes, 1, 50, 1 75	H. Phoenix, 5 00
Buffalo, N. Y., D. Bowen 2 00	Peterboro, G. Smith's school, 3 00
E. A. Marsh, 3 00	A friend, 0 50
A. Bryant, \$1; a friend, 0, 94, 1 94	F. Dana, mon. sub. 2 00
W. A. Whiting, 2 00	A. P. Lord, mon. sub. 1 00
R. W. Padleford, 3 00	A. S. Soc. 10 31
J. P. Morgan, 3 00	Philadelphia, Female A. S.
Mon. sub. colored people, 4 57	mon. sub. 2 months, 20 00
Col. of colored people, . . . 27 28	Pittsburgh, Pa., J. B. Vashon, 3 00
Canandaigua, N. Y., col. peo. 6 12	Providence, R. I., A. S., 10 00
Cattskill, " F. N. Wilson, 5 00	Riga, N. Y., H. Brewster, 3 00
R. Jackson, 5; a friend, 1, 6 00	Rochester, N. Y., friends, 2 00
Cazenovia, N. Y., L. D. } 5 50	Colored people, 16 22
Coman, 50, L. Burnell, \$5, }	Rome, " friends, " 8 31
Farmington, N. Y., Friends, 2 00	Skaneateles, " J. C. Fuller, 5 00
Mon. sub. 2 25, J. Ellison, 2, 4 25	Schenectady, " col. people, 12 52
G. Haredeen, 3 00	A friend, 0 50
Fayetteville, N. Y., a lady, 0 94	Troy, N. Y., " " 11 19
A. Goff, 1; J. McVickar 3, 4 00	Utica, " " 6 55
Geneva, N. Y., col. people, 9 65	S. Lightbody, 20 00
Ithaca, N. Y., col. people, 8 25	Four friends, 10 00
Lansingburg, " " 4 95	A. B. Johnson, 5 00
Little Falls, " " 3 61	M. Wells, 1 00
Lockport, " " 2 75	A. Stewart, Esq. 10 00
Mendon, " friends, 1 75	J. C. Delong, 10 00
Munsville, " collection, 14 75	J. Snyder, 1 00
John Alden, mon. sub. 1 00	P. Thurber, 5 00
Nelson, O., A. S. Soc. 10 00	S. Kellogg, 10 00
N. York city, Dr. A. L. Cox, 100 00	Warsaw, N. Y., mon. sub. 3 75
John Rankin, mon. sub. 100 00	J. C. Bronson, 1; friends 1 12, 2 12
Wm. Green, Jr. " " 60 00	Weld, Me., J. Abbott, 6 30
S. S. Jocelyn, " " 1 00	Westchester, N. Y., a friend, 20 00
T. L. Jennings, 25 friend, 12, 0 37	Whitesboro', B. Green, m. s. 1 00
Mon. Concert at Chat. Ch. 3 60	Mon. sub. Oneida Institute, 11 00
N. Y. Mills, mon. sub. 8 12	R. Hough, 8 00
B. S. Walcott, 5 00	Dr. W. A. Clarke, 1 00
L. S. Wood, 1 00	Zanesville, O., A. S. Soc. 6 00
N. Ferrisburgh, mon. sub. 9 00	Henry Keep, N. Y., 20 00
R. T. Robinson, Vt. 20 00	Rev. J. McCord; 0 25
N. Hempstead, L. I., J. Titus, 0 50	
	Total, \$858 79

THE
ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

VOL. I.

FEBRUARY, 1835.

NO. 2.



HOW SLAVERY HONORS OUR COUNTRY'S FLAG.

[From Rankin's Letters.]

“ In the summer of 1822, as I returned with my family from a visit to the Barrens of Kentucky, I witnessed a scene such as I never witnessed before, and such as I hope never to witness again. Having passed through Paris in Bourbon county, Ky. the sound of music (beyond a little rising ground) attracted my attention, I looked forward, and saw the flag of my country waving. Supposing that I was about to meet a military parade, I drove hastily to the side of the road; and having gained the top of the ascent, I discovered (I suppose) about forty black men all chained together after the following manner; each of them was handcuffed, and they were arranged in rank and file. A chain perhaps 40 feet long, the size of a fifth-horse chain, was stretched between the two ranks, to which

short chains were joined, which connected with the handcuffs. Behind them were, I suppose, about thirty women in double rank, the couples tied hand to hand. A solemn sadness sat on every countenance, and the dismal silence of this march of despair was interrupted only by the sound of two violins; yes, as if to add insult to injury, the foremost couple were furnished with a violin apiece; the second couple were ornamented with cockades, while near the centre waved the Republican flag carried by a hand *literally in chains*. I perhaps have mistaken some punctilios of the arrangement, for 'my soul was . . . A.K.' my feelings were mingled and pungent. As a man, I sympathized with suffering humanity; as a christian, I mourned over the transgressions of God's holy law; and as a *republican*, I felt indignant, to see the flag of my beloved country thus insulted. I could not forbear exclaiming to the lordly driver who rode at his ease along side: 'Heaven will curse that man who engages in such traffic, and the government that protects him in it.' I pursued my journey till evening, and put up for the night. When I mentioned the scene I had witnessed, 'Ah!' (cried my landlady) 'That is my brother.' From her I learned that his name is Stone, of Bourbon county, Kentucky, in partnership with one Kinningham of Paris; and that a few days before he had purchased a Negro woman from a man in Nicholas county; she refused to go with him; he attempted to compel her, but she defended herself. Without further ceremony, he stepped back, and by a blow on the side of her head with the butt of his whip brought her to the ground; he tied her, and drove her off. I learned farther, that besides the drove I had seen, there were about thirty shut up in the Paris prison for safe keeping, to be added to the company; and that they were designed for the Orleans market. And to this they are doomed for no other crime, than that of a black skin and curled locks.

Ah me, what wish can prosper, or what prayer,
For merchants rich in cargoes of despair?
Who drive a loathsome traffic, gauge and span,
And buy the muscles and the bones of man.

COWPER.

Shall not I visit for these things, saith the Lord? shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?

But I forbear, and subscribe myself, yours,

JAMES H. DICKEY."

Sept. 30, 1834.

[For the Anti-Slavery Record.]

AMERICAN SLAVERY—WHAT IS IT ?

This is the grand question, after all.—Let the features of the system be distinctly understood, and there will remain little ground

of dissension among good men, either in respect to its character or remedy. Vague, indefinite, erroneous, and inadequate conceptions of *the thing itself*, lie at the bottom of the popular errors in respect to slavery and emancipation.

One good man affirms that the Bible sanctions slavery; meaning, no doubt—that he supposes it to sanction *something* which he conceives to be equivalent to American slavery! Another imagines that immediate emancipation would be dangerous. A third gravely questions whether, after all, the slaves would be “any better off” if they were set at liberty. A fourth insists that the slaves must first be *prepared* for freedom. A fifth is in a panic lest emancipation should lead to amalgamation. A sixth accounts it a marvellous thing that abolitionists propose *no plan* by which the slave holders could abolish slavery, if they were disposed to do so.

Now it is evident that the pertinency and wisdom of these several suggestions cannot be decided upon correctly, except in view of the *specific things* wherein the American slave system consists. But who ever thinks of instituting this previous inquiry ?

We have no occasion to traverse the globe, and ransack the archives of antiquity, in this inquiry. The question is *not* what the system of servitude *was*, that existed three thousand years ago, in a remote quarter of the world. What is the system of slavery that exists *now*, and in *this country* ? This is the sole inquiry.

That system is established *by law*, and must therefore be defined by its own statute-book. And it is an established maxim of historical investigation, that “no people were ever found to be *better* than their laws, though many have been known to be *worse*.”

Let then the inquirer examine “Stroud’s Sketch of the Laws relating to Slavery in the several states of the United States of America,” compiled in 1827.—He will ascertain the following *facts* in respect to American slavery.

1. It regards human beings as mere goods and chattels, “to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever”—“entirely subject to the will of their masters, to whom they belong”—holding no reserved rights whatever; not even the rights of conscience.—It regards the slave as incapable of contracting even the marriage obligation, and therefore “not entitled to the rights and considerations of matrimony.”

2. It therefore, to the extent of its power, abrogates the moral government of God over the slave, and sets up the absolute will of his individual and irresponsible master in its stead.

3. It withholds the hire of the labourer.

4. It is a breach of the 8th commandment.—It sanctions in America, the very thing which our own laws, and the laws of nations, punish as “piracy,” if committed on the coast of Africa, or on the high seas. It covers the Bible definition of “man-stealing,” if we go upon the supposition that any such crime ever did or can exist. No definition of that crime can be framed, which will not include the American slave system. Let the experiment be made

5. It annihilates the family state—prohibits or nullifies marriage—severs those whom God has joined together—enjoins or sanctions promiscuous intercourse—and thus abrogates the 5th and 7th commandments of the decalogue.

6. It holds all the religious privileges of the slave at the mercy of his master, whether infidel, papist, or protestant. It does more: It prohibits even the master from teaching the slave to read the Bible: It forbids schools for “mental instruction:” It punishes the assembling of Christian slaves for “divine worship.”

7. It denies to the slave that adequate protection of life and limb which is enjoyed by the white man.

Here is the definition: this is the inventory of the American slave system. *This* is the system of which we speak whenever we speak of American slave-holding. These are the things which we say should be *immediately abolished*. Reader! look at them, and see if you can say less. The things we have specified are not the appendages, the results, the abuses of the system. They are essentially the system itself. Do away *these* things and we promise that you shall hear no more importunate demands from us, or from abolitionists, on the subject of Immediate Emancipation.

Once more, Christian reader! let us ask you to pause and ponder over the American slave system—item by item. Consult the statute book, if you are incredulous. You will find every statement amply sustained. Take the first item, then the second, the third, &c. to the seventh, inclusive. In the face of *each* of these items, bring up distinctly and successively *each* and every objection that has been urged against Immediate Emancipation, and ask yourself to decide on its validity. Inquire of your own conscience and common sense, in respect to *each* of the seven ingredients of the slave system.

Does the Bible sanction *this* part of American slavery?

Would the immediate relinquishment of *this* part of the system be dangerous?

Can you rationally and honestly doubt whether the slave would “be any better off” if *this* part of slavery were now abolished?

Can you persuade yourself to say that the slave must first be *prepared*, before *this* part of the system must be abolished? Will you tell us in *what* that preparation must consist? Or *how* it shall be extended to the slave, *without* the abolition of the slave system? Or,

Would the immediate abolition of *this* part of slavery occasion amalgamation? Or, finally,

Can you seriously think that *any plan* is needed by the slaveholders in order to the immediate abolition of *this* part of the system?

Answer these questions honestly, in the fear of God, and in the exercise of equal love to your neighbor.

Having thus answered *all* these questions in respect to the *first* item of the American slave system, take up the *second* in the same manner; then the *third*, and so on to the *seventh*. And be not frightened, we beseech you, if, in the course of the process you

should find yourself—first, a seventh part; then two seventh parts; and ultimately seven sevenths (the whole) of an

IMMEDIATE ABOLITIONIST.

COMPENSATION.

If the slaves are freed, ought not their *masters* to be paid for them?

There are now not less than TWO MILLION TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND slaves in the United States. At an average value of two hundred and fifty dollars apiece, their price would amount to the sum of *five hundred and sixty-two and a half millions of dollars*. Nevertheless, if the holders of slaves have a right to this sum, it ought to be paid; for the slaves have a right to their freedom now, and cannot justly be made to serve as slaves another moment. It is said that government by licensing slavery has become a participator in the guilt, and if, after having established property in *human flesh*, it proceeds to abolish the same, those whose property may be thus destroyed will have a just claim on the government for the full value. Let us for the sake of the argument suppose this to be true.—We remark then,

1. The government of the United States, as it never has had any control over slavery except in the District of Columbia and Territories can only pay for those whom it has power to set free. If those who advocate compensation are in earnest, let them go on and urge Congress to pay for and free the slaves under its control.

2. If a government sets free the slaves under its jurisdiction, it does not necessarily destroy property to the market value of the slaves, or at all. Slavery is worth to the slaveholders only what they can make by it—their profits. Now if a slaveholder can make as much by cultivating his plantation by *free labor* as by that of slaves, how can he be the loser by the abolition of Slavery? As a matter of fact, well proved, a planter *can* make as much by free labor as by that of slaves, UNLESS he overdrives and underfeeds his slaves. But we are told that this is *very* seldom the case at the south—the slaves are very happy—better off than northern free laborers. Then it is of course true, that what by supporting his slaves so *well*—women and children—the old, the sick, and all—and what with their natural wastefulness as slaves,—and what with the expense of overseeing and governing them, the planter might as well pay wages to free laborers. *Slavery* is worth nothing to him. If the government destroys it, it destroys nothing of his—except indeed the power of *selling off the stock*—that is, of committing, according to the United States law, an act of “*piracy*,” and filling his pockets with the proceeds of it as a preface to a course of honest industry. The government no more destroys

the property of the slaveholder, on this supposition, by abolishing *slavery*, than it would by abolishing the domestic *slave trade* and letting *slavery* alone.

Again, *slavery* is profitable, by *overworking* and *underfeeding*. Now the advocates of *slavery*, and all who claim compensation, must admit one of two things. Either, that the representations of the good condition of the slaves, which we constantly hear, *are false*; or that the masters have no just ground of compensation. If they admit the former, then we will admit that the slaveholders may lose *profits* by an act of abolition, and will consequently have as good a claim to compensation, as any men can have for ceasing to *defraud* their fellow men—as good, for instance, as the Barbary States have for giving up piracy. But we do not see how they can justly urge this claim upon the people of the North, whom they have been striving to persuade that the slaves are so *well treated* that they are rather a burden than a source of profit!

Once more, *after* all the reparation has been made to the slaves which the nature of the case admits, we have no objection that those slaveholders who have not been known to overwork, nor underfeed, nor leave their slaves destitute of comfortable shelter and clothing, upon due proof of having suffered loss, shall be indemnified at the expense of the country at large. When the country shall be once awaked to the justice of unconditional emancipation, the government will need no instruction of ours to teach them how to settle this matter.

THE EIGHTH COMMANDMENT.

What does it mean? What is the thing forbidden by the prohibition THOU SHALT NOT STEAL? I will try to explain what I think about it. A man came into my office, the other day, and took off a book, when I was out, and nobody saw him. Don't you think he stole it? No; and the reason is, that it *belonged to him*. Taking a thing *secretly* is not stealing, if the thing belongs to you. But last fall I saw a man come into my neighbor's garden, and my neighbor saw him too, and carry off a basket full of pears. I suppose in taking these pears he violated the eighth commandment just as much as if neither of us had seen him. The stealing—the thing of which he was guilty, was taking my *neighbor's* pears without his permission. He might have said that he did not know they were my *neighbor's*, but he did know they were not *his*.

But he took only a few pears, how could such a trifling thing be a violation of the 8th Commandment? Because, the commandment is *not*, "*Thou shalt not steal MUCH*;" but, *thou shalt not STEAL*. A little theft is still a theft.

But again, suppose the thief had taken all there was in the garden, would he have been less guilty, or would he have been less a thief?

A step further, suppose he had taken possession of my neighbor's house and all its furniture, and used it as his own. Would he then have been more innocent? You say no. The more a man steals the greater thief is he. Then we will go a step further. The man, after taking all my neighbor's goods, takes *him*, and his *wife*, and *children*, and sells them. In this new act what commandment is it that he breaks? Which is it if not the eighth? He certainly takes that which *belongs* to his neighbor. A man's body is more sacredly his property than his house, for he *cannot give it away*. To say that a man willingly becomes the *slave*—that is, the *property*, the *machine* of another, is to say that a man is willing to do, not what he himself pleases, but what somebody else pleases.

Again, the man who *buys* my neighbor is guilty of the same crime as the man who stole him. If he had bought a stolen horse he might plead ignorance of the theft. But now he buys—what? my neighbor? Rather the *thief's right* to my neighbor. He buys of a manifest thief a piece of property of which the true owner is *present*, and is by no means consulted in the bargain! He continues the thief's act. Every day that he keeps my neighbor in servitude; he does merely repeat the same crime which was committed when liberty was taken away. Suppose that the thief instead of grasping all my neighbor's earnings by making him a slave, had contrived the means of taking a part of them secretly, when deposited in the form of dollars in his desk—and suppose he had sold his invention,—his *key*,—to another who should continue the same use of it. Would not this be a continuation of theft? And suppose that the key giving access to my neighbor's earnings should be handed down from father to son, becoming a regular matter of property, worth so much a year—being applied daily so as to keep my neighbor and his descendants always poor, at what point of time would this abstraction of earnings become an honest business? Now what odds does it make in point of criminality, whether a man comes at his neighbor's earnings by means of a key or by means of whips, branding irons, and thumbscrews? Does not the thing forbidden—the *crime* consist in taking without his consent that which is my neighbor's? No matter how long a man has been a slave or his ancestors before him, the keeping him a slave is a continuous act or habit of taking from him that which is *his*. Now it may be said that slaveholding has become so fashionable, that men are unconscious of the wrong; it may be said that it is according to law, &c. but let it be remembered that these apologies—whether worth much or little, are all **APOLOGIES FOR STEALING!!** If a person has not come to the conclusion that slavery—such as we have in this republic,—is *stealing*, he has not got hold of the *truth* which is to overthrow slavery. Talk about the Bible justifying slavery, or

eting it alone! No, the Bible says "THOU SHALT NOT STEAL,"—and so says conscience—and so says common sense. Now if you can prove that the Bible also permits Slavery, then you prove that it contradicts common sense, and conscience, and *itself*. You do not establish Slavery but you destroy the Bible.

Look friends. Here is a clear theft on the part of the white people of this Christian country of \$562,500,000. This capital is kept from 2,250,000 people, and without it they must forever be absolutely poor. And what do we see? The great and the small, the good and the bad, the wise and the foolish, are all crying out that this theft, because it is so big a theft, is no theft at all!

JUSTICE.

THE DEATH BED CONFESSION OF A SLAVE TAKER.

The following was the confession of a man on his death-bed, who had for some years gained a disgraceful subsistence in Philadelphia, by catching slaves who had made their escape, and restoring them to their masters. It was related by a person who was called upon one evening, and solicited to attend, by the slave taker's wife, who had herself only arrived the day before, having been for some years separated from her husband. The account is taken from "Mott's Anecdotes of Persons of Color."

"Among other transactions of that period, was the apprehension of a man called James, the recollection of which torments me inexpressibly. He had belonged to the estate of Mr. R. of Albe marle county. At the death of Mr. R., James passed into the hands of those who treated him very ill, and he ran away. When I first fell in with him, he lived on a small lot in New Jersey, with his wife, a free woman, whom he had married in Virginia, and contrived to bring with him, and three children. After losing my way, and travelling some hours on foot, I came to his little habitation late at night. He treated me very kindly, gave me food, and his own bed, while himself and his wife occupied chairs by the fire; and in the morning he walked with me several miles, to put me in the right way: it was in vain that I offered him a small reward—he would not take it. Months had passed away, when by chance my eyes saw an old advertisement, offering a large reward for his apprehension. I knew at once it was James, for I had observed a remarkable scar on his chin, which was mentioned in the description of him. Hard as my heart then was, and callous to every feeling of humanity, I could not help shuddering at the thought of betraying my kind friend; but the prospect of gain soon made my decision. I wrote to his master, and received his an-

swer. All things were prepared, and I was to have fifty dollars more than the sum mentioned in the advertisement. I went alone again to his quiet retreat; it was in winter, the weather had been piercing cold, and the river Delaware was closed. I arrived at early twilight. How bitter have my thoughts been since, when I have recollected the honest satisfaction that gleamed in his sable countenance when I approached! During the evening, I proposed to him a removal into Pennsylvania; I told him I had a few acres of land, suitable for a garden, and a comfortable dwelling-house, in the neighborhood of the city; and that recollecting his former kindness to me, I had come to persuade him to occupy the one, and improve the other, for which I could afford to give him high wages. The poor man agreed to accompany me the next day, to look at the premises; and if they pleased him, to take possession of them on the first of April. Early in the morning, I was awaked by preparations for breakfast; and they were delighted with my taking so much notice of them as I did, and with my gratitude for the services they had rendered me. The whole family were cheerful. We parted with light hearts, James and I reached the river in due time, and entered on the ice. Hitherto, we had walked side by side, but now he fell a little behind me, and we had proceeded but a little way, when I perceived the ice to give way, and I immediately went down as far as my arms, which I stretched out, and so supported myself for some minutes, until James threw me the end of his great coat, to which I held, and he pulled me out, and taking me on his shoulder, carried me, very much exhausted, to the shore."

Here the sick man closed his eyes, and lay for a short time; when reviving, he resumed the affecting narrative: "On my coming to myself again, I found what my intended innocent victim had been prompted to do, by feelings of humanity and gratitude, and that he had rescued me from inevitable destruction. Shall I tell you what followed?" "Oh, my husband!" exclaimed the dying man's wife, "you could not have persevered in your wicked purpose—you never could have sent the man into slavery who had preserved your life!" "Yes, I could! I did!" replied the husband, "cold-blooded villain that I was! The very day which witnessed my danger and my delivery, saw me assist in binding, chaining hand and foot, him to whom I was indebted for my worthless life! Separated from his wife and children, and freedom, he departed without uttering a single word. Once, and once only, he suffered his eyes to dwell for an instant on mine, which sunk before their glare. Never can I forget that agonizing and despairing glance; it haunts me in broad daylight; it is with me in the deepest shades of night!"

Here the black servant of the person to whom this account was given, had risen up, and stood behind his master, his eyes glistening with tears that trickled down his ebon cheeks; when the sick man's eyes lighting upon him, he exclaimed in the extremity of anguish, "James is there; behind you, sir; he is come to

torment me already! Take him away; take him away!" he repeated slowly, and sunk into a slumber from which he never awoke!

[For the Anti-Slavery Record.]

THE RUNAWAY SLAVE.

Last Spring a worthy colored man called upon me, requesting my assistance in behalf of a fugitive slave. I went with him to see the fugitive, who was at the house of a friend. He was a smart fine looking young man, about twenty-one years of age. To learn a little of his history, I fell into the following conversation with him:

Q. Where have you come from?

A. The Eastern Shore, Maryland.

Q. Why did you leave your master? Was he cruel to you?

A. No, he was called one of the best masters on all the Eastern Shore. But, he had got in debt badly, and was going to sell me. Two weeks ago, last Tuesday, I heard him making a bargain to sell me to a speculator for *one thousand dollars*, and I was to be taken off the next Friday—so the next Thursday night I got ready and started.

Q. Did you leave friends behind?

A. Yes. A father and mother, and seven brothers and sisters.

Q. Are they slaves?

A. Yes. All belong to the same man.

Q. Were they willing to have you come?

A. Yes, they helped me off; they allowed, (supposed,) if I could get free, I would some time help them.

Q. Would you have come away if your master had not been about to sell you?

A. Not so soon. But I always meant to get out of slavery—a man never comes to any thing in slavery, if he works ever so hard.

I agree with you, said I; and will help you to a country where you may be free; but I am ashamed to say that you must go beyond our "free" United States.

With a little money, a change of clothes, and some letters to kind friends on the way, he went on rejoicing. I have since heard of his safe arrival and prosperity, on a soil not laid under a curse to uphold slavery.

Let me ask of the slaveholder, would *you* have expected less of me had you been in the case of this poor slave?

I wish this published for the sake of one remark. It illustrates the fate of those slaves who have *kind* masters. Such masters are even more likely than others to fall in *debt*:

Then, their well treated slaves must be sold to satisfy creditors, and to taste the tender mercies of the domestic slave trade, and the sugar plantations of Georgia and Louisiana.

E.

THE LIBERTY BELL.

Being in Philadelphia a few days since, I was invited after viewing the room in which the Declaration of Independence was signed, to ascend the tower of the old State House, to take a view of the city. The view was delightful. On our ascent, we did not fail to examine the celebrated Bell. It weighs 2300 pounds, and was cast 23 years before the Declaration of Independence was signed. On that occasion it was rung, and has been rung every 22d February and 4th of July since. It is remarkable that the following inscription was on the bell when it was cast. It was considered a sort of prophecy: "PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, AND TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF." May not the emancipationists in Philadelphia, hope to live to hear the same bell rung, when liberty shall in fact be proclaimed to all the inhabitants of this favored land? Hitherto, the bell has *not* obeyed the inscription; and its peals have been a mockery, while one sixth of "all the inhabitants" are in abject slavery.

A NEGLECTED CHRISTIAN DUTY.

Every attentive reader of the Bible is aware that the pleading the cause of the oppressed and needy is very seriously enjoined upon all men, as an imperious duty.—And the people of God are very frequently characterized and identified as such, in the sacred volume, from the fact of their abounding in the discharge of this duty.—It was an important item in the character of Job. The cause which he knew not, he searched out. It was the burden of admonition with the Hebrew prophets.—It was not forgotten by the apostles.—"Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them."—Consult Jeremiah v. 1-28.—Isaiah lix. 13, 15.—Jeremiah vii. 3, 5.—xxi. 12. xxii. 3. 13. 17.—and indeed the whole Bible. But when, and where, and by whom, do we hear this duty inculcated in the American churches?—From what pulpits is it heard?—In what publications is it read?

Will it be said that we live in an age and nation so free from oppression, that this duty has become obsolete, and its observance unnecessary?

If so, let it be shown by a statement of facts. Let us be presented in detail with a specification of those oppressions that existed among God's ancient people, when the prophets were commissioned to "agitate the delicate subject."—Let us see the evidence that some system of slavery *then* existed, so much *more* iniquitous and heaven daring than ours, as to call for reproofs which are not needed in American Israel.

If this cannot be done, then let the Bible and its expositors speak out on the neglect of this great duty—the duty of pleading the cause of the oppressed and needy.

Shall the United States—the free United States, which could not bear the bonds of a king, cradle the bondage which a king is abolishing? Shall a Republic be less free than a Monarchy? Shall we, in the vigor and buoyancy of our manhood, be less energetic in righteousness, than a kingdom in its age?—*C. Stewart.*

Shall every flap of England's flag
 Proclaim that all around are free,
 From 'farthest Ind' to each blue crag
 That beetles o'er the Western Sea?
 And shall we scoff at Europe's kings,
 When Freedom's fire is dim with us,
 And round our country's altar clings
 The damning shade of Slavery's curse?
 Go—let us ask of Constantine
 To loose his grasp on Poland's throat—
 And beg the lord of Mahmoud's line
 To spare the struggling Suliote.
 Will not the scorching answer come
 From turbaned Turk, and fiery Russ—
 "Go, loose your fettered slaves at home,
 Then turn and ask the like of us?"

J. G. WHITTIER.

RECEIPTS

INTO THE TREASURY OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

From December 20th, 1834, to Jan. 20th, 1835.

Carlisle, Pa., H. Duffield, mon. sub.	\$ 5 00
Champlain, N. Y. J. Churchill	1 00
Cincinnati, Ohio, William Donaldson	8 00
Hartford, Pa., O. Thatcher	50
Huntington, Ira Nichols, 2; David Hawley 1	3 00
Huntsburg, Ohio, A. Clark, Jr.	3 00
New Garden, Ohio, William Griffith, mon. sub.	5 00
New York City, J. Rankin, mon. sub.	100 00
William Green, Jr.	83 33
William Jay	1 50
W. H. Mabbs	1 50
North Yarmouth, Me. James C. Hill	2 00
Perry, N. Y., S. F. Phoenix, mon. sub.	12 00
Philadelphia, Female A. S., L. Mott	5 00
Portland, Female A. S.	10 00
Rochester, N. Y., W. W. Reid	25 00
Tallmadge, Ohio, Mrs. C. Wright	3 00
Waterville Me., George Le Row	6 50
Western Reserve College, Ohio, F. W. Upson	6 37
Mrs. Dea, E. Penfield	1 00
Sales at the Office	123 96

Total,

\$406 06

THE
ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

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MARCH, 1835.

NO. 3.



See p. 37.

A punishment, practised in the United States, for the crime of loving liberty.

DO THE SLAVES DESIRE THEIR LIBERTY?

It is often said, in apology for American Slavery, that, though the system is wrong in the abstract, when we come to the matter of fact, the slaves are about as happy as labouring people can be. Let us leave theory, and inquire whether facts do teach this strange doctrine. When people are in a happy and prosperous condition, we do not expect to see them anxious to get out of it, or rambling to the ends of the earth, enduring hunger, cold, and nakedness, and facing all manner of dangers, to get into some other condition—they know not what. How is it in regard to the slaves?

In seventeen Southern Newspapers, taken at random, rewards amounting to \$1450 are offered for *thirty-four runaways*. Runaway slaves are constantly passing through the free States to Canada, where they are kindly received. Some escape to Texas. Many betake themselves to swamps and cane brakes, and in those dismal places live by the greatest hardship, till overtaken by their cruel oppressors. One of the reasons why the Southern States advocated the purchases of Louisiana and Florida, was that they might be able to recover their *runaways*, as well as to open a market for their surplus slaves, and increase the number of slave-holding States. For the same reason they now urge the purchase of Texas.

Judge Upshur, speaking before the Virginia Convention in 1829, says, in regard to the value of slaves in Western Virginia: "And besides, Sir, their vicinity to non-slave-holding* States, must forever render this sort of property *precarious and insecure*. It will not do to tell me that Ohio no longer gives freedom, nor even shelter, to the runaway; that Pennsylvania is tired of blacks, and is ready to aid in restoring them to their owners. The moral sentiment of these states is against slavery; and that influence will assuredly be felt, notwithstanding the geographical line, or narrow river, which may separate them from us." He was pleading in support of slavery.

Mr. Doddridge, before the same Convention, said of slave property: "It has heretofore been of but little value, near the Ohio river, because runaways received aid and protection from the people in the new territories and States." From the then recent persecution of coloured people in Ohio, he argues that there will be less of this in future, and proceeds to say: "Matters in Canada must soon take a turn. I have no doubt that there are many Western Citizens who will *purchase slaves again*, when the causes before mentioned, shall render the property secure. These considerations, *with the acquisition of Texas*, will greatly enhance the value of the property in question."

Here are *facts*, which show not only a great actual frequency of *running away from happiness*, but a general tendency to it, which can only, with the greatest difficulty, be repressed. Do we find the hired labourers of the North *running away* in such numbers, and their employers taking so much pains to prevent it?

Not only are great rewards offered by the masters, and in some States by law,† for the capture of runaways, but very severe *punishment* awaits them on their recovery. The uniform testimony is, that punishment for running away is inevitable and severe.

No master *can* forgive the culprit who is caught in this *crime*.

* Slave-holders do not like to say 'free States.'

† See Revised code of Virginia.

The master is judge, jury, and executioner. He is not generally restrained even by his pecuniary interest, in the person and labor of the slave; for if he has others, his grand object is *to inspire THEM with the greatest possible terror*. Again, in a community where all (that is, whites,) are interested in suppressing the *crime*, no extreme of cruelty in its punishment can be very unpopular. Is it to be wondered, then, that the master, clothed in an absolute and uncontrollable despotism, and supported by public sentiment, should frequently proceed to such horrid barbarities, as are described in the following authentic anecdotes ?

A Southern gentleman, in the debate at Lane Seminary, thus describes the punishment of the *paddle*.

"A bricklayer, a neighbor of ours, owned a very smart young negro man, who ran away; but was caught. When his master got him home, he stripped him naked, tied him up by his hands, in plain sight and hearing of the academy and the public green, so high that his feet could not touch the ground; then tied them together, and put a long board between his legs to keep him steady. After preparing him in this way, he took a paddle, bored it full of holes, and commenced beating him with it. He continued it leisurely all day. At night his flesh was literally pounded to a jelly. It was two weeks before he was able to walk. No one took any notice of it. No one thought any wrong was done."

The following instance occurred near Natchez: (See N. Y. Evangelist, for Jan. 31, 1835.)

"A planter purchased a notorious runaway. He gave him to understand that he could elope if he chose, probably in a tone which warned him of the consequences. The negro took him at his word, but was soon taken and flogged very severely. His master then opened the gate, and told him to go again; he did so, but was in a few days retaken. His master then flogged him, if I recollect, till he fainted, and yoked him in the fence, between the rails, during the day. The wretched negro escaped the third time, but was able to elude pursuit only for a few days.—This time his master beat him till his back was almost raw, knocked out his eye teeth, yoked him in the fence, and poured spirits of turpentine over his bleeding wounds. The poor negro fainted on account of the intensity of his sufferings. My informant received his account from the planter himself."

Not less abhorrent to all feelings of humanity and mercy, are the modes of capturing runaways. The same writer in the Evangelist, whose statements were written to an eminent lawyer in this State, and bear all the marks of candor and accuracy, and accord with a cloud of other witnesses, says:

"Occasionally, armed parties of whites go in pursuit of them, who make no secret of their determination to shoot down all that

refuse to surrender—which they sometimes do. In one instance a negro who was closely pursued, instead of heeding the order to surrender, waded into a shallow pond beyond the reach of his pursuers; refusing still to yield, he was shot through the heart by one of the party. This occurred near Natchez, but no notice was taken of it by the civil authorities; but in this they were consistent, for the city patrols or night watch are allowed to do the same thing with impunity, though it is authorized by no law.”

“Another mode of capturing runaways is by bloodhounds; this I hope is rarely done. An instance was related to me in Clairborne country, Miss. A runaway was heard about the house in the night. The hound was put upon his track, and in the morning was found watching the dead body of the negro. The dogs are trained to this service while young. A negro is directed to go into the woods, and secure himself upon a tree. When sufficient time has elapsed for doing this, the hound is put upon his track. The blacks also are compelled to worry them till they make them their implacable enemies; and it is common to meet with dogs, which will take no notice of whites, though entire strangers, but will suffer no black beside the house servants to enter the yard. Captured runaways are confined in jail till claimed by their owners. If they are not claimed within the time prescribed by law, they are sold at public sale, and in the mean time are employed as scavengers, with a heavy ball and chain fastened to one of their ancles.”

Now, if after all this, slaves continue to *run away* whenever they can get an opportunity, shall we be told that they would not take their liberty if it were given them ?

WHAT HAS THE CHURCH TO DO WITH SLAVERY ?

This depends upon the question whether slaveholding is a SIN. If it is, the Church of Christ has much to do with it. If it is a sin at all, it is a *very great* Sin. It almost shuts out the blessings of the Gospel, from one sixth part of our people. It sends a corrupting influence over our whole nation. Look at the 2,250,000 *immortal beings* used as *property*, as machines for making money. The evil is too mighty to be seen at one view. Take a single slave; follow him through a life of hard labour without wages:—See how his mind, deprived of proper instruction, shrinks and dwindles under the whip and the fetter. See how his heart, plundered of its holy affections, is delivered over to brutality and corruption. Go to the slave-auction! See human forms, from infancy to gray hairs, sold under the hammer. See human souls bartered away for “cash.” See families that God hath joined together, separated—never again to meet in this world. Count, if you can, the groans, fathom the bitter woes, occasioned by these separations.

Sum up the thousands of such scenes that take place every year in the great DOMESTIC SLAVE-TRADE. Go along with the chained drove, from the Potomac to the Mississippi.—Then again, glance your eye upon the varied shades and features of these unhappy slaves, and see the sure evidence that white masters traffic in the souls and bodies of their *own children*.* Follow out the investigation into its details, and you will begin to learn the greatness of the sin.

But go forward a little further. Follow to the judgment bar of Christ, all the souls that have been trained up in slavery. Before the same bar will stand the American Church. Will not this immense and woful havoc of souls—which God created in his image, and for which Christ died—be one of the first things to be inquired into by the Judge? Will not every individual christian be asked, “What hast *thou* done in this matter?”

Now look and see what the church is doing. See how, in its largest denominations, it embraces in its bosom slaveholders of all sorts. How it abstains from reproof. How, in its most solemn assemblies, slaveholders are mingled and sit down together at the table of the same Lord. Christians at the north *say* they are opposed to slavery. Count the number of ministers whom they have sent to the south, who are now slaveholders. Ask whether these slaveholding preachers are ever kept out of the pulpit, when they visit the North. How many ministers preach against slavery, either at the South or the North? Count the number of churches that bear a testimony against the sin by excluding slaveholders, like other open sinners, from their communion.

Now, can any christian man in his senses say, after such an examination, that the church is ready to answer to God for American Slavery? No—The first thing that the Church has to do with slavery is, to *repent*, and purify itself from the practice of it. The second is, to *repent* of the great sin of attempting to justify slavery from Scripture. The third is, to *repent* and show toward the injured victims of slavery, the spirit of Him who came to open the prison doors, to unbind the captive, and let the oppressed go free.

W.

* In 1834, a man who had resided three years in New-York, and bore a good character, was taken out of his bed at midnight, and with his wife and son, carried back into slavery by his *own cousin*.

In the same year, a white man of Newbern, N. C., carried his four *slave children* to New-Orleans, by way of New-York, having sold his *wife, their mother*, to a New-Orleans trader, three years before.

In the same year, a man by the name of Phillips was taken up in New-York, by a “Speculator,” to whom he had been sold by his father, and carried to Virginia as a slave. Many honorable names might be mentioned in connexion with such facts.

SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Mr. Dickson of N. Y., in presenting a number of petitions, among others, one from 800 *ladies*, praying for the Abolition of Slavery in the District, made some very forcible and appropriate remarks. He did not mince the matter, but threw the *live coals of truth* upon the very nest of abominations. His motion to refer the petitions to a select committee was *laid on the table* by a vote of 117 to 77. Had even New England and New York given a righteous vote, it would have been otherwise. A specimen is given below :

"The petitioners complain, that, by the laws of the United States, the slave trade, in and through the District of Columbia, is permitted to be carried on with distant States, and that this District is the principal mart of the slave trade of the Union.

Sir, the foreign slave trade with Africa is condemned by the laws of this country, of England, of France, and by those of almost every nation of the civilized world, as piracy; and those who carry it on are denounced as outlaws, and the common enemies of the human race. And yet we tolerate, in this District, and at our seat of government, a traffic productive of as much pain, anguish, and despair, of as deep atrocity, and as many accumulated horrors, as the slave trade with Africa.

And here, there are no foreign powers to compete with us; we have no rivals; the trade is all ours, and the odium and the guilt are all our own.

Private cells and prisons have been erected by the slave traders in the District, in which the negro is incarcerated until a cargo of slaves, of 'human chattels,' can be completed. The public prisons of the District, built with the money of the whole people of the United States, have been used for the benefit of the slave traders, and the victims of this odious traffic have been confined within their walls. The keepers of those prisons, paid out of the monies of the whole people, have been the jailers of the slave traders, until their drove, their cargo of human beings, could be completed.

The petitioners complain that a traffic so abhorrent to the feelings of the philanthropist, so replete with suffering and wo, is approved and licensed by the Corporation of the City of Washington, which receives *four hundred dollars a year for each license*, thus increasing her treasures by the express sanction of so odious a trade. Finally, the petitioners complain of the existence of slavery in the District of Columbia, as the source of all the before mentioned evils, and others too numerous now to detail.— They consider it as unchristian, unholy, and unjust, not warrant-

ed by the laws of God, and contrary to the assertion in our Declaration of Independence, that 'all men are created equal.'"

PROGRESS OF THE ABOLITION CAUSE.

The doctrine of immediate emancipation, and kind treatment of colored people, is every where called a most *dangerous* doctrine. The reason is this. It has a principle of *life* in it. It is *truth*, and being once brought to the full notice of men, it will and must *go forward*. Lies cannot stop it, ridicule cannot, mobs cannot. Discussion may be suppressed, lips may be sealed, the press may be muzzled, but the leaven of *thought* is at work. Thousands of minds are constantly on the stretch to fortify themselves against self-evident truths, and to avoid conclusions inevitable from their own premises. A vain struggle this. "I am afraid to read your pamphlets," said a worthy minister to an Anti-Slavery agent, "lest I should be obliged to come over!" He is now an abolitionist.

Few and feeble as have been the means, in comparison with the difficulty of the object, and the strength of the opposition, great effects have already been produced. More than 150 thorough-going Anti-Slavery Societies are registered. Four of these are State Societies. So far as returns will enable us to judge of the number of members, they are not less than 7500. So far as these are concerned, prejudice against color is levelled with the ground. By the labors of four agents employed by the Society, and the two noble champions of humanity, Stuart and Thompson, from England, and those of the devoted Mr. Birney of Kentucky, the number of abolitionists is daily and most rapidly increasing. Mr. Birney is cheered by the conversion to his sentiments of many strong men in Kentucky. Mr. Weld in Ohio, is lecturing with his usual zeal and eloquence, and his success is not less remarkable than that which attended his lectures on Temperance. There is a fair prospect of forming a powerful State Society in Ohio. Mr. Stuart has produced the happiest impression in Ohio and New-York. By the wise and well directed labors of Mr. Phelps, State Societies have been formed in Maine and New Hampshire, and a mighty impulse has been given to the cause in those States. The eloquence of Mr. Thompson has opened a way for him to the *heart* of New England, through prejudices apparently less penetrable than its own everlasting granite. At first, all doors seemed to be shut against him, as if the opening of those lips which plead successfully for the freedom of 800,000 British slaves, would be the destruction of our liberties. Now he is lecturing to delighted auditories in the churches of such places as Portland, Providence, Salem, and Boston. In spite of the reproach that

has been so inhospitably hurled at him, as a "foreign emissary," those who have listened to his appeals, do not hesitate to predict that America will yet be proud to adopt him as the Lafayette of her *moral* revolution.

In opening to colored youth the best facilities of education, progress has been made. The school at Canterbury was not suspended, till it had shown just when and how prejudice sets its foot upon the neck of the injured race. Schools of a similar kind are multiplying—They are already too numerous to be crushed. In Cincinnati, four or five flourishing schools have been established by the Students of Lane Seminary. Noyes Academy in New Hampshire, is cordially opened to all without respect to color. The same is true of the Oneida Institute, a Seminary of the highest order under the efficient Presidency of Rev. Beriah Green. These offers will be most gladly embraced by those for whose benefit they are intended.

Again, the correctness of the doctrines advocated by the Anti-Slavery Society, is coming to be universally admitted. The recent organization of a new Society "for the improvement of the colored race," shows that the public mind is coming to the conviction that the colored race *must forever remain with us*. This is a great point gained. For as soon as they are felt to be in *fact* and in *right*, our own countrymen, the christian benevolence of the country will be emancipated from its bondage. It will flow out to meet the colored man; it will take him by the hand as a brother; it will lift from his shoulders the crushing burden; it will proclaim his rights—and the fetters of the slave will fall asunder.

Nothing is wanting to insure complete and speedy victory, but a *firm adherence* to those righteous principles that have thus far triumphed beyond a parallel.

A SCRAP OF HISTORY.

A complete history of Christian Slavery, taking in the acts of individual Slaveholders, together with Slave laws, and decisions in courts of justice, would be a work containing more absurdities in reasoning, and more savage injustice, than could be collected from the history of any savage or heathen nation in existence.

A decree of the Royal court of Martinique, as given in a French Review, (edited by a colored man in Paris,) will furnish a *specimen* of what such a work would contain.

"The court condemns Elysee (aged 15 years) to be hung until he is dead; and his body to be cast into the ditch, for having formed the project to run away, and thus having attempted to rob his master of the amount of his own value; and further, that

Agnes his mother assist in the execution, as she hid her son, procuring him an asylum under *pretext* of pity, and furnished him with food and sustenance."

THE CASE OF ONESIMUS.

From George Thompson's speech at Manchester, in reply to Peter Borthwick.

"Yes! resumed Mr. Thompson, this is all very beautiful: but then, St. Paul sent Onesimus back to Philemon! Well then, about this Onesimus. In the first place, does the gentleman know that this Onesimus was a slave in the sense that the negroes in the West Indies are slaves? Second. Did Philemon possess a property in his life and limbs, as the West India slave-owners say they have in the life and limbs of the negroes? He should have proved this before he justified slavery, because St. Paul sent Onesimus back to Philemon. We find in the 18th chapter of Matthew, that a certain king would take account of his servants. Now, the word *doulos*, translated servant there, is the same which is translated servant in the epistle to Philemon; and we find there, that one unfaithful *doulos* owed his master ten thousand talents. How could an abject slave owe ten thousand talents? But mark the conduct of his master. He orders the slave and his family to be sold, that he may be repaid. He sells his own property to pay himself! I may perhaps illustrate the folly of this conduct, supposing *doulos* to mean slave, by a homely simile. A horse in a stable slips his halter, and eats some beans out of a sack, and the master says, 'Oh thou wicked and ungrateful horse! did I not give thee hay enough? and yet hast thou broken loose and eaten up this sack of beans! Though thou art mine, and though thou hast cost me fifty pounds, I will punish thee for this. I will sell thee to-morrow, though I should lose by thee, that I may repay myself for the beans thou hast eaten.'

Suppose this *doulos*—this slave, according to the West Indian translation, runs away, and becomes a convert to principles that he knew not before—that he is recognized and sheltered, as St. Paul kept Onesimus—and that he is sent back with a message, 'I send you back your runaway.' In such a case, no doubt the slaveholder would say, 'Ay, to be sure, let me have him!' But what does St. Paul say? Does he bid Philemon take Onesimus, and treat him as the poor boy was treated for running away with his own naked body? No! Does he say, 'Take him and hang him!' No! Does he say, 'Flog him?' No! Does he say, 'Chain him?' No! Does he say, 'Put a collar on him?' No! He says, 'Receive him *not as a servant, but as a brother.*' He bids him esteem him as more than a servant—as a brother beloved."

THE MERCHANDISE OF MEN.

The last Charleston Courier contains *eighteen* advertisements of slaves to be sold, chiefly at auction, comprising *eight hundred and forty-one* slaves of both sexes and all ages, besides several advertisements of the whole "stock of negroes" of a plantation, without specifying the number. In the Georgia Journal, of Dec. 31, 1834, are *nine* "SHERIFF'S SALES," in which "negroes" are to be sold, comprising *thirty-two*, besides "all the negroes" on a certain plantation. In the same paper are *fourteen* advertisements of "ADMINISTRATOR'S SALES" of slaves, comprising *one hundred and fifty-five*. Mark it, reader, in this way slavery is "entailed." There are also *six* similar sales of *whole stocks* advertised. In the same paper is the following advertisement:

"Fifty Likely Young* Negroes, OF BOTH SEXES, FOR SALE.

IN addition to my former stock, consisting of some first rate Cooks, Washers and Ironers, several well qualified Chamber Maids, two first rate Seamstresses, and one Man Cook; the balance Field Hands, men, boys and girls. I will have supplies *every fifty days*. Persons wishing to purchase, will do well to call at No. 2, near the Bridge, and examine for themselves.

OLIVER SIMPSON.

Hamburg, S. C., July 30.

From the Natchez Courier and Journal.

180 Negroes for sale.

IHAVE just arrived with the above number of VIRGINIA NEGROES, of both sexes, and offer them on the most accommodating terms. Among them are two good carpenters, three blacksmiths, and several house and waiting servants. I also have a fine wagon and team for sale.

JOHN L. HARRIS.

December 19, 1834.

THE SLAVE JOSEPH.

"Come," said Judah, "and let us sell him to the Ishmaelites." And the rest agreed to it. "Then there passed by Midianite merchantmen [slave-traders] and they lifted up Joseph out of the pit, and sold Joseph to the Ishmaelite for twenty pieces of silver." Poor boy! His father had sent him on a *kind* errand to his brothers, and was waiting for him to return. But these wicked brothers did not care if they broke the poor man's heart, and brought down his

* How could these be called "young," if in buying up in Maryland and Virginia, there is no separation of families?

gray hairs with sorrow to the grave. They loved money more than they did their brother Joseph. So they sold him. What, sell their own brother! Yes, and the same thing is done now every day in slave states. White men sell their own colored children. Sometimes they sell them *by the pound*, and get four and often five dollars a pound for their sons and daughters. "Shall I not visit for these things? saith the Lord: and shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?" Thus said God, by the prophet Jeremiah; and His judgments cannot be distant. Even slaveholders sometimes tremble when they think that for all their wicked deeds they shall be brought into judgment. One of them, a Virginian, said, "I tremble when I reflect that God is just." And well he might. Belshazzar, king of Babylon, trembled when there came forth fingers of a man's hand, and wrote upon the wall his doom. "Then the king's countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees struck one against another." Think of that, you who buy and sell the bodies and souls of men. Remember that God is just, and that His justice will not sleep forever!

THE LAW OF EVIDENCE IN OHIO.

The law of Ohio ordains, that "*No black or mulatto can be a witness in a case where either party is white.*" In Chase's edition of the Statutes, there is the following note upon this law.

"This section does not extend to persons of a shade nearer white than mulatto. Such persons are admissible as witnesses; and against such the testimony of negroes and mulattoes cannot be received. (Gray vs. Ohio—4 Ohio Reports, 353.)" The law of some of the States defines a mulatto to be, "every person other than a negro, having one fourth part or more of negro blood."

Under this iniquitous law, the following case may occur. The life of a man depends upon the admissibility of a witness, who declares that he is only one eighth negro. But he is objected to by the counsel as being a mulatto. There is only one person in the world who can decide the question, and that is the witness's mother, who alone can tell whether she herself is *one half or one fourth black*—and in either case her testimony cannot be received! Surely prejudice against *color* is the perfection of folly!

A LASH ON THE BARE BACK IS VALUED AT 40 CENTS IN VIRGINIA AND ILLINOIS.

The law, which is common to both states, runs thus: "In all cases where free persons are punished by fine, servants shall be punished by whipping, *after the rate of twenty lashes for every eight dollars, so that no servant shall receive more than forty lashes at any one time*?"—only \$16 worth of whipping at one time!

POETRY.

Oh rouse ye—ere the storm comes forth—
 The gathered wrath of God and man—
 Like that which wasted Egypt's earth,
 When hail and fire above it ran.
 Hear ye no warnings in the air?
 Feel ye no earthquake underneath?
 Up—up—why will ye slumber where
 The sleeper only wakes in death?
 Up now for Freedom!—not in strife
 Like that your sterner fathers saw—
 The awful waste of human life—
 The glory and the guilt of war:
 But break the chain—the yoke remove—
 And smite to earth oppression's rod,
 With those mild arms of Truth and Love,
 Made mighty through the living God!
 Prone let the shrine of Moloch sink,
 And leave no traces where it stood—
 Nor longer let its idol drink
 His daily cup of human blood:
 But rear another altar there,
 To truth, and love, and mercy given,
 And Freedom's gift and Freedom's prayer
 Shall call an answer down from Heaven!

RECEIPTS.

INTO THE TREASURY OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

From Jan. 20th, 1835, to Feb. 20th, 1835.

Eath, Maine, N. Swasey, Mon. col.	30 00	New York City, Ann Blackwell, . . .	5 00
Brighton, N. Y., Joseph Bloss, "	2 00	" Arthur Tappan, . . .	1000 00
Brooklyn, Con., Rev. S. J. May "	6 00	" Lowell Holbrook, . . .	50 00
Cleveland, Ohio, Rev. Stephen Peet, "	5 00	" Lewis Tappan, . . .	25 00
" " J. M. Sterling, . . .	30 00	" Wm. Green, jr. mon. sub.	83 33
Carlisle, Pa., Henry Duffield, mon. col.	5 00	" John Rankin, mon. sub.	100 00
Cazenovia, N. Y., Truman Kellogg, "	4 00	Philadelphia, Pa., Henry Grew, "	2 00
Dunbarton, N. H., Rev. J. M. Putnam, "	5 00	" Mrs. L. Mott, "	5 00
Hallowell, Me., Rev. G. Shepard, "	20 00	Rome, N. Y., S. E. Roberts, "	10 00
Hamilton, N. Y., Edwin Brown, "	2 50	Rochester, " Dr. W. W. Reid, "	25 50
Ipswich, Mass., Wm. Onkes, . . .	10 00	Syracuse, " Seth Conklin, "	3 00
Livingston Co. N. Y., Wm. McCracken, "	4 00	Sherburne, " Alfred Barrett, "	3 00
Milbury, Mass., A. S. Society, "	10 00	" John Harrington, "	1 00
Morristown, N. J. H. A. Halsey, mon. col.	1 00	" Horace Tracy, "	0 50
New-Athens, O., Hugh Stephenson, "	1 00	Syracuse, " Seth Conklin, . . .	9 00
New-Hartford, N. Y., U. H. Kellogg, "	1 50	Westchester, N. Y., Hon. Wm. Jay, "	50 00
N. Y. Mills, N. Y., Rev. L. H. Loss, "	21 00	" Mr. Bingham, "	1 00
N. Haven, A. Townsend, "	5 00	Receipts for Record at office, . . .	27 30
" Scholars of Mrs. Fowler's colored Female School, being the amount she was to distribute among them as rewards, . . .	1 50	do. do. Books and Pamphlets, . . .	35 15
		Total,	\$1593 34

ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

VOL. I.

APRIL, 1835.

NO. 4.



"Take them back, since it must be so; I am determined to be faithful to my brethren and to my God."

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.

The friends of the enslaved are continually told that the Africans are an *inferior race*. If this were true, it would be no good reason for enslaving them. But it is not. The world may safely be challenged to produce a nobler character than that of Toussaint L'Ouverture—the George Washington of St. Domingo. Calumny has striven to paint him a monster.—She has brought the printing presses of both continents to her aid—but in vain.

Toussaint was born in slavery, but his soul could not be bound. When his countrymen, who had gained their liberty by the proclamations of Santhonax and Polverel, were in danger of losing it by the intrigues of their former tyrants, he was selected as their chief. With reluctance he left the bosom of his family, to which he was most tenderly attached. He gave union, energy, and a wise constitution, to his countrymen. By his bravery he repelled every foe, and put an end to civil and insurrectionary wars. When Bonaparte sent an immense armament, in 1802, to bring the people back to the old yoke, he was firmly seated in their affections, and relying in him, they bid defiance to their invaders. Bonaparte, it seems, had obtained possession of the sons of Toussaint, and included them in the splendid bribe which he sent by Le Clerc, to buy over the negro chief; hoping, by this detestable policy, to make an easy conquest.* He was mistaken. Toussaint met his boys with the heart of a father, but immediately sent them back, with a letter to Bonaparte, the spirit of which will be shown by the following extracts.†

"CITIZEN CONSUL,

"Your letter, of the 27th Brumaire, has been transmitted to me by Citizen Le Clerc, your brother-in-law, whom you have appointed *Captain General* of this island, a title not recognized by the constitution of St. Domingo. The same messenger has restored two innocent children to the fond embraces of a doating father. What a noble instance of European humanity! But, dear as those pledges are to me, and painful as our separation is, I will owe no obligations to my enemies, and I therefore return them to the custody of their jailers.

* * * * *

"You ask me, do I desire consideration, honors, and fortune? Most certainly I do, but not of thy giving. My consideration is placed in the respect of my countrymen, my honors in their attachment, my fortune in their disinterested fidelity. Has this *mean* idea of personal aggrandizement been held out in the hope that I would be induced thereby to betray the cause I have undertaken?

* Seven years previous to this, Toussaint sent his sons, then seven and nine years of age, to Paris for education. They were put under the care of a tutor, named Coisson. Bonaparte used this man as a tool to prepare the boys for his purpose. The tutor and his charge having been sent out with Le Clerc, Coisson wrote from Cape Francois to Toussaint, who was then at his country seat at Ennery, saying, "the first Consul sends by me four two sons, and certain important despatches. Your sons will be with you to-morrow, provided you will give me your word that in the result of your not complying with the wishes of the first Consul, they shall be safely returned with me to the Cape." Toussaint gave his word, and, on the morrow, the boys, accompanied by Coisson, went with their fond parents. Toussaint had now a choice of three things. He might break his word and keep his sons; he might comply with the wishes of Bonaparte and keep them; or he might send them back. He would neither break his word, nor sell his country, and therefore chose to send them back. It was a proverb in St. Domingo that Toussaint L'Ouverture never broke his word.

† We quote from one of the periodicals of the year 1803.

You should learn to estimate the moral principle in other men by your own. If the person who claims a right to that throne on which you are seated, were to call on you to descend from it, what would be your answer? The power I possess has been as *legitimately* acquired as your own, and nought but the decided voice of the people of St. Domingo shall compel me to relinquish it.

"It is not cemented by blood, or maintained by the artifices of European policy. 'The ferocious men whose persecutions I put a stop to,' have confessed my clemency, and I have pardoned the wretch whose dagger has been aimed at my life. If I have removed from this island certain turbulent spirits, who strove to feed the flames of civil war, their guilt has been first established before a competent tribunal, and finally confessed by themselves. Is there one of them who can say that he has been condemned *unheard or untried*? And yet these monsters are to be brought back once more, and, aided by the bloodhounds of Cuba, are to be uncoupled and hallooed to hunt us down and devour us; and this by men who dare to call themselves *Christians*.

"Why should it excite your praise and surprise that I have upheld 'the religion and worship of God, from whom all things come?' Alas! that all bounteous Being, whose Holy Word has but lately found favor in your Republic, by me has ever been honored and glorified. In his protecting care I have sought for safety and consolation amidst dangers and difficulties, when encompassed by treachery and treason, and I was never disappointed. 'Before him and you I am,' as you say, 'to be the person principally responsible for the massacres and murders that are perpetrating in this devoted isle.' Be it so. In his all just and dread disposal be the issue of this contest. Let Him decide between me and my enemies; between those who have violated his precepts, abjured his holy name, and one who has never ceased to acknowledge and adore Him.

(Signed) "TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE."

Le Clerc, with his legion of disciplined and veteran soldiers, was unable to cope with Toussaint in the field of battle. He resorted to treachery. He promised *amnesty, liberty, and equal rights* to all. Toussaint was deceived. He and his wife were carried in chains to France, and there thrown into separate dungeons. It is probable that the day of retribution only will reveal the fate of Toussaint.

Whoever looks for the "horrors of St. Domingo," will not find them chargeable to Toussaint, nor to any of his color, till they had been goaded to desperation by the more revolting atrocities of *Christian white* men.

Let the reader ponder this, and ask himself, where is the evidence that the *black* man is by nature either mentally or morally inferior to the *white*?

WHAT HAVE THE PEOPLE OF THE NORTH TO DO WITH SLAVERY?

Nothing, if slavery is just and right. But if slavery is unjust, cruel, and wicked, they have much to do with it. If it were in China, they would have much to do with it. Why? Because the slaves are *men*. If there is, upon the farthest isle of the ocean, a tribe of robbers, murderers, and cannibals, we, here in America, have something to do with them. It is not consistent with the welfare of the human race that there should be robbers, murderers, or cannibals, any where. Again, as Christians, we are entrusted with a set of principles, which go to abolish such crimes, and are commanded by the Redeemer of the world to promulgate them. We have something to do, then, as long as there is upon earth a single man who has not been reached and won to righteousness by these heavenly principles. Have we, then, nothing to do in behalf of 2,250,000 of our fellow men, who, upon the same continent with ourselves, are treated by law and custom as beasts?—bought, sold, driven, flogged, and fed as beasts? Do we find ourselves bound by the constitution, which guarantees *our* rights, with our swords and muskets, to take away *theirs*, should they rise to claim them, and have we nothing to do with it? Are we called upon to give up fugitives from slavery on the bare claim of any southern man before any magistrate whom he may choose, and have we nothing to do with it? Is slavery perpetuated in the District of Columbia by the votes of our own representatives, and we have nothing to do with it? Is it extended to new states year after year, and we have nothing to do with it? Is America made the nurse of slaves; is her soil stained with an immense traffic in the blood, and bones, and souls of her own native citizens, and we have nothing to do with it? Is her name, dear to her free born sons as the bosoms that nursed them, made the by-word and jest of all Europe and the world, and we have nothing to do with it?

And who are they who ask, "what have the people of the north to do with slavery?" Why they are, 1. The slaveholders. They have their reasons. They like any thing better than having their consciences meddled with, especially such of them as were originally from the north. 2. Merchants who traffic with slaveholders. Some of them are afraid they will lose custom. 3. Politicians who are afraid that a shift of the wind will shift them out of office. 4. Preachers of the Gospel, who have a care for the fleece as well as the flock. 5. Some of them, too, are men who are sending missionaries to Palestine, and India, and China, men who are ever ready to raise subscriptions for the Greeks and the Poles, men who are saying to every nation under heaven, let us "pluck the mote out of thine eye."

We of the north have much to do with slavery, because God has given us power to abolish it. The slaveholders are men like ourselves. They are not proof against *truth*, and *thought*, and

feeling. If, in the kind and peaceful spirit of the blessed Gospel, we all take the side of the slave, assert his rights, sympathize in his sufferings, and speak him free so far as we have the power, what can they do? They cannot fight us, they dare not separate from us. Listen they must, and yield they must. God has made ice to melt when the temperature is above a certain point, and it might as well maintain its flinty hardness in a fiery furnace, as the people of the south theirs, after the people of the north are once kindled up to the natural temperature of our common humanity.

E.

MORE FACTS SHOWING THE SAFETY OF EMANCIPATION.

We do not claim that there are a vast multitude of examples of such emancipation, so free and so full as we affirm to be just and right. For, unhappily, justice has been done to slaves only rarely and grudgingly; but we do claim, that *all the facts* which pertain to the subject are in favor of emancipation, the freer and fuller the better. Not a solitary fact has yet been produced, showing the danger of any approach towards justice—however large or sudden.

EMANCIPATION IN GUADALOUPE.

"Guadaloupe, in common with all the colonial possessions of France, partook of the convulsions with which the Revolution of 1792 so violently agitated the mother country. In February, 1794, the French Convention passed a decree, giving liberty to the slaves in all the colonies of France. This decree was carried into effect in Guadaloupe under certain local regulations called *la police rurale*, which was administered in the different districts of the island by commissioners appointed by the government. By these regulations the laborers were entitled to a fourth part of the produce of the estate which they were employed in cultivating, independently of their food, which was wholly furnished from the estate." The regulations proceed to state very minutely the allowances to be made in case of absence, sickness, &c.

"Under these regulations, agriculture appears to have flourished, and tranquillity was restored. In April, 1801, we have an enumeration of the plantations then under cultivation, amounting to 390 of sugar, 1,355 of coffee, and 328 of cotton, besides 25 pasture or grass farms."

"In the succeeding year, on the peace of Amiens, a powerful French force was sent to take possession of Guadaloupe, and to reduce the negroes to their former state of slavery. This attempt was resisted on the part of the negroes, and it was not till after a severe struggle, and the slaughter of 2000 negroes, that they were again brought under the power of the cartwhip."

"The order and prosperity which reigned during the enjoyment of freedom are proved by the reports of the commissioners. A letter from the supreme council of the colony to the commissary of one of the Cantons contains this remarkable passage. 'Continue, Citizen Commissary, to maintain that order in your canton, which now reigns universally throughout the colony. We shall have the satisfaction of having given an example which will prove that all classes of people may live in perfect harmony with each other, under an administration which secures justice to all classes.'"—*Report from the Select Com. of the House of Lords, page 924.*

EMANCIPATION DOES NOT PRODUCE PAUPERISM.

"From an accurate return of the paupers supported in the British slave colonies from 1821 to 1825, it appears that in twelve colonies, among a population of 57,000 whites, there were 2,008 paupers, while among 114,000 free black and colored people, there were only 313. That is, there was one pauper to every 284 whites, while there was only one to every 364 of the free black and colored."—*Ibidem, page 934.*

STRIKING INSTANCE OF THE CAPACITY OF EMANCIPATED SLAVES TO TAKE CARE OF THEMSELVES.

"It happened that several slaves took refuge from Martinique, where the slave trade is avowedly carried on, to St. Lucia, in 1830. This caused a discussion, the effect of which was to make it generally known, that, on a foreign slave's reaching a British Colony, he, by Dr. Lushington's Bill, becomes free; and in consequence of this discussion, several, exceeding 100 in number, came over in the year 1830.

Here were persons leaving a country of unmitigated slavery; persons precisely in the condition in which our whole slave population may be supposed to have been some thirty years ago, by those who maintain that the condition of the slave has improved; here were persons described by their government as *incendiaries, idlers, and poisoners.*

When I left the Colony in April last, some were employed for wages in the business they were best acquainted with:—some as masons and carpenters; some as domestics; others in clearing land, or as laborers on estates; while about twenty-six had clubbed together, and placed themselves under the direction of a free colored man, an African, one of the persons deported from Martinique in 1824. These last had erected a pottery at a short distance from Castries. They took a piece of land: three or four cleared it; others fished up coral and burned lime; five or six quarried and got the stones, and performed the mason's work; the remainder felled the timber and worked it in; and the little money that was requisite, was supplied in advance by the con-

tractor for the church, on the tiles to be furnished for the building. This pottery was completed—a plain structure, but of great solidity and surprising neatness. Thus had they actually introduced a new manufacture into the country, for which it was previously indebted to our foreign neighbors, or to the home market.

All this had been effected simply by not interfering with them—by leaving them entirely to themselves. They were mustered once a month, to show that government had an eye on them; and then allowed full liberty. One man only was sick in the Hospital, and he was supported by the contribution of his companions."

JEREMIE'S *Essays on Colonial Slavery.*

EMANCIPATION AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

[From the South African Commercial Advertiser of Feb. 9, 1831.]

"We speak advisedly;—*Three thousand* prize negroes have received their freedom, *four hundred in one day*; but not the least difficulty or disorder occurred:—*servants found masters—masters tired servants; all gained homes, and at night scarcely an idler was to be seen.* In the last month, one hundred and fifty were liberated under precisely similar circumstances, and with the same result. These facts are within our own observation; and to state that sudden and abrupt emancipation would create disorder and distress to those you mean to serve, is not reason; but the plea of any and all men who are adverse to emancipation."

THEY CANNOT EMANCIPATE—THE LAWS FORBID IT.

"—— But are you not aware, Sir, that in many States there are laws against emancipation?" This was uttered with a most imposing air by a man who was defending Slavery under the *present circumstances.* "Indeed," replied his opponent, "but who make the laws?" "The Slaveholders, to be sure." "So I thought; and the unfortunate condition of the poor Slaveholders, who have tied their own hands by such laws, reminds me of an anecdote. A lady somewhere in Virginia, on going out for a few hours, left some trifling matters to be attended to in her absence, by her little daughter. On her return, she found that all the things which were to be done, had been neglected.—"How is this, my dear," said she, "why have you not done this, and why not that?" "Because I could n't, mama." "But why could n't you?" "Why, don't you see, mama, I am tied to the leg of the table?" "Indeed, so you are, but who tied you to the leg of the table, my dear?" "Oh, I tied myself, mama!"

SPURIOUS ABOLITION.

"I am as much Anti-Slavery as you are."

Then I trust you have joined the Anti-Slavery Society, and

ranked yourself with Anti-Slavery men, according to the old maxim, that "birds of a feather flock together."

"Why—no—I've not done that—I don't like the men, but I'm as much Anti-Slavery as you are."

Indeed! You are as much of a Baptist as I am, but then you'll not go with the Baptists—O yes! as much of a Methodist as I am, but then you'll not show your head among the Methodists—as much of a Quaker as I, but you'll take good care not to be caught with the Quakers—as good a Presbyterian as I, but those Presbyterians—O! you'll not be seen with them!—as much of a Temperance man as I, but you'll not join the Temperance ranks—not you, O no—you don't like the men!

"But the Anti-Slavery men are so rash and inconsiderate."

Then you have joined them I trust, on the ground of "principles and not men," and by the "exertion of a kind moral influence," tried your utmost to curb their rashness, correct their mistakes, and put the cause under a wise and judicious management.

"No—I've not done that—their measures"—

—O yes—I understand it, they are such a set of incorrigibles, &c. &c. that you have more hope of the slaveholders than of them. Well—but if you don't like their way of doing the thing, you probably have some plan of your own—some system of correspondence with slaveholders—some plan to show the superiority of free over slave labor—or some other scheme, by which you propose to do the thing.

"No, I can't say that I have—but I'm as much Anti-Slavery as you are."

Doubtless—doubtless—and as you have no plan of your own, I suppose you give something now and then, (in a silent way,) to aid us in our efforts.

"Not I."

You give something to the Colonization Society then—once the darling of your heart.

"Not of late.—The truth is, I don't exactly like either society; but I'm as much anti-slavery as you are."

Well, if you are a minister, you do this—you preach on the subject; you speak and pray about it, from time to time, in the church and prayer meetings, and especially on the Sabbath; and then, you open your pulpit to the abolition advocates, at least, the better and more moderate sort of them.

"Why—no—my people are so sensitive, that I haven't thought it expedient to agitate the subject—but I'm as much anti-slavery as you are."

Well, then, minister or not, you at least bring the subject into your family. You mention it at the family altar, converse with your wife and children about it, and take every method possible to enlist them in the good cause, as you used to do, for instance, in respect to colonization.

"No—I never mention these political things in my family—but I am as much anti-slavery as you are."

You take some anti-slavery periodical then, that you may keep pace with the progress of the cause, and circulate it also among your neighbors, who are *not* as much anti-slavery as I am.

"What that Liberator and Emaacipator! No, sir—such papers are not needed at the north, they had better be sent to the south to those that have got slaves."

You have doubtless subscribed for one or both of these then, to be sent to some friend at the south that owns slaves; for instance, that brother minister that went down there from your town, and married a wife with *her* hundred negroes.

"No—I don't think it exactly belongs to me to meddle with other people's matters, but I'm as much anti-slavery as you are."

I suppose, then, when you hear men reviling abolitionists, and calling them "fanatics," "cut-throats," "incendiaries," "foreign emissaries," &c. &c., you always step right up and take their parts, and tell their revilers—"Hold, sirs—I'm as much anti-slavery as they are."

"No—I never do that—exactly."

Well, you at least make apology for them on such occasions.

"Why—I can't say precisely as to that."

You at least keep still then—you certainly do not join them in their cavils.

"Why—I—don't—know that I do, but—but—I'm as much anti-slavery as you are."

Most likely, and so when talking with abolitionists—myself for instance—your fault-finding, if you have any, is with slavery and slaveholders, and your apologies and allowances always on the side of abolition and abolitionists, on the common sense principle you know, that we always find fault with our opponents and apologize for our friends:

"No—I tell you the abolitionists are so rash—but then I'm as much anti-slavery as they are."

Well, then, you have done something in some way, and at some time, to aid the cause, most certainly. Come now, tell us what. Let us have the precious secret—come.

"Why—I've—I've—"

What have you—except it be to find fault with abolitionists? But, no matter—if you have as yet done nothing for the *poor slave*, you have at least done something for the poor free colored man at your door. You have vindicated, doubtless, the claims of the free to equal rights and privileges with the whites, and have used your influence to get them into schools, churches, mechanics' shops, &c., on equal terms.

"What amalgamate with —."

Or you have at least given something to help them establish schools, &c., for themselves.

"No—I don't know that I have done any thing special in this way, but then, I assure you, *I'm as much anti-slavery as you are.*"

Then, let me tell you, sir, your anti-slavery is one that does nothing for bond or free; (except to find fault with others;) it says,

indeed, "be ye warmed and filled," but it is an empty nothing mere sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal.

THE SLAVEHOLDING REVIVALIST,

ORIGINALLY FROM THE NORTH.

Mr. M—, of Boston, went to the south in the winter of 1834, a colonizationist. On his return, he came to the Anti-Slavery Office, subscribed for the *Liberator*, put his name down as a member of the N. E. A. S. Society, paid his two dollars, the term of membership, and then said, that he had just returned from the south, that he went there a colonizationist, but had not been there a week before he saw that that scheme was all a farce there, and in spite of himself, found the anti-slavery fever was getting hold of him. His friends, finding how he felt, told him he must keep whist on the subject—it would not do to express such feelings there; and he did so as much as he could. It was not long, however, before, having finished the business which called him there, he found himself in the stage coach, with his face homeward, and much to his gratification, in company with a certain Rev. Mr. R—, formerly from the north, and noted in that region as a revival preacher. He thought, of course, that he might in those circumstances, and especially in such company, give vent to his smothered feelings, and find a relief for his burdened, bursting heart. So he ventured to express his views on the delicate subject; but lo! he found himself, as he expressed it, "in a hornet's nest at once." Such a trouncing he never had from mortal man before, as from that preacher. He flew into a passion, and stormed, and raved, and quoted bible, and, in a tone and spirit befitting the duellist rather than the minister, said, in so many words, that 'he would turn out with sword in hand to put down any man that preached abolition, south of the Potomac,' and so," added he, "I have done with colonization, and I wish to join the abolitionists."

Query.—Would Jesus Christ talk so? "By their fruits ye shall know them." Would Paul talk so? "If any man that is called a brother be covetous, or a railer, or an extortioner, put away from among you that wicked person."

WHY DON'T YOU GO TO THE SOUTH?

[Extract of a letter from Ohio.]

"We are constantly asked by our opponents, 'Why do you not go to the south? We are as much enemies to slavery as you are!' while at the same time they obstruct every effort that tends to inform the public mind, and when pressed in argument, we find that they, like Mr. Gurley, 'go with the south.' This conduct is

free states kills the conscience of the slaveholders, and rivets the chain of slavery. In proof of this, I give you an extract of a letter from J. G. Birney, of Kentucky, to a gentleman in this state. 'I do trust, my dear sir, the Lord will make you eminently successful in raising up in *Ohio* a spirit among the people favorable to *immediate emancipation*. That, indeed, *must* be done before any large operations can be carried on in this state, (Ky.) One of the most formidable obstacles I meet with here is the pro-slavery spirit that as yet exists in Ohio, and the other free states. You can easily picture to yourselves with what exultation the slaveholder will quote against me the opinions of Dr. A., and Dr. B., and Dr. C., who, he will say, are eminent for learning and piety, and whose minds are free from the bias of interest, who live in a free state, &c. It is my firm conviction, that, if Ohio would rise as one man in the dignity of her great moral and intellectual power, and declare to the slaveholders of Kentucky—'You are wrong—your oppression is condemned by God, and shall meet with no favor from us,' that the deathblow would be given to slavery, not only in Kentucky, but through the whole south. No chains could withstand the concentrated radiance of such virtuous action.'

HOW SLAVEHOLDERS LOVE LIBERTY.

"How is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of negroes?"
Dr. Samuel Johnson.

Prof. Dew of Virginia, has gained immense popularity at the South, by his work in defence of slavery.

He declares it to be his opinion, that "a much greater number of Indians within the limits of the United States would have been saved, had we rigidly persevered in enslaving them." He eulogises the influence of slavery on the female sex. By possessing Slaves, says he, they "cease to be mere *beasts of burthen*." He denies the doctrine of Jefferson, that slavery makes tyrants of the masters and brutes of the slaves; and maintains, on the contrary, that it benefits both, and is favorable to republicanism! He has "no doubt that the slaves in Virginia form the happiest portion of its society." He says, "A merrier being does not exist on the face of the globe, than the negro slave of the United States."

It may be useful to see whether a man can proceed through 130 pages of such sentiments whitout betraying the unrighteousness of his cause.

He speaks of the spirit of liberty in the ancient slave-holding republics; and adds, "In modern times, too, liberty has always been more ardently desired by slave-holding communities."—Again, "We must recollect that our own country has waded through two dangerous wars—that the thrilling eloquence of the Demosthenes of our land has been heard with rapture exhorting to DEATH rather than slavery."

What is this but a confession that slaveholders deprive their fellow men of their dearest rights, and inflict on them evils, which they themselves consider worse than death?

Slaveholders, while they talk of the happiness of their *slaves*, most ardently desire *liberty* for themselves—they would rather *die* than bear the burden which they lay on their 'happy' slaves.

Thus they prove their own slaveholding to be a direct violation of the Divine precept, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

Prof. Dew seems to be aware of this inconsistency, and he falls into the following rhapsody to avoid it.

"The fact is, that all of us, and the great author of the Declaration of Independence is like us in this respect, are too prone to judge of the happiness of others by ourselves—we make *self* the standard, and endeavor to draw down every one to its dimensions—not recollecting that the benevolence of the Omnipotent has made the mind of man pliant and susceptible of happiness in almost every situation and employment. We might rather die than be the obscure slave that waits at our back,—our education and habits generate an ambition, that makes us aspire to something loftier—and disposes us to look upon the slave as unsusceptible of happiness in his humble sphere, when he may indeed be much happier than we are, and have his ambition too,—but his ambition is to excel all his fellow slaves in the performance of his servile duties—to please and to gratify his master—and to command the praise of all who witness his exertions."

God says, "Love thy neighbor as *thyself*." No, says the slaveholder. Thou mayest buy, and task, and flog, and sell, thy neighbor, and treat him as thou wouldest rather *die* than be treated, for the benevolence of his God has made him so pliant that he may bear it all, and still be happier than thou!

RECEIPTS

INTO THE TREASURY OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

From Feb. 20th, 1835, to March 12th, 1835.

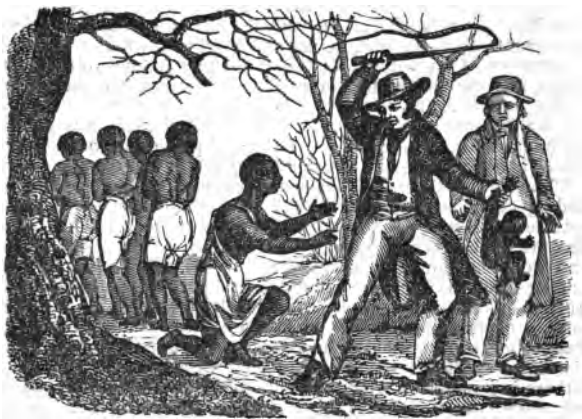
Ashabula, O., Monthly collection, . . .	5 00	Perry, N. Y., mon. col.	7 00
Buffalo, N. Y., " " "	16 40	Peterboro, N. Y., " "	10 00
Cooperstown, N. Y., " " "	3 00	Putnam, O., " " "	5 20
Cincinnati, O., " " "	10 00	Perry, N. Y., Anti-Slavery Soc. dona. . .	9 00
Danvers, Mass., J. Winslow,	1 50	Smyrna, N. Y., Maj. J. Dixon "	1 00
Farmington, N. Y., " " "	10 00	Wayne, O., Miss R. A. Babcock " . . .	1 00
Hudson, O., " " "	6 00	Waterville, Me., Mon. col.	5 00
Hamilton, N. Y., " " "	3 00	Winthrop, Me., " " "	5 00
Irville, O., Mr. Lewis' donation,	3 50	Warsaw, N. Y., " " "	6 00
Middlefield, O., Mon. col.	1 00	For Records sold at Office,	10 10
Middle Granville, N. Y., L. Mabbot, . .	1 00	For Books and Pamphlets sold at Office, .	32 00
Murraysville, O., Mon. col.	5 00	Collections by Rev. A. A. Phelps, Sa-	
New York, C. Durfee, for Record to be		rah Comes,	1 00
distributed in Sabbath Schools,	5 00	Sherburn, Mass., Sabbath School, . . .	1 00
do. E. L. Parsons, donation,	5 00	" " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	2 00
do. A monthly subscriber,	23 33	Kennebunk, Me., Dr. B. Smith,	1 00
" " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	20 00	Dover, N. H., contribution,	36 70
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Orford, O., Mon. col. in college,	7 00	feit returned,	5 00
Oneida Institute, Mon. col.,	25 00	Brooklyn, contribution at Mon. Con., . .	3 00
		Total,	\$1101 00

THE
ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

VOL. I

MAY, 1835.

NO. 5.



CRUELTIES OF SLAVERY.

When we narrate the cruelties of individual masters upon their slaves, it is not for the purpose of exciting public indignation against those masters, nor of drawing the inference, that all masters are equally cruel; but to show that cruelty is the fruit of the system. Every tree must be known by its fruits. Cruelty may occur under good and impartial laws, but then it is in spite of the laws, not in consequence of them. On the other hand, where the laws themselves violate rights, make one class the property of another, and withhold redress of wrongs, cruelty, in ten thousand forms, is the necessary result. If the amount of cruelty perpetrated upon the slaves of this republic could be known to the world,

all who have the common feelings of humanity, would recoil with horror—they would refuse to participate in the profits of slave labor—they would utter such a note of remonstrance, that slavery would not last a year.

It is our purpose, from time to time, to narrate recent and well authenticated cases of cruelty, as fair specimens of what naturally and unavoidably grows out of the system.

If it be asked, why do we not hear more of their cruelties from travellers who visit the south, and from the newspapers? we reply, that travellers are entertained, and very hospitably entertained too, by the masters, not by the slaves. The slaves have no printing presses,—they edit no newspapers.

The following paragraphs forcibly illustrate this point, and we shall be pardoned for the *violence of the language*, when we say, that we extract from the *New York Commercial Advertiser*.*

“ Shall we talk of the mitigation of the miseries of the Africans, when their masters have an uncontrolled dominion over their persons—while they can beat, maim, and even kill, without any law to restrain? I say without any law; for while slave-holders are judges, and the slaves are not admitted witnesses, the redress of the law is a mockery.

“ We are told of the restraints of public opinion; was public opinion alone ever sufficient to restrain the passions of man, when invested with power—and above all, a community of men.

“ The Editor of the Post has conversed with people from slave-holding countries, and they inform him, that the slaves are comfortable at this time;—and shall we go to the oppressor to learn the measure of the pain he inflicts? Was there ever a negro-driver who would acknowledge that he was unreasonably cruel? The butcher feeds his victim to the last, and appears unconscious of cruelty—his feelings are callous; and the humanity of a slave-holding community becomes almost universally blunted. They cease to see, hear, or feel for an African, as a human being. And how are we to know the innumerable tortures that are inflicted? Is there any impartial tribunal before whom the slave can appear, and make known his sufferings? Can he by means of the press lay them before the world? He is as untaught as the beast—he cannot write down his sufferings; and if he could, the whites control the press. Would they publish their own disgrace? Who that can, dare vindicate the negro's rights? Ministers of the Gospel, who have espoused their cause from the pulpit, have been proscribed—they have been prohibited from even reading particular parts of scripture.

“ But we are told, that they have days of merriment and festivity; that they whistle, sing, and dance;—and is this proof that their condition is happy, because their chains are temporarily loosened,

* This article appears in the *Commercial Advertiser* of April 25, 1827, before the editor had espoused the cause of colonization, and is in reply to an apology for slavery, in the *Evening Post*. It is headed, “*TEMPORA MUTANTUR,*” [*the times are changed.*] How truly may this now be said of the *Commercial Advertiser*!

and because they then attempt to sing away their sorrows—because there is, as it were, a momentary intermission of that almost perpetual dejection and heart-pining which these wretched beings endure in their degraded and sunken condition? Away with such apologies. Go with the negro-driver, that monster whose similitude, except in his form, is that of a fiend, and learn what it is to be a slave. And what apology can be given for insulting this professed Christian, republican community, with high wrought pictures of the enjoyments of the slaves?"

We make no further apology for "opening our mouths for the dumb," in detailing the following facts:

FLOGGING.

A gentleman lately from the south related the following at a concert of prayer for slaves in Cincinnati:—A slave from the north was placed as driver, over ten others, who all ran away, but were retaken. The captives, to screen themselves from punishment, accused the driver of inciting them to run away. The master had him extended, face downward, upon a board, and a circle cut on his back. He then ordered his overseer to whip off all the skin within the circle. The overseer gave *three hundred lashes*, and refused to proceed. The master himself seized the lash, and plied it till the poor man vomited blood, and gave evident signs of approaching death. He was released, and turned over, but nature was spent, and in a few moments he expired.

Does any one say, this is a rare instance? Grant that it is; the use of the whip at all, is a cruelty; and where it is used over 2,000,000 of people, as the grand motive to labor, such a case as the above is by no means strange or incredible.

SEPARATION OF FAMILIES.

This is a necessary consequence of the internal slave-trade—a trade which is inseparable from slavery.

A trader was about to start from Louisville, Kentucky, with 100 slaves, for New Orleans. Among them were two women with infants at the breast. Knowing that these infants would depreciate the value of the mothers, the trader sold them for one dollar each! Another mother was separated from her sick child, about four or five years old. Her anguish was so great, that she sickened and died before reaching her destination.

The two following cases are communicated by Mr. Birney, of Kentucky:—

"Not very long ago, in Lincoln county, Kentucky, a female slave was sold to a southern slaver, under most afflicting circumstances. She had at her breast an infant boy *three months* old. The slaver did not want the child on any terms. The master sold the mother, and retained the child. She was hurried away immediately to the depot at Louisville, to be sent down the river to the southern market. The last news my informant had of her was, that she was

lying sick, in the most miserable condition, her breasts having risen, inflamed, and *burst*ed."

"During the winter, at Nashville, a slaver was driving his train of fellow-beings down to the landing, to put them on board a steam-boat, bound for New Orleans. A mother among them, having an infant of about ten months old to carry in her arms, could not keep pace with the rest. The slaver waited till she came up to where he was standing; he snatched it from her arms, and handing it over to a person who stood by, made him a *present* of it. The mother, bereft in a single moment of her last comfort, was driven on without delay to the boat. 'On the side of the oppressor was power, but she had no comforter.'"

THE SLAVE-HOLDER'S INQUISITION.

[From a letter to the Editor.]

A man, I did not learn his name, in Scott county, Tennessee, kept a room apart, which no one entered but himself and slaves. One poor man he kept in it two or three days, going in often, and whipping him. No one of the family dared, if they wished, to go to his rescue. His cries and groans were so dreadful, that the third night a young lady living there, got the key *secretly*, and went to the room. A most appalling sight presented itself to her view: the floor covered with *blood* and *pieces of flesh*! She released the almost murdered man; he fled, and had not been heard from. The shrieks extorted by this cruel man, were often heard on neighboring plantations, at midnight, day dawn, and other times.

JUDGE JAY'S INQUIRY.

A second edition of this valuable work will speedily be published, and sold at so low a price, that Auxiliaries and individuals can well afford to purchase it for gratuitous distribution. We cannot do better than to enrich the present number with copious extracts.

PERSECUTION OF THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR.

"In some of the states, if a free man of color is accused of crime, he is denied the benefit of those forms of trial which the Common Law has established for the protection of innocence. Thus, in South Carolina, it is thought quite unnecessary to give a Grand and Petit Jury the trouble of inquiring into his case: he can be hung without so much ceremony. But who is a *colored* man? We answer, the *fairest* man in Carolina, if it can be proved that a drop of negro blood flowed in the veins of his mother. The following extract from a late Charleston paper gives us a curious instance of the administration of criminal justice in a Christian country, in the nineteenth century:—'TRIAL FOR MURDER.—William Tann, a free *colored* man, was tried on Friday last at John's Island,

for the murder of Moses, the slave of Jos. D. Jenkins, Esq. of that place. The court consisted of William H. Inglesby and Alexander H. Brown, Esqrs., judicial magistrates' (justices of the peace) 'of this city, together with five freeholders. The murder was committed at John's Island, on the 4th July, 1832, Tann shooting down Moses with a musket loaded with buckshot. Tann was at that time overseer of a Mr. Murray, and from the fairness of his complexion was thought to be and passed for a WHITE MAN. He was accordingly bound over to answer for this offence to the COURT OF SESSIONS, but it having been decided on an issue ordered and tried at Walterborough, for the purpose of ascertaining his caste, that he was of MIXED BLOOD, he was turned over by the court, to the jurisdiction of magistrates and freeholders. The court found him guilty, and sentenced him to be hung on Friday, the 24th April next, 1835.—*Charleston Courier.*

"In South Carolina, if a free negro 'entertains' a runaway slave, he forfeits ten pounds, and if unable to pay the fine, which must be the case ninety-nine times in a hundred, he is to be sold as a slave for life. In 1827, a free woman and her three children were thus sold, for harboring two slave children.

"In Mississippi, every negro or mulatto, not being able to prove himself free, may be sold as a slave. Should the certificate of his manumission, or the evidence of his parents' freedom, be lost or stolen, he is reduced to hopeless bondage. This provision extends to most of the slave states, and is in full operation in the District of Columbia.

"In South Carolina, any assembly of free negroes, even in the presence of white persons, 'in a confined or secret place, for the purpose of mental instruction,' is an unlawful assembly, and may be dispersed by a magistrate, who is authorized to inflict twenty lashes on each free negro attending the meeting.

"In the city of Savannah, any person who teaches a free negro to read or write, incurs a penalty of thirty dollars. Of course a father may not instruct his own children.

"In Maryland, a justice of the peace may order a free negro's ears to be cut off for striking a white man. In Kentucky, for the same offence, he is to receive thirty lashes, 'well laid on.' The law of Louisiana declares, 'Free people of color ought never to insult or strike white people, nor presume to conceive themselves equal to the whites; but, on the contrary, they ought to yield to them on every occasion, and never speak or answer them but with respect, under the penalty of imprisonment, according to the nature of the case.'

"The corporation of Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, passed an ordinance, making it penal for any free negro to receive from the post-office, have in his possession, or circulate, any publication or writing whatsoever of a seditious character.

"In North Carolina, the law prohibits a free colored man, whatever may be his attainments or ecclesiastical authority, to preach the gospel.

"In Georgia, a white man is liable to a fine of *five hundred dollars* for teaching a free negro to read or write. If one free negro teach another, he is to be *finéd* and *whipped* at the discretion of the court! Should a free negro presume to preach to, or exhort his companions, he may be seized without warrant, and whipped thirty-nine lashes, and the same number of lashes may be applied to each one of his congregation.

"In Virginia, should free negroes or their children assemble at a school to learn reading and writing, any justice of the peace may dismiss the school, with twenty stripes on the back of each pupil.

"In some states, free negroes may not assemble together for any purpose, to a greater number than *seven*. In North Carolina, free negroes may not trade, buy, or sell, out of the cities or towns in which they reside, under the penalty of forfeiting their goods, and receiving in lieu thereof thirty-nine lashes.

"The laws of Ohio* against the free blacks are peculiarly detestable, because not originating from the fears and prejudices of slaveholders. Not only are the blacks excluded in that state from the benefit of public schools, but with a refinement of cruelty unparalleled, they are doomed to idleness and poverty, by a law which renders a white man who employs a colored one to labor for him one hour, liable for his support through life!!

"By a late law of Maryland, a free negro coming into the state, is liable to a fine of fifty dollars for every week he remains in it. If he cannot pay the fine, he is *SOLD*.

"In Louisiana, the penalty for instructing a free black in a *Sun-*

Extract of a Speech of Gov. GILES before the Virginia Convention, Nov. 10, 1829.—"What has Ohio now done? Becoming perfectly sensible of the mischiefs which have resulted from her former fanaticism, she has passed a law, which, if carried into execution, must entail upon those unfortunates and deluded people, who came into her state, in the belief that they should find protection there, a greater evil than slavery itself. The mischief has arrived at such a pitch, that the state has passed a law, requiring that all colored persons in the state, should give security for their good behavior, to an amount beyond their means to obtain. And not being able to do this, they must either be incarcerated, or quit the state. No asylum is provided for them, but if the law should be carried into effect, they must be driven forth—find refuge where they can—perhaps in Virginia; and surely Virginia ought to be on the alert to counteract this most probable effect of the law. The next step which Ohio may take, may be to declare those people slaves, and it is more likely now that she should do so, than it was when the preceding remarks were made, that she should now take this step, which is more onerous and disastrous to her invited guests than slavery itself. It is, indeed, strange, that these colored people should have been invited into that state, and should now be driven abroad as vagabonds, not on the face of the earth, but to find their way to the clouds, if they can, or wherever else they could find a refuge. He mentioned this subject to show how scrupulous the states ought to be in touching the subject of slavery, and particularly of emancipation." What Ohio is doing by express law, other northern states are doing by public sentiment.

We have heard it said that the motive of the proposer of the Ohio law, was to promote the abolition of Slavery by driving back the freed people upon the slave states. There is no doubt that if this driving back could be effected, it would hasten the overthrow of slavery; but it seems too much like doing evil that good may come. Ed. Rec.

day School, is, for the first offence, five hundred dollars; for the second offence, DEATH !!

"Such, in a greater or less degree, is the situation of three hundred thousand of our fellow-citizens."

PRESENT STATE OF ST. DOMINGO.

"Mr. Jeremie, late first president of the royal court of St. Lucia, informs us, that in St. Domingo, 'is found a happy, flourishing, and contented peasantry, engaged in the cultivation of their own small freeholds; and as these persons acquire capital, they form larger establishments, and are gradually rising. This proves, that the general wants of the community are supplied, and, if well governed, that community must soon acquire strength, and rise to importance.' *Essays on Colonial Slavery*, 1832. p. 63.

"The following facts, collected from the new and valuable 'Dictionary of Commerce and Commercial Navigation,' by J. R. McCulloch, London edition, 1834, abundantly confirm the foregoing testimonies.

"In 1786, the exportation of coffee was about 35,000 tons. In consequence of the subsequent devastation of the island, the exportation for some years almost totally ceased; but it has now risen to about 20,000 tons! p. 309.

"The amount of the following articles, exported in 1831, was estimated as follows, viz:

Coffee,	50,000,000 lbs.
Cotton,	1,500,000 lbs.
Tobacco,	500,000 lbs.
Cocoa,	500,000 lbs.
Dye wood,	5,000,000 lbs.
Tortoise shell,	12,000 lbs.
Mahogany,	6,000,000 feet.
Hides,	80,000—p. 927

"The quantity of sugar exported in 1832, is not stated; but in 1826, it amounted to 32,864 lbs.; and it should be recollected, that about twenty years before, not an ounce of that article was manufactured on the island. p. 926.

"The imports into France, in 1831, from Hayti, exceeded in value the imports from Sweden—Denmark—the Hanseatic Towns—Holland—Portugal—Austria—the French East-Indies—or China. p. 637.

"Cotton manufactures, to the amount of 6,828,576 yards, were exported from Great Britain to Hayti in 1831, being about one tenth the number of yards exported in the same time to the United States. p. 446."

GRADUAL AND IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION.

"If we have been successful in our endeavors to prove, that the removal of slavery by colonization is both morally and physically

impossible, then it necessarily follows, that the slaves must be emancipated here, or that slavery must be indefinitely continued.

"Should the former alternative be adopted, the important question occurs: ought the emancipation to be *gradual* or *immediate*?"

"If this question is to be determined with reference to moral obligation, it is certainly difficult for those who regard slavery as sinful to justify its continuance even for a limited time. If, however, the question is to be decided on the ground of political expediency, there are many and powerful objections to *gradual* emancipation. These objections, it is true, have more or less weight, according to circumstances, and what may at first view, seem paradoxical, their weight is proportioned to the number of slaves to be emancipated.

"In New York, slavery was for the most part gradually abolished; that is, the children, born after a certain day, became free, as they respectively reached the age of twenty-eight years; and when the whole number of slaves were reduced to ten thousand, they were liberated in a single day. In New York, the white population so greatly exceeded the black, that no jealousy was entertained of the free negroes, and no inconvenience experienced in uniting free and slave labor. But in those states, in which nearly all the laborers are slaves, where every free black is regarded as a nuisance and an incendiary, and where the planter would, on no consideration, permit him to labor in company with his slaves, much difficulty would necessarily attend a *gradual* relinquishment of slave labor.

"Suppose, in South Carolina for instance, ten thousand slaves should be annually manumitted by law. This would certainly be gradual emancipation, as it would require about forty years to free the whole number. Now, what would become of these ten thousand yearly discharged from the plantations? Would their late masters be willing to hire them, and turn them back into their cotton-fields? The supposition is extravagant. The planter would dread their influence on his remaining slaves, and these would certainly, and with great reason, be dissatisfied at seeing their late companions working for wages, while they themselves were denied any compensation for their toil. But if the ten thousand liberated slaves were not employed, how could they obtain a livelihood, and how could the planters supply their place on the plantations? The idea, that by gradual emancipation, the slaves will become *fit* for freedom, is visionary in the extreme. The house of bondage is not the school in which men are to be trained for liberty.

"As then gradual emancipation, however desirable, if no other can be obtained, is so full of difficulty, and, in the opinion of slave holders, so *dangerous* that they have almost universally passed laws to prevent it, the only alternative is *immediate emancipation* or *continued slavery*."

SLAVE AUCTION AT RICHMOND.

The following graphic description of a slave auction, is cut from a Scotch paper, called the *Dumfries Courier*. It must have occurred several years ago, for the price of slaves, as we are informed by a gentleman who has witnessed the sale of hundreds in the same place this year, is about double what is here stated :

SALE OF NEGROES BY AUCTION.

[Extract of a letter dated Richmond, Virginia.]

“The sale of negroes by auction is of frequent occurrence in this city. I was present at one the other day; more than a hundred were disposed of that morning; they formed part of the “estate” of John Graham, a wealthy Scotchman, deceased. A sort of temporary platform was erected in the street for the accommodation of the auctioneer and the negro for sale. Many were sold before I arrived on the spot. The purchasers consisted of citizens buying for their own use, and two or three negro speculators from the western and southern states, to whom the poor creatures are generally averse to being sold. The following is a literal narrative of what passed during my stay :—

“Auctioneer—‘Gentlemen, the next we offer you for sale is Billy! a good rough carpenter, about 38 years of age, able-bodied, and warranted sound; can do plantation work if required, and is in every respect a very useful hand. Gentlemen, what will you give me for the rough carpenter? will nobody give me a bid for Billy?’—‘350 dollars,’ by a voice from the crowd. Auctioneer—‘No more than 350 dollars for this valuable hand! well, gentlemen, going for 350.’ 400—410—420, and 425, were successively bid. Auctioneer—‘Going at 425 dollars! I have many niggers to dispose of, gentlemen, and cannot dwell; once, twice, three times—gone at 425 dollars.’ Buyer, James Grant, a negro trader from New Orleans. Auctioneer—‘The next nigger for sale, gentlemen, is Ponto!—come, Ponto, stand up here, and tell the gentlemen what you can do.’ Ponto murmured something, with which the auctioneer seemed not very well pleased, who, turning from him, addressed the assembly with—‘Gentlemen, what will you give me for Ponto? a good field hand, 32 years of age, and’—here the negro interrupted the auctioneer by calling out—‘Gentlemen, I is rising 40.’ Auctioneer—‘He is described in the bill of sale, gentlemen, as 32 years of age, which I presume is correct.’ Negro—‘Why, gentlemen, I has lived with Mr. Gordon rising 21 years, and when he bought me I was a heap better than I is now.’ Auctioneer—‘Well, well, gentlemen, you see the nigger before you; he is described as being 32 years of age; he says he is 40; it is for you to judge which of the two is correct; at any rate he is a valuable nigger—a first-rate plantation hand, strong and able-bodied.’ Here the negro interrupted him again, with the follow-

ing address—'Gentlemen, I is not able-bodied; for, in the first place, I is troubled with sickness; and, in the next place, I has got a wen on my right shoulder, as big as an Irish potatoe!' This address silenced the bidders, and the auctioneer observed, 'Gentlemen, you see this fellow does not want to be sold; however, I shall find a master for him; for the present we shall be under the necessity of passing him by.' He was then ordered to stand down, and Jacob was ordered up in his place. Auctioneer—'Now, gentlemen, I am about to offer you one of the most valuable negroes in the city of Richmond; he is an excellent tanner and currier—the first of that profession I ever had for sale, he is an active, likely nigger, about 35 years of age, and bears an excellent character, for honesty, sobriety, industry, and ingenuity. Now, gentlemen, I anticipate a very high bidding for this most valuable servant; come, gentlemen, what will you give me for Jacob the tanner?' A bidder—'Four hundred dollars.' Auctioneer—'Four hundred dollars only for the tanner and currier; why, gentlemen, he would hire for two hundred a year.' Mr. Grant, the negro trader—'Jacob, are you willing to leave Richmond?' Jacob—'No.' I observed after this that Mr. Grant never bade for him; he was knocked down at 530 dollars to an inhabitant of this neighborhood. The next lot was a family—a man, a woman, and their two small children, whom the auctioneer was instructed not to separate; they sold together for 843 dollars, to a citizen of Petersburg.

"The selling of this 'lot' occupied nearly half an hour, the auctioneer appearing exceedingly unwilling to dispose of them at that price. After this, I left the sale for some time, and on my return I found it had just closed; and the auctioneer was informing the assembly, that there were about thirty more negroes, male and female, belonging to this estate, who would be disposed of by private bargain."

WHAT HAS THE CHURCH TO DO WITH SLAVERY?

The following thoughts are from a young man in one of our colleges, who had devoted himself to the cause of missions, but is now inquiring whether it is not his duty to labor at home, in behalf of the slaves. They are worthy of serious consideration:

"The Lord is evidently holding a controversy with the Church. To say nothing of her internal distractions, look at the disposition he is making of our foreign missionaries. Four secretaries of the A. B. C. F. M. have died—three of them very recently. We hear also, that ten of those who are on heathen ground, have died within a year. The Western Foreign Missionary Society, have sent to Africa seven missionaries—they are all dead, except one. The American Board have sent four—all dead. The Methodist have sent two—both dead.

"These dispensations of Providence, are now attracting the

attention of the Church. Every where they are the subject of remark. It is, however, as one of those dark things we cannot understand—all referred to God's sovereignty, and thus passed by. Now, I protest against disposing of the subject in this way. I believe God is a *sovereign*, and rejoice in his *government*; and I consider this as one of the most striking exhibitions of His *government*, which He has recently made.

"When Joshua lay on his face, God said to him, 'Get thee up,' 'Israel hath sinned, for they have taken of the accursed thing, and have also stolen, therefore they could not stand.' He says further, 'I will not be among you any more, except ye destroy the accursed from among you.'

"These words are applicable to the Church now. They have sinned—they have 'taken of the accursed thing,' and 'have also stolen,' 'therefore they could not stand.' They have stolen men—the worst kind of stealing. God may say to us, 'Get thee up,' 'put away the accursed thing.' No wonder our missionaries die—no wonder all those sent to Africa, with a single exception, are taken away—no wonder many of the others are sick and obliged to come home from their labor—no wonder the number of deaths is greater now than formerly. The reason is, we are sending the gospel to break up caste in all heathen lands, and yet we do not apply it to break up the worse caste that exists at home,—we do not let go our hold upon the throat of our brother here,—we even deny the power of the gospel to destroy our unholy prejudices. This is the reason our missionaries die."

COLORPHOBIA.

Rome, N. Y. 24th March, 1835.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Record:

The following conversation—not verbatim, but in substance, occurred between a fellow traveler and myself, near Buffalo, some time since:

We differed about beauty of color in the white ladies of Britain and the United States. After sufficiently asserting my opinion, and finding no probability of edification in further controversy, I observed: "But it matters not—the question is insignificant. Mere color has neither good nor evil in it: it is a physical circumstance, like difference in beauty, height, &c." "Not so," cried my opponent, "for the Africans are black, and are inferior to us—they are certainly of a lower race." "God has made of one blood all nations of men," I replied. "What," retorted he with warmth, "do you pretend that I am no better than a black man?" "Certainly; I saw one the other day, at Ashtabula, whom I believe to be decidedly superior to both you and me, and who lately escaped from slavery—" "Aye, aye, very likely, after killing his master."

"No, no, it was after having been almost killed by his master." "Ah, all the black men should be sent home, and their white friends after them. I would drive every abolitionist out of the country." "The black men we speak of, are already at home—this is their native country; besides, some of them are fairer than either you or I."* "No, no; they should be sent to Africa." "No more than you should be sent to England or Germany—this is their country as much as yours." "What, do you pretend that they are equal to me?" "Certainly—and morally, many of them superior: God has made all men of one blood." "Aye, aye, Moses says so; but the Old Testament was for the Jews. The New Testament is our guide." "Do you deny the Bible then—or do you not know, that if you believe the *New*, you must believe the Old, because the New testifies every where of the Old?" "Oh, yes, I believe the Bible; but the New Testament is our guide." "What if I read you the words from the *New Testament*, will you *then* believe?" The gentleman was silent. I took my Bible, and opening it, began to read, Acts xvii. 26, And hath made of one blood, &c. The gentleman was off—he would not listen to the offensive passage—and so our conversation ended.

I may add, that the gentleman in question was evidently a man of cultivated mind on other topics, and of much urbanity of manners.

C. STUART.

* The gentleman was quite swarthy—more of the Spanish brown, than of the New York white and red.

RECEIPTS

INTO THE TREASURY OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

From March 12, 1835, to April 12, 1835.

Brooklyn, Con., by Rev. S. J. May,	4 00	Norwich, Con., by John S. Clark,	1 50
Cumminsville, O., by P. H. Lyman,	5 00	Norwalk, Con., by A. Camp,	2 25
Concord, N. H., by Geo. Kent, Esq.,	5 00	Oneida Institute, N. Y., by A. Judson,	13 00
Catskill, N. Y., by R. Jackson,	3 00	Philadelphia, Pa., Female Anti S. So-	
Cooperstown, N. Y., by J. C. Walker,	3 00	ciety, by M. L. Mott,	10 00
Cleveland, O., by J. M. Sterling, Esq.,	9 00	Peekskill, N. Y., by Miss A. Pierce,	2 50
" " " S. L. Severance,	4 00	Portland, Me., by Miss L. Winslow,	10 00
Dover, N. H., by W. H. Alden,	10 00	" " George Ropes,	10 00
Ellsworth, O., by Geo. Matson,	50	Providence, R. I., by John Prentice,	5 00
Farmington, N. Y., by Wm. R. Smith,	6 00	Rochester, N. Y., by Dr. W. W. Reid,	29 00
Hudson, N. Y., by Miss M. Marriott,	2 00	Springfield, N. J., by James White,	1 00
Hamilton, N. Y., by J. T. Jones,	3 00	Sherburne, N. Y., by A. Barrett,	5 00
Kingsborough, N. Y., by S. S. Wells,	6 00	Tallmadge, O., by Dea. E. Wright,	6 00
" " " Miss A. Wells,	1 50	Vernon, Con., by N. O. Kellogg,	3 00
Middletown, Con., by E. Hunt,	15 00	Waterville, Me. by S. S. Bradford,	6 00
New York, N. Y., by Miss A. Nelson,	3 00	W. Bloomfield, O., by A. Smith,	50
" " " Wm. Currie,	50 00	Western Reserve College, by F. W.	
" " " A Friend,	20 00	Upson,	6 00
" " " John Rankin,	100 00	Whitesborough, N. Y., by Thomas S.	
" " " Wm. Green, Jr.	83 33	Bebee,	10 00
New Haven, Con. by Rev. S. S. Jce-		For Records sold at office,	31 07
lyn,	3 00	For books and pamphlets sold at office,	117 09
New Brunswick, N. J., by John Lillie,	2 00		
Norwich, Con., by George Coit,	1 50	Total,	\$692 84

THE
ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

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NO. 6.



See page 66.

SCENES IN THE CITY PRISON OF NEW-YORK.

“We of the north having nothing to do with slavery.” The fallacy of this standing argument, we think, can be made evident to every candid mind. When slaves take refuge among us, and are pursued by their masters, which party is assisted by us? When a man assaults another, beats, captures and claims him as a *slave*, which do we imprison? But, “we are bound by the Constitution to give up fugitives.” Well, suppose we are; then we are bound by the Constitution to *support* slavery. The question now becomes, whether the Constitution, excellent as it is, in other respects, is not faulty in this. If so, then, is this *fault* of the Constitution eternal and immutable, or have we *something to do* in removing it, and making that noble instrument, in this respect, what it should have been at first? The very fact that innocent men are imprisoned among us, in the name of LAW and the CONSTITUTION, to *support slavery*, is proof superlative that we *have something to do with slavery*. Had we made no compact, had we given no assistance, there would be more color in the plea of neutrality. Let us then, resolved to do our duty, calmly look at *facts*.

Were we to be told, that during all the heat of a New York summer, men were kept *in irons*, in cells 3½ feet by 7, which can receive air only through a small grate in the door entering the common passage—that their friends were not permitted to see them—that they were not allowed to come out by day or night—we should naturally suppose, that these men had been found guilty of some enormous crime. It is a fact, that five men, and perhaps seven, were so confined last summer, in the Old Bridewell. What was their crime? Nothing at all. They were imprisoned on *suspicion* of being fugitives from *slavery*. They were suspected of loving *liberty* so well as to have taken it without waiting for the consent of other people. On this charge they were thrust into prison, and treated with as much rigor as if they had been pirates or murderers. Some of them, it is true, had attempted to escape from prison, before they were put into the cells, but others had not. Nor is it easy to see why the jailer has a right to treat slaves, who may attempt to escape, with more severity than debtors in the same case. Suppose some of the white inhabitants, who were at the same time inmates of Bridewell, had attempted to escape; and as a punishment, they had been handcuffed and put in the cells, as I have described; would it not have called forth the just indignation of the people? The worst crime of the suspected fugitives could only be, that they owed their masters the market value of their bodies. But see how public sentiment supports slavery! The slaves love liberty so well, that they can be prevented from taking it only by the utmost rigor of punishment, and a slave-holding public sentiment sanctions such rigor.

The scenes that occurred in the Old Bridewell last summer, are sufficient to show every candid man, not only the intolerable injustice of slavery, but that the public sentiment of the north, as well as of the south, upholds it. There were eleven persons confined as fugitives. Those who were not in the close cells, were still in a very miserable condition. They had all appealed to the courts for a *jury trial*. The claimants were on the ground, ready to take them off whenever they should consent to go. But slight as was the hope of release, how many of them consented to go? For two months, five, at least, were kept in the most horrible solitary confinement, no persons having access to them but the claimants. *One* of them at length, driven to despair, consented to be taken off, before a decision was given on the question of their having a *jury trial*. The rest preferred their cells and handcuffs, to the horrors of slavery. This dread of slavery was not imagination or theory, for these people had been born in it, in different states, and under different masters. Their knowledge of slavery was experimental. What are we to think, then, of a system which those who know it best, dread worse than the chains and cells of a noisome prison?

A few of the cases of these persecuted and injured people will be particularized.

PETER MARTIN.

This man had been for several years in the employ of Forstall and Berthoud, merchants in Water-street. His character with his employers was excellent. He had married a wife in New York, who was much attached to him. When arrested, he made a vigorous resistance, and wounded one of the officers, but was overcome by superior force, and carried to Bridewell, covered with blood and bruises. The anxiety of his wife was very great. She was incessant in her endeavors to minister to his wants, and obtain his release. She immediately advanced *fifty dollars*, her own hard earnings, to a lawyer, who undertook the cause. Had she been better advised, she might have had the services of abler counsel, without this oppressive expenditure. But the promptness of her action illustrates the strength of her affection. Month after month the poor man pined in his cell; but his faithful partner never forsook him. When excluded from the prison, she appeared regularly at the door, with such comforts as she could procure for him. By her importunity, she was at length able to procure bail for him, and he was released from his coffin-like cell, looking more like the tenant of a real coffin, than a living man. This freedom, however, he enjoyed but a week; a reverse order was obtained by the claimant, and he was again forced into his dungeon. At length, when a decision was given by the Supreme Court against allowing a jury trial, he was given up to the claimant, who refused, now, even to sell his freedom to those who were willing to purchase it. The agent of the claimant, Mr. G., a leading member of a Baptist church, acknowledged that he had full authority so to dispose of him, but after what had taken place, he felt as though an *example* ought to be made of him. So he took him back to Virginia, and after the most cruel treatment, sold him, as he supposed, to go to the south. But here he was mistaken. The wife of Martin, with untiring fidelity, solicited funds in his behalf, till she had raised \$600; and then, by the assistance of his former employers, had him purchased in the name of a southern speculator, and in a month from his departure he returned. He is now employed by the same merchants as before.

We do not relate this to show the propriety of buying the freedom of slaves. But it shows the fidelity and affection of the wife, and the strong love of liberty in the slave, and the dreadful *sin* of the slave-master. Here is a *man*, whose extorted labor has paid for him many times over, and yet he is claimed as a *beast*—and that by a *professing Christian*,—who, for the sake of supporting the system of slavery, makes an example of him, by selling him to the *south*! And yet this same Christian *says*, slavery is a bad thing, and he is opposed to it!!

[To be continued.]

CASES OF CRUELTY.

The two following cases are from an editorial letter, published in the *Millennial Trumpeter*, Maryville, Tennessee:—

A WOMAN FREEZING TO DEATH FOR FEAR OF THE WHIP.

A case of cruelty to a female slave, which occurred near Morganton, I must not omit to mention. The accounts are contradictory, but the facts, as far as I can learn, are substantially as follows. On the 7th of February last, that memorable Saturday when the thermometer stood at eight or ten degrees below zero, this slave was sent out by her master either to grub or cut wood. Two gentlemen passing by, saw her, and told her she must return to the house, or she would freeze to death. She replied, that she did not dare to do it, that her master had whipped her that morning, before sending her out, and would repeat the flogging should she return. She however did return; but was so severely frozen, that in a day or two she expired! The circumstance of the gentlemen's addressing her is by some disputed, but of the fact of her exposure and subsequent death in consequence, there is no doubt.

SEPARATION OF A FAMILY.

Another painful case occurred not very long since in this county. A widow lady, having a female slave with two children, was about removing from this county to Alabama. The husband of the colored woman, himself a slave, likewise lived in this county. Both master and mistress, and their two slaves, were professors of religion, members of the same identical church, and that a *Presbyterian* church. The widow lady applied to her church session for a certificate of her good standing. The session felt it would be wrong to grant her request, unless she would make such arrangements as not to separate husband and wife, parents and children. The pastor of the church and others interested themselves in the case; and the owner of the black man offered to give what was thought a reasonable price for his wife and two children. The widow lady, on being applied to, to accede to this proposition, refused; and when her Christian sympathies were appealed to, she replied, that her friends need not trouble themselves about her concerns,—she could attend to her own business while she had her senses, &c. Shortly after she sold her black woman to a most wicked man, the keeper of a grog-shop, and with the children (the youngest of whom was but eleven months old, torn from the breast,) moved out of the country; leaving husband and wife together, but separating parents and children. She was of course suspended from the church. It was said that the purchaser of the woman agreed, when he bought her, not to sell her again without her consent. However this may be, an opportunity offered a few weeks after, and he sold her to be carried to a far country. Her husband, overwhelmed with grief, followed her the first evening after her departure, and asked leave

to spend the night with her. Even that favor her inhuman master utterly refused. And as the disconsolate husband stood without, his ears were saluted with the infernal voice of the tyrant, *Chain her down! CHAIN HER DOWN!!* The poor slave now lives in this town. His narration of the bitterness of his grief is enough to melt a heart of stone. Previous to his separation from his two children, he had lost a child by death. His affliction, he says, was nothing, when compared with that of having his two living children torn from him for life. This last he thought as much as he could bear. But ten-fold greater was the agony of grief, when the conjugal ties were broken for ever, and he was awakened to the painful consciousness of the fact, that his beloved wife was torn from his embraces, and carried where he should never see her more! Bereft thus of his wife and children, his only consolation is in the promises of the gospel. For *he is one of Christ's little ones*. Well may the perpetrators of this foul crime (for what else can we call it?) tremble in apprehension of the merited judgments of Him who hath said, "Whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea." My sheet is full. I have not room for further remarks, nor indeed are they necessary. May God open the eyes of our churches to see the enormities of slavery as it exists among us, and to rid themselves of a participation in its guilt.

Yours, &c.

D. HOYT.

"But these are only extraordinary cases. Slaveholders are not all so cruel." Well, suppose they are not; are they not, after all, supporting the cruel *system*, which leads to thousands of such cases? Are not the kind supporting it more effectually than the cruel? Slavery would soon be abolished, were it not for the *kind* slaveholders. Yes, it would be abolished, were it not for a *few kind* slaveholders, for it is an undeniable *fact*, that "cruelty is the *rule*, and kindness the exception."

FRAGMENTS.—COMMUNICATED BY A LADY.

THE EFFECT OF FAITHFUL PREACHING.

When the celebrated Masillon preached his first Advent at Versailles, Louis XIV. addressed him in the following words: "Father, I have heard many fine orators in my chapel, and have been very much *pleased with them*; but while I have heard you, I have been very much *displeased with myself*." Ask the American slaveholder to what two *societies* this remark would be applicable!

GOING TOO FAR.

An individual from West Boylston, Mass., accosted D. L. Child the other day, saying, "Well, I heard your anti-slavery discourse last July. But, I'll tell you what, you abolitionists go a great deal

too far. What is the use of getting up such an excitement all over the country? What a fuss they are having in Worcester now, refusing to grant the tavern-keepers a license; what's the use of such things?"

"The excitement at Worcester relates to temperance, not to anti-slavery," replied Mr. Child.

"Oh, yes, yes, I know that," replied the complainant, "but then they are pretty much the same thing."

ABOLITION ELECTRICITY.

An honest countryman said to a citizen of Boston, the other day, "Well, I've never heard that 'ere Mr. Thompson, that folks talk so much about, but somehow it don't seem sort o' right to me that he should go a *lecterizing* about the country." Could the man have chosen a more appropriate word? Mr. Thompson's eloquence is indeed an *electric* machine, which even in the dead limbs of the body politic produces spasmodic motions, while it is sure to arouse the dormant vital spark, wheresoever the principle of life is not totally extinct.

THE RIGHT TO ROB.

The Bedouin Arabs call themselves "Lords of the Desert," and conceive that they have an undoubted right, *by inheritance*, to seize a portion of the goods of every person who passes through the desert; yet they would consider it a grievous affront upon their honor to be called robbers. They say the right of compelling travellers to pay heavy toll was handed down to them by their ancestors, and if deprived of it, they could not live as they have always been accustomed to do; besides, they urge the fact, that they seldom take *all* a traveler's property; that they generally, from mere courtesy and liberality, leave him a share of his own goods.

What honorable example do the slave owners here find for the extreme generosity which induces them sometimes to allow a laborer a small portion of his own earnings!

THE SLAVE DEALER.

[From Pringle's African Sketches.]

From ocean's wave a wanderer came,
 With visage tanned and dun:
 His mother, when he told his name,
 Scarce knew her long lost son;
 So altered was his face and frame
 By the ill course he had run.

There was hot fever in his blood,
 And dark thoughts in his brain;
 And oh! to turn his heart to good
 That mother strove in vain,

For fierce and fearful was his mood,
Racked by remorse and pain.

And if, at times, a gleam more mild
Would o'er his features stray,
When knelt the widow near her child,
And he tried with her to pray;
It lasted not—for visions wild
Still scared good thoughts away.

"There's blood upon my hands!" he said,
"Which water cannot wash;
It was not shed where warriors bled—
It dropped from the gory lash,
As I whirled it o'er and o'er my head,
And with each stroke left a gash.

"With every stroke I left a gash,
While negro blood sprang high;
And now all ocean cannot wash
My soul from murder's dye;
Nor e'en thy prayer, dear mother, quash
That woman's wild death cry!

"Her cry is ever in my ear,
And it will not let me pray;
Her look I see—her voice I hear—
As when in death she lay,
And said, 'With me thou must appear
On God's great judgment-day!'"

"Now, Christ, from frenzy keep my son!"
The woful widow cried;
"Such murder foul thou ne'er hast done—
Some fiend thy soul belied!"—
"Nay, mother! the Avenging one
Was witness when she died!

"The writhing wretch with furious heel
I crushed—no mortal nigh;
But that same hour her dread appeal
Was registered on high;
And now with God I have to deal,
And dare not meet his eye!"*

* Long after the sketch entitled "The Slave Dealer" was written, I found the following account of a case remarkably similar to the supposed one, related by the Rev. T. R. England at an anti-slavery meeting at Cork, in September, 1829:—

"One day I was sent for to visit a sailor who was approaching fast to his eternal account. On my speaking to him of repentance, he looked sullen and turned from me in the bed; of a great God, he was silent; of the mercy of that God, he

TOAST BY GEN. WASHINGTON IN THE HOSPITAL AT WHITE PLAINS.

[Taken from the lips of an old soldier.]

Health to the sick and wounded, honor to the brave,
Success to the American flag, and freedom to the slave.

A MONOPOLY OF HONEST EMPLOYMENT.

The following is an exact report of a conversation which took place, in one of our cities, between the magistrate who grants licenses, and a colored man, who applied for a license to drive a cart.

"C. Will your honor grant me a license to drive a cart?

"M. Are there any colored men who drive carts?

"C. I do not know, sir.

"M. It is not customary for colored men to drive carts.

"C. Not if they can produce as good recommendation of character as white men?

"M. Let me see your recommendation.—It is a very good one. But—

"C. Is it good enough to obtain a license to sell rum, sir?

"M. O yes: go to the alderman of the ward in which you live, and he will attend to it; we grant colored men tavern licenses.

"C. I don't want to sell rum, sir. I want to get an honest living. Is my unfortunate color the cause of your honor's refusing to grant me a license to get an honest living?

"M. I cannot hold any argument on that subject; it will not change my mind."

Now why will not the friends of humanity encourage colored men, especially young men, "to get an honest living?" Is it any wonder that we should find colored men degraded and vile, when they are by custom excluded from the best employments? He who can take a colored lad and establish him in a *good trade*, will have struck an effectual blow at prejudice and slavery.

FACTS BY MR. BIRNEY.

At one of the business meetings of the American Anti-Slavery Society, Mr. Birney, of Kentucky, made a very interesting statement of facts, in regard to the progress and prospects of the anti-slavery cause, in his own and other slave states. We regret our inability to occupy many pages with this instructive statement. Our brief notes will furnish only a few fragments.

burst into tears. "Oh!" said he, "I can never expect mercy from God. I was ten years on board a slave ship, and then superintended the cruel death of many a slave. Many a time, amid the screams of kindred, has the sick mother, father, and now born babe, been wound up in canvass and remorselessly thrown overboard. Now their screams haunt me, night and day, and I have no peace, and expect no mercy!"—*African Sketches, page 526.*

FAMILY WORSHIP AMONG SLAVE-HOLDERS.

Mr. Birney states, that it is not the common practice of professedly Christian slave-holders to have their slaves attend family worship. And in cases where they do attend, *certain passages are always omitted in reading the Scriptures.* He himself, while a slave-holder, had his slaves called in to family prayers; and he frankly confessed, that he once took the liberty of altering one of Watts' hymns, to accommodate it to slavery. Where the poet had used the expression, "*like slaves before the throne,*" he made him say, *abject before the throne!* thus escaping beyond the comprehension of his own *abjects.*

PRUDENCE OF SLAVES.

Mr. B. one morning rode up to a school-house, where in the evening there was to be a discussion on the merits of colonization and anti-slavery. An old, remarkably intelligent, and rather privileged slave, called Colonel, was at work putting the house in order. "Ah," said Mr. B., "No school to-day, Colonel?" "No, massa," said the slave, not knowing Mr. B., "there is to be a great discussion here to-night." "Indeed; well, what is it about?" "Don't know, massa; it's something about freeing the slaves, though." "And what do you think about freeing the slaves?" "Don't know, massa; don't know," replied the old man, shaking his head, and resuming his work. Mr. B. passed on a little way. In the mean time the old colonel discovered by some means that he had been speaking to no other than Mr. Birney, who was to be engaged in the discussion. Soon after, when Mr. B. returned that way, he dropped his broom, rushed out to meet him, seized his hand, would have him alight, and come in and talk all about emancipation. He had now forgotten his prudent "Don't know, massa."

SLAVES MAY BE EMANCIPATED AND INSTRUCTED IN KENTUCKY.

It is a happy circumstance that there is no law against either emancipation or instruction in Kentucky. The law regulating emancipation only requires a bond for the maintenance of the aged and infirm, and a provision for the rights of creditors. But the person emancipated cannot again be reduced to slavery, by any informality in the proceedings, neither is he compelled to quit the State. Bibles, and tracts, and missionaries, may be sent to the slaves of Kentucky, and there is no law to exclude them. No slave-holder there has a pillow for his conscience to rest on, while he waits for the Colonization Society to transport his slaves to Africa.

It is a remarkable fact, that while Mr. Birney has lectured on immediate abolition, in many places in Kentucky, without reserve, he has never been molested by a mob, nor ever seriously interrupted. It was not till he entered the free states, that he entered the region where arguments are met with clubs and brickbats.

EFFECT OF EMANCIPATION.

The Kentucky State Anti-Slavery Society admits no slaveholders. Mr. Birney emancipated a family of six persons, and Professor Buchanan, President of the society, three. They are all sober and industrious. The man whom Mr. Birney emancipated was always faithful and diligent, but since he has been at work on wages, Mr. B. has found it necessary to entreat him not to *work too hard*. He has laid up half his wages.

EFFECT OF SLAVERY ON EDUCATION.

In regard to schools, academies and other seminaries, the south is almost a desert. Slavery benights the masters hardly less than the slaves. The whites are so scattered, teachers are so scarce, and the expense of employing them so great, that many even of the wealthy grow up entirely without education. Mr. Birney thinks that in Alabama, in the course of his practice as a lawyer, he found one white man out of every seven who could not write his name. He has known slaves who were better educated than their masters. In one instance he knew a "*true bill*" found by a grand jury against a school-master for the crime of teaching colored children, which was signed by the foreman with a *mark*, because he could not write his name!

HOW THE PIETY OF THE MASTERS APPEARS TO THE SLAVES.

It is an obvious and undeniable fact, that where slaves become hopefully pious, and join a church, they seldom join the same church or communion with the master! If he is a Presbyterian, they become Methodists or Baptists, or the reverse. The greater proportion join the Methodists, as Mr. B. supposes, because the discipline of that church forbids its preachers to hold slaves.*

SLAVE-TRADE IN KENTUCKY.

About 3 or 4,000 slaves, in the opinion of Mr. Birney, are every year carried down the river from Kentucky. In this trade, separation of families constantly occurs, besides many other heart-rending cruelties. A striking instance, Mr. B. mentioned. A member of a church, last winter, sold a woman who was soon to be a mother. She knew nothing of the bargain, till she was bound and seated on a horse behind the slave-trader. In her struggles she was thrown to the ground, and much injured. This did not deter the soul-drivers from their purpose. They again bound the woman to the horse, carried her eight miles to Harrodsburgh, and threw her into a cold room in the jail. In this forlorn situation her child was born, and died. A burning fever came and released

* This discipline has been evaded in many of the states, the conference having decided that they may hold slaves when the *law* forbids emancipation. The local preachers especially have many slaves.

the mother also. When the *Christian* woman-seller was reproved for his murderous act, he was sorry, and said he would never do so again. Yes, and so are all sorry—they abhor slavery—they wish it had never been permitted—they long to be rid of it. Aye, for they know the gulf that lies before them; but yet they cannot now break off the yoke. Why will not American Christians be faithful in holding up to their view the doom that awaits those who make *property* of *God's image*?

WHAT GOD SAYS ABOUT EQUALITY AMONG MEN.

We often hear it said, "yes, to be sure, the colored people might be allowed a civil, a legal, a political equality, but what good could it do them? They cannot have here a domestic, a social equality. Public feeling revolts from it. It can never be. And what would their political rights avail them without it?" Now, what does God say? "*Love thy neighbor as thyself.*" Does God mean by this to establish a mere political equality?—a sort of equality which allows one man to say to another, "you may vote at the polls with me, you may try and be tried at the same courts and by the same laws with me, but you must not sit in as good a pew as I do at church, you must not sit by my side at the Lord's table, nor at mine, you must not expect my children to mingle with yours in the same schools and sports,—and all this, whatever may be your refinement, or probity, or piety, or talents; no, if you would avoid eternal bickering and ill blood between us, you had better cross the ocean?" God has commanded us to be *merciful* to our *beasts*, and if he had intended that we should regard a portion of our fellow men as *inferior*, and not to be met openly, and cordially, and fully, as *neighbors*, as *brethren*, as *EQUALS*, why did He not adopt similar language in regard to them? Why did He tell us that He made *all* nations of *ONE BLOOD*.

SLAVERY AND FREEDOM.

BY REV. DR. WARDLAW.

SLAVERY! second-born of hell,
 Child of sin, and twin of death!
 Who thy brood of woes can tell,
 Drawing from thee kindred breath?

Pride, and hate, and lust, and crime.
 Dark revenge and cruelty;
 Woes that end not even with time,
 Woes that curse eternity.

FREEDOM! daughter of the skies,
Born amidst primeval light;
Thousand joys around thee rise,
Thousand woes are put to flight.

Love, and peace, and hope, are thine,
Lofty thought, and virtue pure,
Joys of life, and life's decline,
Joys that ever more endure.

RECEIPTS

INTO THE TREASURY OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

From April 12, 1835, to May 12, 1835.

Donations received by the Treasurer.			
East Hampton, Mass., Samuel Wel-		A Lady in Columbia Co., N. Y.,	10 00
leston,	5 00	Sandy Hill, Contribution M. Concert,	2 00
Morristown, N. J., James Cooke,	10 00	Palmyra, N. Y., A Friend,	11 00
Austunburg, Ohio, Monthly Concert,	10 00	New York, C. E. Beach,	2 00
New York, J. Rankin,	100 00	Roxbury, Mass., Miss L. Clark,	5 00
Portland, Me., Mrs. C. Winslow,	20 00	Amherst, Mass., A Friend,	50
" " Miss L. M. Winslow,	5 00	" " An Amherst Collegian,	1 00
" " L. E. Winslow,	5 00	Woodbury, Conn., N. Pierce,	1 50
" " Nathan Winslow,	100 00	New York, Robert Shapley,	2 00
Massachusetts, Mrs. F. Southwick,	5 00		
" " Mary D. Ryrd,	1 00	Total,	680 10
Boston, Increase Gilbert,	100 00	JOHN RANKIN, Treasurer,	
" S. G. Shipley,	100 00	No. 3 Cedar St.	
" Cash,	9 02	Monthly Collections received by the Publish-	
Collections by Amos A. Phelps.		ing Agent.	
Newburg, Alfred C. Roe,	1 00	Aurora, O., Mrs. H. Seward,	1 00
" James G. Roe,	25	Brighton, N. Y., by Joseph Bloss,	5 00
" Susan E. Roe,	90	Cumminsville, O., by H. Lyman,	3 00
" Mrs. G. F. Martin,	2 00	Cincinnati, " " " Lyman,	3 00
Wrentham, Nancy George,	1 00	Chillicothe, O., R. Long,	50
Troy, John P. Cushman, Esq.,	20 00	Catskill, N. Y., R. Jackson,	3 00
" S. K. Stow,	5 00	Farmington, N. Y., by Wm. R. Smith,	5 00
" Wm. M. Bliss, Jr.	5 00	Felton, Con., C. Felton,	1 50
" O. Montague,	2 00	Hudson, O., F. W. Upson,	2 75
" Cash,	1 00	Milan, N. Y., J. R. Pinneo,	2 75
" T. B. Bigelow,	20 00	Midletown, Con., by Mr. Baldwin,	5 00
" J. Chichester,	1 00	New York, R. Aikman,	2 00
" James Raymond,	1 00	" " Dr. Doolittle,	1 25
" Edward S. Fuller,	1 00	" " Rev. J. Lillie,	1 00
" Dayton H. Fuller,	1 00	New Haven, Con., by Rev. S. S. Jocelyn,	3 00
" P. B. Manchester, Esq.,	2 38	Norwalk, Con., George Low,	2 00
Albany, Cash,	1 00	Palmyra, N. Y., E. S. Townsend,	12 00
" S. J. Penneman,	25 00	Philadelphia, Pa., Ladies A. S. So.,	5 00
" N. Safford,	5 00	Rome, N. Y., by Dr. A. Blair,	5 00
Troy, P. Allen,	3 00	Rochester, N. Y., Dr. W. W. Reid,	26 75
" Cash,	1 00	Waterville, Me., by S. S. Bradford,	5 00
" Gardon Grant, Esq.,	10 00	Windham, O., Rev. W. Hanford,	1 25
" Charles Easton,	2 00	Records sold at office,	15 93
New York, Jos. Beale,	5 00	Books and Pamphlets sold at office,	158 84
Ware, Mass., E. C. Pritchett,	20 00		
Parkman, Ohio, Rev. N. Cobb,	3 00	Total,	\$269 57
Friends in Chester,	5 00	R. G. WILLIAMS,	
New York, George Hamlington,	1 00	Publishing Agent Am. A. S. S.	
Utica, James Lightbody, Esq.,	3 00	Total Receipts,	\$949 83
New York, Thomas Irving,	10 00	The Treasurer of the New York City	
Lebanon, Conn., Mrs. S. Ely,	2 00	Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society acknowledges	
Randolph, Ohio, Anti Slavery Society,	3 00	the receipt of \$149 13 in the months of March,	
Twinsburgh, Ohio, Miss Mills,	7 25	April, and May.—For particulars see Eman-	
Perry, N. Y., Anti Slavery Society,	5 00	cipator.	

ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

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JULY, 1835.

NO. 7.



[See page 63.]

SCENES IN THE CITY PRISON OF NEW YORK.

STEPHEN DOWNING.

This man was arrested as a fugitive, by a Virginia planter, and imprisoned in Bridewell, where he remained eighteen months. The inmates of the prison knew him well, and they were always ready to speak a good word for Downing. After the planter had got his legal right allowed, either because his lawyer's bill was so heavy, or because he hoped Downing's friends would buy him, he neglected to take him away for three months. By this delay he forfeited his right to do so, as was decided by Judge Edwards. But Downing's release was referred to the Supreme Court, which was to meet in two weeks. To the disappointment of every body, this was prevented by another Judge,* who, contrary to his promise, secretly wrote for, and by a partial statement, obtained from the Supreme Court, at Albany, an order for the removal of poor Downing, and, before his friends were aware of the plot, he was shipped for Virginia.

* See Emancipator for November, 4, 1834.

Here we see intrigue and perfidy used with impunity to deprive this poor man of his liberty, which, had it been used in the case of a dog, would have consigned its perpetrators to remediless disgrace.—Such is the strength of a *pro-slavery public sentiment!*

FRANCIS SMITH.

Was a young man of small stature, but of keen eye and intelligent countenance. While a lad, in the time of the last war, he and his master were taken prisoners at sea and carried to Nova Scotia. His servile condition becoming known to the British officers, they compelled his master to give him false papers. But when the prisoners were exchanged, his master persuaded him to return with him to Virginia, by the promise that he should still be free. But he was sold. In Richmond he for some years had hired his time, and kept a well known fruit shop. At last he became the marriage portion of his master's daughter, and was speedily to be removed as part and parcel of the *set out* of the bride. To this he demurred, threw himself upon his inalienable rights, and came to New York. Here he occupied himself for some months as a waiter, much to the satisfaction of his employer. The object of his affections, a very worthy and industrious free colored girl, had found her way to New Haven, Connecticut. Thither it was fixed that Francis should follow, and after their marriage they should proceed with their united means to a place of greater safety. But the kind Christian *white* bridegroom had come on from Virginia to search for his runaway *property*, and by the aid of a professed slave taker in the city, discovered the retreat of Francis and his intended movements. At the appointed hour for the steamboat to start, the colored young man came quietly on board with his little bundle. The fell tigers were in ambush—the slave-taker Boudinot, a constable, and the lily-fingered white bridegroom aforesaid. The latter delicately pointed at the victim. A pounce was made upon him by Boudinot. Smith, after a scuffle of a moment, in which his antagonist received a scratch from his knife, darted on shore, cried "kidnappers," and fled. The pursuers raised the cry of "murderer, stop the murderer." The crowd thus deceived ran after him. Clubs, stones, and brickbats, were hurled at the poor fugitive without mercy, and he was at last brought to the ground, weltering in his blood. The owner took care to save his "property" from further injury by having it conveyed to the old Bridewell. Thus was the happiness of this humble pair frustrated, that the delicate fingers of another pair might be spared the vulgar necessity of doing something for the support of their owners. And all this was done by law. During the law's delay, Francis for months occupied one of the coffin cells, the heat and smothering stench of which, added to his disappointment and his galling manacles, were too much for his brain. Often were his wild ravings heard by the passengers on the outside.

His intended bride, in the bitterness of her grief and disappoint-

amount offered her little all, amounting to about \$300, for his ransom, but it was of no avail.

SLAVERY A SIN.

[From the Declaration of Sentiments of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention.]

We believe slavery to be a sin—always, every where, and only sin. Sin in itself, apart from the occasional rigors incidental to its administration, and from all those perils, liabilities, and positive inflictions to which its victims are continually exposed, sin in the nature of the act which creates it, and in the elements which constitute it. Sin, because it converts persons into things; makes men property, God's image, merchandise. Because it forbids men to use themselves for the advancement of their own well being, and turns them into mere instruments to be used by others solely for the benefit of the users. Because it constitutes one man the owner of the body, soul, and spirit of other men—gives him power and permission to make his own pecuniary profit the great end of their being, thus striking them out of existence as beings possessing rights and susceptibilities of happiness, and forcing them to exist merely as appendages to his own existence. In other words, because slavery holds and uses men, as mere means for the accomplishment of ends, of which ends their own interests are not a part,—thus annihilating the sacred and eternal distinction between a person and a thing, a distinction proclaimed an axiom by all human consciousness—a distinction created by God,—crowned with glory and honor in the attributes of intelligence, morality, accountability and immortal existence, and commended to the homage of universal mind, by the concurrent testimony of nature, conscience, providence, and revelation, by the blood of atonement and the sanctions of eternity, authenticated by the seal of Deity, and in its own nature, effaceless and immutable. This distinction, slavery contemns, disannuls, and tramples under foot. This is its fundamental element,—its vital constituent principle, that which makes it a sin *in itself* under whatever modification existing. All the incidental effects of the system flow spontaneously from this fountain-head. The constant exposure of slaves to outrage, and the actual inflictions which they experience in innumerable forms, all result legitimately from this principle, assumed in the theory and embodied in the practice of slave holding.

THE KIDNAPPED GIRL.

That our readers may know familiarly the horrors of the American "Middle passage," we extract from the report on the free colored population of Ohio the case of Mary Brown. Let the dainty sentimentalists, who tremble to approach the "delicate" subject, stand

off; but if there are any who wish to help their suffering fellow creatures, let them come and look at the naked ugliness of things as they are, till they feel something like an honest and practical indignation against the whole system of man-driving.

"Mary Brown, another colored girl who was kidnapped in 1830, was the daughter of free parents in Washington city. She lived with her parents until the death of her mother; she was then seized and sold. The following are the facts as she stated them. One day when near the Potomac bridge, Mr. Humphreys, the sheriff, overtook her, and told her that she must go with him.—She inquired of him, what for? He made no reply, but told her to come along. He took her immediately to a slave auction. Mary told Mr. Humphreys that she was free, but he contradicted her, and the sale went on. The auctioneer soon found a purchaser, and struck her off for three hundred and fifty dollars. Her master was a Mississippi trader, and she was immediately taken to the jail. After a few hours, Mary was handcuffed—chained to a man slave, and started in a drove of about forty for New Orleans. Her handcuffs made her wrists swell so that they were obliged to take them off at night, and put fetters on her ankles. In the morning her handcuffs were again put on. Thus they travelled for two weeks, wading rivers, and whipped up all day, and beaten at night, if they did not get their distance. Mary says that she frequently waded rivers in her chains with water up to her waist. It was in October, and the weather cold and frosty. After traveling thus twelve or fifteen days, her arms and ankles became so swollen that she felt that she could go no farther. Blisters would form on her feet as large as dollars, which at night she would have to open, while all day the shackles would cut into her lacerated wrists. They had no beds, and usually slept in barns, or out on the naked ground—was in such misery when she lay down that she could only lie and cry all night. Still they drove them on for another week. Her spirits became so depressed, and she grieved so much about leaving her friends, that she could not eat, and every time the trader caught her crying, he would beat her, accompanying it with dreadful curses. The trader would whip and curse any of them whom he found praying. One evening he caught one of the men at prayer—he took him, lashed him down to a parcel of rails, and beat him dreadfully. He told Mary that if he caught her praying he would give her Hell!! (Mary was a member of the Methodist Church in Washington.) There were a number of pious people in the company, and at night when the driver found them melancholy, and disposed to pray, he would have a fiddle brought, and make them dance in their chains. It mattered not how sad or weary they were, he would whip them until they would do it.

"Mary at length became so weak that she could travel no further. Her feeble frame, was exhausted and sunk beneath her accumulated sufferings. She was seized with a burning fever, and the trader, fearing he should lose her, carried her the remainder of the way in a wagon.

"When they arrived at Natchez, they were all offered for sale, and as Mary was well sick, she begged that she might be sold to a kind master. She would sometimes make this request in presence of purchasers—but was always insulted for it, and after they were gone, the trader would punish her for such presumption. On one occasion he tied her up by her hands, so that she could only touch the end of her toes to the floor. This was soon after breakfast; he kept her thus suspended, whipping her at intervals through the day—at evening he took her down. She was so much bruised, that she could not lie down for more than a week afterwards. He often beat and choked her for another purpose, until she was obliged to yield to his desires.

"She was at length sold to a wealthy man of Vicksburg at four hundred and fifty dollars, for a house servant. But he had another object in view. He compelled her to gratify his licentious passions and had children by her. This was the occasion of so much difficulty between him and his wife, that he has now sent her up to Cincinnati to be free.

"We have no reason to doubt the account of Mary's given above. The person from whom we heard this took it down from her own lips. Her manner of relating it was perfectly simple and artless, and is here written out almost verbatim. We have also the testimony of a number of individuals who knew her in Vicksburg; they have no doubt of her integrity, and say that we may rely implicitly upon the truth of any statement which she may make."

HELPING TO BUY A FATHER.

[From a Report on the Free Colored Population of Ohio.]

"Calling upon a family not long since, whose children did not come to school very regularly, we found the father and mother were out at work. On saying to the eldest child, aged about ten years, "why don't you come to school, my girl?" she replied, "I'm staying at home to help buy father."

"As this family attend the sabbath school, we will state some particulars respecting them, to illustrate a general fact. Their history is, by no means, a remarkable one. Conversing with them one day, they remarked: "We have been wonderfully blessed; not one in a hundred is treated so well as we have been." A few years since, the mother, an amiable woman, intelligent, pious, and beloved by all who knew her, was emancipated. But she lived in continual dread lest her husband, who was still a slave, should be sold and separated from her forever. After much painful solicitation, his master permitted him to come to Cincinnati, to work out his freedom. Although under no obligation, except his verbal promise, he is now, besides supporting a sickly family, saving from his daily wages the means of paying the price of his body. The money is sent to a nephew of his master, who is now studying for

the ministry, in Miami University. The following is an extract from the correspondence of this candidate for the ministry. It is addressed to this colored man.

'Mr. OVERTON:

Sir, I have an order on you for \$150, from your old master. It is in consideration of your dues to him for your freedom. I am in great want of the money, and have been for some time. I shall only ask you 10 per cent interest, although 12 is common. The money has been due two months. If you cannot pay it before the last of March, I shall have to return the order to Uncle Jo,—for I cannot wait longer than that time. It must also run at 12 per cent interest henceforth. If you cannot pay it all, write to me, and let me know when you can. Uncle Jo requests me to let him know when you would have any more money for him.

Yours in haste."

"This is only one of a series of dunning letters which came every few weeks. Soon after the reception of this, Mr. Overton scraped together the pittance he had earned, and sent the young man \$100, with interest. And he is now going out at days work, and his wife, when able, is taking in washing, to pay the balance."

THE RIGHT OF PROPERTY.

"We have heard the claim that some men are *born slaves*, but from the following fact we see that the all-grasping genius of slavery is not always contented to wait for birth. It claims a right of property in men ~~before~~ *they are born*.

"Another individual had bargained for his wife and two children. Their master agreed to take \$420 for them. He succeeded at length in raising the money, which he carried to their owner. 'I shall charge you \$30 more than when you was here before,' said the planter, 'for your wife is in a family-way, and you may pay thirty dollars for that, or not take her, just as you please.' 'And so,' said he, (patting the head of a little son three years old, who hung upon his knee,) 'I had to pay thirty dollars for this little fellow, six months before he was born.'—*Ohio Report*.

WHAT COLONIZATION MEANS.

Our colored brethren have always understood that colonization means expatriation, a cruel driving out of the country. And it is remarkable how few of them, by all the art, and argument, and benevolence too, of the colonization community, have been persuaded to embrace the scheme. An old colored woman, who had been most of her life a slave in Virginia, said to the writer of this, when he spoke to her of the bright prospects of Liberia, "Ah, sir, if it's going to be so good a place, the white folks will come and take it, by and by. I know them well enough. They always take what's best." It is needless to say that this woman could not be convinced of the benevolence of colonization. It is not to be denied by any body, that there is in this country a very general hatred of

the colored people. And it might have been predicted with certainty, that any plan for their general removal, however benevolent its motive, and however careful it might be to act only by their own consent, would bring into life and action a general desire to arise *themselves out*. Such has been the fact in regard to the American Colonization Society. We have abundance of proof, but at present have only room for the following.

Extract from the Maryland Temperance Herald, of May 30, 1835.
 "We are indebted to the committee of publication, for the first number of the Maryland Colonization Journal, a new quarterly periodical, devoted to the cause of colonization in our state. Such a paper has long been necessary; we hope this will be useful.

"Every reflecting man must be convinced, that the time is not far distant when the safety of the country will require the EXPULSION of the blacks from its limits.—It is perfect folly to suppose that a foreign population, whose physical peculiarities must forever render them distinct from the owners of the soil, can be permitted to grow and strengthen among us with impunity. Let hair-brained enthusiasts speculate as they may, no abstract considerations of the natural rights of man will ever elevate the negro population to an equality with the whites. As long as they remain in the land of their bondage, they will be morally, if not physically, enslaved, and indeed, as long as their distinct nationality is preserved, their *enlightenment* will be a measure of *doubtful policy*. Under such circumstances, every philanthropist will wish to see them removed, but gradually, and with as little violence as possible. For effecting this purpose, no scheme is liable to so few objections as that of African Colonization. It has been said that this plan has effected but little—true, but no other has done any thing. We do not expect that the exertions of benevolent individuals will be able to rid us of the millions of blacks who oppress and are oppressed by us. All they can accomplish, is, to satisfy the public of the practicability of the scheme—they can make the experiment—they are making it, and with success. The state of Maryland has already adopted this plan, and before long, every southern state will have its colony. The whole African coast will be strewn with cities, and then should some fearful convulsion render it necessary to the public safety TO BANISH THE MULTITUDE AT ONCE, a house of refuge will have been provided for them in the land of their fathers."

At a convention of gradualists and colonizationists, held on the 23d of May, 1835, at Shelbyville, Kentucky, the following resolutions were passed.

"Resolved, That the system of domestic slavery, as it exists in this commonwealth, is both a moral and political evil, and a violation of the natural rights of man.

"Resolved, That no system of emancipation will meet with our approbation, unless colonization be inseparably connected with it; and that any scheme of emancipation which shall leave the blacks

within our borders, is more to be deprecated than slavery itself."

So the only condition on which the slaves are to be emancipated is *exit*. This is no emancipation at all. For if a man is free, he must be free to stay in the land of his birth. The plain meaning of these resolutions is, that the resolvers are so bent upon expatriating their poor colored laborers, that they rush on to a "violation of the natural rights of man" to effect their purpose. Would it be any worse in principle to free the slaves by cutting their throats? And again, is it not wrong to advocate a scheme which gives the least countenance to such iniquity?

At the anniversaries in New Hampshire, the Rev. R. R. Gurley, secretary of the American Colonization Society, being called upon by Mr. May to give his opinion concerning the Maryland scheme, gave utterance to the following remarkable sentiment. With regard to direct legislation he would confess his mind was not clear. This he would say, on his own responsibility, that when the time arrived that slavery should become a great political question, he conceived it might be justifiable for a state to select a spot, *here or in Africa, and carry the blacks there, willing or unwilling*. But he should object to the Maryland scheme, because, *at the present time*, such rigorous laws were unnecessary.

Here is a sentiment as *murderous* to the peace of the colored people as a dagger thrust into the heart.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS IN PITTSBURGH.

There have recently been two most interesting anti-slavery meetings in Pittsburgh, which were addressed by a number of members of the Presbyterian General Assembly. In this connection, we have the pleasure to state, that *forty-eight* members, or about *one fourth* part of that body, this year, were found to be favorable to *immediate emancipation*: of these, *six* are ministers from *slave states*. Last year there were only *two* known abolitionists in the Assembly. The speeches at the anti-slavery meetings were Christian-like, eloquent, and rich in facts. We make a few extracts.

FROM THE REV. DR. BEMAN OF TROY.

"Admitting, as all do, that slavery is a great evil, existing in the land, we would anxiously inquire, Is there no remedy? Is there any evil for which God has provided no remedy? No, I would not slander the Bible, by making such an assertion. Let us all come up to the work, shoulder to shoulder, in a pleasant way, (I don't like scowls,) and there is no danger but we can get right. I have heard many remedies proposed; and one very queer one: '*Better let it alone.*' This is a very popular remedy. In case of slight pain, or momentary head-ach, it will do very well. But who ever heard that an acute disease, which racks the whole frame, and threatens speedy dissolution, if left to the operations of nature

will cure itself? Sin is an inveterate disease—it has no curative principle—it never gets well of itself. Slavery will never cure itself.—This *let-alone* policy—if it were in the church, I would call it *heresy*—it is *moral* heresy.

“But, I have heard of another remedy: ‘Just leave that question to the slave states. What have we at the north to do with slavery?’ But, here is ground for caution. Have not we at the north our share in the government of the District of Columbia? Do we not in fact govern it? Yet, that district is the central mart of the traffic in human flesh. Yes, sir, we at the north do govern slave shambles. Our hands are not quite so clean as we have supposed—as in the dusty atmosphere of Pittsburgh, we often get them a little smutty before we are aware of it.

“My southern brethren never heard me slander them. I am candid on this subject. Often do we hear it said, ‘What do northern people know about slavery?’ Sir, I am not a stranger to slavery. I have resided eleven years at the south, and three or four winters into the bargain, and I know something about it. It is an immense evil. I can go, chapter and verse, with the able document that has been read.* It is even so—the very picture of slavery. Are our southern brethren infallible? They are very kind-hearted brethren; yet some of them **SELL THE IMAGE OF JESUS IN THEIR SLAVES!** Are they competent judges in the case?—The wise man says, ‘A gift blindeth the eyes.’ They judge with the price of human flesh in their hands.”

FROM REV. A. RANKIN OF OHIO.

Mr. Rankin is brother to Rev. John Rankin, author of “*Lectures on Slavery*,” and is, if we mistake not, by birth a southern man.

“But we are told, ‘You at the north know nothing of slavery—why meddle with what you do not understand?’ Sir, we do know what slavery is. It is usurped authority—a system of legalized oppression. If we could show what is this moment transpiring in the land of slavery, every bosom in this house would thrill with horror. I will state a case: A minister of the gospel owned a female slave, whose husband was owned by another man in the same neighborhood. The husband did something supposed to be an offence sufficient to justify his master in selling him for the southern market. As he started, his wife obtained leave to visit him. She took her final leave of him, and started to return to her master’s house. She went a few steps, and returned and embraced him again, and then started the second time to go to her master’s house; but the feelings of her heart overcame her, and she turned about and embraced him the third time. Again she endeavoured to bear up under the heavy trial, and return; but it was too much for her—she had a woman’s heart. She returned the fourth time, embraced her husband, and turned about—**A MANIAC.** To judge what slavery is, we must place ourselves in the condition of the slave. Who that has a wife, who that has a husband, could endure for a

* The Declaration of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention.

moment the thought of *such a separation!* Take another case: A company of slave dealers were passing through Louisville with a drove of slaves, of all classes and descriptions. Among them were many mothers with infants in their arms. These often become troublesome to the drivers: and in this case, in order to get rid of the trouble, the inhuman monsters severed the cords of maternal affection, and took these infants, from three to five months old, and sold them in the streets of Louisville, for what they could get. Do we know nothing of slavery? Can we shut our eyes to such facts as these, which are constantly staring us in the face?"

FROM REV. MR. BOARDMAN OF N. Y.

Mr. Boardman directed his address especially to ladies, and we should think not without effect. He said:

"In slavery, marriage is unknown. Men and women live together: but the tie is not formally sanctioned. There is no minister, no magistrate, to give religious or civil authority to the relation. It is a system of concubinage. And this state of things is encouraged, or rather marriage is discouraged, because it throws an obstacle in the way of the sale of these *human chattels*. Notwithstanding, the ties of affection are not less strong on account of the absence of legal or religious sanction. Indeed, the fellowship of suffering binds still stronger the hearts of husband and wife. It is the only channel of affection. The children of the slave are not his own—they are not subject to his authority, and they may be torn from him without a moment's warning. Pent up in every other direction, the affections of husband and wife naturally centre entirely upon each other. Yet, even this tie is rudely severed. A slave in the west, who had a wife belonging to another master, learned, to his great grief, that his wife had been sold for the southern market. He went to his master, and requested that he might be sold, so as not to be separated from his wife. In order to dissuade him from it, his master described the hardships to which he would be exposed in the south; but he was firm to his purpose, choosing the severe servitude of the sugar plantations of the south, in preference to a separation from the wife of his bosom. His master then offered him money to satisfy him; but no, he said he could not leave his wife. 'O,' says his master, 'You can get another!' 'Why, massa, don't you think I am a man!'

"Another case, I will mention, to show the legitimate effects of slavery upon the relations of life. A colored man, who was a member of the church, and who had been living with a woman, according to the customs of the slaves, went to his master, who was an *elder in the Presbyterian church*, and told him that he did not feel right to be living so, and requested permission to be lawfully married. And, how do you suppose this reasonable request was received? Although it was a request from one Christian brother to another to be permitted to cease from sin, yet it was received with a laugh, and positively denied.

"It is in behalf of women, to whom a that this appeal is made,

It is woman in bondage that calls for woman's sympathies, woman's efforts, and woman's prayers. And I feel confident that this appeal will not meet a cold repulse, because the object of it has a black skin. I remember, in my boyhood, of seeing a colored man driving a cart, and by some accident he was precipitated from his seat, and crushed to death. But when the alarm began to spread, I heard it said, 'O, its only a poor negro that is killed.' But O, thought I, it is a man. And, boy as I was, I remembered that he had an immortal soul. Ah, think you woman would have said that? No. Woman has a heart that can be moved with the sufferings of the poor negro.

"Woman did much for the abolition of slavery in Great Britain and her dependencies. When the petition was presented to parliament, it required four men to carry it to the speaker's desk. It was signed by 162,000 ladies. A noble lord arose, and with much emotion, said, 'It is time for us to move in this matter, when we are called upon in this manner by our wives, and sisters, and mothers!' And I rejoice that the ladies of this country are already lifting up their voices on this subject. Sir, I was much gratified to hear the voice of 1,000 of my countrywomen raised in the General Assembly, in behalf of suffering humanity. And, I feel assured that woman's voice will be heard. But, if man will not hear, there is an audience where you can appear with the assurance of being heard. O, then, mothers, sisters, wives, let your voice be heard at the throne of grace, pleading in behalf of your enslaved sisters, and of suffering bondmen.

"But, the question is asked and reiterated, 'What has abolition done? What has abolition done?' It has done much, sir. It has so modified the sentiments of many colonizationists that they speak a language in reference to slavery, which would not have been tolerated in 1830. Its voice is now heard in Maryland, in Kentucky, in Tennessee, in Missouri—in some places, indeed, it is feeble—in others it is the voice of thunder. What has abolition done? On the first day of August, 1834, it broke the manacles of 800,000 slaves. The sun set upon them in bondage, and rose upon them in freedom."

FROM REV. MR. DICKEY OF OHIO.

"Sir," said Mr. D., "I am not ignorant of slavery. Having passed thirty years of my life in a slave state, and having been a slave-holder myself, I know something about it.

"Slavery" the church exposes her to the scoffs of the world. Infidels despise a religion which they suppose sanctions such oppression. I once heard a professor of religion laboring to justify slavery from the Bible, in the presence of an infidel; who turned from him with contempt, saying he despised such a religion.

"It exerts an influence upon the mind of the slave, prejudicial to the reception of instruction. Suppose the master himself attempt to instruct his slaves in the truths of religion—what confidence can he have in the man, who deprives him of his liberty, and

robe him of his labor? I will state a case: An old man told me, "Massa bery 'ligious—he bery good Christian. He hab prayers a'by Sunday wid the slaves—but he sure to read 'em dat chapter what say servants be 'bediert to massa."

RECEIPTS

INTO THE TREASURY OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

From May 16, 1835, to June 12, 1835.

Donations received by the Treasurer.			
Amherst College, E. C. Pritchett,	2 50	Philadelphia, Pa., W. H. Scott,	1 00
" " H. G. Pendleton,	2 50	" " Anti-Slavery So.,	50 00
Boston, Mass., M. Hayward,	6 00	Ferrisburgh, Vt. Mary D. Bird,	1 87
" " Rev. H. Foote,	1 00	New York, Henry Green, on \$10 sub-	
" " B. Kingsbury,	5 00	scription,	5 00
" " Joshua Southwick,	5 00	New York, J. Rankin, for June sub-	
" " Wm. Lloyd Garrison,	1 50	scription,	100 00
" " Isaac Knapp,	1 50	New York, William Green, for May	
" " David H. Ela,	5 00	and June,	100 00
" " Rev. S. J. May,	1 00	Mass., Anti-Slavery Society,	500 00
" " Geo. A. Baker,	1 00	New York, A subscription made in	
" " H. W. Mann,	1 00	Chatham-st. Chapel one year ago,	1 00
" " David L. Child,	3 00	Philadelphia, Pa., Ladies A. S. S.,	10 00
" " Moses Kimball,	3 00	Flushing, L. I. L. Van Bokkelen,	2 00
Providence, R. I., Female A. S. So-		Providence, R. I. Juvenile A. S. S.,	20 00
ciety,	25 00		
" " A Friend,	0 50	Total,	\$1050 00
" " Samuel H. Gould,	1 00	New York, June 12, 1835.	
Keenebunk, Me., Ladies and Gentle-		JOHN RANKIN, Treasurer,	
men,	26 00	No. 8 Cedar St.	
" " Dr. B. Smart,	1 00	Monthly Collections received by Publishing	
Hallowell, Me., E. Dole,	10 00	Agent from May 12 to June 12, 1835.	
" " Robert Gardner,	5 00	Albany, N. Y., Mrs. Hester Gibbons,	1 00
Portland, " John Winslow,	5 00	Buffalo, N. Y., by E. A. Marsh,	11 50
Bangor, " Rev. S. L. Pomeroy,	10 00	Brooklyn, Con., by Rev. S. J. May,	11 13
Irville, Ohio, Miss Lewis,	2 00	Brighton, N. Y., by Dr. W. W. Reid,	2 00
" " Hunt. Lyman,	1 00	Carlisle, Pa., by H. Duffield,	5 00
Catakill, N. Y., W. H. Smith,	1 00	Catskill, N. Y., Robert Jackson,	3 00
" " William Adams,	1 00	Dover, N. H., by William H. Alden,	20 00
Albany, N. Y., Timothy Fassett,	1 00	Dunbar, N. H.,	5 00
" " A. G. Alden,	3 00	Darien, Con.,	1 33
New York City, Jeremiah Wilbur,	1 00	East Rutland, Vt., Dea. S. Coting,	6 63
" " Rev. J. N. Sprague,	1 00	Farmington, N. Y., by Wm. R. Smith,	6 25
" " Michael Flagg,	2 00	Ferrisburgh, Vt. by R. T. Robinson,	4 00
" " Andrew Savage,	1 00	Hudson, O., by F. W. Upton,	5 00
" " J. N. McCommell,	2 00	New Garden, O., by William Griffith,	5 00
" " James Lunnon,	1 00	New York Mills, N. Y. by Rev. L. H.	
" " A few Friends,	7 00	Loss,	14 00
Poughkeepsie, N. Y., S. Thompson,	1 00	Oneida Institute, N. Y. by Wm. J.	
Troy, N. Y., H. Z. Hayner,	1 00	Savage,	24 00
Holden, Mass., Charles White,	1 00	Plattekill, N. Y., Rev. J. M'Cord,	5 24
York, N. Y., Anti-Slavery Society,	4 00	Philadelphia, Pa. Ladies A. S. So.,	5 00
Perry, N. Y., S. P. Phoenix,	2 45	Rochester, N. Y., by Dr. W. W. Reid,	25 00
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" " E. Griffen,	1 00	Starksboro, Vt., Joel Battey,	1 24
New Haven, Con., Dr. I. Ide,	1 00	Schenectady, N. Y., by I. G. Duryee,	6 00
" " Daniel Hoyt,	1 00	Whitesboro, N. Y., by T. Beebe,	10 00
Stratford, Con., Lewis Ears,	5 00	Records sold at office,	45 25
" " Charles H. True,	1 00	Books and Pamphlets sold at office,	415 00
" " Rev. J. Horton,	1 00		
" " Thomas Huntington,	1 00	Total,	\$300 00
Princeton, N. J., Anthony Simmons,	5 00	R. G. WILLIAMS,	
" " F. Wright,	1 00	Publishing Agent Am. A. S. S.,	
Philadelphia, Pa., Arnold Buffum,	1 00	144 Nassau St.	
		Total Receipts,	\$1500 00

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[See page 91.]

THE GENEROUS PLANTER.

Susan. Oh how I wish I could help you, my dear mother!

Mother. You do help me, my dear Susan.

S. How do I help you, mother?

M. I will tell you. When you are good, and do as I bid you, it makes my work go on easier. That is one way you help me. And you are able to do many little things which I should have to leave off to do, that helps me. Besides, I can speak to you of your father, and that is pleasant to us both, and so makes my work pleasant.

S. But, mother, it seems as if you could never get money enough to pay for father's freedom, they ask so many, many dollars, and you can hardly get one dollar in a day, even when you have work

enough, and sometimes you cannot get any, and then how sorry I feel, and yet I am glad too, to have you rest a little while.

M. I should be sometimes almost discouraged, only the good young gentlemen are so kind, and help us so much, and they say they all pray for us. But go to bed now, my dear, and take care of yourself, for it would be a great trouble to have you get sick again.

The preceding conversation passed between a mother and her child, in a small hovel in the most crowded part of the city of Cincinnati. Lucy, the mother, was among the number of emancipated slaves resident there, who, with energy and untiring industry truly heroic, are toiling day and night to procure the means of liberating some beloved relative or friend still left in bondage. What a striking manifestation of the power and beauty of the domestic affections, which slavery, with all its debasing and deadening influences, has so little power to extinguish, or even to weaken! Yet how does this aggravate the guilt of that system, which was begun and is continued in sundering the dearest ties of domestic life; a system in whose continuance this outrage is an inherent element! But I forbear. I am telling a story, not writing an essay. Yet it is almost impossible to keep within bounds, for every relation in regard to slavery, brings to light some iniquitous principle belonging to it, against which it is difficult to avoid stopping to vent our indignation.

But to return to our interesting band of martyrs, martyrs truly in their spirit, and, it is to be feared, some of them will be martyrs in their fate, for it seems scarcely possible but some of the feeblest frames must sink under such long continued labors before their object can be accomplished. Lucy had been made free about two years before, by the tardy justice of her mistress, who, at her death, had liberated all her slaves. This mistress was a kind, well-meaning woman, with only a few domestic slaves, who were made as comfortable as the state of slavery admits. Some might say *happy*, but it is degrading the word *happiness*, to apply it to a state where mind has so little place. They had plenty of food and clothing, and beds to lie on, and had received more than a usual share of moral and religious instruction. Lucy had been the personal attendant and favorite of her mistress, who, in leaving her her freedom only, without any provision for her or her children, showed that she well understood how high a value would be placed on the gift. Lucy was now a free woman, and her children were her own; but Lucy was a wife, and her husband was a slave. After many anxious consultations, it was settled between them, that Lucy, with her children, should go to a free state, and that Ben, her husband, should follow as soon as any way offered, for liberty was the day-dream of Ben's existence. Few slaves are sunk so low as to be indifferent to the recovery of their birthright, freedom. There are few to whom it does not afford a gleam of hope. There is a vague, undefined feeling, that at some period or other, however distant, the blessing is in store for them. Their

master, as others have done, may give them freedom, or at least, at his death, may leave them free; or, in the various chances of human affairs, some circumstance may occur to open a way to freedom. The earnestness with which they desire it, is probably generally in proportion to the intellectual development of their minds, and their hope in proportion to the power they feel within themselves of struggling to attain it. Just as it is in minds farther advanced, in proportion to the development of the spiritual nature is the strength of the aspiration for purely spiritual enjoyments, for that perfect liberty of the soul which can only be attained by release from the bondage of sin. In proportion as each one feels within himself a power to struggle for this liberty, will be the firmness of his belief, that he is destined to the glorious life of unseen realities beyond this material existence.

Freedom, as we have said, was the day-dream of Ben's existence, and being an active, intelligent man, he was not without a reasonable hope, that he might be able, in time, to purchase it for himself. He had already saved a considerable sum, which was committed to the care of Lucy, and he well knew that she would make every possible exertion to add to it. This little widowed family had been in Cincinnati two years at the time my story opens, which was about the period of the excitement at the Lane seminary. There was at this time a generous sympathy awakened, not only at the seminary, but in the city, to befriend the colored inhabitants, and Lucy was among the number who received great assistance. She had three children, Harry, a stout healthy boy of eleven years; Susan, a slender, sickly child of nine; and little Ned, about five. The two elder children remembered their father, and the little one scarcely understood that he did not, so constantly was he hearing and talking of him. At all events, he was fully imbued with the animating spirit which pervaded this happy family,—happy in having constantly in view the attainment of a blessing which called forth all the energies of their nature. "Daddy's freedom" was the goal towards which every thought and every movement tended. Day and night Lucy was at her washing and ironing. Harry brought and carried the clothes, and gave all other assistance in his power to his mother in fetching water, preparing fires, &c. Susan prepared the meals, but her office was little more than a sinecure, for they scarcely allowed themselves any other food than the broken victuals they were permitted to get from a neighboring boarding-house. Little Ned, if he could do no more, could clap his hands at the sight of every new bundle of clothes brought for his mother to wash. Some ladies, who had become interested in the colored people, and saw the exertions the whole family were making, took charge of the children's clothes, not only supplying, but making and mending them. Lucy was therefore able to keep constantly at work, and to deposite the greater part of her earnings in the hoard for "father's freedom." The children, too, had their little hoard, in which to place their contributions for "daddy's freedom." Harry was able by his activity

and faithfulness to earn a good deal of money for so young a boy, particularly in the season of berries. Harry's berries were sure to find purchasers, they were always so clean and so ripe and so fresh. All he got this way, and every little piece of money he had given him for doing an errand, was scrupulously dropped into the "little mug," which contained their treasure. Poor little Sue, though not able to add much by her earnings, would sometimes have a piece of money given her to buy an orange, because she looked so sick, but the self-denying little creature would no more have applied it to her own use, than her mother would. No! they felt no other value for money, than that it would hasten the hour of "daddy's freedom." Some may doubt the truth of this picture, and say, "we can understand and believe the mother's self-denial, but children are such selfish little animals, we can't believe it of them." No one, however, who is much interested in children, and has ever studied their capabilities, will doubt it. The power of sympathy alone with an affectionate child, (and what child is not affectionate?) would engage its interest for what seemed to form the great object of its mother's existence. And when that object is one it can fully understand, and is a generous one, the ardor with which the child's whole soul will be absorbed in it, is truly wonderful, and may well put to shame the lukewarm zeal of after life. Never but in one instance was a farthing of the children's withheld from the sacred deposite, and that was by my favorite little Ned. But I must describe Ned, to obtain for him the good will of my readers; and I should begin by saying he was a very *pretty* child, but that I fear a smile from some of the *fair* of both sexes. He was however a bright, intelligent boy, with fine features, and of a complexion softened through two or three generations in America to a hue which allowed his countenance to show the rosy coloring when the blood rushed to his face from exercise or increased animation. He walked erect in all the native dignity of a prince in the land of his forefathers. He had not felt the withering influence of slavery; he had never shrunk from a blow; he had none of that downcast, abject look, which at a few years' later age may be seen in many of his race, whether in bondage or nominally free. He was all bright and joyous. If any one will look at a group of colored children, and there are among them any little boys of four or five, he will scarcely fail of seeing a counterpart to Ned. A dignified, important, non-chalant air. In an older boy, such a look is what would be generally called saucy, but in a younger one it is amusing, and in a colored child it is to me peculiarly interesting, as showing that as he comes from the hand of his Maker, he is in no degree the inferior of his white brethren, but that the depressed and debased state in which we too often find the African race, is, alas! our own work. Grievous as it is to behold man thus afflicted by his brother man, let us, in filial confidence, rejoice that the reproach does not belong to the righteous Father of us all. "Let God be true," though all others fall from their integrity.

Our favorite, Ned, was but a little boy, and was as fond of sweet things as any little white boy of the same age. Once a lady, who was struck with his pleasing appearance, called him in, and gave him half an orange. A few days after this, he had a small piece of money given him, and in a moment of forgetfulness he was tempted by the example of another boy of the same age, to buy a couple of oranges. As he drew near his home, his recollection returned, and he began to wish he had his little piece of money to give Harry to drop into the little mug. It was always a scene of great rejoicing and clapping of hands whenever any little addition was made to their treasure, and he began to think the oranges would not be so welcome as the money. He was too artless to have a thought of concealing them, but instead of entering with his usual air of ease and importance, he opened the door softly, and with a constrained air walked timidly, but straight forward, up to his mother, who he felt was his most indulgent friend, looking first at her and then at the children, as if to learn by the judgment they passed on him, what the degree of his offence was. "What have you got there, Ned?" said Harry. "Two orange. Good gentleman give me money. I give it to man in shop, he give me two orange. Dick Smith do so." His mother simply said, "I am sorry my little boy forgets that his poor father is a slave, and never gets such good things to eat." But the other children were not so lenient to him. "Oh for shame, Ned," said Harry, "to take the money for father's freedom to buy any thing for yourself. I would not be so greedy." "Only think of poor father," said little Sue; "if I felt ever so sick, I would not take the money to buy oranges with." "Do not say any thing more to him," said his mother; "he did not mean to be naughty, and he won't do so again, but will bring home the money to put in the little mug for father." Poor little Ned, relieved by his mother's soothing tone, echoed her soothing words, "Won't do so again, put money in little mug again, sorry;" and as a complete proof of penitence, he ran to Harry with the oranges, saying, "put orange in little mug." Finding they only laughed at this, the little culprit next tried to atone for his fault by offering to divide the oranges with them. But they would not touch them. Children are stern moralists. They know not how to excuse another, for yielding to a temptation which they feel themselves able to withstand. Candor and charity are not the virtues of youth, but are the growth of self-knowledge and observation. Poor little Ned shrunk into a corner with his oranges, and the little creature actually felt himself degraded. Right glad was he, when the last mouthful disappeared, and it was long before he could hear of an orange without a feeling of shame.

Harry had one day been gone rather longer than usual to the boarding-house for the fragments of their dinner. Little Ned, who was watching, at last espied him laboring under the additional burden of a well known and welcome sight, a large bundle of clothes. "He's coming, mother, and he's got a nice great big

bundle of clothes for you to wash." Harry ran in, overflowing with important information.

"Oh! mother, there's ever so many strangers at Mrs. Gibson's, and I know you'll have the washing of them all, for the gentleman I brought these clothes for says he'll ask them, and he's a nice kind gentleman, and I told him all about how hard you worked, and all of us, for father's freedom; and I told him all about your great box full of money, and about how our little mug was almost full, and he gave me a whole quarter of a dollar to put in, and I am going to show him that it's the biggest piece we ever got yet."

Lucy, who was accustomed to his loquacity, did not till this moment turn round, when she beheld a gentleman standing in a very thoughtful mood. It was a countenance well known to her, though her's was entirely unknown to him. Reader, unless you have some portion of romance in your composition, you will not conjecture who this was. Know, then, it was her husband's master, the master of Ben, a slave-holder. These remarkable coincidences do certainly sometimes occur in this unromantic, busy, trading world, but they are not of man.

Lucy was greatly agitated, and sunk down on the floor, covering her face with both her hands. She had not heard from her husband for two years, and she knew that the cholera had been very destructive among the colored people in that part of the country she had left. Now that information was at hand, she dreaded to hear, but suspense was intolerable. "What is the matter, good woman?" said the slave-holder; "what are you frightened at?" With a great mental effort, and raising her heart to heaven for support, she sobbed out, "Oh! master, my poor husband! is Ben alive?"

"Ben, what Ben? I don't know who your husband is."

"Oh master! Ben Wilson, your carpenter, that's got a great scar on his right cheek."

It was now the slave-holder's turn to be agitated, but repressing his emotion, he hastened to relieve Lucy.

"My carpenter, Ben, your husband! Yes, he's alive and well, and as honest, faithful a fellow, as ever."

"Thank God! thank God!" said Lucy. "Oh! if he's alive, I know he's good."

The slave-holder now threw himself into the only chair Lucy's room afforded. He had been much interested by the simple relation of Harry, as he had walked along with him, and been attracted by it to enter the dwelling. He saw it's reality; every thing bespoke the greatest indigence. Susan had placed on the table, or rather wash bench, their only table, the heterogeneous fragments of the dinner from which he had dined the day before. There was no superfluity of table apparatus; there was but one dish out of which all were to eat, and but one knife and fork. Yet they had hundreds of dollars hoarded up.

Harry by this time had placed the little mug of silver before him; "but I can't lift mother's box," said he. "Do, mother, help

me; you can tell how much there is in it." The box too was soon at his feet, and they all row surrounded the slave-holder, who appeared to have lost the power of speech.

"Feel how heavy the box is," said Harry.

"Feel how heavy little mug is," said my Ned, and in attempting to hand it to him, he scattered all the little shining six, ten, and twelve cent pieces, around the slave-holder. Each little piece, as it fell, seemed to sound a reproach to his heart. Lucy named the sum she had.

"Oh, master!" said she, falling at his feet, the children all following her example; "Oh, master! wont you be willing to sell Ben his freedom. I know there is not enough yet," said she, with a desponding look, which suddenly changed to one of proud satisfaction, as she added, "for Ben is worth a good price, I know."

"Is there not *almost* enough for father's freedom?" said little Sue.

"Do, please do, let daddy be free," said little Ned.

The slave-holder was still speechless. Think you he was touched by the scene before him?

"Has the slave-holder a heart?" some uncharitable abolitionist may reply, for, strange paradox, abolitionists are sometimes uncharitable. Yes, our slave-holder had a heart, and it was touched, deeply touched. His mind had been for some time previous preparing for such a scene to have its full effect on him. Here in this miserable hovel, in a family of slaves, the wife and children of one of his own bondmen, was a degree of moral energy and of self-denial beyond what he had ever dreamed of. To the outward eyes all was low, mean, abject; but he saw the beauty and sublimity of the fountain of virtue within, as he had never seen it before. The proud, the wealthy, the hospitable, the humane planter, as he had been called, when he compared himself with these poor slaves, felt himself sunk to the very depths of littleness.

"Is master sick?" said Lucy.

"Yes, good woman," he replied; "yes, sick, sick of myself, sick of slavery, sick of every thing." Poor Lucy, not understanding him, looked bewildered. The slave-holder, with great effort, calmly added, "Lucy, your husband has been worth more to me than all the money you have in that box. I have no right to any of it. Keep it for yourselves. Your husband is free from this moment. May you all be as happy as you deserve to be." He then darted out of the house.

Lucy continued on her knees, and in silence poured out the gratitude of her heart to that Being to whom she had learned to look "in trouble and in joy." The children of course could not understand all their mother's feelings, but they understood that the long-desired blessing had arrived; they understood that their father was now free, and they had been taught whom to thank for all blessings.

"Mother is thanking God," said little Ned, in a low voice, "because father is free."

"Let us thank him too," said Susan.

"How shall we say it," said Harry.

"Our teacher says no matter what words we say; I'll say it," said Susan, and folding her little hands, she said, "thank you, good Father in Heaven, for being so good to father, and mother, and Harry, and me, and Ned."

"Thank you, good Father in Heaven," responded both the other children.

Their mother turned to them with overflowing eyes, and kissing them all, said, "How happy your father will be to find he has got such good children."

"How soon will father get here?" said Harry.

"I cannot tell. I hope soon."

"And will he eat dinner, and breakfast, and supper, with us?" said Ned.

"I hope so now," said his mother.

"He never did before," said Susan.

"No, my dear," said her mother, "fathers cannot be much with their children when they are slaves, and belong to different masters; but now we are all free."

"Oh how good," said Susan. "Father, and mother, and children, all live together now, and be happy. It will seem like two mothers when father gets here."

"No, indeed," said Harry; "when father comes, he and I will do the hard work that is the man's business, and mother will only have to take care of the house and the children, and she shall never do so much hard work again."

"Shan't we have some dinner to-day?" said little Ned.

"Oh, no matter for dinner," said Harry, dancing about and kicking over the wash bench *alias* table, with all the dinner, which safely lodged itself in a tub of suds. "No matter for dinner," said he, a little more seriously, as he saw the dinner's fate, but soon began singing and capering about, "Daddy's free, daddy's free, daddy, daddy, we shall see, Oh how happy we shall be," &c. The African race have a great taste for singing and rhyming, as well as dancing.

Little Ned, and even poor little Sue, were soon animated to join in the frolic.

"Come, mother, do dance too, now father's free."

"No, my children, I cannot dance, but I like to see you."

The happiness of children shows itself in frolic and gayety, and they have little apprehension of that higher degree of happiness so nearly allied to pain, and which, like all our strongest feelings, is always serious.

After they had danced and sung till they were tired, the want of dinner began to be felt. As Miss Edgeworth says, dinner time will come to break in upon the most eventful scenes of life, and with a set of poor little children, appetites will come with it. "What shall we have for dinner?" was the general inquiry, with a look at the unlucky tub of suds.

"You may go and buy something for dinner," said their mother.

"Buy dinner!" said little Ned, with a look of astonishment.

"To be sure," said Harry, "we may buy dinner *now*. What shall I get, mother?"

"You may get what you please," said their mother. "You shall choose your dinner the day of your father's freedom."

"I'll have some gingerbread," said Harry.

"I'll have gingerbread too," said Ned.

"Mother," said Susan, "may Harry buy me an orange, it would taste so good?"

"Yes. Harry, get a couple of nice oranges for her;" and she looked anxiously at Susan, as she observed her pallid countenance and parched lips. "Susan, my dear, I am afraid I have not attended to you as I ought. You look sick and feverish; you have not had proper food."

"Oh yes, mother, I have; I should not have liked to have you spend money for me."

"What will you have for your dinner, mother?" said Harry.

"Oh, any thing. You may get me some chocolate."

Harry soon returned with the various articles for dinner. Lucy prepared her bowl of chocolate, a luxury she had not tasted since her days of slavery. Harry and Ned feasted on their gingerbread. Susan seized the oranges with the eagerness of disease, and could I bring her as distinctly before my reader, as I have her in "my mind's eye," I think he would say he had never enjoyed eating an orange himself, more than he would in imagination seeing Susan devour hers; and he must at the same time bear in mind, that this self-denying little creature had never given the least hint of the craving she had felt for this cooling, delicious fruit, so grateful to the feverish invalid. "It won't be naughty now," said little Ned, "to buy oranges sometimes, when good gentleman gives me money."

But we must leave this interesting group, and look after our slave-holder, about whom and his slaves, as he is a large slave owner, I feel some little anxiety; not much, however, for as he perceived his duty with regard to his carpenter, he will not be long in applying the same principles to the others. After quitting the house, he walked rapidly up and down several streets for an hour or two, then shut himself up in his room for decision and for action. We have said that his mind had been preparing for a favorable result from such reflections as now occupied it. Some time before, several anti-slavery articles had come into his hands, and his eyes began to be opened. It was a slow process, yet he never wilfully turned from the truth. "Impossible!" again exclaims some abolitionist; "impossible but what he must have known that he had no right to keep his fellow-men in bondage." It is nevertheless true, that the subject had never been fairly brought before the bar of conscience. We cannot, however, extend our charity so far as to believe this to be a common case in our enlightened republic, but that there are some such cannot be doubted. He had inherited his slaves from his father, who was an unenlightened, simple-minded man, of a mild disposition, and

chiefly devoted to the care of his plantation. The slaves being much under his own personal superintendance, were of course much better treated, and made more comfortable, than when left to the arbitrary control of despotic deputies.

Our slave-holder was an only son, and had been educated at one of the universities of the north, where it is to be regretted that the standard of morals with regard to slavery, varied but little from that of the south. It is well known, that not many years since "the delicate subject" was most carefully avoided in the presence of any connected with slavery, and if by any chance it happened to be introduced, every thing like an expression of disapprobation was avoided with the most punctilious etiquette. Yes, let humanity blush at its weakness, in allowing a sentiment of etiquette towards the oppressor to overpower our compassion for the oppressed. We now perceive that by this course of conduct we have extinguished our own sympathy for our afflicted countrymen in bondage, and lulled to sleep the consciences of their oppressors. Are we not then accessaries to their crime?

While at the north our slave-holder became attached to an amiable young lady, whom he afterwards married. We need scarcely a stronger proof of the low tone of morals on this subject throughout the country, than the frequency of such connexions. Could any who viewed slave-holding in its true light, and as Christians should view it, be willing thus to connect themselves with, and in fact become partakers in such crime? How many inferior kinds of wrong-doing are there, which the delicate female would shrink from connecting herself with as from contamination? How would she shudder at the thought of marrying a man even suspected of stealing money? Yet, "who steals my purse steals trash," compared to him who robs me of myself, my liberty, my wife, my children, my all.

But, to pursue our story, our slave-holder, after his father's death, endeavored to follow his steps as nearly as the difference in their education admitted. He had been much troubled at the increasing restrictions upon the instruction of slaves in some of the states, and his wife still more so. She had been much shocked and grieved at the increase of the slaves, when she found herself in the midst of them, and fairly understood what slavery was. She and her husband had planned Sunday schools and other modes of instruction, in the hope of improving their moral condition. It was just at this time, and while their minds were in a state of perplexity, that the anti-slavery publications came into their hands. The slave-holder was astounded. The violence, the bitterness of much of the language, offended him; yet at the same time it roused him, and did not blind him to what was true in it. He determined to give the subject a thorough investigation, that, if possible, he might ascertain what there was so abhorrent in the system of slavery, that could draw forth such language, such unqualified condemnation, such urgent remonstrance. He was too honest not to perceive that the abolitionists were acting from principle, and could only be

influenced by benevolent motives, however their zeal might sometimes betray them into the use of unjustifiable language. The accounts they gave of injustice and cruelty, were not new to him; he knew that the slaves were in many cases treated with great cruelty, but it had no more occurred to him, that this was a reason against keeping slaves, than it occurred to him, or than it occurs to us, as a reason against keeping horses, that truckmen and wagoners sometimes abuse their cattle. He now first considered that a system which admitted of inflicting such tremendous atrocities on human beings, must be radically evil and iniquitous. He began to perceive, that although he had been what is called a humane master, yet that he had never in fact regarded his slaves exactly as fellow-men, as having the same feelings and the same rights as his white brethren had, that he had not thought of them as *brethren*. The pleadings, the arguments, the appeals of anti-slavery writers in their behalf, found their way to his conscience, and opened his heart to their claims to brotherhood. He never stopped from steadfastly and fearlessly seeking the whole truth. But—might there not be some delusion; his good father, could he have committed such injustice as this new doctrine taught him it was,—what would his fellow-citizens say? He had only heard of abolitionists as fanatics, fools, and madmen. It was with his mind in this state of perplexity and conflict, and with all the restlessness of an awakened conscience trembling to continue in sin, yet fearful of delusion, that he contrived some business which would carry him to Cincinnati. Here he knew there were a great many colored people, whose situation he wished to look into, that he might judge what would be the condition of such of his slaves as chose to leave him, in case he should liberate them. He met, as we have related, with Harry, and was led by him to his mother's habitation. The scene which passed there was well suited to bring him to decision. It showed to him, in the clearest light, the criminality of withholding liberty from beings by whom it was so dearly prized, and who proved themselves capable of so nobly using it. He could not of course suppose that all his slaves, still less the general mass, were as well fitted for emancipation as Ben and his family were, and he knew that it must be placed to the iniquity of slavery that they were not so.

It would be in vain to attempt to describe all that passed in his mind while at Lucy's hovel, and during his walk to his lodgings. It is perhaps a slave-holder only, who has been under similar circumstances, that could form a correct idea of it. It cannot be said that it was remorse he felt, that worst of mental sufferings, for that would imply that he had been sensible of the injustice he was committing, and this we have said was not the case; but he experienced that overwhelming, heart-felt regret, which must ever fill a good mind at the thought of having committed great injustice and wrong, however unconsciously. Connected with this feeling was of course the determination to make the best reparation in his power. There was no longer any doubt on his mind as to the

course which it was his duty to pursue. The voice of conscience was clear in its decisions, and conscience was "obeyed as God's most intimate presence in the soul." He was lawyer enough himself to know how to draw up an instrument providing for the immediate emancipation of his slaves. He would not sleep till he had performed this act of justice, this first step towards reparation; and he went to bed a happier man than he had for many months, perhaps more truly happy than he ever had before.

The next morning our slave-holder, or now, rather, our generous emancipator, set out for home. "Not generous," says some caviling abolitionist; "he was but barely just." This is true; but it has been well remarked by a refined moralist, that in justice there is always an element of generosity. Let not the praise of generosity be denied to our emancipator, for none but a generous mind would be capable of such an act of justice. None other would so discern and acknowledge the rights of others, which neither law nor custom required him to regard. Immediately on his return home, he made known to all his slaves that they were free. The universal rejoicing among them at the intelligence, was far beyond what he had expected, and it showed him how entirely mistaken he had been in supposing, with many others, that they were in general contented with their lot, because he had never heard from them any expression of a desire for liberty. But now, when the restraints were removed which slavery had imposed on such an expression, there were as vociferous bursts of genuine eloquence from them in praise of liberty, as ever proceeded from the lips of the most patriotic statesman in the country. The sight of their happiness, with the blissful reflection, that, under Providence, he was the author of it, was, to the good planter, a rich reward for every sacrifice, whether real or imaginary, which he had made. How is it any slave-holder can refrain from an act which brings so high a recompense! Surely this is the slave-holder's appropriate *compensation*, and a beautiful one it is. Need he wish for any other?

The greater part of our emancipated slaves gave the best testimony to their having had a good master, by choosing to remain on the plantation as his hired laborers. A few restless spirits preferred to seek their fortune elsewhere, and for these he had endeavored to make the best provision in his power. The greater part of them, however, soon returned to him.

Let not our good carpenter, Ben, be forgotten. He was among the happiest of the happy, at the news of his freedom, which his master himself communicated to him, relating also a great part of the scene which passed at Lucy's hovel. He was impatient to set out and join his family, and take a look at the great world. Gladly would I convey to the reader some idea of the joy of their meeting, but find myself inadequate to the task, and therefore leave it to his own imagination.

THE
ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

VOL. I. SEPTEMBER, 1835. [SECOND EDITION.] NO. 9.



THE DESPERATION OF A MOTHER.

"Why do you narrate the extraordinary cases of cruelty? These stories will not convert the cruel, and they wound the feelings of masters who are not so."
REPLY. Cruelty is the fruit of the system.

In Marion Co., Missouri, a Negro-Trader was, not long ago, making up a drove for the Red River country. He purchased two little boys of a planter. They were to be taken away the next day. How did the mother of the children feel! To prevent her interference, she was chained in an out-house. In the night she contrived to get loose, took an axe, proceeded to the place where her [yes, *her*] boys slept, and severed their heads from their bodies! She then put an end to her own existence.

☞ The negro-trader and planter quarreled, and went to law, about the price!

THE DOCTRINE OF THE BIBLE IN REGARD TO SLAVERY.

The most determined slaveholders claim authority from the Bible in support of slavery. It is of great importance therefore for every person to understand what the Bible really does teach. Within the limits of the Record we cannot attempt to go into an extended examination of the Scriptures on this point, but will give a hint which may be of use in such an examination, viz.

The *whole ground* should be gone over.

Those passages in which it is claimed that slavery was permitted, should be read in the light of those that require the breaking of every yoke. The Bible certainly condemns fraud, covetousness and oppression. It frequently denounces the wrath of God against those nations that oppress the poor and the hireling in his wages. It narrates the judgments of God actually poured out upon such nations. It advocates principles of action, with which holding our fellow-men as property, is totally inconsistent. How can the same book which inculcates the maxims, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," "Love thy neighbor as thyself," authorize the holding of men as goods and chattels—putting them or keeping them in a state in which *fear* is the only motive to action; in which the soul is sure to be neglected, if not murdered? We believe the candid inquirer will be astonished at the mass of thorough-going anti-slavery doctrine in the Bible. The question will then occur, did not the servitude which God permitted to his ancient people differ in some important respects from that which now exists under the name of slavery in these United States? Is there a certainty that the Israelites were permitted either to buy or retain a bondman without his own consent? or to sell him without his own consent? Might the pious patriarchs, when their bondmen absconded, offer large rewards for their recovery? &c. We feel certain, after the most careful attention to the subject, that if any countenance can fairly be derived from the Bible for the continuance of *American* slavery, that venerable book is not only inconsistent with the plain promptings of humanity, *but with itself!* Let those, then, who justify *American* slavery with its overseers and auctions, chains and whips, its dread of insurrections and its wrath against free discussion, settle the matter as they can with the infidel! We subjoin the following texts of Scripture, which came wrapped around a contribution to our funds. We know not the writer, but will venture that he is familiar with the word of God. Whether he has quoted correctly, a concordance will easily show.

"Break every yoke, undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free."

"God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth."

"And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death."

"Thou shalt neither vex a stranger nor oppress him."

"If a man be found stealing any of his brethren, and maketh merchandise of him, or selleth him, that thief shall die."

"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

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

"Wherefore, now, let the fear of the Lord be upon you; take heed and do it: for there is no iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of persons."

"So I returned, and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun; and behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of the oppressors there was power; but they had no comforter."

SLAVERY THE LEVELER.

Our opponents say, "you abolitionists build your theory on the assertion, 'that all men are created equal,' which is not according to fact—so far from it, that no two men are born equal, and take any number of men, the longer they live the greater the inequality among them. Thus your foundation being worthless, your superstructure has no stability." Not so. The blunder of mistaking equality of *rights*, for equality of *powers*, does not belong to us. We believe that all men are created *equal* as to *RIGHTS*, but *unequal* as to *POWERS*, therefore the manifest injustice of reducing a class of men to the dead level of mere machines, chaining down the noblest powers to the same sphere with the meanest. The principle of equality of rights, which is all that we contend for, is the only one which permits the souls of men to expand and take rank according to the different capacities which God has bestowed. It is not a leveling principle, but a regulating and harmonizing principle. It is the principle of a place for every man and every man in his place. But slavery is the leveler. Slavery first violates the principle of equality of rights, by denying it, nullifying, and utterly trampling down whole races of men, and then it violates the inequality of powers by consigning *all* to the *same condition* of brutal subserviency. Powers that might wield a sceptre, or unlock the mysteries of creation, it places beside those that can never transcend the use of a hoe. Now abolitionists do not encourage a man who is only fit to wield the hoe, to throw it down and demand the helm of state. All they ask is, that a fair chance shall be given to every man, even the poorest scavenger, so to use his hoe that he may some day use something better than a hoe. They know that labor is the doom of man, it cannot be escaped; but the fear of the lash may be; hope may be substituted for that degrading motive, and the bitter cup may be sweetened. We are told that the slaves are better off than the starving poor of Ireland, or of China. What if it were so? Because a day's wages will not buy a meal of potatoes in Ireland, does it follow that a man may withhold wages from the laborer in America, provided he gives him plenty of potatoes? Because the mother destroys her infant in over-peopled China, may a man here tear

an infant from its mother, and give it to the first person he meets? There are other evils than slavery, and other victims of oppression than slaves, but it is a strange logic that quotes one sin in justification of another, or pleads to retain human beings as goods and chattels, because they are better off as such in America than they would be free in Ireland!

[For the Record.]

“A NEGRO IS A MAN.”

If so, then God has placed him in various relations, such as son, brother, husband, father, subject (or citizen).

As a son, he has bound him to honor and obey his father and mother.

As a brother, he has bound him to love his kindred, and to relieve their distresses.

As a husband, he has bound him to love his wife as his own flesh, and to cleave to her more strongly than to any other of the relations in which he is placed. “Therefore, what God hath (thus) bound together, let not man put asunder.”

As a father, he has bound him to provide for, and educate his offspring.

And as a subject, he has commanded him to obey the laws of his government.

He then that holds a negro in slavery, breaks every one of these relations in which God has placed him, or, in other words, compels the negro to disobey God in all these relations.

As a son, he is not allowed to obey the commands of his parents, only in so far as these commands are the commands of his master.

As a brother, he is taught to treat his brother as one brute treats another.

As a husband, he is taught to take a wife as brutes do, come together for a time, and then separate again; or, in other words, his relation to his wife depends upon the will of his master, and not upon the ordinance of God.

Who then, that have put asunder men and their wives, that have broken all the ties of parents to their children, and children to their parents, and that have changed all the relations in which God has placed man, dare to venture into his presence, without first having broken off their sins by righteousness, (restoring their slaves to the relations in which God placed them,) and obtained forgiveness for their trespasses against his laws?

Surely men are blind who think that God is not jealous of his laws, and that he will wink at the violation of all those relations in which he has placed his creature, man. If in former ages God condemned men and gave them over to work out their own destruction, for changing the use of things which he had made, where is the ground of hope that he will now permit men to change all the relations and uses of his creature, man?—as has been the case with all those who have black skins in America.

If then a negro be a man, it would be well for all such as hold slaves,

to examine the relations in which God has placed man, and ascertain whether they have not *wasted* the laws of God to their own destruction. Perhaps God may not wait as long with them who trample upon his laws now, as he did before the flood. "Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord, and I will repay." O that this nation may become wise, and repent of their sins, and set all the captives free, that there may be rejoicing in the land.

JULIEN.

LETTER FROM A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL IN ONE OF THE SLAVE STATES.

July 20, 1835.

BROTHER WRIGHT,

It was with not a little pleasure and surprise I received the commission as Agent for your excellent institution. The principles of your Society, I have believed and maintained for years. They are incorporated in the Gospel of the Son of God. They are also incorporated in the principles of our most excellent government. The instructions you give to your agents are truly wise and evangelical. Your institution should be, and I trust it is, truly evangelical. Those who engage in so great and arduous a work should have the wisdom, meekness, and ardor of the Apostles. Slavery must, and *will* come down, and be abolished from our land.—The Almighty has kindled a fire on that subject, that all the waters of the *ocean* cannot extinguish. In perfect agreement with the spirit and system of slavery are those *infidel laws* enacted in the South, prohibiting the slaves to be taught to read the Bible. Is not this *war direct* against Heaven? Have we not great reason to fear that God will plead in judgments, yea in heavy vengeance for these things? If the church of Christ were freed from this *sin* of sins, I should feel very different from what I do. Slave-holding ministers, slave-holding officers, and private members!—What a great and fearful departure from the example and precepts of our Divine Lord and Master! How dark the light of the church on this subject! In the name and strength of the Lord God, who is the *friend*, yea, the *avenger* of the oppressed, let us go forward in this great and noble enterprise. Violent will be the efforts of the enemy to counteract and defeat our object. Could I see you face to face, I could say much on this subject. I thank God, that the friends of the poor slave have begun to organize themselves for work. I am engaged in the matter in the church where I am now living. Some sales have taken place in the church. Their cause is now pending before the Session. My Session is straight and firm on the subject. God, in his good providence, has placed me over two churches. And such is my present relation and engagements to them, that I could not at *this time* engage in an agency under the direction of your Board, or any other. How long this may last, I know not. We cannot tell what will be on the morrow. I can but express thanks for the confidence reposed, the honor conferred on one so unworthy. If you could obtain a well-qualified agent, who is not a minister, it would promise more good in this State. The Devil hates devoted,

faithful ministers. But I know no one that I could recommend to your Board. What the Lord may direct me for the future, I know not.—His will be done. May the God of Jacob guide, defend, sustain, and bless your efforts on behalf of the oppressed.

Yours in the Lord.

The writer of the above is a native of the state in which he resides, and of course well knows the nature of that horrid system against which he speaks. The South is not all a desert, there are some green spots. For such instances of Christian heroism we desire to thank God, while we "take courage."—Ed. Rec.

[For the Anti-Slavery Record.]

DEAR SIR: I enclose a translation, made by a young lady, from a French periodical lately received from Paris, entitled *L'Ami De La Jeunesse*. I do not recollect having seen the facts stated in any of the publications of this country, although similar atrocities, as we well know, are not of unfrequent occurrence. I am sure they will much interest your readers.

Yours, &c. S. A.

[From the Youth's Friend, May, 1835; Volume 1. Second Series, No. 5.]

PUBLIC SALE OF HUMAN FLESH.

During my sojourn in the capital of Virginia, (United States,) I was a witness, for the first time in my life, of a scene as degrading to human nature, as productive of horror and disgust to the friends of humanity; the following advertisement having been inserted for several days successively in the newspapers:

"Monday next, at 9 A. M. at public sale, the slaves whose names follow, all negroes of the first quality, namely:—Betsy, a negro woman, twenty-three years of age, with her child Caesar three years old; an excellent cook, washer and ironer; warranted healthy. Julia, a mulatto girl, aged thirteen, robust and active, a good field laborer; with the exception of a slight defect in the left eye, she is without fault. Augustus, a negro lad, six years of age, qualified to become an excellent domestic; without defect. The aforesaid slaves will be sold without reserve to the highest bidder, and the purchaser will be able to obtain credit for two or even four months, upon good security."

I was anxious to be present at such a strange commercial transaction, and I was there punctually. In the midst of various articles exposed for sale, such as pots, pans, beds, chairs, books, &c. &c., were seated the unhappy slaves, all crowded together, and all, as one would imagine, appropriately clothed. The poor mother, with her child in her arms, was the first object that drew my attention. The auctioneer had placed her in such a manner, that she and her infant should be the first object

seen by those who entered the market. The customers, as they entered, cast their eyes upon the group so worthy of pity, to satisfy their curiosity, and examined them as if they were gazing at some chef d'œuvre produced by the chisel of Canova. I could not help shuddering with indignation, in considering the indifference and gross rudeness with which these insensible men treat their slaves. Betsy was the only one who appeared to feel all the rigors of her situation; her eyes remained constantly fixed upon her infant, and if she raised them for a moment, it was to obey the order of a purchaser, who wished, probably, to assure himself that they were strong enough to support labor by day and by night; but she had scarcely yielded to his injunction, ere they fell again upon the miserable infant which reposed on her bosom; she even replied to all their questions without raising her eyes to the person by whom she was addressed.

It was not the same, however, with the other slaves; they smiled at every jest, and their large white eyes, like brilliants fastened to their foreheads, sparkled with joy at the gay conversation and at the witty remarks——of the gentlemen who had come hither with the intention of purchasing human beings at a fair price. But the moment of the sale was approaching, and several persons were assembled in the hall: the crier invited them to come out, and upon a table placed before the door in the middle of the street, was exposed one of the slaves who were for sale.

Betsy and her child had the honor of figuring first. The crier stood upon a chair placed near. I discovered in the crowd a dozen negroes at least, who, passing at the time, were drawn by curiosity to approach, and appeared to follow with attention the progress of the sale; I could not forbear sympathizing with the unhappy beings, in reading upon their countenances the interest with which their companions in misery inspired them. "Let us proceed, gentlemen," cried the seller of human flesh in a stentorian voice;—"let us proceed, a woman for sale!"

"An excellent woman; not a fault! and a little boy in the bargain. How much for the mother and child—250 dollars; very well, sir, \$280 to begin. Some one has bid \$250. Truly, gentlemen, they sell cattle for a larger price; \$250; look at these eyes, examine these limbs—shall I say \$260? Thanks, gentlemen, some one has bid \$260. It seems to me that I heard \$275;—go on, gentlemen; I have never sold such a bargain. How! \$280 dollars for the best cook, the best washer and the best dressmaker in Virginia? Must I sell her for the miserable price of \$280?—\$300; two gentlemen have said 300. Very well, gentlemen; I am happy to see you begin to warm a little; some one bid 310—310, going—330—335—340—340, going—upon my honor, gentlemen, it is indeed a sacrifice to lose so good a cook; a great bargain for \$340. Reflect upon it a little, and do not forget there is a little boy in the bargain."

Here our auctioneer was interrupted in his harangue by one of his customers, a man whose appearance had inspired me, from the first moment, with a feeling of horror, and who, with the indifference and sang froid of an assassin, made to him the following observation: "As for the negro child, it is good for nothing; it is not worth a day's nour-

ishment, and if I have the mother, I will give away the child very quick; the first bidder will be able to have it at a cheap bargain."

I glanced at the unfortunate mother, anxious to see what effect this barbarous proposal would have upon her. She did not speak, but a profound sadness was impressed on her countenance. The little innocent which she held in her arms, fixed his large eyes upon her, as if saying, "mama, why do you weep?" Then he turned toward the witnesses of this heart-rending scene, with an expression that seemed to ask, what they had done to his mother to make her weep so bitterly. No, never will this moment escape my memory; it has confirmed me for all my life in the horror that I already felt at this infamous traffic. The auction continued, and finally the crier, striking a heavy blow with a hammer, pronounced the award; to Mr. — for \$300. The victim descended from the table and was led away by the purchaser. The other slaves were sold in the same manner as poor Betsy. Julia was sold at \$326, and Augustus at \$105. They both fell to the same individual who had purchased the former lot. I had judged from his appearance that he might be some young farmer, and they assured me that such was the fact. I had at least one satisfaction, that of thinking they had not fallen into the hands of a slave merchant by profession. In his eyes, it is true, might be seen the contentment of one who thinks he has made a good bargain, but he treated with mildness these unfortunate beings who had become his property; he did not speak to them in a severe humiliating tone, so common to those who frequent these frightful markets.—*Travels of Arfredson.*

It was in the United States that the scene took place of which we have just copied an account; in the same United States whose generous efforts for the diffusion of the word of God and for the establishment of missions among the pagans, we have so justly commended in this publication. When then shall the Christians of this country put an end to this horrible traffic? When shall they wipe out the stain which is impressed on the national character?

White Lady, happy, proud and free,
Lend awhile thine ear to me;
Let the Negro Mother's wail
Turn thy pale cheek still more pale.
Can the Negro Mother joy
Over this her captive boy,
Which in bondage and in tears,
For a life of wo she rears?
Though she bears a Mother's name,
A Mother's rights she may not claim;
For the white man's will can part,
Her darling from her bursting heart.

A SAMPLE OF THREATENING.

We seldom notice the daily threats that we receive from slaveholders. Could they be spread out before the community, we think they would go far to prove to the unprejudiced, if it is possible for such to need proof, that slavery is *tyranny*, and slaveholders *tyrants*. Tyrants are not all alike, to be sure; some have many good qualities—Nero was sometimes, and to some persons, very kind—but the bulk of them are *cruel*. Their "*tender mercies are cruel*."

Observe—the note beneath is from the District of Columbia!

"Georgetown, D. C., August 6th, 1835.

"R. G. WILLIAMS,

Publisher of the Emancipator.

"Sir,—The *Emancipator* is returned herewith, being unwilling to circulate, or have about my premises, a sheet which bears every mark of treason, and whose conductors await, it is to be hoped, an ignominious death.

"If your cause is a good one, why circulate your paper in the dark? You are certainly not ashamed to be found doing a righteous act? then why does not the person who distributes the *Emancipator*, call in the open day with his paper? Is he afraid of Judge Lynch? No! Your deeds are evil; therefore, you prefer darkness rather than light.

"I should like to see some of your worthy coadjutors in this part of the country, with your dirty sheet for distribution, as there are several rope-factories here almost out of work, and they could not be better employed than making ropes to hang such authors. Or, if you have any spare *Steam Doctors*, you might send us a few, just to keep them in practice, as it appears they 'don't take' in Mississippi."

This note, be it remembered, comes from the place where Dr. Crandall has been arrested for having in his possession copies of the *Emancipator*, &c.; and where, but for the walls of his prison, he probably would be *hanged*, without judge or jury! See here the motives of slaveholders and colonizationists in urging us to go to the South. "If your cause is good," say they, "why do you not publish it at the South?" And before we have time to reply, they tell us, "why, if you should preach such doctrine at the South, you would be *hung* in a moment." Therefore, is their sage conclusion, your doctrines cannot be true!

 SELLING CHILDREN BY THE POUND!

The following conversation between two planters, one from North Carolina, and the other from Mississippi, recently occurred on board one of our splendid North River Steamboats. It was given to us in writing, by a respectable citizen of Poughkeepsie, who heard it.

Mississippian. What is a young negro boy worth in North Carolina?

Carolinian. They fetch a great price there.

M. Are slaves scarce there at present?

C. They are scarce and high. Those that have slaves are out of debt, and of course able to hold them, or get their price.

M. What is a negro man worth?

C. I purchased one a short time since for \$750.

M. And what are women with children worth?

C. They are much higher in proportion to other slaves.

M. Well, what would a good likely negro boy bring?

C. Under fifty [pounds] they fetch NINE DOLLARS PER POUND, that is the common price!

And how much worse would it be, first to *slay* and then hang up the *flesh* in the shambles to *sell*? In the name of humanity and heaven, let us not utter a syllable about the cannibals of Quallah Battoo! What! sellers of *living human flesh* BY THE POUND, complaining that their MISSIONARIES are murdered and *eaten*!—Better keep them at home then.

ED. REC.

[For the Anti-Slavery Record.]

THE TIMES CHANGED.

Mr. Editor,—The eighteen Southerners who called the meeting in Tammany Hall, either mistook the feeling of their countrymen, or else the times are changed with us. They came forward with a proposal of '*frank and dispassionate discussion!*' A hypocritical proposal, the event proved it; but mark the substitution of *hypocrisy* for *menace*. Two years ago they called upon the people of New-York, openly, in the public prints, to put down Tappan and Garrison, and themselves headed a mob of five thousand persons to execute their purpose. Now they talk about discussion!—Discussion—the death of *freedom* to slavery, as the whole southern press testifies. Permit me to transcribe a paragraph from the Columbia (S. C.) Telescope, which appeared about two years since, as a sample.

"Let us declare, through the public journals of our country, that the question of slavery is not, and shall not be open to discussion:—that the system is deep-rooted amongst us, and must remain for ever;—that the very moment any private individual attempts to lecture us upon its evils and immorality, and the necessity of putting means in operation to secure us from them:—*in the same moment his tongue shall be cut out and cast upon the dunghill.* We are freemen, sprung from a noble stock of freemen, able to boast as noble a line of ancestry as ever graced this earth. We have burning in our bosoms the spirit of freemen,—live in a country blessed with its privileges,—under a government that has *pledged* itself to protect us in the enjoyment of our peculiar domestic institutions, in peace and undisturbed, &c. &c." Here is the honest expression of that *feeling* which *now* cloaks itself under the offer of "frank and dispassionate discussion."

R.

P. S. Since the above was written, the same sentiments have been

expressed by an immense meeting of citizens in Charleston. Suppose all the Neros and Caligulas of the world, past and present, were collected into a "sovereign state," could they talk or act more tyrannically? The question is, whether such tyranny shall be continued, or given up?

THE NORFOLK MANIFESTO.

The citizens of Norfolk, Va., have shown a blindness, more marvellous than it is uncommon, in their late proclamation against those whom they are pleased to call "the cold-blooded hypocrites of the Anti-Slavery school." They complain of being "denounced as tyrants and oppressors,—as Man-robbers and pirates." And in the next breath, they say, "When asked by what right we retain this class of our population in bondage, we shall, like the chivalry of Scotland, on a similar occasion, *point to our swords*. We shall scorn to render any other reply." Well, who is a tyrant, if not the master whose *right* lies in his sword?—who *scorns* to give any other account of the matter? We made the charge; the citizens of Norfolk have brought the proof. Are we to be told that these men who 'make weight' in the scales of justice by throwing in their 'SWORDS,' have always been *just* and *kind* to their slaves, and true to their country, and would continue to be so, but for our interference? Are *honest* men exasperated by the barking of the house-dog? If a man be *falsely* accused of cruelty to his horse, does he thereupon, out of spite, fall to beating the animal?

[From the Atlantic Souvenir.—1832.]

THE AFRIC'S DREAM.

BY MISS E. M. CHANDLER.

Why did ye wake me from my sleep? it was a dream of bliss!
 And ye have torn me from that land to pine again in this.
 Methought, beneath yon whispering tree, that I was laid to rest,
 The turf, with all its wither'd flowers, upon my cold heart press'd.

My chains, these hateful chains, were gone—oh, would that I might die,
 So from my swelling pulse I could for ever cast them by!
 And on, away o'er land and sea, my joyful spirit pass'd,
 Till near my own banana-tree, I lighted down at last.

My cabin door, with all its flowers, was still profusely gay,
 As when I lightly sported there, in childhood's careless day;
 But trees, that then were sapling twigs, with broad and shadowing bough
 Around the well-known threshold spread a freshening coolness now.

The birds, whose notes I used to hear, were shouting on the earth,
As if to greet me back again with their wild songs of mirth;
My own bright stream was at my feet, and how I laugh'd to lave
My burning lip, and cheek, and brow, in that delicious wave!

My boy, my first-born babe, had died amid his early hours,
And there we laid him to his sleep among the clustering flow'rs;
Yet lo! without my cottage door he sported in his glee,
With her whose grave is far from his, beneath yon linden tree.

I sprang to snatch them to my soul, when, breathing out my name,
To grasp my hand, and press my lip, a crowd of loved ones came!
Wife, parents, children, kinsmen, friends! the dear and lost ones all,
With blessed words of welcome, came to greet me from my thrall.

Forms, long unseen, were by my side; and, thrilling on my ear,
Came cadences, from gentle tones, unheard for many a year;
And on my cheek fond lips were press'd with true affection's kiss—
And so ye waked me from my tears—but 'twas a dream of bliss!

RECEIPTS.

Donations received by the Treasurer to August 7.		Monthly Collections received by Publishing Agent from July 12 to August 1, 1835.	
New-York, D. Fanshaw,	64 89	Austinburgh, O., Rev. H. Cowles,	3 00
" A. Tappan,	250 00	Cleveland, O., J. M. Sterling,	6 00
" J. Rankin,	100 00	" " S. L. Severance,	3 00
Hallowell, Me., A. S. Society, per E. Dole,	200 00	" " S. I. Hamlin,	75
Braddock's Field, Pa., Mary Oliver, per J. Shaw,	5 00	" " A. Penfield,	75
Westmoreland A. S. Society, per Rev. E. Fairchild,	20 00	Carlisle, Pa., E. Mackey,	1 50
Peterborough A. S. Society, per C. Grant,	14 00	Dover, N. H., by W. H. Alden,	10 00
A Friend in Canada, by J. Talbot,	20 00	Darien, Conn., by W. Whitney,	1 38
Great Barrington and Sheffield, Mass., A few Friends,	9 00	Farmington, N. Y., by W. R. Smith,	6 00
New-York, William Lillie,	1 00	Geneva, O., Z. Denison,	6 00
North Fairfield, O., Samuel Penfield,	6 00	Huntsburg, O., by J. W. Bracket,	6 00
Austinburgh, O., Monthly Concert, by L. Bissell,	3 47	Hudson, N. Y., Miss M. Marriott,	3 23
Ashtabula co. A. S. Society, on account of pledge,	3 83	Hudson, O., by F. W. Upson,	5 00
Cleveland, O., Monthly concert, by S. L. Severance,	2 00	New-Brunswick, N. J. by J. Lillie,	1 00
New-York Sabbath School No. 40,	4 74	New-York, H. Owen,	12
Bridgeport, Conn., W. R. Bunnell,	5 00	" Dr. Doolittle,	25
		Perry, N. Y., by J. Andrews,	6 00
		Stilwater, N. Y., E. Sherman,	1 00
		Utica, " O. N. Worden,	1 06
		Waterville, Me., by C. S. Busnell,	3 00
		Books and Pamphlets sold at office,	253 30
		Received for Emancipator,	50 50
		" " Human Rights,	76 50
		Quarterly Magazine,	17 29
			462 63
Total,	706 93		

OWN RANKIN, Treasurer.

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THE
ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

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THE FLOGGING OF FEMALES.

"What!—the whip on *WOMAN'S* shrinking flesh!"

Some of our readers may think the flogging of females a very rare and extraordinary occurrence. It is nevertheless very common. The cut above is no exaggerated representation of an everyday scene in the past history of the West Indies. In 1824, Great Britain endeavored to ameliorate Slavery in its colonies, and among other things to abolish the flogging of females. After a series of shameful evasions, the legislature of Jamaica, in Dec. 1827, held the following language. "The whip is not forbidden in the field, lest the abandonment, too suddenly, of a long-established usage, should be misunderstood by the slaves. * * * Until negro women have acquired more of the sense of shame, which distinguishes European females, it will be impossible with respect to them, to lay aside altogether punishment by flogging, there being no substitute that promises to be accompanied with the same salutary dread." That similar scenes are witnessed daily in these United States, though perhaps not in mercy's sight, take the testimony of Rev. David Nelson, a man who has been a Slaveholder, and has spent his whole life among Slaveholders, and whose veracity few will dare to impeach. He says to Christian slaveholders, "You help to put it out of the power

of half a million of children to obey God here. That child is not reared by her parents. This one sees them WHIPPED—hears them called *strumpet, harlot, thief, scoundrel*, and every name that denotes infamy.” Could he say this, if the whipping of mothers were not a common practice? How long shall this barbarous cruelty disgrace Christian America!

MR. WELD'S ADDRESS

At the Meeting of the Western Reserve (Ohio) Anti-Slavery Society.

[From the Ohio Observer.]

Mr. T. D. Weld, upon seconding the resolution, remarked, that the brother who had just taken his seat, was not under an illusion when he said he saw a cloud gathering over the South. There was a cloud gathering there. He saw it, and any body, with open eyes, might see it. Behold, said he, its dark and threatening aspect, and hear its thunder. And was there any thing which would cause it to break away from the face of the sky? Nothing! yes, there was one thing, and but one, which like a magic wand, would conduct its thunders harmlessly aside, and that was immediate emancipation.

For fifty years, England tried to abolish Slavery in some other way, but all without effect. Then she began to act upon the principle of immediate emancipation, and the Bermudas showed the result. In six weeks the work was accomplished. While the experiment was making, the cry was, that the land would run blood, but the six weeks passed away, and no blood was flowing.

His brother had spoken of the longings of the slave for liberty. He had spent a month in his father's family, when that brother was at home, and he would bear his testimony, that, after travelling much in the Slave States, nowhere had he seen slaves receive kinder treatment than in the family of the Rev. Doct. Allen, of Huntsville. And if such were the longings of the slaves where they were so kindly treated, such their quenchless desires after liberty, such their throes of agony under the privation of it, such the thick night of despair which settled down upon them, surrounded as they were by so many mitigating circumstances, what must be the wretchedness of the tens of thousands, to whom no tender mercies were meted out! Their drivers were almost uniformly a most degraded class of men. William Wirt, in his life of Patrick Henry, had denominated them “the last and lowest of the human race.” Such was the character of the men in whose power were three-fourths of all the slaves in the United States. Who that would make their case his own, rather than suffer what they suffered, would not pray God to close his eyes in death?

Here Mr. W. said he would stop, as the audience had already been detained to a late hour, but a wish was expressed from various parts of the house that he would go on. And taking a little book from his pocket, he said he would read to them the longings of a slave after liberty, written down by himself, or rather dictated (for he could not

write) and written down by another. He was the property of Mr. James Horton, of Chatham Co., North Carolina. And it should be observed that he said nothing of positive inflictions as the cause of his wretchedness, nothing but that he was treated with the utmost kindness.

“Come, melting pity, from afar,
And break this vast enormous bar
Between a wretch and thee;
Purchase a few short days of time,
And bid a vassal soar sublime,
On wings of Liberty.

* * * *

Alas! and am I born for this,
To wear this slavish chain?
Deprived of all created bliss,
Thro' hardships, toil and pain.
How long have I in bondage lain,
And languished to be free!
Alas! and must I still complain—
Deprived of Liberty?
Oh Heaven! and is there no relief
This side the silent grave—
To soothe the pain—to quell the grief
And anguish of a slave?
Come Liberty, thou cheerful sound,
Roll thro' my ravished ears!
Come, let my grief in joys be drowned,
And drive away my fears.
Say to the foul oppression, cease,
Ye tyrants rage no more,
And let the joyful trump of peace,
Now bid the vassal soar.

* * * *

Am I sadly cast aside,
On misfortune's rugged tide?
Will the world my pains deride,
For ever?
Must I dwell in slavery's night,
And all pleasure take its flight,
Far beyond my feeble sight,
For ever?
Worst of all must hope grow dim,
And withhold her cheering beam?
Rather let me sleep and dream,
For ever?
Something still my heart surveys,
Groping thro' this dreary maze;
Is it hope? then burn and blaze,
For ever?

Leave me not a wretch confined,
 Altogether lame and blind—
 Unto gross despair consigned,

For ever!

Heaven, in whom I can confide,
 Canst thou not for all provide?
 Condescend to be my guide,

For ever.

And when this transient life shall end,
 Oh, may some kind eternal friend
 Bid me from servitude ascend,

For ever!"

This was a slave, sir, said he, with thrilling emphasis.

He here introduced an anecdote, which exhibited in a striking light, the value which the slave sets upon the liberty of which he is deprived. A vessel having on board the wives and children, and some other connections of thirty or forty planters, was wrecked between St. Kitts and Nevis. The husbands and fathers gathered upon the shore, and saw the vessel driving before the storm, at the mercy of the waves, until, by and by, it struck upon a rock. The next moment they expected it to go to pieces, and to see the waves close upon the dear objects of their solicitude. They got coats in readiness to go to their relief, but not a soul of them had the fortitude to volunteer to man them. Shrinking back themselves, they called upon the slaves to man the boats, but they refused. They then applied the lash, and the poor creatures lay down and groaned, and would have suffered themselves to be cut with whips until they had given up the ghost, before they would have obeyed. At last one of the planters mounted a stump, and swinging his hat, cried out, "Liberty! Liberty!" At the sound of that word, every slave started. He then proclaimed liberty for life to every slave who would man the boats. It was no sooner said than done. Three boats were manned at once. One of them had scarcely gotten from the shore, when it was met by a terrible wave, and dashed upon a rock, and all on board perished. Another, a little further out, was engulfed in the waves, and every soul was lost. The third one was hard by its side when it went down, and yet the brave fellows who manned it, with countenances fixed, steered straight for the vessel, bowing upon their oars, as though nothing had happened to their comrades.

It was affecting to think how dear liberty was to these slaves, and what hazards they were willing to run to obtain it, "hoping even against hope!" When called upon to encounter the awful peril, they were perfectly dead to every other motive—neither flattery, threatening, bribes, nor the lash moved them. But the sound of that word, Liberty, struck a cord, which vibrated to the very centre of their souls, and wrought them up to desperation in a moment.

Mr. Weld concluded with a most eloquent and thrilling appeal to ministers of the gospel, to bring their combined and powerful moral influence to the aid of this cause. Sacrifices they might indeed be called upon to make, but what was that religion good for which shrunk

from sacrifices. To be ready to make sacrifices when duty required, constituted an essential part of religion itself. It was here that the power of goodness was unrolled, and its unearthly origin demonstrated.

FACTS FROM KENTUCKY.

The following facts are from an intelligent young gentleman, who has recently spent ten months in one of the northern counties of Kentucky.

RELIGIOUS STATE OF THE SLAVES.

As a general remark, the Sabbath-day is a holiday to the slave. On that day he has only to attend to the stock, and sometimes cut fire-wood; the rest of the day is his own. Nearly all of the adult slaves have a small patch of ground, which they usually plant in tobacco; many of them, I may say most of them, cultivate their patches on the Sabbath-day. It occupies them from two to six hours; the rest of the day is spent in lounging or sleeping. Of the nature of conversion, they know nothing. They regard it as a dream, or vision, or song, or some mutilated text of Scripture suggested to their minds in a highly excited state. The most intelligent Christian I saw, told me of various visions and dreams that she had had, and songs that she had heard, in which the Savior had spoken peace to her soul. This ignorance might be expected, from the narrowness of the privileges they enjoy. I never heard of the slaves having been preached to but three times during my stay in K., and they were preached to by a slaveholding minister. At the first meeting there were between thirty-five and forty present, at the second, seven, at the third, ten or twelve. Besides this, in all the meetings I have attended, I have not seen twenty slaves.

At family worship in the house of the minister, the adult slaves are sometimes present. In the house of the Elder, or the other members in whose houses I lived, never.

Two or three little slave children come in at bell-ringing, and they are generally asleep before the services are half performed.

I have never known a single instance of the master's reading the Bible to his slaves, or instructing them in religion, and I have not found a single slave that can read the simplest sentences.

In conversation with Judge ———, an Elder in the Presbyterian church, he remarked "as to religious instruction, they have as much as the poor have any where: they have no restraints about sects, they can join which they please. As to reading, and improvement of mind, why those who do read seldom read the Scriptures; and men who have improved minds often misuse them; they do not glorify God with them." He granted the horrors of slavery, but remarked, "you know a man that has a well assured hope of eternal life, never cares for the miseries of this life, however severe they may be, for he knows that the Scriptures say these light afflictions for a moment, work out a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory." Whilst reading this, do not forget that in Kentucky, slavery wears its mildest garb.

THE BEHAVIOR OF CHRISTIAN SLAVERHOLDERS.

The Minister and all the church members held slaves. Some were treated kindly, others harshly. There was not a shade of difference between their slaves, and those of their infidel neighbors, either in their physical, intellectual or moral state; in some cases they would suffer in the comparison.

In the kitchen of the minister, a slave man was living in open adultery with a slave woman, who was a member of the church, with an "assured hope" of heaven, whilst the man's wife was on the minister's farm in Fayette County. The minister had to bring a cook down from his farm to the place in which he was preaching. The choice was between the wife of the man and this church member. He left the wife and brought the church member to the adulterer's bed.

A professor of religion had a slave girl who ran away; he caught her again. He told me that he was incensed, threw a rope over a beam in the kitchen, tied her by her wrists and hoisted her up, stripped her, and with his own hand whipped her until the blood flowed freely from her wounds.

A methodist preacher last fall took a load of produce down the river: amongst other things he took down five slaves. He sold them at New-Orleans. He came up to Natches, bought seven there and took them down and sold them also. Last March he came up to preach the gospel again. A number of persons on board the steam-boat (the Tuscarora) who had seen him in the slave shambles in Natches and New-Orleans, and now for the first time, found him to be a preacher, had much sport at the expense of the "fine old preacher who dealt in slaves."

A non-professor of religion in Campbell Co., Ky., sold a female slave and two children to a methodist professor, with the proviso that they should not leave that region of country. The slave-drivers came, offered \$50 more for the woman than he had given, and he sold her. She is now in the lower country, and her orphan babes are in Kentucky.

I was much shocked once, to see a Presbyterian Elder's wife call a little slave to her to kiss her feet. At first the boy hesitated, but the command being repeated in tones not to be misunderstood, he approached timidly, knelt and kissed her foot.

On a Sabbath-day, as I was riding to meeting last winter, a great noise was heard in a deserted log-house. Stamping, hallooing, and snouting. Now and then a scream rose above the noise. I stopped in front of the house, fifty or sixty feet from it. Soon, out came six or eight white boys, twelve or fourteen years old: one was cracking a slave-driver's whip. With them were two or three young slaves who were crying. I enquired the meaning of the scene, of a slaveholder by my side; he replied, they have been tying up those slaves and whipping them. The boys again returned to the house, and again the noise and screams were heard. A Presbyterian slaveholder turned to me and said, "that is the way we bring slaves into subjection—we let the children beat them."

A SLAVEHOLDER'S COMMENTARY.

The Rev. Dr. Dalcho, of South Carolina, thus comments on the Epistle to Philemon:—"Onesimus was a heathen; but the Apostle converted him to the Christian faith. Now, what was the consequence of this conversion? Did St. Paul tell him that Christianity made him free from his temporal servitude? No. Did he tell him that slavery was contrary to the law of God; and, therefore, that the laws of man could not make it legal? No. He sent him back to his master, whom he entreated to forgive him, and to receive him again into favor, not only as a servant, but as a brother in the Lord." Mark the *only*, and compare this *gloss* with the text. "Not now a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved, especially to me, but how much more unto thee, both in the *flesh* and in the Lord." The pro-slavery commentator continues: "All the sophistry in the world cannot get rid of this decisive example. Christianity robs no man of his rights, [then how could it send Onesimus back, as a *slave*, to Philemon?] and Onesimus was the property of his master, under the laws of his country, which must be obeyed, if not contrary to the laws of God." But the question is, not whether Onesimus was property "by the laws of his country," but whether he was so by the laws of God—not, whether it was *his duty* to return, but whether it was *Philemon's right* to compel him to return. Suppose, Onesimus, after his return, had preferred some other business than the service of Philemon, whether *he* had any right to such preference or not, would it have been right for Philemon to confine him to his service, by the whip or the stocks? Would this have been treating him as a "brother," "both in the flesh and in the Lord?" Yet as much as this we may suppose, if Philemon had a right of property.

SLAVES HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH THE FOURTH OF JULY.

The Rev. Dr. Dalcho, above mentioned, in his "*Practical considerations, founded on the Scriptures, relative to the slave population of South Carolina*," says, "The celebration of the *Fourth of July* belongs exclusively to the white population of the United States. The American Revolution was a *family quarrel among equals*. In this, the NEGROES had no concern; their condition remained, and must remain, unchanged. They have no more to do with the celebration of that day, than with the landing of the Pilgrims on the rock at Plymouth. It therefore appears to me, to be improper to allow these people to be present on these occasions. In our speeches and orations, much, and sometimes more than is politically necessary, is said about personal liberty, which negro auditors know not how to apply, except by running the parallel with their own condition. They, therefore, imbibe false notions of their personal rights, and give reality in their minds to what has no real existence. The peculiar state of our community must be kept in view. This, I am gratified to learn, will, in some measure, be promoted by the institution of *The South Carolina Association*."

A VALUABLE TESTIMONY.

A correspondent of the Richmond Whig, in cautioning his fellow-citizens not to proceed with rash violence against the abolitionists, bears the following remarkable testimony against the *fanaticism of mobs*, and in favor of the "capacity of the degraded race."

"Fanaticism, in my humble judgment, Messrs. Editors, is not exclusively confined to men who are advocates of an especial doctrine of religion. Mobs are never free from its influence in its very worst and most hideous characters. We are now on a crusade against the advocates of the freedom of a race, who, whatever may be their abstract right to that state, are assuredly not prepared to enter even on its hallowed precincts; but do not let us allow ourselves, in the fervor of our detestation of the characters who would actually inflict wrongs upon us, to act with a heat and indiscretion that would punish those not more guilty than nine-tenths of the educated men of Virginia, who hold the opinion, that were all things fitting, all men should be free.

"In conclusion, I would call the notice of our citizens, most especially, to the class of "genteel colored gentlemen," whose number among us, it is intimated to me, is daily augmenting—to watch vigilantly the conduct and manners of the servants of the city, and to divest themselves of the belief (a fatal one I fear) that their own are incorruptible. Owing to the undue estimate we have accustomed ourselves to make of the intelligence and physical capacity of a degraded race, we have underrated both—not so the Northern abolitionists, who are at least not bigots on that point; they know well that educated men of that race (and how many thousands cannot the North and South produce) are sufficiently imbued with the "*esprit du corps*," and with full intelligence and zeal, to make the most efficient agents in their cause."

THE ACCURSED TRAFFIC.

The two following advertisements are copied without the alteration of a letter, from a late Richmond Whig. Strange that slaves should ever *run away* from such excellent accommodations as those of Bacon Tait! Perhaps they do not relish the *safety* and *comfort* of being sold. Would you, reader?

NOTICE.

"The commodious buildings which I have recently had erected in the city of Richmond, are now ready for the accommodation of all persons who may wish their NEGROES safely and comfortably taken care of.

The buildings were erected upon an extensive scale, without regard to cost, my main object being to insure the safe-keeping, and at the same time the health and comfort of the Negroes who may be placed thereat.

The rooms and yards for the Females are separate from those for the Males, and genteel house servants will have rooms to themselves. The regulations of the establishment will be general cleanliness, moderate exercise, and recreation within the yards during good weather, and good substantial food at all times, by which regulations it is intended

that confinement shall be rendered merely nominal, and the health of the Negroes so promoted, that they will be well prepared to encounter a change of climate when removed to the South.

These buildings are situated on the lot corner of 15th and Cary streets, between Mayo's Bridge and the Bell Tavern. Apply to
BACON TAIT."

IMPORTANT TO THE SOUTH.

"F. H. Pettis, native of Orange County, Va., being located in the city of New-York, in the practice of law, announces to his friends and the public in general, that he has been engaged as counsel and adviser in general, for a party whose business it is in the northern cities to arrest and secure runaway slaves. He has been thus engaged for several years, and as the act of Congress alone governs now in this city, in business of this sort, which renders it easy for the recovery of such property, he invites post-paid communications to him, enclosing a fee of \$20 in each case, and a power of attorney minutely descriptive of the party absconded, and if in the northern region, he or she will soon be had.

Mr. Pettis will attend promptly to all law-business confided to him.

N. B. New-York City is estimated to contain five thousand runaway slaves.
PETTIS."

When iniquity can thus stalk abroad without a blush, is it any wonder that compassion and sympathy for the oppressed should excite the most malignant revilings? Compare with the foregoing, the rage against Mr. Tappan, expressed by the Winchester (Va.) Republican.

"**THEY WILL GET HIM!** A reward of TWENTY THOUSAND DOLLARS is said to be offered at New-Orleans for the delivery, upon the levee, of ARTHUR TAPPAN, President of the American Anti-Slavery Society. This man, who has not even the poor apology of fanaticism to plead—vanity and hypocrisy being the only inmates of his callous heart—has raised a storm that will sweep him to destruction. He has lighted at his hearth-fire the torch that is to enflame the homes of the South—now let him look to his own Penates! Let this ruthless FOE to the *wives* and *daughters* of the South, who would condemn them to a fate more horrid than a death of tortures—let him now *look well to HIMSELF*—he may enjoy the '*monstrari digito*' in a style very different from being pointed at in Broadway as the WILBERFORCE of America.

"There is a rumor that ARTHUR TAPPAN has fled by sea—

"There let him sink—and be the seas on him!"

HOPE DEFERRED.

MR. EDITOR: The enclosed is from a woman held in bondage in Virginia, to her husband in this city. About two years since, he had the promise that when he would pay \$400 he might have his wife and his two children, out since that time slaves have risen so much, and his children have *grown so fast*, they ask \$800.

The poor fellow has been laboring and saving his money, and had obtained two hundred and fifty dollars, and made an arrangement with

a friend to lend him the remainder, when this letter was read, that dashed from his high hopes the pleasure he should enjoy in having his wife and his children with him.

Yours, B.

June 5th, 1835.

Dear Husband,—Yours of the 24th ultimo came safe to hand, and I was glad to hear from you, and also to hear that you were well. As to myself and the children, we are all enjoying good health at this time. The last letter of yours that I received before this, afforded me more satisfaction than any I have read since your departure from this place. But this last has put me as far from hope as ever. I am afraid that you have not read either of my letters that I have sent lately to you. I am willing to do anything in my power to be with you, but you know how I am situated here; I am more watched now by my owners since you left than ever, for fear that I may go away from them; it is impossible for me almost to go down in town without I am watched, for fear that I leave. I do not see any way at all that I can get off to be with you, without you purchase myself and the children, for it would be an endless task for me to undertake it. I was valued about two months ago, at eight hundred dollars and the children with me; as to my children they grow so fast I am afraid they will ask more for them than they do now, they are advised by the white people, so that you cannot purchase us. If I were in your situation, *free*, I would labor for you, and I am in hopes you will soon be able to send for us, as I am very anxious to be with you.

Yours, L.

HOW SLAVERY WAS FORCED UPON AMERICA.

[From the Philanthropist.]

A correspondent writes,—“It is an assertion so constantly made, that Great Britain laid the foundation of Slavery in these United States, by the introduction of Blacks, that it is now the undisputed opinion of almost every man throughout America. This is apparently founded on tradition, but not on truth, if the statement of the earliest historian of Virginia is to be accredited. That gentleman (Beverley—2d. ed. 1722, p. 35,) affirms, that ‘In August following (1620,) a Dutch man-of-war landed 20 Negroes for sale; which were the first of that kind that were carried into the country.’ Their purchase appears, therefore, to have been a *voluntary* act of our own, and by no means forced upon us by the mother country. Let the saddle then be placed on the right horse, and let us remember that truth is sacred, even if it militates against ourselves.—England has, with all her glory and renown, a sufficiency of evil to answer for, without unduly loading her with that of others.”

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM A MINISTER IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Ware, Sept. 4, 1835.

I cannot think that the cause of immediate emancipation, with its fast multiplying friends, is likely to be retarded for the want of advocates. It might almost be said, what more efficient advocates can it

need than its avowed foes? Only let "the chivalrous Southrons" continue to speak as for a few week past, and they will confirm, past question, the more important statements of the Northern friends of the slave; and the latter may say with equal truth and soberness, our "strength is to sit still." The late attempt to silence the voice of discussion, and muzzle the press, and place an odious espionage over the mail, and make law give place to the phrenzy of mobocracy, and take the key of knowledge from free people of color, and compel emancipated slaves either to quit their homes or return to a state of vassalage, has already opened many eyes—it will doubtless loosen many tongues at the North, if not the chains of many bondmen, and women, and children, at the South. The crisis is a most solemn one. Never was there more occasion to be "wise as serpents, and harmless as doves." In all great moral revolutions, there is a loud call to move forward, with the eye of strong faith raised to heaven; with a deep sense of dependance on Him who holdeth human hearts in his hand as the rivers of waters, and who can turn into foolishness the counsel of Abithophel; with the law of kindness on the tongue, and with pure, powerful love glowing in the heart, and prompting to vigorous and bold action.

CONTRADICTION.—We perceive in the Millenial Trumpeter, of Tennessee, a contradiction of the story of a slave being frozen to death, for fear of the whip, which we copied from that paper into the June Record, (page 64). For the honor of humanity we shall always and gladly publish every such contradiction, coming from good authority.

"We are happy to have it in our power this week to state that, from testimony upon which we can rely, we are induced to believe that the reported death by freezing, of a female slave near Morganton, is untrue. A gentleman who lives near Morganton has informed us that himself and five other gentlemen have carefully examined into this case, and that after the most minute inquiry they have come deliberately to the conclusion that the story has no foundation in fact;—that, while it is true that a female slave belonging to Mr. Mayo did die a few days after the cold 7th of February last, yet that the story of her being sent to the woods on the Saturday previous, to chop or grub, was a malicious falsehood."

AMOS DRESSER.—In the Emancipator for October, will be found a most interesting narrative, from the pen of Mr. Dresser, of his treatment in Nashville, Tennessee, where he received *twenty stripes upon the naked back*, for being a member of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, and for having in his possession Anti-Slavery publications. The following extract relates to the cut which is now placed on our title-page.

"Mr. Stout, on this occasion, told me that the scene represented in the cut was one of by no means unfrequent occurrence—that it was accurate in all its parts, and that he had witnessed it again and again. Mr. S. is himself a slaveholder, though, as he says, opposed to slavery in principle—a member, if not an elder, in the Presbyterian church, and one of the committee of vigilance which afterwards sat in judgment upon me."

RECEIPTS

Into the Treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society, from August 15th to September 16th, 1835.

Concord, N. H., Geo. Storrs,	100 00
Dover, " A. S. S. do.,	50 00
Great Falls " " do.,	40 00
" " A Friend,	17
Lebanon, " Mrs. Lucretia Storrs,	5 00
New Abstead, " J. F. Isham,	5 00
Andover, Mass., Students in Seminary,	5 00
Bronson, " G. F. Davis,	12 00
Plymouth, " G. L. Ward,	5 00
Providence, R. I., Female A. S. S., per Mrs. H. L. Truesdell,	80 00
" " T. & R.,	10 00
" " Female Juvenile A. S. S.,	50 00
Brooklyn, Conn., Female A. S. S., per Thos. Huntington,	12 00
" " Herbert Williams, do.	5 00
" " T. Huntington,	8 00
Hartford, " Dea. A. M. Collins,	20 00
Glastenburg, Vt., by a Friend,	1 00
Columbiana, Ohio, A. S. S.,	8 50
Granville, " Female A. S. S., by W. W. Bancroft,	20 00
" A. S. S., by do.,	20 00
Harrisonville, " A. S. S.,	3 00
West Union, Dyer Burgess,	100 00
Newark, N. J., Ellison Conger,	25 00
Salem, " Miss A. Goodwin,	1 75
Clinton, N. Y., Collection on 4th July,	25 00
Columbus, " by Rev. Mr. Adams,	5 00
Peru, " A. S. S., by T. B. Watson, Esq.,	20 00
Perry, " by S. F. Pheonix,	50 00
York, " Rev. A. Fisher,	4 00
Flushing, L. I., by a Friend,	10 00
New-York city, Wm. Green, Jr.	83 33
" A. Tappan,	1000 00
" Wm. Green, Jr.,	333 33
" Pledge at Anniversary, a Friend, by L. Tappan,	655 04
" J. Rankin,	400 00
" Young Men's A. S. S.,	40 00
" Lewis Tappan,	250 00
" J. W. Higgins,	200 00
" A Friend, per A. T. & Co.,	40 00

Total, 3702 51

JOHN RANKIN, Treasurer,
No. 8 Cedar St.

Monthly Collections received by the Publishing Agent, from August 1 to September 1, 1835.

Akron, O., S. F. Fenn,	1 25
Buffalo, N. Y., by E. A. Marsh,	15 00
Brunswick, Me., J. Drummond,	3 00
Brighton, N. Y., by Dr. W. W. Read,	3 50
Cazenovia, N. Y., by T. Kellogg,	4 00
China, N. Y., by R. W. Lyman,	5 00
Cooperstown, N. Y., J. D. Hammond,	1 25
Canandagua, N. Y., H. M. Robinson,	1 50
Darien, Conn., by D. Ferris,	1 38
Hebron, Me., W. H. Deering,	4 00
Harvard, Mass., L. Sawyer,	1 50
Haddam, Conn., D. C. Tyler,	50
Joslin's Corners, N. Y., Rev. O. C. Caldwell,	1 25
Newark, N. J., Dr. J. A. Payne,	1 50
New-York city, by a Friend,	50
" N. P. Johnson,	1 63
" Sundry small subscriptions,	2 00
Oneida Institute, N. Y., by W. J. Savage,	11 16
Plainfield, Conn., P. Hinchley,	1 50
Rochester, N. Y., by Dr. W. W. Read,	22 50
Rome, N. Y., by Dr. A. Blare,	6 00
Saco, Me., by George Ropes,	1 25
Tallmage, O., by Dea. Wright,	4 25
Union, Conn., J. R. Guild,	1 50
Vienna, O., F. Reid,	3 75
Whitestown, N. Y. by Thos. Beebe,	5 00
Jewelry, by A. Judson, as follows:	
Utica, N. Y., two gold rings, and a breast-pin, from two young ladies.	
Sherburne, N. Y., two silver spoons from Miss M. C. Copeland.	
" one string of gold beads from Miss R. Copeland.	
" one string of gold beads from Miss S. M. Lee.	
Received for books, pamphlets, &c.,	218 14
" " Emancipator,	195 56
" " Human Rights,	224 39
" " Quarterly Magazine,	8 00
	751 93

R. G. WILLIAMS,
Publishing Agent, A. A. S. S.,
144 Nassau St.

THE
ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

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PERSECUTION OF AMOS DRESSER.

Mr. Dresser is one of those who took a dismission from the Cincinnati Lane Seminary, on account of the law suppressing the Anti-Slavery Society. On the first of July last, he engaged in selling "the Cottage Bible," as the means of raising funds to complete his education. In this business he passed through Kentucky, and arrived in Nashville, Tennessee, on the 18th of July. On his way he had distributed Anti-Slavery and other tracts, and periodicals, but in no case, to any person of color, bond or free. In Sumner county, Tennessee, he had sold a copy of Rankin's Letters on Slavery. So far was he from any attempt at concealment, or clandestine operation, that in sending his carriage to be repaired at Nashville, he did not take the precaution to remove from it a number of Anti-Slavery publications, that had been used in packing his Bibles in the box. These were discovered by the workmen, while rummaging the carriage, and a rumor was immediately set afloat that Dresser was trying to excite the slaves to insurrection, by the distribution of incendiary publications. As soon as he learned this fact, Mr.

Dresser explained to Mr. Stout, at whose shop his carriage was repaired, the reason of his having Anti-Slavery publications, and leaving them in the carriage. On this occasion, Mr. Stout, himself a slaveholder, and a member of the Presbyterian church, told him that the scene represented in the cut, which had chiefly created the excitement, was one of by no means unfrequent occurrence—that it was accurate in all its parts, and that he had witnessed it again and again.*

But the spirit of slavery was roused, and the exposure of the truth was not to be forgiven. Mr. Dresser was seized and brought before a committee of vigilance, consisting of sixty members, among whom were many professors of religion, and men of the highest respectability, in the city. This self-constituted tribunal proceeded to examine his trunks and to read his private letters. After an investigation, protracted till near midnight, they found him guilty of the following atrocious crimes:—"1st, of being a member of an Anti-Slavery Society in Ohio:" 2d, "of having in his possession periodicals published by the American Anti-Slavery Society:" 3d, "they believed he had circulated these periodicals, and advocated in the community the principles they inculcate." Though these crimes were totally unknown to the laws, they proceeded to sentence him to receive TWENTY LASHES ON HIS BARE BACK, and to leave the place in twenty-four hours, (i. e. on the Sabbath.) The committee, attended by the crowd, proceeded forthwith to the public square, to execute the sentence. On leaving the court-house, the Editor of one of the newspapers seized upon his journal and private letters, and appropriated them to his own use. We will describe the execution in the language of Mr. Dresser himself.

"I entered the ring that had been formed; the chairman (accompanied by the committee) again called for an expression of sentiment in relation to the sentence passed upon me; again the vote was unanimous in approbation of it, and again did he express his gratification at the good order by which the whole proceeding had been characterized. Whilst some of the company were engaged in stripping me of my garments, a motion was made and seconded that I be exonerated altogether from punishment. This brought many and furious imprecations on the mover's head, and created a commotion which was appeased only by the sound of the instrument of torture and disgrace upon my naked body.

"I knelt to receive the punishment, which was inflicted by Mr. Braughton the city officer, with a heavy cowskin. When the infliction ceased, an involuntary feeling of thanksgiving to God for the fortitude with which I had been enabled to endure it arose in my soul, to which I began aloud to give utterance. The deathlike silence that prevailed for a moment, was suddenly broken with loud exclamations, 'G—d d—n him, stop his praying.' I was raised to my feet by Mr. Braughton, conducted by him to my lodging, where it was thought safe for me to remain but for a few moments."

* This cut is now adopted as the standing one of our cover. It represents a scene witnessed in Kentucky by Rev. Mr. Dickey. See Rankin's Letters on Slavery, page 45.

From this scene of persecution Mr. Dresser was hurried away, being obliged to make an almost total sacrifice of the property in his possession.

Perhaps some of Mr. Dresser's self-styled judges, may justify themselves by saying, that had they voted to exonerate him from punishment, he would have been put to death by an infuriated mob. This is very probable, but what does such a probability prove of *slavery*? What sort of an institution is that which cannot bear to be spoken of in the language of truth? which drives the most respectable members of a community into a disgraceful and unlawful outrage upon the rights of an American citizen, to save the perpetration of a crime in its defence still more diabolical? Is there any longer a doubt that such an institution is dangerous to the country—nay, to the weal of the whole human race?

THE HEBREW BONDSERVICE.

“Both thy bondmen and thy bondmaids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen round about you; of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land; and they shall be your possession; and ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bondmen for ever.” LEVITICUS XXV, 44—46.

What is the meaning of this passage, so often quoted as a complete justification of American slavery?

It is plain that we can get no light upon it from any modern systems of slavery, existing among nations that were never regulated by Hebrew law. We may, therefore, as well forget every feature of that slavery which has grown out of the African slave trade, as well as whatever we know of Grecian and Roman bondage, before coming to this inquiry.

Did a devout and law-abiding Hebrew regard his bondman as a piece of property, that might be sold like an ox or a sheep? whose destiny, no more than that of a brute, depended on his own will? Might the bondman be sold for the master's debt? Might he be forcibly reclaimed from flight? Whatever may have been the nature of the service, could a man be reduced to it against his will?

The history of a nation sheds light upon its laws. Let us see what the Bible history says of the custom which this law was designed to regulate.

The ancestors of the Hebrews were shepherds. “Abraham was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold.” He was called by his neighbors a “mighty prince.” On one occasion he armed three hundred and eighteen of his “trained servants, born in his own house,” and pursued after a number of shepherd kings. Isaac had “great store of servants,” who tended his immense flocks—leading them from place to place, as they could find food and water. The same we are told of Jacob. It is remarkable that Jacob was himself a servant for twenty years. Four-

teen years he served for his wives, and six for his cattle; and he complains that in that period his master changed his wages ten times. Had Jacob been rich in silver and gold, it is very probable that he would have paid down a round sum to the close-fisted Laban, for Rachel and the cattle, and he might also have bought servants. But, for any thing that appears in the whole Bible history, he would no more have thought it his right to sell the servants, without their own consent, than to sell Rachel. The whole history shows, that both the servants who were born in the house, and those who were bought with money, were voluntary members of the household. The very nature of the shepherd life rendered it almost impossible to coerce them. While they followed the flocks over hill and dale, it was vain to think of retaining them against their will. They could not be attached to their masters by fear.

The unassuming simplicity of manners which characterized the patriarchs is most touchingly portrayed, and it was heaven-wide from that imperious sway which marks the holders of American slaves. Was a calf to be dressed for a stranger? Perhaps a young man ran and fetched it—perhaps the patriarch himself. Who was to be Abraham's heir, in default of a son? The steward of his house. Do we read of overseers, of fugitives, of whips, of chains, of insurrections? Not a word. We find no record of the sale of a slave by any of the patriarchs, except in the case of Joseph, of which cruel act the perpetrators were made bitterly to repent. Although they bought servants with money, and reckoned them among their possessions, it is a most wicked libel on the patriarchs, to say that they either coerced their services, or made merchandise of their bodies.

To the reader, unprejudiced by the sophistical defences of modern slavery, it will be plain that the servants of the patriarchs were bound only by benefits received. In the shepherd life, large families were a sort of joint stock company for mutual benefit and protection; the greater the company, within certain limits, the greater the profit and the greater the safety; while desertion was the ready safeguard against the tyranny of the head.

In Egypt the Israelites learned not only the art of agriculture, but the bitterness of bondage. They were warned, while in the probation of the wilderness, by their inspired legislator, never to imitate the Egyptian oppressor. Lev. xix, 33, 34. As Moses found nothing like slave existing among the Israelites, it is natural to suppose, that even without guidance from above, with the scenes of "the house of bondage" fresh in his memory, he would effectually guard against its future occurrence. While the bondservice of their shepherd ancestors was maintained, a few simple regulations were admirably adjusted to prevent it from degenerating into Egyptian bondage.

1. No Hebrew, however unreservedly he might sell himself to his brother Hebrew, could be held to service longer than six years, unless at the end of that period he voluntarily, and before witnesses, expressed his desire to remain.

2. The inheritance of each family, however completely alienated, must, at farthest, return to it in the year of jubilee. Thus the land was

kept divided into portions too small to admit the profitable employment of large gangs of slaves for their cultivation.

3. The fugitive servant was not to be delivered up to his master. Deut. xxiii, 15, 16.

4. The jubilee, every fiftieth year, proclaimed *liberty* to all the inhabitants of the land.

Subject to these regulations, the custom of buying servants was admitted, and the "possession" of such servants could mean no more than it did with the patriarchs. In reality, these heathen servants became incorporated with the families of their possessors, (Lev. xxii, 10, 11,) and could be retained only on condition of submitting to the Israelitish rites. There is no proof that they could be sold, either for profit, or to satisfy creditors, any more than the children. The condition was one of comparative hardship, but there is no proof that any man could be forced into it, while there is the most positive enactment of a remedy against that abuse of power to which, while in it, he was exposed.

Some have denied that the jubilee brought liberty to the heathen bond-servant. They confine its liberating power to the Hebrews, and especially to those who through poverty sold themselves to strangers and sojourners in the land, (Lev. xxv, 47—65.) Such interpreters understand by "all the inhabitants" of the land, (Lev. xxv, 10,) only the Hebrews. What then shall be done with the Hebrew who had his ear bored with an awl in the presence of the judges? (Ex. xxi, 6.) Was he not an "inhabitant" of the land? Yet he was, in the language of the law, to *serve for ever*. Either the word *all* must be limited to mean only a *part*, or the word *forever* must be reduced from signifying the whole duration of human life, the most extensive sense which the subject will admit, to signify the interval to the jubilee. The reader may judge which is the most probable supposition. If it was the legislator's purpose to establish a system of *perpetual slavery*, surely the wording of the law of jubilee was as unwise as it is unaccountable. Moreover, how is this holding of strangers by a law so different from that which regulated the Israelites, to be reconciled with the laws with regard to strangers in other respects? (Lev. xix, 33, 34, and xxiv, 22.)

But were we to grant, as we are by no means prepared to, that the bondmen and bondmaids of our text were not liberated by the jubilee, still there is no evidence that their *children* were held to the same service, without their own consent, when arrived at maturity. The law does not say, ye shall take them and *their children after them*, as an inheritance. Such is the unwarrantable extension of modern slaveholders, who, while they are ever ready to resort to the Mosaic law, where it may be tortured to favor their usurpation, are as ready to exceed its limitations and violate its statutes, when they stand clearly opposed to their own guilty practice.

If our slaveholders would but adopt the *whole* Mosaic code in regard to service, they would find that, so far from having *perpetuated slavery*, they had adopted a system of *perpetually recurring abolition*; a system of just and honorable dealing with laborers, destructive alike to slavery

and pauperism, and promotive of the highest good. From such a slave-code, in its full application, we plead for no immediate emancipation. But before such a code can be applied, all must be placed on the footing of *equal rights*, and left to the exercise of their full powers, unrestricted except by *impartial law*.

HAYTI.

Why is it that in this land of boasted liberty, we are constantly told of the atrocities perpetrated upon the *white* people, by the poor enslaved *blacks* of St. Domingo? We are taught that the slaves of St. Domingo, rose and murdered their masters to obtain their liberty, and this as a reason why it would be dangerous for masters in the United States, to give the slaves their liberty—as a reason why no man should open his lips to plead for justice and mercy. The whole lesson is false and cruelly unjust to the colored man of St. Domingo. But suppose it true; why should we not also be told of the *previous* atrocities perpetrated by the lordly *white* masters, upon their unoffending slaves? Have we no need to study *that* part of the history of St. Domingo?

A traveller who passed through Hayti, in 1830, thus describes the ruins of the once magnificent estate of a planter, named Carradeu, near the village of Moquet. "The mansion where once the lordly master feasted among his friends, and, in the intoxication of pride and power, gave those mandates to his trembling slaves, which consigned some to the burning furnace, others to the boiling cauldron, (see Malenfant on Colonies, p. 173, note,) exhibited only in the remnant of walls and terraces, the place where once they sheltered his vice and tyranny. The giant palms, however, whose leafy heads, supported on stems of a hundred feet, and Carradeu, in the frenzy of the times, sought to rival, by placing the skulls of some fifty slaves he had decapitated at Auboy on poles by the roadside *isotges*, still float their green locks in the sunny breeze." (*Lacroix, &c.*)

He adds, "I have frequently, in Hayti, heard the characteristic story which Malenfant relates of this man. Carradeu had taught his negroes, by fatal experience, that they were never to expect forgiveness in his wrath. It was the secret by which he had lived great, was dreaded and obeyed. He had never cut off his right-hand by it, but in this instance he was going to inflict on himself irreparable injury. There was a valuable head boiler of his sugar-house, a man whose knowledge and experience was a source of riches to him, on whom he had inflicted the penalty of inhumation to the neck in the cold earth. His life he was willing and anxious to save, but it was necessary to make a truce between interest and vengeance. This inconsistency would be fatal to his government, if he forgave once; the dread which the certainty of punishment had beneficially excited, would lose its effects on the caution and obedience of his slaves. 'I would not,' said he to a party of ladies at dinner with him, 'induce this man, whom I must spare, to think that

the pardon for his fault had emanated from me. When I draw my handkerchief, fall down at my feet and ask mercy of me for him. I will say he has obtained it by your solicitation, not by my desire, so that by being apparently consistent, I may preserve the dread of my unrelenting character with my people.' Carradeu in this instance had to deal with one as haughty as himself. The courageous negro, who had dug his own grave, chanting his death-song while he threw up the earth, felt he had endured a wrong which nothing but death could requite; he only wanted an opportunity of revenge. He saw the prostration of the female guests at his master's feet; he heard forgiveness from his lips for the first time. He could scarcely credit what his eyes beheld. In the delirium of his sufferings he exclaimed, 'You show mercy to me—it is impossible!—you are no longer Carradeu; but, if you are, I swear by her who took oath before God for me, that I rest not in peace till I destroy you! Be merciful to me if you dare!' This presumption of despair was fatal to him. Carradeu silenced the threat by hurling a fragment of rock at his head. Having dashed out the brains of his victim, he returned to his convivial friends, saved from doing an action inconsistent with the character he enjoyed, among his slaves, of never having forgiven an injury or remitted a punishment."—*British Anti-Slavery Reporter, Vol. IV, p. 212.*

Not only are the cruelties of the masters forgotten by us, and the revenge of the poor slaves misrepresented, but the most malicious falsehoods are everywhere propagated, in regard to the present condition of Hayti. Amidst all this abuse of liberty under a *dark skin*, we are glad to see testimony like the following extract of a letter, published in the *New-York Journal of Commerce*. The writer, from his ungenerous hint about getting rid of our colored fellow-citizens, is obviously not an abolitionist, and therefore not to be suspected of any prejudices in favor of the black republic.

"I have never seen any government *really free* before. . . . Every colored person is a citizen from the moment of his arrival, and entitled, upon application to the commandant, to nine acres of good land for himself, and as much for his family. . . . The population as yet hardly amounts to a million, but there is room for ten times that number, besides all the black and colored population of the United States; and being so near, it would be well to get rid of them in that way, seeing that they bid fair to be very quiet and peaceable neighbors. You would hardly believe that all the cash remittances to the Cape and Port au Prince, a distance of nearly three hundred miles, through lonely woods, rugged precipices and deep rivers, are conveyed in the shape of doubloons by an *unarmed footman*, and that no instance of any failure or interruption is on record. The government may fairly be said to put all others to shame, by accomplishing without any apparent coercion, what all others have attempted to accomplish in vain, by complicated legislation."

GRANVILLE SHARP.

The philanthropists of Great Britain, who labored so long and so nobly for the abolition of the slave trade, shrunk from attacking slavery itself—the mother of the accursed traffic. In this, the noble spirit of Granville Sharp rose above them all. How does the following testimony exalt his blessed memory!

“Though Sharp, as chairman and member of the committee of the society for abolishing the African slave trade, confined himself to that particular and limited object, he did not merge therein his personal and separate identity, or forsake the noble yearnings of his soul. Alive to the cause of universal philanthropy, he seized every opportunity of urging the sacred cause of the slave; and of asserting the principle dear to his heart, which the British code and everlasting law alike establish, “that it is better to suffer every evil, than consent to any,” *Melius est omnia mala pati, quam malu consentire*. In a letter to the Bishop of London, January, 1795, he earnestly warns him “of the great national danger of tolerating slavery in any part of the British dominions,” and urges the scriptural doctrines, that “the throne is established by righteousness,” and that no power can be durably established without it. In a memorandum, (without date,) the following is the breathing of his upright soul: “Having been required by the committee of the society in London, instituted for effecting the abolition of the slave trade, to sign officially and singly with my name their late resolutions, in answer to the charges of — — Esq.; I think it right to declare, with respect to *myself individually*, that though I have carefully maintained the principles and orders of the society, in every transaction wherein I have been concerned as a member of it, ever since it was formed in 1787, and have always strictly limited my *official* endeavors to the single declared object of the institution, “*the abolition of the slave trade*,”—Yet I am bound in reason and common justice to mankind, further to declare, that many years (at least twenty) before the society was formed, I thought and ever shall think it my duty to expose the *monstrous impiety and cruelty* (*impious and cruel* being the due epithets fixed by an allowed maxim of the law on such iniquity) not only of the slave trade, but also, of *slavery itself*, in *whatever form it is found*; and likewise to assert, that *no authority on earth can ever render such enormous iniquities legal*; but that the Divine retribution (*the ‘measure for measure,’* so clearly denounced in the holy scriptures) will inevitably pursue every government or legislature, that shall presume to establish, or even to tolerate such abominable injustice. I should forfeit all title to true loyalty as an Englishman, did I not continue the same fixed detestation of slavery, which I have publicly avowed for about thirty years past. But my declarations on that head were always intended as *friendly warnings* against the *obvious and ordinary consequences* of that *unchristian oppression, slavery!* but surely, *not to excite those fatal consequences*—for that would be superfluous, as they are in themselves but too sure and inevitable, unless timely amendment should avert them.”—*Stuart’s Memoir of Sharp*, p. 57.

ANECDOTE OF NAIMBANA.

In 1731, King Naimbana, filled with admiration for Sharp's character, sent his eldest son to England for education, committing him to Sharp's care; and the young chief was soon settled, about forty miles from London, in the family of Rev. Mr. Gambier. Sharp, though thus at a distance, watched over him like a father; and young Naimbana (then twenty-nine years of age) exhibited a disposition in every way worthy of cultivation. His capacity was not extraordinary; but he excelled in distinguishing characters. His person was not remarkable; but his demeanor was uncommonly pleasing, being full of native courtesy and delicacy. His disposition was affectionate, and his feelings warm. He became deeply impressed with religious principles, and with reverence for the sacred Scriptures. His morals were pure, and he always showed an abhorrence for profane conversation, and for every kind of vice. Respecting the reputation of his country, he displayed a lively jealousy; and being once told of a person who had publicly asserted something highly derogatory to the African character, he broke out into violent and vindictive language. Being immediately reminded of the duty of loving our enemies, he replied, "If a man should rob me of my money, I could forgive him; if he should shoot at me, or try to stab me, I could forgive him. If he should sell me and all my family into slavery, I could forgive him; but," added he, rising from his seat with great emotion, "if a man take away the character of the people of my country, I cannot forgive him." Why, said his friend. He answered, solemnly, "If a man steal from me, or try to kill me, or sell me and my family for slaves, he does an injury to the few, whom he attacks or sells. But if any one take away the character of black people, he injures black people all over the world; and when once he has taken away their character, there is nothing which he may not afterwards do to black people. He will beat black men, and say, 'Oh, it is only a black man!' He will enslave black people, and cry, 'Oh, they are blacks!' He may take away all the people of Africa, if he can catch them, and if you ask him, 'Why do you take away all these people?' he will say, 'Oh, they are only black people—they are not as white as we are—why should I not take them?' That is the reason why I cannot forgive the man who takes away the character of the people of my country."—*Stuart's Memoir of Granville Sharp*, p. 47.

WHICH OF THE RACES IS DESCENDED FROM CAIN?

From the Baron de Vastey, on the Colonial System. De Vastey was a colored man of St. Domingo, who published several works. We do not know whether he was originally a slave.

"Every species of calumny and absurdity, has been invented to palliate the atrocious injustice of white men, toward those whom they have tormented and persecuted for ages.

"Posterity will find it difficult to believe, that in an enlightened age like ours, there are men, who call themselves philosophers, willing to reduce human beings to an equality with brutes, merely for the sake of sanctioning the abominable privilege of oppressing a large portion of mankind. While I am now writing, I can scarcely refrain from laughter, at the absurdities which have been published on this subject. Learned authors, and skilful anatomists, have passed their lives in discussing facts as clear as daylight, and in dissecting the bodies of men and animals, in order to prove that I, who am now writing, belong to the race of Ourang-Outangs! Edward Long gravely advances, as a proof of the moral inferiority of the black man, that our vermin are black, and that we eat wildcats. Hanneman maintains that our color originates in the curse pronounced by Noah against Canaan; others affirm that it was a mark fixed upon Cain, for the murder of his brother Abel. For myself, I see strong reasons to believe that the white men are the real descendants of Cain; for I still find in them that primitive hatred, that spirit of envy and of pride, and that passion for riches, which the Scriptures inform us led him to sacrifice his brother.

"I smile while I ask whether we are still in those ages of ignorance and superstition, which saw Copernicus and Galileo condemned as heretics and sorcerers? Or whether we are really living in an age of light, which has given birth to so many great men, who have immortalized their country by illustrious works?"

ANECDOTES,

[COMMUNICATED BY A LADY.]

"A fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind."

A wealthy gentleman of Boston, better known by his attachment to cards, than by any other token, recently returned from Europe, and cordially entered into the existing excitement against the abolitionists. "I am glad to hear they are hanging them up on trees at Vicksburg," said he. "It is good enough for the scoundrels. I only wish they had hung them in the hot sun, instead of giving them the benefit of the shade." A person near him observed, "I believe they were not abolitionists that were hung at Vicksburg; they were gamblers." "Gamblers! Gamblers!" exclaimed the anti-abolitionist—"What right had they to interfere with *them*?"

During a recent visit to Philadelphia, I was much impressed by a conversation with a worthy, sensible man, a plain republican. "I used to be very much prejudiced against the abolitionists," said he; "but I owe it to them, that I have been kept from Infidelity. I got my mind very much against religion. I thought it was all hypocrisy; and

for a long time I never went into any meeting-house. But I was persuaded to go to an abolition meeting; and I was so much pleased with the spirit that was manifested, that I went again. When I saw men willing to be of no account among their brethren, and all for the poor and the despised; when I saw men acting against their worldly interests, for conscience sake; when I heard men praying for their enemies; I said to myself, 'there must be something in religion. It is not all hypocrisy.' Abolition saved me from being an Infidel."

SLAVERY.

An inscription under the picture of an aged negro woman,

By James Montgomery, Esq.

Art thou a woman? so am I, and all
 That woman can be, I have been or am,
 A daughter, sister, consort, mother, widow,
 Whiche'er of these thou art, oh be the friend
 Of one who is what thou canst never be;
 Look on thyself, thy kindred, home and country,
 Then fall upon thy knees and cry, 'thank God,
 An English woman cannot be a *Slave*.'
 Art thou a man? Oh I have known, have loved,
 And lost, all that to woman can be—
 A father, brother, husband, son, who shared
 My bliss in freedom, my wo in bondage;
 A childless widow now, a friendless slave,
 What shall I ask of thee, since I have nought
 To lose but life's sad burden; nought to gain
 But heaven's repose; these are beyond thy power.
 Me thou canst neither wrong nor help, what then?
 Go to the bosom of thy family,
 Gather thy little children round thy knees,
 Gaze on their innocence, their clear full eyes
 All fixed on thine: and in their mother, mark
 The loveliest look that woman's face can wear,
 Her look of love, beholding them and thee,
 Then at the altar of your household joys
 Vow, one by one, vow altogether, vow
 With heart and voice, eternal enmity
 Against oppression by your brethren's hand:
 Till man, nor woman, *under Britain's laws*,
 Nor son, nor daughter, born within her empire,
 Shall buy, or sell, or hold, or be a *Slave*.

LIGHT BREAKING UPON THE WEST INDIES.

Fifty-nine tons of Bibles have been shipped from England to Antigua and Jamaica, for the use of the emancipated people. This is the effect

of Emancipation. At the last meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society, one of its distinguished members pledged the Society before the delegates from America, Bishop McIlvaine and Rev. Dr. Spring, to send an equal number of Bibles to our slaves, when emancipated. Who will dare to shut out this blessed light from the perishing millions?

RECEIPTS.

Donations received by the Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society, from Sept. 17, to Oct. 10, 1835.

Brookline, Mass., Samuel Philbrick, by J. C. Odiorne,	\$100 00
Cummington, Mass., by A. Reed,	3 50
Lee, " by a Friend,	0 50
" " " "	0 25
Ware, " E. C. Prichett,	50 00
New-Hampshire State Society, Geo. Kent,	150 00
Concord, N. H., Ladies' A. S. S.	50 00
" " Amos Wood,	50 00
Wilmington, Vt., M. Bruce,	2 00
Middlebury, Ct., from Rev. J. Atwater's Parish,	3 00
Norwich, Ct., Ladies' A. S. S., by E. W. Farnsworth,	10 00
Windham Co., A. S. S., on account of 100 pledge by C. C. Burleigh,	6 00
Waterbury, A. S. S., by S. Cook,	5 10
Albany, N. Y., A Young Lady, avails of work, by O. A. Hen.	2 00
Auburn, N. Y., A. S. S., by Chs. Wiley,	12 00
Cooperstown, N. Y., Mrs. H. Loomis,	0 50
Oswego, N. Y., from E. W. Clark and Chs. Stuart, for circulation of publications,	33 00
Sherburne, N. Y., A. S. S., by Rev. I. N. Sprague,	15 00
Sherburne, N. Y., Ladies' A. S. S., by the same,	8 00
New-York City, Henry Green,	5 00
Orville, Pa., Rev. H. West,	0 50
Pittsburg, Pa., Samuel Church, by A. Tappan,	20 00
York, Pa., Wm. Goodridge,	5 00
Austinburg, O., Monthly Concert, Cincinnati, " A. S. S., with pledge to increase to 150, by Wm. Donaldson,	55 00
East Hampton, Mass., Samuel Williston,	300 00

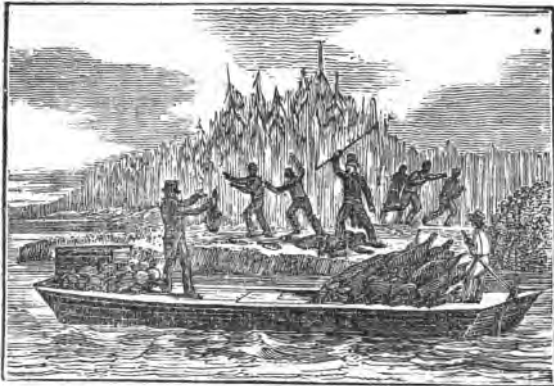
Sandwich, N. H., Gen. Daniel Hoit,	100 00
Portland, Me., Female A. S. S., by E. M. Dow,	100 00
	<hr/>
	\$590 35
JOHN RANKIN, Treasurer, No. 8 Cedar St.	

Monthly Collections received by the Publishing Agent, from Sept. 1, to Oct. 1, 1835.

Albion, N. Y., J. Wasson,	\$1 25
Butler Co., O., by Wm. Griffith,	5 00
Catskill, N. Y., Robt. Jackson,	5 00
Carlisle, Pa., by Miss M. Knox,	5 00
Darien, Ct., by S. M. Raymond,	1 37
Farmington, N. Y., by Wm. R. Smith,	6 00
Mt. Vernon, O., by W. W. Beebe,	5 00
New-York, a Friend,	37
" " T. L. Jennings,	50
Norwich City, Ct., Mrs. F. A. Perkins,	2 00
Norwalk, Ct., George Low,	1 25
Oneida Institute, by W. I. Savage,	9 25
Philadelphia, Ladies' A. A. S., by Mrs. L. Mott,	10 00
Rochester, N. Y., by W. W. Reid,	21 25
West Greenville, Pa., J. Nesbit, Esq.,	3 00
Ware, Mass., a Friend,	13
Windham, O., by Rev. Wm. Hanford,	10 00
Received for Books, Pamphlets, &c.,	380 22
Received for Emancipator,	172 87
" " Human Rights,	77 78
" " Quarterly Magazine,	21 00
	<hr/>
	\$736 24
R. G. WILLIAMS, Publishing Agent, 144 Nassau St. Total Receipts, \$1626 5	

THE
ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

VOL. I. DECEMBER, 1835. [SECOND EDITION.] NO. 12.



[See page 136.]

THE CONDITION OF AMERICAN SLAVES.

We have heard of the horrible condition of the slaves in the British West Indies; it was brought out in evidence before the British Parliament—the testimony of both sides was taken, and there is no room to question the most constant and monstrous cruelty. But it is supposed that American slaves fare far better. To some extent this is doubtless true. Where the slaves are few, and labor is done by whites and cattle, as well as by slaves, it is obvious that oppression cannot be so grinding as where the whole cultivation is conducted by large slave-gangs under overseers and drivers. But in a large part of the southern country the cultivation is so conducted, and if we hear less of the cruelty of the system, it must be rather because we lack the power of bringing out the evidence, than because it does not exist. Man is the same every where; and like causes must produce like effects.

But we are not without evidence that must satisfy every candid mind. In the first and second numbers of the monthly *Emancipator* are letters from persons residing at the south, who state what they saw and heard, to which we would again call the attention of our readers. The letters of Mr. Asa A. Stone are especially worthy of a careful perusal. He

has closed his earthly testimony, and has left behind him a sweet and precious memory. He died at Cincinnati, on the 23d of August last, and departing in the triumph of a clear faith, blotted not a line of what he had written in behalf of the poor slaves. An obituary notice in the Cincinnati Journal says of him, "As a student and scholar, he was patient, critical, accurate and indefatigable. As a man and a Christian, he was upright and conscientious, zealous and faithful in the discharge of duty, bold and independent in his bearing, mild and courteous in his manners, liberal and charitable in his feelings towards others." His letters on the treatment of slaves at the south-west, bear evident marks of great caution and care in the collection of facts; and great jealousy of too hasty conclusions. A citizen of Natchez who has written, to the editors of the Journal of Commerce, expressly to counteract the influence of these letters, does not pretend to *deny the facts*. We give here an extract of the first letter in the hope that the whole, with other documents, will soon be published in a pamphlet form.

DRIVING.

"A respectable plantation will have about five hundred acres in cotton, and about one hundred and fifty in corn. On this there will be about fifty or sixty field hands, besides house-servants, worn out and crippled adults and children; these will make up the whole number to about one hundred; though this varies exceedingly, the number of old men and children depending very much upon the treatment they receive. The number of children on a plantation is a very good criterion by which to judge of the usage the slaves receive. Where you find few children you may expect to find many horrors. In a gang of fifty or sixty hands there will be a leader of the ploughers, a leader of the hoers, and a driver. The business of the leaders is to go forward, direct the work, and set an example of industry: of course they are chosen from the most active and trustworthy of the gang. In the leader of the hoers, the principal qualification is speed. The business of the driver is to walk about, crack his whip, and cry 'work, boys'—'work, gals'—'draw your hoers, draw your hoers;' and if his own disposition or that of the overseer requires it, occasionally to give one a switching, or a regular whipping, as the case may be. A switching, is when a man is called up and receives fifteen or twenty lashes, standing, with his clothes on: a regular whipping, is when a man is put down and receives from thirty to two hundred on his bare back. The *severity* of the labor depends very much upon the season of the year and the nature of the work. The worst parts of the year are from the first of May to the first of July, during hoeing, and from the middle of September to the middle of December, during picking. I can give you no idea of the severity of the labor by stating the quantity of ground hoed, or the amount of cotton picked in a day. The only method I can think of is to describe the measures that are adopted to make them work. I will do this by stating facts, all of which I have derived from personal observation, or from the mouths of owners and overseers. A few days ago I was talking with an overseer of a plantation, the owner of which has universally the reputation of being a good master and treating his

slaves unusually well in every respect. The slaves themselves testify to this, and they say that the overseer is not as hard as most of them are. This overseer, speaking of the work on the place, said, 'It was a little behind, but he was pushing the hands to it.' Says he—'I crowded them up to-day till some of the women fairly cried.' And then added, 'it is pretty severe.' Meaning, not that it was severe compared with the general usage, but in itself considered—for he always represents himself as not being as severe as most overseers. This same man, and many other overseers and owners, have told me that throughout the country, on plantations having fifty hands, the number of floggings during the press of hoeing and cotton picking, average one or two a day, and frequently fifteen or twenty are flogged at once, particularly in the time of cotton picking. My observations and inquiries on this subject have been such, that I feel no hesitation in saying that as a general thing there is at least the above number of floggings daily on plantations of that size, and this barely on the score of work. I ask, then, does this look like not being 'over-driven?' But to go more into particulars: Mr. —, a planter who resides about fourteen miles above Natchez, says, 'They generally treat their slaves very well in his neighborhood.' Hear how. 'On a plantation of fifty hands, it is common in cotton picking time to have a negro whipped every night, and frequently two or three, for not doing the required amount of work. I have myself whipped fourteen or fifteen of a night, or, rather, had my driver do it. They always lie down and receive it on their bare back and buttock. If they are uneasy they are sometimes tied; the hands and feet being stretched out and tied each to a stake, driven for that purpose. But they are usually held by other negroes. In a bad case one takes hold of each hand and each foot, and another holds or sits on his head. If they don't hold him well, give them a cut or two with the whip, and I warrant you they will hold him still enough, if they have to take their teeth.' So much for the testimony of a planter with respect to the driving of slaves in a neighborhood where they are 'very well treated.'

FEEDING.

"The general rule of feeding, is to give just what will supply the demands of nature and no more. Slaves are almost universally allowed. Their rations are usually a peck of meal and three or three and a half pounds of meat a week. This is dealt out on some plantations weekly, and on others daily; which is the more common practice. I am not able to say. Some add a half pint or a pint of molasses a week. As a general thing, the bread stuff is given them ground, and not whole, as has been sometimes represented. On most plantations there is a cook who prepares their breakfast and dinner, which are always eaten in the field. Their suppers they prepare for themselves, after they return from work. Some allowance them only in meat, giving what meal they want; the general rule, however, is a peck of meal and three pounds of meat a week. This allowance is frequently very much shortened, when corn or meat are scarce or high. So that on almost every plantation the hands suffer more or less from hunger at some season of almost every year. I have conversed with some very

candid slaves on this subject; and they say that they can do very well on a peck of meal and three and a half pounds of meat a week, except in the winter, when their appetites are keener and crave particularly more meat. This accords with universal experience. The appetite is always keener, particularly for flesh, in cold weather than in hot. They say, moreover, that they by no means always get their full allowance, and that they often suffer much from hunger. The truth of this I could establish by a multitude of facts from various sources. But aside from the occasional under-feeding that takes place on most plantations, there are many who are notorious as over-drivers and under-feeders, and are talked about as such: so that if the northern folks deny that this is often the case, they deny what their better informed neighbors at the south openly talk about as notorious. Why, a few days ago I heard a planter and his wife talking about the health of a neighboring plantation. The lady entertained the opinion that it was sickly, and as evidence mentioned the large number of negroes that died during last summer. The gentleman replied, that 'it was no wonder, the owner starved them so much. His principle was, if he had not corn enough, to make it last.' And this I know to be a principle very extensively acted upon. Here I would remark, that such facts as these are constantly coming to light in multitudes, from the everyday conversation of planters. In Louisiana, the treatment of slaves, in almost all respects, is doubtless worse than in any other part of the United States. There, short feeding is very common. And it is true, that among the old French planters the corn, instead of being ground, is given out in the ear, and the slaves left to dispose of it as they can. They are also in many cases allowed no meat; but have Saturday afternoon for fishing, &c., when the work is not too crowding to forbid it. This, however, is very common; and then—yes, and then 'what must poor nigger do?' I will mention a fact to illustrate this statement. It was told me by the captain of a boat with whom I am well acquainted, and whom I know to be a man of genuine integrity. He was passing down the Mississippi with a flat-boat load of pork. As he was floating along the levee near the shore, between Baton Rouge and New-Orleans, he saw a negro whose emaciated countenance and downcast look attracted his attention. He hailed him, and entered into conversation with him. Among other things he asked him where he was from. 'Oh master,' says he, 'thank God, from good old Kentucky.' 'Had you rather live in Kentucky than here?'—'Oh yes, master, there I had plenty to eat, but here I am most starved. I have not tasted meat for months.' By this time several others had made their appearance, who joined the first in his testimony about starvation. The captain now commenced throwing out a few joints and other bits of not much account, for their relief. On seeing this, several others ran down from the neighboring quarters to share the spoils. But scarce had they reached the levee when a white man appeared also, raving and swearing most furiously, and seizing a club about the size and length of a common hoop-pole, he commenced mauling them over the head with all his might. Two or three he knocked down on the spot, and others escaped severely wounded. It is not from such isolated facts as these that I draw my

conclusions respecting the commonness of bad feeding: I mention this to give a specimen of the nature and extent of the suffering. It is from other data that I judge of its prevalence."

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE WEST INDIES.

Every day makes the experience of the West Indies a stronger argument for *immediate unconditional emancipation*. Antigua, with a population of 2,000 whites, made her 30,000 slaves *free* at once, and all is going on well. Jamaica and other colonies changed the name of *slavery* to *apprenticeship*, but the horrors and dangers of slavery still remain,—perhaps we might say they are *increased*. The "ABOLITIONIST," published under the direction of the "British and Foreign Society for the Universal Abolition of Negro Slavery and the Slave Trade," thus compares the two modes of abolition:

"In Antigua, the negroes are free, 'without restriction and without condition.' In Jamaica, they are subject to restrictions and conditions, under the name of apprenticeship, which leave them still in bondage. In Antigua, the symbols of slavery have for ever disappeared:—in Jamaica, the cat and the bilboes, the iron neck-collar and chains, the ebony switch and the dungeon, are still in requisition. In Antigua, every married negro and parent can call his wife and family his own:—in Jamaica, he cannot; he must purchase them to enjoy that satisfaction, with the exception only of such children as are under six years of age. In Antigua, the negro has free access to his family, and can enjoy unrestricted intercourse with them; in Jamaica, he is declared a vagabond if he seeks their society on an adjoining plantation, without first obtaining leave. In Antigua, wages have been substituted for the whip, and the negro enjoys the fruit of his labor; in Jamaica, a system of rigorous coercion still exists, and he is defrauded of the just reward of his toil. In Antigua, the negro is free, contented and happy; in Jamaica, he is enslaved, disappointed and miserable. In Antigua, peace and prosperity abound; in Jamaica, discontent and complaining prevail, and will continue to prevail, while a vestige of the old system or theory remains."

The following is extracted from a letter written by a clergyman in Antigua to a nobleman in England, dated Feb. 14, 1835. More recent intelligence fully accords with this:

"You will, I am sure, be curious to hear something of the real state in which I found Antigua, after the extraordinary revolution that has taken place in my absence; whether in fact I do not see the negroes lying by the roadside basking in the sun, or collecting every where, there under a tamarind or sandbox tree in gossiping groups, or lurking in the thievish corners, whilst the canes are uncut in the fields, and every mill is still, every boiling-house shut up, and not a single column of smoke is to be seen—such are the results which the croakers predicted.

"But what are the facts? On first approaching the island, I find the harbor as full of ships as ever; on landing, I find the people of the

town full of business; on passing through an estate, I find the work going on as if nothing extraordinary had occurred.

"In the social mass, a feeling approaching more to mutual confidence and good-will, and indicative of a greater regard for the claims of all, not only for the prosperity of a few; I find too that those who were accustomed to work at the absolute bidding of another, can now stipulate for an equitable reward of their labors, and that when they are not satisfied on that score, they can now refuse to work.

"It is not true that they will not work; they are willing enough to work, but as is natural and but right, they are anxious to procure equitable terms, or what appear to them to be such.

"As to *disturbances*, there has been nothing like it since the celebrated 1st of August, but the island has been more quiet than even at other times."

Sadly different is the state of things in Jamaica and the other apprenticeship colonies. Even the stipendiary magistrates who were designed to be protectors of the slave, have generally lent themselves to the planters as agents of oppression. In Jamaica, some who retained a good conscience have resigned their commissions in disgust. The British Anti-Slavery societies have published a very strong memorial to the Colonial Secretary, in which they avow their determination to advocate the abolition of the apprenticeship system. The appendix to this document contains a mass of evidence showing the most horrible cruelty on the part of the masters, and abominable injustice on the part of the stipendiary magistrates. A letter from Dominica, dated May 23d, 1835, says: "The stipendiary magistrate, who arrives here from England, finding that he is at liberty to pursue the conduct he pleases, immediately turns his thoughts upon saving as much of his salary as he can. Receiving on his arrival cards of invitation, and offers of kind hospitality, here and there from our great proprietors, he becomes so affiliated with them, as renders it impossible for him to do impartial justice between them and their apprentices; and thus the man, before he enters upon the duties of his office, is rendered likely not only to act unfairly, but to become oppressive to those whom he should protect." Under such protectors of the *apprentices*, the most horrible acts of cruelty are "daily perpetrated." The following specimens are from a letter dated Jamaica, June 26th, 1835.

"I alluded briefly, in a former letter, to a case of a man and woman being chained together. Since then I have obtained the particulars. As I conjectured, Mr. — was the magistrate who passed the sentence. The woman's name is Priscilla Taylor, married, apprentice to Mr. —, of —, in St. Andrews. She had been ordered on Friday to go for water to some distance; her master said she took too long to go for it; in the evening he caused her to be put in the dungeon, and kept her there all Saturday, her own day. On Monday she went to the special magistrate to complain; he gave her a letter; on her way home she lost the letter and returned to him; he gave her another letter,—she then returned home. Next day he visited the property and ordered her (Priscilla) to be chained to a man, and to be worked in the field in such manner. They afterwards escaped, and with collars and chains on

presented themselves before special justice Clinch, of *Spanish-Town*, (since deceased). He sent them to the workhouse, where they remained two weeks, all but two days; they were then taken back by their master, and were again ordered to be chained together and sent to the field. Priscilla declared she would not be chained to the man again,—she resisted—was then put in the dark hole and kept there till Friday, (from Wednesday) when she was again taken out by Mr. Brown, and personal violence resorted to in order to chain her to the man. Her resistance and struggles, together with her excited feelings, at length brought on alarming hysterical convulsions. She was then carried back to the dungeon with the chain and collar on her neck, where she was kept locked up, although she is the mother of an infant seventeen months old, which was not weaned when she was first put in chains.”

“Two weeks ago, two women presented themselves before me, (one with an iron collar on her neck) from *Trafalgar*, in *St. George's*, the property of a merchant of London, about twenty miles from my residence. The substance of their complaint (on oath) was as follows: Milley Thomas, with a child at the breast, had been kept in chains and collar, two weeks, for the following offence:—On the 1st of August the nurse in the field was taken away; mothers with infants compelled to work with childrep tied to their backs all day; did so about six months; found it very distressing, particularly in the steep fields. In February or March, last, applied to Mr. Simpson, the attorney, to let them have a nurse; he said they must pay for it with extra labor, as the children were free. An old woman was put as nurse, and the six children's mothers compelled to work every *Sunday* as payment, cutting grass, and any other employment about the works. Milley missed paying two Sundays; on one was sick; on the other had to carry provisions to her sick brother, twelve miles off. The overseer took her before the special magistrate at *Buff Bay*; charged her with disobedience of orders in not cutting grass on the two Sundays. No sentence was passed in her presence; but on returning home, the overseer said he had orders from the magistrate to work her in chains and collar for two weeks.”

“At the Court of the Special Justices, *Basseterre*, *St. Christopher's*, Thursday, 12th February, 1835.

“*Case of Ann Mahon, a non-prædial apprentice.*”

“This case arose out of the general permission given by one of the stipendiary magistrates to flog the small gangs on the estates, when their conduct might be deemed, by those in authority over them, to be impertinent, leaving it to the discretion of those individuals to decide what conduct should be considered as impertinent.

“It was proved before the Court, that *Ann Mahon*, who was about fifteen years of age, was employed with another female apprentice in watering the garden, when the manager, on some pretence or other, sent the latter away, and then began to use language and actions which cannot be repeated here; this conduct being resented by the girl, the manager immediately accused her of not carrying water fast enough, and sent for the constable and ordered him to do his duty; whereupon he seized the girl round the waist, and calling upon two male appren-

tices to assist him, she was taken to the mango-tree; the two assistants then held her to the tree, by each taking a hand, whilst the constable, after unbuttoning her frock and taking off her handkerchief, placed himself behind her, and proceeded to flog her with a bunch of tamarind whips. After the punishment was completed, she was made to work in the garden till it was dark. When she said she would complain, she was told she might complain to whom she pleased, for the magistrate had given leave to flog the juvenile people, if they were impudent. It appeared on this inquiry, that the girl on a former occasion had resisted the criminal advances of the overseer, for which she was taken before the stipendiary magistrate already alluded to, and charged with being rude, who thereupon ordered her to be imprisoned for a week.

"The constable and his assistants seemed to think they were acting legally in inflicting the flogging, as they had the stipendiary magistrate's general permission to flog the small gangs on the estates within his district, at their discretion.

"The stipendiary magistrate was fined 5*l.* by the Court, but he still retains his commission."

And yet, under all these provocations, the negroes are *patient sufferers!* Who, after this, will talk about *preparing for freedom?*—about the danger of the slaves *cutting their masters' throats*, if emancipated?

[From the *Salem Landmark*.]

"THAT ALTERS THE CASE."

A FRAGMENT OF A DIALOGUE.

B. No! it will never do. I have read them all, from the Abbe Raynal down to the last proser about the horrors of slavery in the British Parliament. There is no horror about it. They are better here than in their own country. They would be shot or hung at home if they were not sent here. Is it nothing to have their lives saved after they are taken prisoners? What do you say to that?

A. Why, I certainly rejoice in the saving of lives. But do you think you confer a blessing, by saving a person's life under *all* circumstances?

B. Yes, I do.

A. So thought not one of the most eloquent of men. Shall I read you a short extract from an oration I have in my hand?

B. I am ready to hear, but I hope it is short.

A. I promise you that you will not think it *long* if I read an hour. (*A.* reads.)

"Thus fell the negro King *Quodpe*. He fell fighting for his wife and children. He would have been not a negro, he would have been a thing for which language has no name—for which neither human nor brute existence has a parallel—if he had not fought for them.* Why the very wildcat, the wolf, will spring at the throat of the hunter that enters his den; the bear, the catamount, will fight for his hollow tree! The negro was a man—a degraded ignorant savage, but a human creature—aye,

* This sentiment is the orator's, not ours.—ED. REC.

and he had the feelings of a man; for Leo Africanus says of him—"It must needs have been bitter as death to him to lose his wife and only son—for the negroes are marvellously fond and affectionate toward their children." And what was the fate of Quodpe's wife and his son? This is a tale for husbands and wives, for parents and children. Young men and women, you cannot understand it! What was the fate of Quodpe's wife and child? They did not surely hang them. No, that would have been mercy. The boy is the grandson, his mother the daughter-in-law of good old Quorra, the first and best friend the white men ever had in Congo. Perhaps, now Quodpe is dead, and his warriors scattered to the four winds, they will allow his wife and son to go back—the widow and the orphan—to finish their days and sorrows in their native wilderness. They were sold into slavery; American slavery! A negro princess and her child, sold from the balmy gales of Mount Houssa, from the wild freedom of an African valley, to gasp under the lash amid the dank and pestilential vapors of the rice-swamps of Carolina! BITTER AS DEATH! AYE, BITTER AS HELL! Is there any thing—I do not say in the range of humanity—is there any thing animated, is there a dumb beast, a thing of earth or of air, the lowest in the creation?"—

B. Stop, stop! Spare me a further dose of this rigmarole! Torrens of just such fustian declamation as this have been poured out by your pseudo-philanthropists, in all ages, over the necessary incidents of a useful practice in society. But pray, my friend, who may have been the exponent of this precious Jeremiah over the sufferings of a negro wench, a very important wife of the chief of a kraal of Guinea negroes?

A. Have patience a moment, and I will give you the name of the orator. But surely you do not pretend to be insensible to the touching pathos and beauty of—

B. Nonsense! pathos and beauty in a description of the capture of a negro woman and her boy! If your orator ever soared at all, he is compelled to crawl upon the ground by the innate vulgarity of his subject. Who ever heard such poor thoughts in such mean language? The subject utterly rejects every thing romantic and sentimental.

A. Well, I admit that there is more of reality than of romance in the feelings which ought to be excited by the eloquent passage I began reading to you. But I recollect you were yesterday giving me an account of the late commemoration of the Battle of Bloody Brook, and of the breathless delight with which you and all who heard him, listened to the oration of "the young man eloquent" on that occasion; do you remember any passage in that oration at all resembling the—

B. Really, my friend, you will exhaust my patience. Did I tell you that Mr. Everett said a single word about negroes? Sir, the topics of that discourse had an elevation, and the manner of treating them a beauty and dignity, which are insulted by your question. Even the names of the persons, places, mountains, rivers, were fresh from the mint of exquisite taste, and pictured before the eyes the heart-stirring scenes of our early history. How different from your doleful story, in all these respects! your names, too—that of your hero, for instance, Quodpe—"Phœbus, what a name!"

A. Well, I have no great liking for the name myself. Let us just countermarch the syllables of that word, and see how it will look. There, now it is Pequod! How do you like that, my friend?

B. Pequod! why—as to that—aha! I see what you are after. To be sure, he did say something about those warlike and noble-minded “men of the woods;” and also a very beautiful account there was of their next neighbor, the ill-treated King of the Narragansetts.

A. Indeed! and if Philip had been King of the Pequods, that name would have sounded well enough, would it, in Mr. Everett’s oration?

B. No doubt it would. The suffering of those interesting sons of the forest, form a noble subject for poetry and eloquence; and the names of our Indian tribes have a romantic and historical sound, which dwells with delight upon the ear.

A. Well, your distinction is a notable one indeed! It seems that if King Philip had been named King *Quodpe*, or had even been King of the Quodpes, the eloquence of this silver-tongued speaker would have disgusted your fastidious taste, and his thrilling appeal for sympathy in this chieftian’s sufferings, and in the diabolical act of SELLING his wife and noble boy into slavery—a fate which you will recollect was branded as “BITTER AS HELL,” in a tone of indignant feeling which might almost awake the dead—would have awaked no answering throb in your heart!! Oh, my friend—

B. Surely, sir, you know there is a difference between what you have read and—

A. Oh yes, the difference is very plain—it is just that between *Quodpe* and *Pequod*, by your own acknowledgment! Change a few names, the scenery of Africa for that of Rhode Island, and what I have read to you are the very words of EDWARD EVERETT, which you so much admired! And the difference, the mighty difference in the two cases, which makes all the change in your feelings between delight and contempt, is the interchange of the unimportant syllables! Are you still unaffected by what I have read?

B. Unaffected! I care nothing about your negro principles—I am not to be cheated out of my contempt for fanaticism in this way—so good bye.

And thus my good-natured friend *had the last word*, and so gained the victory.

[From the *Liberator*.]

THE TAUNT OF EUROPE.

“Will not a voice come thundering over the billows:—

Base hypocrites! let your charity begin *at home*—look at your own Carolinas—go, pour the balm of consolation into the broken hearts of your two millions of enslaved children—rebuke the murderers of Vicksburg—reckon with the felons of Charleston—restore the contents of rifled mail-bags—heal the lacerations, still festering, on the backs of your own citizens—dissolve the star chambers of Virginia—tell the confederated assassins of Alabama and Mississippi to disband—call to judg-

ment the barbarians of Baltimore, and Philadelphia, and New-York, and Concord, and Haverhill, and Lynn, and Montpelier; and the well drest mobocrats of *Utica*, and SALEM, and BOSTON. Before you rail at arbitrary power in FOREIGN regions, save your own citizens from the felonious interception of their correspondence; and teach the sworn and paid servants of the Republic, the obligations of an oath, and the guarantied rights of a free people. Send not your banners to Poland, but tear them into shreds to be distributed to the mob, as halters for your sons. When, next July, you rail at mitres, and crosiers, and sceptres; and denounce the bowstring, and the bayonet, and the faggot, let your halls be decorated with platted scourges, wet with the blood of the sons of the Pilgrims—let the tar cauldron smoke—the gibbet rear aloft its head—and CATS and BLOOD-HOUNDS, (the brute auxiliaries of Southern Liberty-men) howl and bark in unison with the demoniacal raving of a 'gentlemanly mob'—while above the Orator of the day, and beneath the striped and starry banner, stand forth in characters of blood, the distinctive mottoes of the age:

**DOWN WITH DISCUSSION.
LYNCH LAW TRIUMPHANT.
SLAVERY FOR EVER.
HAIL, COLUMBIA!**

Before you weep over the wrongs of Greece, go wash the gore out of your national shambles—appease the frantic mother robbed of her only child, the centre of her hopes, and joys, and sympathies—restore to you desolate husband the wife of his bosom—abolish the slave marts of Alexandria,—the human flesh auctions of Richmond and New-Orleans—'undo the heavy burdens,' 'break every yoke,' and stand forth to the gaze of the world—not steeped in infamy and rank with blood, but in the posture of penitence and prayer, a FREE and REGENERATED nation."

SPEECH OF A SLAVE AT HIS TRIAL.

The following striking anecdote is found in the Journal of a traveler. In relating it, we do not justify the slave. We leave that to those who are ready to fight for their own liberty, while they are willing to withhold liberty from others.

"In the afternoon I passed by a field in which several poor slaves had been executed, on the charge of having an intention to rise against their masters. A lawyer who was present at their trials at Richmond, informed me, that one of them being asked what he had to say to the court, in his defence, he replied in a manly tone of voice: "I have nothing more to offer than what General Washington would have had to offer, had he been taken by the British, and put to trial by them. I have adventured my life in endeavoring to obtain the liberty of my countrymen, and am a willing sacrifice in their cause; and I beg, as a favor, that I may be immediately led to execution. I know that you have predetermined to shed my blood: why then all this mockery of a trial?"—*Sutcliff's Travels.*

POETRY.

Eternal Nature! when thy giant hand
 Had heaved the floods, and fixed the trembling land,
 When life sprang startling at thy plastic call,
 Endless her forms, and man the lord of all;
 Say, was the lordly form inspired by thee
 To wear eternal chains and bow the knee?
 Was man ordained the slave of man to toil,
 Yoked with the brutes and fettered to the soil;
 Weighed in a tyrant's balance with his gold?
 No!—Nature stamped us in a heavenly mould;
 She bade no wretch his thankless labor urge,
 Nor, trembling take the pittance and the scourge!
 No homeless Libyan, on the stormy deep,
 To call upon his country's name and weep!—*Campbell.*

RECEIPTS

Into the Treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society, from Oct. 14, to Nov. 16, 1835.		New-York City, per A Friend,	1 00
Boston, Mass., Young Men's A. S. S., by Mr. Southard,	\$200 00	Newark, N. J. James Kelley,	1 00
“ “ J. S. Withington,		Surgeons' Hall, Pa., A. Miller,	8 00
per S. J. May,	50 00	Oberlin, Ohio, A. S. Society, per Rev. Mr. Shepherd, on pledge of \$500, per L. Tappan,	100 00
“ “ Ann Chapman,		Vernon, Ohio, Female A. S. So- ciety,	6 00
per S. J. May,	50 00	Vernon, Ohio, Flavel Sutliff,	3 00
“ “ J. S. Kimball, per		Warren, “ Milton Sutliff,	1 20
S. J. May	25 00		
“ “ C. C. Burleigh,			\$1193 57
per S. J. May,	10 00	JOHN RANKIN, Treasurer,	
“ “ Essex St. A. S.		No. 8 Cedar St.	
Society, per S. J. May,	35 00		
Danvers, Mass., Isaac Winslow,	100 00	Monthly Collections received by the Publishing Agent, from Oct. 1, to Nov. 1, 1835.	
per S. J. May,	50 00	Buffalo, N. Y., by E. A. Marsh,	\$13 67
Fall River, Mass., Abrm. Bowen,	50 00	Brighton “ by Joseph Bloss,	5 00
“ “ Nathl. Borden,	50 00	Dewitt, “ by Rev. E. Wheeler,	2 00
Ipswich, “ Wm. Oakes,		Darien, Conn., by W. Whitney,	1 38
per S. J. May,	100 00	Farmington, N. Y., by Wm. R. Smith,	12 00
Providence, R. I., A. S. Society, per John Prentice,	100 00	Kingsborough, “ S. S. Wells,	7 50
South Farms, Conn., Rev. R. S. Crampton,	2 50	Marcellus, “ A. Rockwell,	1 50
South Farms, Conn., A Friend,	3 62	Oneida Institute, N. Y., by W. J. Savage,	19 37
Goshen, N. Y., Otis Lombard,	5 00	Perry, N. Y., by J. Andrews,	11 50
Lansinburgh, N. Y., Elijah Janes,	4 00	Waterville, Me., by O. S. Boswell,	7 25
Mount Morris, “ Reuben Sleeper,	5 00	Whitesboro, N. Y., Juvenile A.S.S.	2 69
Oneida Institute, N. Y., Reuben Hough,	3 25	Received for books and pamph- lets,	312 06
Perry, N. Y., S. F. Phoenix, on account of Genesee Co.,	10 00	Received for Emancipator,	90 38
Skaneateles, N. Y., Jas. C. Ful- ler,	10 00	“ “ Human Rights,	58 67
Troy, N. Y., G. Grant,	40 00	“ “ Quarterly Maga- zine,	116 00
“ “ A. S. Society, per Wm. Yates,	150 00		\$660 97
Utica, N. Y., from “ Friends,”	5 00	R. G. WILLIAMS,	
New-York City, Abrm. Bokes,	5 00	Publishing Agent, 144 Nassau St.	
“ “ Young Men's A. S. Society, per H. F. Brayton,	60 00	Total Receipts,	\$1854 54

APPENDIX.

The following pages contain the matter found on the covers of the several numbers of the Record, as they appeared. We preface them with some of the interesting events of the year 1835.

JANUARY 14th.—Formation, at Boston, of the "American Union for the Relief and Improvement of the Colored Race." It declared slavery *wrong*, but not *sinful*, published an address, and sat down to enjoy its neutrality.

FEBRUARY 2d.—Hon. John Dickson, of New-York, made a speech in Congress, on slavery in the District of Columbia, on a motion to refer petitions for its abolition to a select committee. The motion was defeated by a vote to lay the petitions on the table, of 117 to 77.

20th.—A cargo of seventy-eight slaves bound from the District of Columbia to Charleston, S. C., being driven to Bermuda, were set at liberty by the British authorities.

MARCH 19th.—State Anti-Slavery Society of Kentucky formed at Danville. This society consisted of about forty members, of whom several had emancipated their slaves. They have since been prevented by violence from the establishment of a press.

APRIL 22d.—Ohio State Convention at Putman. A society was organized. The proceedings of this Convention, embodied in a pamphlet, form one of the most important documents.

Anti-Slavery Conventions in this month, in Oneida county, N. Y., Cumberland county, Me., &c.

MAY 12th.—Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, signalized by the speeches of Birney, Thompson, &c., and the subscription of fourteen thousand five hundred dollars to the Society's funds.

25th.—New-England Anti-Slavery Convention in Boston,—very interesting. Subscription of six thousand dollars.

26th.—Discussion on Slavery in the Presbyterian General Assembly. Last year only two abolitionists in that body; this year forty-eight.

JUNE 2d and 3d.—Interesting meetings of the Pittsburg Anti-Slavery Society. Speeches from Beman, Dickey, Rankin, and others.

4th.—Anniversary of the New-Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society. The Report a most valuable historical document.

10th.—Port Cresson, Liberia, destroyed by King Joe Harris.

16th.—Circular issued by the American Anti-Slavery Society, announcing a change and enlargement of its plan of publications, to commence on the first of July.

JULY 4th.—On this day, the slaves in several counties of Mississippi were to have risen and murdered their masters. The plot is said to have been discovered about two weeks before by a *faithful negro*. In

consequence, on the sixth of July, twenty-six persons, two of them white, were hung without trial.

5th.—Five men were hung in the public square by a mob at Vicksburg, Mi., on a charge of being gamblers.

15th.—“Kentucky Union, for the moral and religious improvement of the colored race,” formed on *neutral ground*.

20th.—Meeting of Southerners in Tammany-Hall, N. Y. The Secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society turned out of doors, for taking *notes*.

25th.—Amos Dresser flogged twenty lashes on the bare back, at Nashville, for being a member of the Anti-Slavery Society, and having in his possession Anti-Slavery publications.

30th.—The citizens of Charleston, S. C., broke open the United States Post Office, seized one thousand Anti-Slavery publications, and burned them in the streets, under the effigies of Tappan, Garrison, and Cox, before a concourse of three thousand respectable spectators.

AUGUST 3d.—Public meeting in the City-Hall, Charleston. Committee of twenty-one appointed to take charge of the United States Mail, &c.

4th.—Great meeting in the Capitol, Richmond, Va., to devise measures to put down the abolitionists, &c.

10th.—Canaan Academy, N. H., drawn off by a mob, for the crime of admitting colored youth.

11th.—Dr. Reuben Crandall thrown into prison at Washington, D. C., for having in his trunk Anti-Slavery papers.

21st.—Great Anti-Abolition meeting in Faneuil-Hall, Boston.

22d.—Letter from the Postmaster-General to the Postmaster of New-York city, (S. L. Gouverneur.)

27th.—Great Anti-Abolition meeting in the Park, New-York. Anti-Abolition meetings become the order of the day, in all our northern cities and towns. The South satisfied only with that at Philadelphia.

SEPTEMBER 3d.—Address to the public by the American Anti-Slavery Society.

20th.—Call of the Utica Convention,—four hundred and thirty names attached.

OCTOBER 21.—New-York State Anti-Slavery Society formed at Utica. Convention dispersed by a mob. Society convenes at Peterboro, at the invitation of Gerrit Smith, Esq., who subsequently becomes a member.

On the same day a mob in Boston disperses a meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, drags Mr. Garrison through the streets, who is rescued with difficulty, and lodged in JAIL for safety.

On the same week mobs at Salem, Mass., and Montpelier, Vt.

NOVEMBER. McDuffie's message to the legislature of South Carolina. Bellinger's speech published, &c. Mr. Thompson leaves America.

DECEMBER.—An unconstitutional attack upon the right of abolitionists to use the United States Mail, recommended in the President's Message.

During the year important works have been published,—Jay's Inquiry—Sunderland's Testimony of God against Slavery—Wayland's Elements of Moral Science—Channing on Slavery, &c.

Anti-Slavery Societies have increased from one hundred and fifty to three hundred and fifty.

PRO-SLAVERY ARITHMETIC.

(AN EXTRACT.)

REDUCTION.

CASE.—To reduce a *wrong thing* to a *right one*.

RULE.—Multiply the individual *wrong* by that number of individuals which it takes to make a government or nation. The product will be a general *expediency*, which, of course, cannot be wrong. Then divide this product by the same number, and the quotient will be the *right* sought.

EXAMPLE.—Given "Slavery a moral evil" to reduce it to the "right of property."

OPERATION.—*A theft of the human soul and body*.—Multiplicand.
Total number of Slaveholders.—Multiplier.

Total No. of } Slaveholders. }	An expediency or "moral necessity." Law against emancipation, &c.	{ Right of property.
	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	Ans.

NOTE.—The above rule may be conveniently stated in an Algebraic
Theft \times *Popular will*

formula, thus $\frac{\text{Theft} \times \text{Popular will}}{\text{The People.}} = \text{Right of property.}$

The People.

Which may be thus translated into common language—

Man-stealing, sanctified by public sentiment, and divided among the people, constitutes the right of property in man.

STANDARD OF COMPARISON.

"In order to determine the relative condition of colored, when compared with white people, we need a standard which does not exist. We must find a class of citizens who, like them, have been systematically deprived of instruction in science,—who have been denied the protection of law, debarred the pursuit of lucrative employment,—who have never felt the magnet influence which a hope of elevation in society exerts in others, drawing them out to effort in the field of honorable emulation. But as we have no such class among us, we must compare them with the lowest class of our white population. If we could select from our white population those who have been abandoned of their parents to the influence of every vile example, and left to the unrestrained pursuit of every vile indulgence, still we should have a class who were more eligibly circumstanced than the colored people. Great injustice is done them by comparing them with the whole community, and pronouncing a condemnation upon them as vicious and degraded beyond remedy, from the data thus unfairly gained."—*Report in Ohio Convention.*

CIRCULAR.

BY THE CENSUS OF 1830, THERE WERE IN THE UNITED STATES 2,009,050 SLAVES—ONE-SIXTH PART OF THE ENTIRE POPULATION!

"A slave," says the law of Louisiana, "is one who is in the power of a master to whom he *belongs*. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry and his labor: he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire any thing, but what must belong to his master. The law of South Carolina adjudges slaves "to be *chattels personal* in the hands of their owners and possessors, and their executors, administrators and assigns to *all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever*." And this is declared to be FOR EVER.

In accordance with such laws, these MILLIONS OF HUMAN BEINGS are degraded and held down to the condition of PROPERTY—to the level of BRUTES—in a land professing to respect equality of human rights, and to be governed by impartial law! This caused one of the best friends of our country to exclaim, "While I am indulging in my views of American prospects, and American liberty, it is mortifying to be told that in that very country, a large portion of the people are slaves! It is a dark spot on the face of the nation. Such a state of things cannot always exist."—*Lafayette*.

To

In view of these facts, the American Anti-Slavery Society address you, as a *man*, a *patriot*, and a *Christian*, and ask, What will you do to relieve the oppressed, to save your country, to honor that gospel which commands, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them?" As a Christian, you will acknowledge three things to be true:

1. God requires the system of American Slavery to be *immediately abolished*.

2. He makes it the duty of every man to do *his part* in this work, without delay. If a *slaveholder*,* he should be so no more; if not, he is bound to bring the law of love home to the consciences of his erring neighbors.

By pressing plainly the requirements of God's law upon the consciences of the oppressors, we may hope to bring our oppressed fellow-citizens to the enjoyment of their rights, and in no other way. "If thou take forth the *precious from the vile*, thou shalt be as my mouth,"—*"SAITH THE LORD."*—Jer. xv, 19.

It is plain that when such a mighty evil is to be grappled with, success is not to be expected without labor, courage and perseverance. Sacrifices are to be made. The cost must be counted, and there must be a devotion to principle without reserve. Those friends of the enslaved who would break *every yoke* are comparatively few, though rapidly increasing. It behooves them, therefore, to enter upon a *system of operation* which will bring into exercise their *whole strength*, to the greatest advantage.

* See above, the definition made by slaveholders themselves.

There are two obvious ways of operating to change public sentiment. 1. By agents or lecturers. 2. By the press. Lecturers *may* be excluded; or their voices may be drowned by the clamor of a *mob*. But the press cannot be silenced without sweeping away the last vestige of liberty. This engine has always triumphed over *brute force*, and it always will. At least we hope so.

But the press cannot be used without funds. If every fireside in the land is to be visited with the moving tale of oppression, the *means* must be furnished. Neither can agents whose business it is to breast the tide of pro-slavery sentiments in public discussion, support themselves. One thing at a time is as much as any man can do, WELL.

Under this urgent necessity, the Executive Committee propose the following plan for raising funds.

1. They invite *every* abolitionist to give *something* to the Society *statedly*. [The last Monday in the month, which has been set apart as a concert of prayer for the enslaved, will be a very suitable time for this contribution. Prayer and action should go together.]

2. While larger sums are requested of such as are able to give them, they would invite each person to give 12½ cents *monthly*.

3. They recommend to their auxiliaries to appoint collectors who shall receive this monthly contribution, and pay it over to our treasury.

4. In places where no such societies are established, they will request suitable persons to act as collectors.

5. Whenever *five dollars* or more are collected, it should be remitted, without delay, to the parent Society, *by mail*. This conveyance is almost perfectly safe, and the use of the money for one month, in this advancing cause, is worth more than the *postage*.

6. To every person who becomes a collector and *remits* the money collected, a package of the ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD will be sent, sufficient to supply each subscriber with one copy for every 12½ cents contributed.

This plan is commended to your candid attention. Something *must be done*. Is it too much to ask of any abolitionist that he should do what is here proposed?

Will you not then take so much interest in this matter, as to request the A. S. Society in your place immediately to appoint one or more collectors, male or female, and take other necessary measures, by a public meeting or otherwise, to have this plan promptly and thoroughly carried into execution? And if there is no auxiliary in your place, and it should be thought inexpedient at the present moment to form one, will you not yourself go forward, with such suitable assistants as you may choose to engage, and make application to every friend of immediate emancipation, for aid in this glorious cause?

With great respect, your fellow-laborer in the cause of humanity,

E. WRIGHT, JR.,

Sec. Dom. Cor. Am. Anti S. Soc.

Anti-Slavery Office, 144 Nassau-st. New-York, June 1, 1835.

N. B.—Remittances should be made to JOHN RANKIN, *Treas. Am. Anti-Slavery Society*, No. 8 Cedar-Street, New-York.

THOMAS NIXON, an honest laborer now in the employ of a New-York merchant, relates the following:—

He was a slave in North Carolina, and after "Nat's war," was hired to the captain of a coasting vessel. One day the Captain ordered him to go on shore for an axe. Having to pass some little distance into the country, as he approached a plantation, upon the public road, he was shot at and dangerously wounded. He learned that the deed was done by the planter's son, who was stationed in ambush by the road-side, and ordered to shoot every black that came along! For months he was unable to move himself from the wretched hut to which he was carried. No punishment was ever talked of, either for the young man or his cruel instigator, the planter.

This man, by the assistance of his employer, has been enabled to purchase the freedom of himself, his wife, and two children.—Five of his children are still in slavery.

A NOBLE EXAMPLE.

Last year I visited a gentleman in Philadelphia, who employs a considerable capital in the business of Sail-making. He invited me to see his establishment, which occupies several lots. In one, his workmen, 20 or 30 in number, were industriously at work upon the canvass. All was order and harmony, and every arrangement seemed admirably adapted for the despatch of business. My friend took great delight in pointing out to me various improvements that he had introduced in his art; and spoke very kindly of his workmen. Here was one who had been in his employ 20 years, who owned not a brick when he came, but was now the possessor of a good brick house; there was another who had been rescued from ruin. These were *white* men, but not so all. As near as I can recollect, about half of them were *colored*. My friend remarked to me that both colors had thus been employed together for more, I think, than 20 years, and always with the same peace and harmony which I then saw. "*Here,*" said he, *you see what may be done, and ought to be done in our country at large.*" The words made an impression on me which can never be effaced.

And who is this noble Sail-maker? *He is a COLORED MAN!* Yes, reader, he is a *colored man*, and a few years ago he was urged to go to Liberia, after this manner—"Go to Liberia, and you will be the *Lord Mansfield* of the Colony—*here* you can only be *Jim*—the Sail-maker." This was the argument for expatriating a man who fought in the Revolution; who, for years before the Temperance reformation, set an example of total abstinence from ardent spirits in his whole establishment; who stands at the head of a most useful branch of industry, and whose family is a pattern of every thing that is virtuous, refined and praiseworthy.

W.

"THE ONE DROP OF AFRICAN BLOOD."

One drop of African blood, we are taught by a certain society in Connecticut, divides its possessor by "an impassable line of demarcation"

from the immaculate *whites*. Our friend, Mr. Robert Purvis, a colored gentleman of Philadelphia, sets this matter in an amusing point of view. He was about to embark for Europe from Philadelphia in one of the packets, when a Mr. —, a first-rate aristocrat, learning that a colored man was to be a passenger, objected to going in the cabin with him.—The captain, in the true dough-face style, refused Mr. Purvis, and he was obliged to embark from New-York. In Europe he was, of course, treated with as much courtesy as if he had been entirely white, and perhaps a little more. But as he stepped into a shallop at Portsmouth, to go on board the packet which was to bring him back to America, whom should he meet but the very Mr. —, who had objected to his company from Philadelphia! But as Mr. — did not *know* him, and *color* was not a matter to be so nicely studied at the end of the voyage, no objections were started. The company on board was of the very *elite* of the American *white* ARISTOCRACY; a brother of Governor Hayne of S. C. for one—by whom Mr. Purvis was politely received, and to whom, during the voyage, for the furtherance of the joke, he endeavored, and with great success, to render himself agreeable. He daily walked arm and arm with some of the gentlemen on deck, and was upbraided by fathers and mothers if he neglected to dance with their daughters! On arriving at Sandy Hook, the captain gave a special entertainment, when, after other toasts, the health of Mr. Purvis was proposed, and was drunk with the greatest enthusiasm—ALL STANDING.

The mother of one of the young ladies, it is true, was once on the voyage a little inquisitive. "Were you born in Philadelphia, Mr. Purvis?" said she. "No, madam," he replied, "I was born far South." "I thought as much," the lady rejoined, "for that climate will injure the most delicate complexion."

Now, ought not these people, all of them, to be brought before the Supreme Court of Connecticut, sitting at *Canterbury*, and tried for not having better discrimination?

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE NEVER BROKE HIS WORD.

When the British troops were about to evacuate St. Domingo, Gen. Maitland, their commander, desired an interview with Toussaint, and wrote to him to know if he might safely visit his head-quarters, which were then in the central part of the Island. Toussaint replied in the affirmative. Knowing the worth of Toussaint's word, the general, with only two attendants, set out for the camp of the negro chief. On his way, a letter was put into his hands, warning him not to proceed, for that a Frenchman was intriguing with Toussaint, and urging him to embrace the present opportunity of destroying the British power by depriving the British army of its commander. But he had too much confidence in Toussaint, and proceeded. When he arrived at the camp, he was shown to the tent of the chief, and told to wait outside. In this delay his heart began to misgive him. Toussaint at last sprung out with a letter in each hand. "Ah, general," said he, "here are two letters which you must read before we proceed to business." One was that of the Frenchman proposing the treacherous seizure of the General.

The other was Toussaint's reply, in which he said, "I have pledged my word to the English commander that he shall be safe. You ask me to break my word. No. I have fought for the republic. I love the cause of France. But not a hair of this man's head shall be hurt. If my honor did not forbid it, how could I reconcile it with my conscience and my God?" It is needless to say that General Maitland returned in safety.

ANECDOTES OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

Mr. L., a respectable Linen Draper, of New-York, relates the following instance of cruelty, which he witnessed a few years ago in New-Orleans:

He called on a northern friend, who had married a slaveholding lady. They had an infant prattling on the floor. To amuse it, a little slave child, of the same age, was admitted to play with it; the latter attempted to take a piece of cake from the white infant. To punish this very natural and innocent act, the white mother took a small wire cord and struck the black infant across its face till the blood spirted out profusely. She then called the *slave mother* to take away her child, that she might not be disturbed with its crying. Mr. L. expostulated with her, being unable to repress his indignation, and was told to leave the house. The husband, who was absent at the time, met Mr. L. the next day, and attempted to apologize, by saying that "such was the custom of the country," &c. What a custom!

SUICIDE.—A negro man, named *Michael*, (a slave,) committed suicide, in the jail of this county, on Tuesday night last, by hanging himself.

The circumstances which led to this melancholy act, we learn, are as follows:—He was recently sold, by a Mr. Barnett, of Howard county, to Mr. J. E. Fenton, of this county, by whom he was immediately shipped for the *South*. At the mouth of the Ohio, he contrived, by filing off his irons, to make his escape—and returned to this county, (or Howard,) where his wife resides. He refused to be sent to the South, unless his wife should also accompany him; and being armed, would not surrender himself but on these conditions. He was, however, by stratagem, finally taken, and placed for safe-keeping in our jail—when, finding that he would, in all probability, never again see her, he resolved to end both his life and his servitude.—*Missouri Intelligencer*.

HOW SLAVERY IS A SORT OF FAMILY GOVERNMENT.

[From a Missionary in the West Indies.]

"A few years ago it was enacted that it should not be legal to transport once established slaves from one island to another; and a gentleman owner finding it advisable to do so before the act came in force, the removal of the greater part of his *live stock* was the consequence.—

He had a female slave, highly valuable to him, (and not the less so for being the mother of eight or nine children,) whose husband was the property of another resident on the island, where I happened to be at the time. Their masters not agreeing on a sale, separation ensued, and I went to the beach, to be an eye-witness of their behavior in the greatest pang of all. One by one the man kissed his children, with the firmness of a hero, and, blessing them, gave his last words,—(oh! will it be believed, and have no influence on our veneration for the negro?) “Farewell, be honest and obedient to your master!” At length he had to take leave of his wife; there he stood, (I have him in my mind’s eye at this moment,) five or six yards from the mother of his children, unable to move, speak, or do any thing but gaze, and still to gaze on the object of his long affection, soon to cross the blue wave for ever from his aching sight. The fire of his eyes, alone gave indication of the passion within, until, after some minutes’ standing thus, he fell senseless on the sand, as if suddenly struck down by the hand of the Almighty;—nature could do no more; the blood gushed from his nostrils and mouth, as if rushing from the terrors of the conflict within; and amid the confusion occasioned by the circumstance, the vessel bore off his family for ever from the island! After some days he recovered, and came to ask advice of me! What could an Englishman do in such a case? I felt the blood boiling within me, but I conquered; I brow-beat my own manhood, and gave him the *humblest* advice I could afford.”

Let us remember that the American domestic Slave-trade causes such separations *by system*. Only the *strong* are sold to the South—the rest are retained as the *breeders*.

A MERITED REBUKE.

A certain distinguished northern member of Congress had just finished a speech, in which he attempted to justify Slavery from Scripture. John Randolph, turning round, with a look of scorn, said in an audible voice—“Slavery is a necessary evil; but I envy not the head nor the heart of the man who can defend it on *principle*.”

PERSECUTION OF COLORED PEOPLE.

In 1829, the *white* citizens of Cincinnati undertook to drive out the *colored* ones, about 2,200 of whom were peaceably residing with them. An old law, requiring bonds for their support and good behavior, was brought against them. They were *mobbed* night after night, and finally they were refused honest employment, and an effort was made to *starve* them out. A number of facts in regard to this persecution we derive from the interesting Report on the Condition of the Free Colored Population, in the Ohio Convention—

“A respectable master mechanic stated to us, a few days since, that in 1830, the President of the Mechanical Association, was publicly tried by the Society, for the crime of assisting a colored young man to learn a trade. Such was the feeling among the mechanics, that no colored boy could learn a trade, or colored journeymen find em-

ployment. A young man of our acquaintance, of unexceptionable character, and an excellent workman, purchased his freedom, and learned the cabinet-making business in Kentucky. On coming to this city he was refused work by every man to whom he applied. At last he found a shop, carried on by an Englishman, who agreed to employ him—but on entering the shop, the workmen threw down their tools, and declared that he should leave, or they would. ‘*They would never work with a nigger.*’ The unfortunate youth was accordingly dismissed.

“In this extremity, having spent his last cent, he found a *slaveholder* who gave him employment in an iron store as a common laborer. Here he remained two years, when the gentleman finding he was a mechanic, exerted his influence, and procured work for him as a rough carpenter. This man, by dint of perseverance and industry has now become a master-workman, employing at times, six or eight journeymen. But he tells us he has not yet received a single job of work from a native born citizen of a free state. This oppression of the mechanics still continues. A clergyman told one of his laborers, who was also a member of his church, that he could employ him no longer, for the laws forbade it. The poor man went out and sought employment elsewhere to keep his family from starving, but he sought in vain, and returned in despair to the minister to ask his advice. The only reply he received was, ‘I cannot help you, you must go to Liberia.’

“The schools, both common and select, remain shut against them to the present day, although they have always paid their full proportion of taxes for all public objects.* A short time since, it was discovered by a master of the common school, a presbyterian elder, that three or four children who attended had a colored woman for a mother. Although the complexion of these children is such, that no one could distinguish them amongst a company of whites, they were told that they could not stay in school, and were sent home to their parents.

“Last spring a colored man had his house broken into, and property to a considerable amount stolen. The evidence was entirely conclusive, as one of the thieves turned State’s evidence, and confessed the whole. At the court, one of the pleas put in by the counsel was, that neither the oath of the man nor that of his family could be taken to prove the property to be his. The jury returned a verdict of *not guilty*, and the robbers were cleared.

“At the same court a white man was arraigned for murdering a colored man. The case was a plain one,—eight or ten men who were standing near, saw the murder. Only two of them, however, were white. On the day of trial one of the white men could not be found. The testimony of the other was received, while that of the colored

* In the new city charter, obtained in 1834, a provision is made, that the colored people shall receive the amount of their school-taxes in tuition. But as yet, so far as our knowledge extends, they have received no benefit from this provision.

men, though equally respectable, was refused. As it was a capital crime, where two witnesses were necessary, the murderer escaped unpunished. Subject to such disabilities, is it strange that the population should be ignorant and degraded? Especially when we remember that nearly one half of them were formerly in bondage. They have grown up under its blighting influences. The charge is *true*,—*they are a degraded people*. But this charge, true as it is, should not make them objects of contempt. It is the proof that they have *minds*, and are susceptible of moral influence. We wonder as we sometimes sit and listen to their tale of sufferings and of woe, that black despair has not entirely palsied every energy. To those acquainted with the system of slavery, it is known that not only law, but even brute force, is frequently exerted to prevent the dawn of intellect. Said a colored woman to us the other day, ‘When I was little, I used to long to read. After prayers, master would often leave the bible and hymn-book on the stand, and I would sometimes open them to see if the letters would not tell me something. When he came in and caught me looking in them, he would always strike me, and sometimes knock me down.’”

IMPROVEMENT OF PUPILS IN THE COLORED SCHOOLS.

“Rhoda Carr, a girl who had been a slave, and who had purchased her freedom, having in some way heard of our schools, came five hundred miles that she might attend them. She entered not knowing her letters—in four weeks her reading book was the Testament. Prestley, a boy aged ten, learned his letters in four days. He commenced last June, and is now a good reader, and well advanced in Arithmetic. Charles, another boy ten years old, at the second quarter had gone through Ray’s arithmetic, and could do any sum which the book contained. The children generally of eight and ten years of age, who commenced with their letters can now spell anywhere in the spelling-book. Fifty are now attending to geography, thirty to English grammar, forty to arithmetic, and twelve to history, some of whom are well advanced. True, some who attend our schools are stupid and dull, as is the case with every collection of children; but with the majority, the fact is far otherwise. Sixty or eighty lines in history are frequently repeated for a morning lesson, with perfect accuracy, and on inquiring of the boys how long they sat up last night, the reply with some is, ‘till ten, eleven, or twelve o’clock,’ and with others, ‘till we burned the candle out.’”—*Ib.*

WORKING OF THE BRITISH ABOLITION ACT.

We have just received from London the Anti-Slavery Reporter for February, 1835. It contains a mass of evidence which cannot fail to gratify genuine abolitionists. The following is from the postscript, containing the most recent news from Jamaica.

We are told, indeed, by high colonial authorities, and whole hosts of affidavits are on the way to England to prove the point, that the negroes

will not work voluntarily for wages. The Assembly of Jamaica, who are busy in getting up their evidence, will tell us, we trust, what the wages are which have been offered by them, and whether that offer has been accompanied by the galling privations and annoyances which have been intended to compel a compliance. They have long, we know, been preparing their delusive and fallacious statements for transmission to this country; and an excellent missionary, Mr. Abbott, is now confined in the common jail of Spanishtown, for daring to resist their unwarranted claim to examine him on oath, touching his knowledge of the purposes and intentions of the apprentices. They had instituted, it will be remembered, some years ago, a similar scrutiny into the conduct and designs of the missionaries in Jamaica, and sent hither the evidence, in the boasted confidence that it could not fail to have the effect of their entire expulsion from the island. But when this labored document appeared on this side of the Atlantic, so totally unproduceable was it found to be, (to say nothing of the arts, and the espionage, and the subornations, and the garbling that were known to have been resorted to in its preparation,) that their own partisans and friends in this country, who had been taught to hail its approach, and who had been so imprudent as to boast beforehand of the effect it could not fail to produce on public opinion, saw at once, that it could not bear the light, and therefore judged it absolutely necessary, for their own credit's sake, wholly to suppress it.*

A mass of evidence is now preparing under similar auspices, to prove the ill-working of the Abolition Act, and we doubt not will be found to possess the same character which rendered the former attempt of a like kind perfectly abortive, and even injurious to its contrivers. One thing, however, is quite evident on the present occasion, and that is, that the negroes have the law wholly on their side. The Act of Parliament is so clearly and explicitly in their favor, that no tortuousness of statement or violence of declamation can shake the strength of their case. They are safe, if they do but continue to conduct themselves peacefully, submissively, and loyally, and employ the time they are bound to give, their master honestly and industriously in his service. And hitherto, generally speaking, it appears that this has been faithfully performed, and that few complaints have been made and substantiated to show that the masters' forty or forty-five hours in the week have been idly frittered away.

At the same time, let it not be supposed that there are no estates on which the apprentices do not employ their leisure time for their masters' benefit and convenience. It is, however, chiefly in cases where they have been kindly and liberally treated and fairly remunerated. In the House of Assembly in Jamaica, on the 29th of October last, a memorial having been presented, complaining of the apprentices; Mr. Shirley, the member for Trelawney, remarked, that he could not join the memorialists in their condemnation of the apprentices. He was interested to the extent of 700 apprentices, with whose conduct he was perfectly well satisfied. His people had behaved themselves extremely well, and he, for one, had no cause whatever to regret the change which had taken

* See, for a full exposure of this instructive transaction, *The London Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 50, for July, 1829, p. 24.

place. He was disposed to judge of the future conduct of his apprentices by their past and present conduct. Few negroes on the island turned out to work earlier than his. They were out almost every morning at daylight, and such was their readiness and willingness to labor, that he got his 40 1-2 hours in four days, and this enabled them to work one entire day in the week for hire. He had employed 300 of his people repeatedly on Friday's for pay.

[Communicated by a Lady.]

In 1789, the Methodist meeting-house in Barbadoes, (the first that had been erected there,) was pelted furiously by mobs, and divine service disturbed by their clamorous outcries. Some of the rioters were carried before a magistrate, who said "the offence was committed against Almighty God; it therefore does not belong to me to punish." This insult gave such great encouragement to the mob, that preaching by candle-light became impracticable.

RETAILING SPIRITS AS BAD AS TEACHING TO READ, IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

AN ACT TO AMEND THE LAWS IN RELATION TO SLAVES AND FREE PERSONS OF COLOR.

Section 1. *Be it enacted by the Honorable the Senate, and the House of Representatives, now met and sitting in General Assembly, and by the authority of the same,* If any person shall hereafter teach any slave to read or write, or shall aid or assist in teaching any slave to read or write, or cause or procure any slave to be taught to read or write; such person, if a free white person, upon conviction thereof, shall, for each and every offence against this act, be fined not exceeding one hundred dollars, and imprisoned not more than six months; or if a free person of color, shall be whipped not exceeding fifty lashes, and fined not exceeding fifty dollars, at the discretion of the court of magistrates and freeholders before which such free person of color is tried; and if a slave, shall be whipped at the discretion of the court, not exceeding fifty lashes; the informer to be entitled to one-half of the fine, and to be a competent witness; and if any free person of color or slave, shall keep any school or other place of instruction, for teaching any slave or free person of color to read or write, such free person of color or slave shall be liable to the same fine, imprisonment and corporal punishment, as are by this section, imposed and inflicted on free persons of color and slaves, for teaching slaves to read or write.

Sec. 2. If any person shall employ or keep as a clerk, any slave or free person of color, or shall permit any slave or free person of color to act as a clerk or salesman, in or about any shop, store or house used for trading, such person shall be liable to be indicted therefor, and upon conviction thereof, shall be fined for each and every offence, not exceeding one-hundred dollars, and be imprisoned not exceeding six months; the informer to be a competent witness, and to be entitled to one-half of the fine.

Sec. 3. If any free white person, being a distiller, vender or retailer

of spirituous liquors, shall sell, exchange, give, or in any otherwise deliver any spirituous liquors to any slave, except upon the written and express order of the owner, or person having the care and management of such slaves, such person upon conviction, shall be imprisoned not exceeding six months, and be fined not exceeding one hundred dollars; and any free person of color, or slave, shall for each and every such offence, incur the penalties prescribed for free persons of color, or slaves, for teaching slaves to read or write.

We have been told that we ought to fraternize, or associate Temperance with Anti-Slavery! See how slaveholders can connect it with Slavery! Why do not the advocates of Temperance tremble for their cause as much when it appears in this connection, as when it is linked with doing justice and showing mercy? The 4th and 5th sections regard the execution of the 3d.

By the 6th we perceive that the slaveholders are addicted to some vices which they do not like to have communicated to their Slaves.

Sec. 7. This Act shall take effect from the first day of April next. In the Senate House, the seventeenth day of December, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, and in the *fifty-ninth* year of the Independence of the United States of America.

H. DEAS, President of the Senate.

PATRICK NOBLE, Speaker of the House

of Representatives.

Charleston Mercury.

ANECDOTES OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

A slave in Georgia sought refuge in the swampy forest from the despotism which he could not brook, and kept himself concealed in places which a refugee slave alone would voluntarily inhabit until the ragings of hunger overcame him, and he crept back to the plantation.


The overseer received him with wrath, and regardless of his anguish and his entreaties, securing him with cords, flogged him without pity.—The underling's arm grew weary—at length the tortured slave was writhing in his blood. Just then came in the master. He seized the lash, and pursued the outrage. "Pray, Massa," feebly screamed the perishing slave. What was prayer to the slave-master? Uncurbed despotism was afloat—who can utter its horrors? The sufferer's cries became more and more feeble, even the convulsions of his quivering flesh subsided—he felt no more; but the tyrant was inflamed with new rage at the passiveness of his object, and swore and drove the lash with more vengeful nerve; but in vain. The spirit had returned to Him who gave it—the voice was silent, and the flesh was dead.

The cause was tried in Milledgeville, the capital of Georgia. I had the account from a public officer, who was engaged in the trial. A *white man having been present*, the facts as above stated were proved. But the jury and the judge, as well as the murderer, were slaveholders.—The law was without difficulty evaded; and the murderer walks abroad *without stain*, glorying in the freedom of his country!

A *kind* slave-master, in one of the Carolinas, had a large family of various colors, some enslaved, some free. One of the slaves was his

favorite daughter; she grew up beautiful, elegant, and much accomplished. Dying, he willed his heir, her brother, to provide for her handsomely, and make her free. But her brother was a slave-master, and she was a slave. He kept and debauched her. It would be unlawful even to speak of such things, were it not taking the part of tyrants to conceal them. At the end of four or five years he got tired of her, and that notorious slave-dealer, Woolfolk, coming down to collect a drove, he sold his sister to him. "There is her cottage," said he to Woolfolk; "she is a violent woman. I don't like to go near her; go and carry her off by yourself." Woolfolk strode into the cottage, told her the fact, and ordered her to prepare. She was dreadfully agitated. He urged her to hasten. She rose and said, "White man, I don't believe you. I don't believe that my brother would thus sell me and his children. I will not believe unless he come himself." Woolfolk coolly went and required her brother's presence. The seducer, the tyrant, came, and, standing at the door, confirmed the slave-dealer's report. "And is it true; and have you indeed sold me?" she exclaimed, "is it really possible? Look at this child; don't you see in every feature the lineaments of its father; don't you know that your blood flows in its veins—have you—have you sold me?" The terrible fact was repeated by her master. "These children," she said, with a voice only half articulate, "never shall be slaves." "Never mind about *that*," said Woolfolk, "go and get ready; I shall only wait a few minutes longer." She retired with her children; the two white men continued alone; they waited—she returned not: they grew tired of waiting, and followed her to her chamber; there they found their victims beyond the reach of human wickedness, bedded in their blood.

C. STUART.

 THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.—It appears from authentic documents that this detested traffic was never more active than now.—Vessels, crowded with slaves, some carrying not less than 1000, are constantly entering the ports of Cuba and Brazil,—and who can say that they do not enter those of the United States? What will stop this horrible traffic? *Nothing but the universal abolition of the markets for slaves!*

The slave system inflicts an incalculable amount of human suffering for the sake of making a wholesale waste of labor and capital.

Harriet Martineau.

It is said that "an inclination to emancipate the slaves pervades the South." Are we to infer this from the fact that 300 slaves out of 2,250,000 are offered to the Colonization Society for transportation to Liberia? The slave-masters of the South are called upon by God, through their own consciences, *immediately* to give up their usurpation—to make free laborers of their slaves, *upon the soil*—and to gain time, they answer like the lazy servant, "coming sir, coming sir." But when we inquire into their progress, behold, they are ready to *banish* as many of their poor victims as are born in a day. Blessed be God, there are better indications of approaching freedom than this. Some can be pointed to, who, by the force of truth, have been persuaded to *do justice*.

THE YEAR OF JUBILEE.

It is now the *fifty-ninth* year since we have been an independent nation, and we have not yet heard the trumpet of Jubilee. Ye reverend gentlemen, slaveholders and others, who quote the XXVth chapter of *Leviticus* to justify American slavery, how is this? Does not that chapter say: "Ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto *all the inhabitants thereof*?" If you did really get a license to *sin*, out of that chapter, remember that it could run only *fifty years*. Your charter run out at least *nine years ago*. And now your doings under it are all "wrong"—by which I mean, that they are a *wicked ROBBERY* of the poor! Q.

THE SALE OF A CHURCH MEMBER.

Can the Church of Christ tolerate, for one moment, a system which sells her members for money, separates families and promotes adultery? Had such a fact as follows been related in regard to a convert at one of our missionary stations in India, it would have been published every where, as proof of the awful depravity of the heathen.

Mr. Cornelius, in his journey from Brainerd to Natchez, in 1817, met with a Christian slave, of whom he gives a most affecting account. The facts were briefly these. Aaron, the slave, belonged to a Baptist Church, near Frankfort, Ky. He had a wife and two children. His master, in a fit of intoxication, sold him to a negro-trader going down the river to New-Orleans with a load of slaves. The wife, with her own tears and cries and those of her children, begged the trader not to carry her husband away. He professed to buy Aaron only to assist in working the boat, and, appealing to God in a terrible oath, swore that *he would not sell him, but bring him back*. At New-Orleans he sold the other slaves, and was prevented from selling Aaron, only by the yellow fever which had hurt the market. During the delay, by the assistance of some friends, Aaron escaped. After traveling four hundred miles he was overtaken by his master, brought back a little way and sold to a Mr. Mitchell, with whom Mr. Cornelius found him. He most bitterly lamented the absence of his wife and children. He had been urged to *take another wife*, but had refused on the ground of *Christian principle*. His last request of Mr. C. was, that he would *pray for him*.

[See *Memoirs of Cornelius*, page 93.]

HOW TO NURSE PREJUDICE.

Our vast country is filled with a mixed population, drawn from a dozen different nations. We have English, Dutch, Scotch, Irish, French and Swiss, besides the different varieties of African origin. If we wish to make our country the scene of everlasting broils, nothing is easier. Only talk of any one of these classes, to all the rest, as a nuisance: lay plans to get rid of it; or to keep it from the exercise of equal privileges, and the work is done. Nothing is easier than to fan jealousy into a flame. By adopting an exclusive policy we may make a great many enemies at a small expense; and this enmity may be kept up to the end of time by keeping at a proper distance from them. This matter is well

understood. And liberal men who wish for *peace*, think it best to throw the broad shield of impartial law and equal rights over all, and make every body, who has a white skin, welcome to our soil. No matter whether he knows much or little—and whatever may be his character, he is welcome. The chemistry of our free institutions is at once applied to him; and to its transforming power we trust. If this is wise, why not apply the same to colored Americans? Will our country be the worse off for having in its bosom two or three millions of friends, instead of as many enemies, even though they may be of a darker color than we would like?

POPULATION OF THE BRITISH (FORMERLY SLAVE) COLONIES.

COLONIES.	White.	Free Colored.	Slaves.
[Chartered.]			
*Bermuda,	5,550	500	4,650
Bahamas,	4,000	2,800	9,500
Jamaica,	15,000	40,000	331,000
Virgin Isles,	800	600	5,400
St. Christophers,	1,800	2,500	19,500
Nevis,	800	1,800	9,000
*Antigua,	2,000	4,500	30,000
Montserrat,	500	700	6,000
Dominica,	800	3,600	14,500
Barbadoes,	15,500	6,000	81,000
St. Vincents,	1,300	2,900	23,500
Grenada,	800	3,700	24,500
Tobago,	350	1,200	12,700
[Crown.]			
St. Lucia,	1,100	4,000	13,500
Trinidad,	3,500	16,000	23,000
Honduras,	300	2,800	2,450
Demerara,	3,000	6,000	70,000
Be:bice,	600	1,000	21,000
Cape of Good Hope,	43,000	29,000	35,500
Mauritius,	8,000	15,000	76,000
Total,	108,150	143,700	512,700

* In these Islands, slavery was unconditionally abolished on the 1st of August, 1834; in the other Colonies the slaves are in a state of apprenticeship.

IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION NO NEW DOCTRINE.

The following law is found among the statutes now in force in the miscalled free State of Illinois.

"No negro, mulatto or Indian, shall at any time purchase any servant, other than of their own complexion, and if any of the persons aforesaid, shall nevertheless presume to purchase a white servant, such servant shall *immediately* become free, and shall be so held, deemed and taken."

This law was carried verbatim from Virginia, and it seems to show two things.

1. That *white* men in Illinois may buy "servants" of any complexion they please.
2. That *white* men do not fear an *immediate* restoration of rights, when the case becomes their *own*.



A VOICE FROM GREAT BRITAIN TO AMERICA.

Slavery, it is said, is not the fault of America—it was forced upon her by Great Britain, in her state of dependance. But surely our countrymen were not *compelled* to buy slaves,—the force was no other than the *moral* force of temptation. In presenting such temptation to the colonies, Great Britain was surely guilty. Of this her philanthropists, at least, are now sensible. And they are doing all in their power to make reparation. If the sin of Britain lay in using a moral force to introduce slavery, she is bound to use a moral force to abolish it. She has abolished slavery in her own dominions, and she has sent us two of her most distinguished philanthropists kindly to persuade us to imitate her example.

In commemoration of the glorious day in which the chains were knocked off from 800,000 slaves, and in regard to the influence of this act upon our country a medal was struck as represented above. It speaks in a language which needs no interpreter.

SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

"To our astonishment we found at Rio people of the country, distinguished for their education and humanity, who coolly assured us that we were mistaken in imagining that the negroes belong to our species. Agreeably to this principle, the slaves are treated, and, as the people at Rio boast, with extraordinary mildness. A person must have long resided there, and become gradually accustomed to this sight of misery and degrading oppression, before he can understand such language.

"If a stranger visits the depot of a slave merchant, the latter receives him with the greatest civility, cordially shakes him by the hand, and assures him of the uncommon excellence of his merchandise. He immediately orders some of the poor wretches to stand up, and, stick in hand, makes them exhibit their capabilities. But, if these atrocious dealers in human flesh perceive that you have entered their depot from mere curiosity, they immediately become vulgarly insolent, cursing foreign nations, especially the English, who, they say, meddle in their concerns, and rob them of their legitimate gains only to enrich themselves. We know, from various writers, what is now the easiest mode of acquiring riches at Rio, namely, by purchasing slaves and sending them out to work.

"Long before day-break, as well as throughout the whole day, thousands and thousands of slaves may be seen wandering about, seeking employment; the harbors and market-places are thronged with them, and it is impossible to walk even a few paces without being accosted by them. These slaves are obliged to provide for their own maintenance, and to carry home to their owners a certain sum of money every day. If they have been unable to realize this, they are beaten, but if they have gained more, they are allowed to retain a part, in order to make up any deficiency in some other day."—*Mcyeen's voyage round the world.*

Prudence is good in all things. There is no doubt such a thing as robbing prudently, discreetly, and judiciously, and some will have it, benevolently. The slave masters of Rio seem to understand this, and so do multitudes in our own country. Those people whose eyes, in this world, 'stand out with fatness,' who have 'more than heart can wish,' understand and practice the necessary secret of mixing up a great deal of prudence, and some goodness, with their sin. But as in the case of Dives, a kind hearted hospitable sinner of old, their kindness will not stand the test of the next world.—Ed.

 SLAVERY PROTECTED BY THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES.

An officer of the United States' army, who was in the expedition from fortress Monroe, against the Southampton slaves, in 1831, speaks with constant horror of the scenes which he was compelled to witness. Those troops, agreeably to their orders, which were to exterminate the negroes, killed all that they met with, although they encountered neither resistance, nor show of resistance; and

the first check given to this wide barbarous slaughter grew out of the fact, that the law of Virginia, which provides for the payment to the master of the full value of an executed slave, was considered as not applying to the cases of slaves put to death without trial. In consequence of numerous representations to this effect, sent to the officer of the United States army, commanding the expedition, the massacre was suspended.—*Child's Oration.*

A DELICATE QUESTION.

In 1824, a Virginia jury propounded to the judges of the Court of Appeals, the highest court of law in that state, this question,—“Can a master be indicted for beating his slave cruelly, inhumanly, and beyond the bounds of moderation?” The court said this was a very ‘grave’ and ‘delicate’ question, which they should not then decide. This question has never been decided judicially in any of the slave states; nor has it been raised in any except Virginia. But who does not see that not to decide was deciding it? The most solemn decision in favor of the master could have conferred no power, which the withholding of a decision did not leave him. It left right with might, where it has always been, and gave a new sanction to the unholy union by refusing to disturb it.—*Ibid.*

LAFAYETTE.

Lafayette was consistent. Having bravely and disinterestedly aided in vindicating our rights, he did not incur the reproach of hypocrisy, by turning and trampling on the rights of others.

For the purpose of applying his principles to men of color, he purchased a plantation in French Guiana. His first step was to collect all the whips and other instruments of torture and punishment, and make a bonfire with them, in presence of the assembled slaves. He then instituted a plan of giving a portion of his time to each slave every week, with a promise that as soon as any one had earned money enough to purchase an additional day of the week, he should be entitled to it; and when with this increased time to work for himself, he could purchase another day, he should have that, and so on, until he was master of his whole time. In the then state of Anti-Slavery science, this gradual and sifting process was deemed necessary to form the character of slaves, and to secure the safety of the masters. Abolitionists would not elect this mode now. They would turn slaves at once into free laborers or leaseholders, on the same estate, if possible, where they have been as slaves. Still there is not an American abolitionist who would not rejoice to see a *single* southern planter copy the plan of Lafayette, or take any other step tending to emancipation, however remote. Before Lafayette's views were fully executed, the French revolution occurred, which interrupted his operations, and made the slaves free at once. But mark the conduct of the ungrateful and bloodthirsty blacks. While other slaves in the colony availed themselves of the first moment of freedom to quit the plantations of their masters, Lafayette's remained, desiring to work for their humane and generous friend.—*Ibid.*

✚ We need offer no apology for occupying the whole of the present number with one article. The tale is true to life and nature, and we hope for it an attentive perusal. To the author, who is unknown to us, we return thanks, at the same time that we ask forgiveness for a considerable abridgment, which was rendered necessary by our narrow limits.

RECEIPTS

INTO THE TREASURY OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

From June 12, 1835, to July 12, 1835.

<i>Donations.</i>			
New York city, Ladies' A. S. Society, per Mrs. Lockwood,	\$100 00	Cleveland, Ohio, A. Clark,	1 50
" J. Rankin, for July,	100 00	Carlisle, Pa., by Miss M. Knox,	5 00
" Wm. Green, Jr. for do.	83 33	Farmington, N. Y., by W. R. Smith,	6 00
" Arthur Tappan, do.	250 00	Montreal, L. C. Wm. Brewster,	80
Boston, Chas. C. Barry, Pine St. A. S. Society,	100 00	Norwich, Conn., by Mrs. Dr. Farnsworth,	9 00
Brooklyn, Ct., N. Williams, Monthly Concert,	5 00	Norwalk, Conn., by D. Low,	2 50
New York, Wm. Currie, from a few friends of the cause,	30 00	Oneida Institute, by W. J. Savage,	10 00
" Thos. Fessenden,	5 00	Oxford, Ohio, A. Benton,	1 40
R. L. Hurlbut, Seneca Castle, by Rev. Mr. Clark,	4 00	Perry, N. Y., by J. Andrews,	10 63
B. C. Bacon, Boston, Mass.,	2 00	Portland, Me., Ladies' A. S. S. by Miss Winslow,	24 00
Isaac Platt, Franklin, N. Y.,	5 00	Rome, N. Y., Dr. A. Blair,	10 00
A Friend,	75	Rochester, " by Dr. W. W. Reed,	23 00
Do.	63	Sandate, Vt. Rev. S. M. Wheelock,	1 25
E. C. Pritchett, Amherst, on account of \$150 pledged,	16 00	Schoenectady, N. Y., by J. G. Duryse,	5 00
	\$701 71	Twinsburgh, Ohio, Mr. Loomis,	50
		Western Reserve College, Ohio, by F. W. Upson,	5 00
		Wayne, Ohio, Miss A. Babcock,	50
		Records sold at Office,	17 43
		Books and Pamphlets sold at Office,	102 45
		Received for Quarterly Magazine,	75 00
		" Human Rights,	29 54
		" Emancipator, New Series,	18 34
		Total,	350 73

JOHN RANKIN, Treasurer.

Monthly Collections received by Publishing Agent, from June 12, to July 12, 1835.

Boston, Mass., C. C. Barry,	75
Brighton, N. Y., by Dr. W. W. Reed	2 00
Bath, Me., J. Taylor,	3 00

R. G. WILLIAMS, Publishing Agent
American Anti-Slavery Society,
No. 144 Nassau-St.

TESTIMONY OF A MISSIONARY.

Rev. Mr. Burchill, Baptist Missionary to Jamaica, returned from a visit to England, just after the breaking out of the insurrection in that island, in 1832, and was soon afterwards obliged to fly for his life on board of an American vessel. During his short and tempestuous residence, while in confinement through perjury suborned against him, he was awakened one night by a voice of psalms. He started, rubbed his eyes, and thought it must be a dream; for at that period, in that place, the utterance of the Saviour's name, or any act of outward worship, was almost tantamount to treason; but the voice of singers rose sweetly and loudly through the night, and he wondered who could possess such daring. He moved quickly to the window, opened the Venetian, and bent his ear towards the sacred harmony. It was a hymn from the cell of the slaves condemned to death. The morning light was to usher them into eternity. But they had committed no crime to merit death, and abandoned and proscribed of man, they were communing in hymns with their God. Burchill stood and listened and wept; but he had no power to deliver them—his heart ascended with their's to God.

A few days afterwards, being providentially delivered from prison by the confession of his accuser, he was walking mournfully in front of the prison, when he heard himself called. Looking up, he perceived the voice came from a slave within the bars. He knew the danger, but he was a missionary. He saw a poor man about to suffer death, before him, and had heard his call. He immediately walked up to the window, when the slave, in a cheerful voice, exclaimed, "What, Massa Burchill, what make you look so sorry? You sorry for me, Massa? Massa, you no want be sorry for me. Dey going to kill, dat for true, Massa; but me no fraid to die. What, Massa Missionary, you no remember how you tell us, Jesus neber forsake or forget dose dat love him. Come, Massa, pluck up your spirit; let me see you smile, Massa; den me be glad. Yes, Massa, me be glad to go and be wid Jesus, for you know that be for better."

Hear it and hail it;—the call,
 Island to island prolong;
 Liberty! liberty!—all
 Join in the jubilee song;
 Hark! 'tis the children's hosannas that ring,
 Hark! they are free whose voices unite;
 While England, the Indies, and Africa sing,
 "AMEN, HALLELUJAH!" at "Let there be light."
 MONTGOMERY.

Are American Christians determined that people of a dark complexion shall not share with them the blessings of our common humanity, either in this world or the next? Are they determined not only to brave the thunderbolts of Jehovah, but to hang themselves up to the scorn of the Universe?

We put together here, the proceedings of a town-meeting in Canaan, N. H., and the acts of the clergymen of all denominations, (followers of Paul!) in Charleston, S. C. The former decree the destruction of an academy, for the crime of teaching within its walls *colored youth*—and in pursuance of this decree, the building has been dragged from its foundation by one hundred yoke of oxen.—The latter, at the dictation of a pro-slavery committee, have humbly relinquished the *colored schools* they were teaching, and sanctioned, by their presence, the murderous rage of a meeting called expressly to put down *all discussion*, and trample under foot the last vestige of LIBERTY!

CANAAN TOWN-MEETING.

The preamble we have not seen; the resolutions adopted, are as follows:—

Therefore, *Resolved*, From what our eyes have seen and our ears heard, respecting the close intimacy that exists between some of the colored boys and white females, we believe if suffered to go on, it will not be long before we shall have *living evidence of an amalgamation of blood*.

Resolved, That we consider the colored school in this town, a public nuisance, and that it is the duty of the town to take immediate measures to remove said nuisance.

2d. *Voted*, That the town take immediate measures to remove the house in which the colored school is kept.

3d. *Voted*, that the Selectmen select the ground to set said house upon.

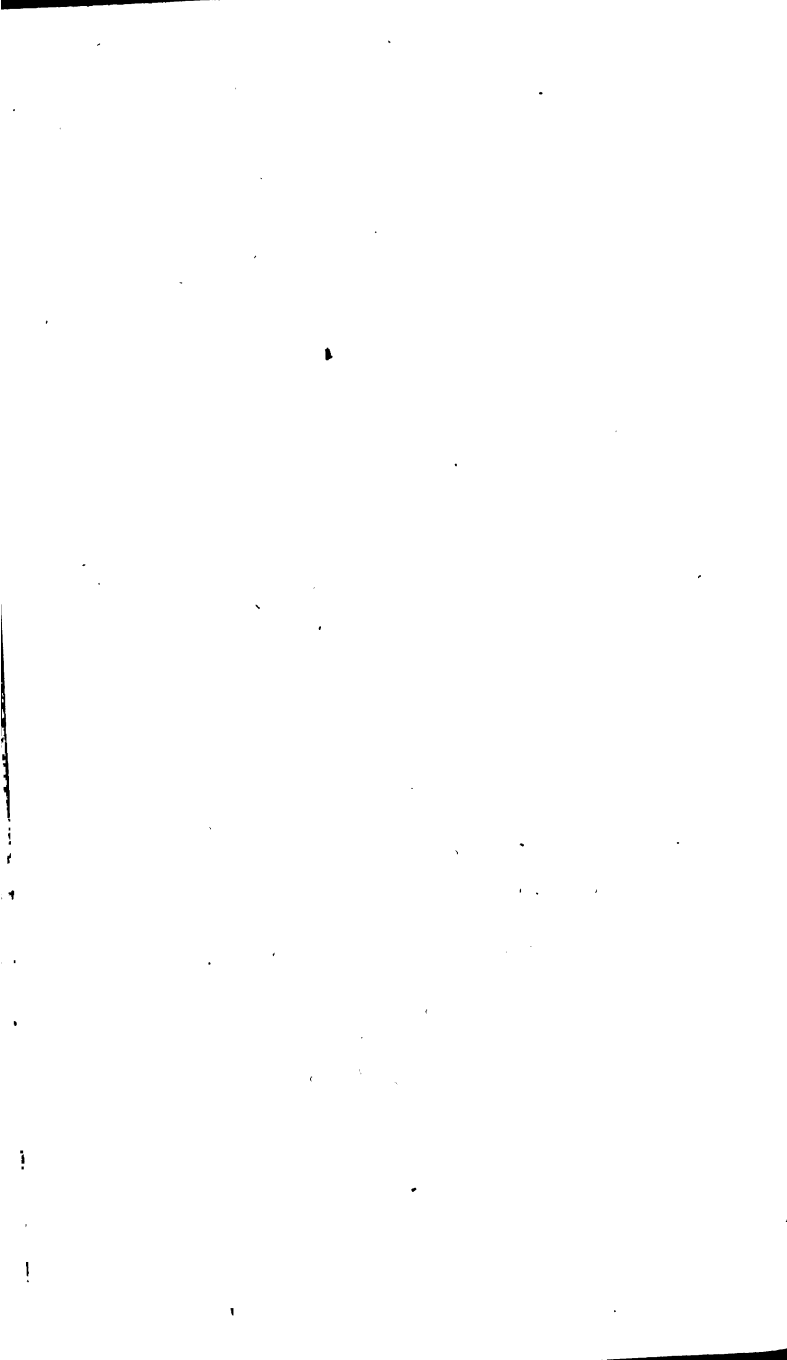
4th. *Voted*, that the following persons be a committee to superintend the moving of said house, namely: Jacob Trussell, Daniel Pattee, Jr., Daniel Campbell, March Barber, Nathaniel Shepard, James Pattee, Chamberlain Packard, Jr., Luther Kinne, John Fales, Jr., William Campbell, Peter Stevens, Westly P. Burpee, Herod Richardson, Robert B. Clark, Benjamin W. Porter, Elijah R. Colby, Salmon Cobb, Bartlett Hoit, and Americus Gates.

5th. *Voted*, That the measures adopted by the town, in regard to moving said building, be commenced on the 10th day of August next, 7 o'clock in the forenoon, and continue without intermission until the moving of said building be completed.

6th. *Voted unanimously*, That the following Preamble and Resolutions be sent to the Editor of the Christian Register and Boston Observer, with a request that he would give them an insertion in his paper.

Whereas a report of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society has been published in the Register and Boston Observer, bearing date July 11th, 1835, containing statements that the inhabitants of Canaan, N. H., are generally in favor of the colored school in said town,







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